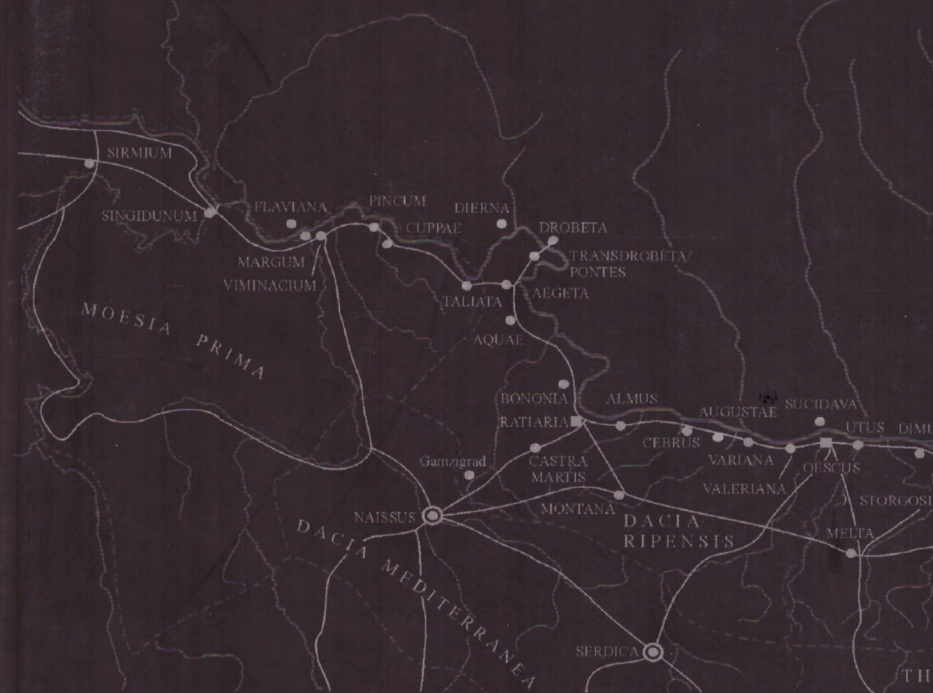


DOREL BONDOC



THE ROMAN RULE TO THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE

DURING THE LATE ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD

MEGA PUBLISHING HOUSE

DOREL BONDOC

THE ROMAN RULE TO THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE
IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD AND PRE-BYZANTINE AGE

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ROMANIAN HISTORY

THE CENTER FOR ROMAN MILITARY STUDIES

4

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OF THE LOWER DANUBE

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I

FOREWORD. INTRODUCTION AND METHOD

The purpose of the present paper is to draw up a picture of the Roman rule to the north of the Lower Danube, in the Late Roman Period and Pre-Byzantine Age. The studied geographical area corresponds to the northern border of the provinces Moesia Prima, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda and Scythia. Through the concept of Late Roman Period, I understand the period between the end of the 3rd century and the middle of the 5th century. The two chronological landmarks are related to two critical events from the history of the Late Roman Empire as follows: the instauration of the Dominate established by Emperor Diocletian on one hand and the invasions of the Huns from the first half of the 5th century on the other.

The period between the end of the 5th century corresponding to the reign of Emperor Anastasius and the beginning of the 7th century corresponding to the reign of Emperor Heraclius, can be classified as the Pre-Byzantine Age. Although some authors preferred to unify the two periods under the notion of Roman-Byzantine Age, this perspective does not represent an issue. However, I chose to use different terms because of the particularities of the two historical periods.

The issue of the Roman rule to the north of the Lower Danube in the Late Roman Period and Pre-Byzantine Age is not a new one and has been approached by many specialized studies. However, a paper that presents a unitary picture of this subject on the sector between Singidunum and the Black Sea does not exist, through the common study of literary sources, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence. All the previous papers approaching this subject focused on either a shorter period of time or on a limited area of the Romanian or Serbian territories.

From a chronological point of view, the present paper covers an interval of approximately three centuries, between the end of the Roman rule in Dacia and the dismantle of the border of the Roman-Byzantine Empire from the Lower Danube, at the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century.

For the elaboration of the present paper I used all the archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic information available as well as those obtained after several personal field surveys. Partially, I assimilated some of the conclusions of the authors who brought contributions to the study of this subject. However, I made the necessary corrections and observations where I considered that the old theories were no longer sustainable in the context of the new discoveries. In addition, I approached the literary sources and a series of cartographic sources dating from the Middle Ages and the Modern Ages.

Considering the fact that the paper studies only the north-Danubian area, one might describe it as a "separatist" or "isolated" approach. In this case it is useful to mention that the topic of the paper made this restriction necessary as the south-Danubian fortifications are better known through both literary indications and archaeological evidence. The main purpose of the author was to highlight as much as possible the realities of the Late Roman Period at

the north of the Lower Danube. However, throughout the paper there are frequent references to archaeological indications and evidence on the fortifications from the south of the Danube.

The present paper constitutes the object of my doctoral thesis, presented in 2004 at the Faculty of History, the University of Bucharest. In the first place, I owe gratitude to Professors Gheorghe Popilian and Alexandru Barnea, the scientific coordinators of the respective doctoral thesis, for developing the research on this domain as well as for their constant guidance throughout the writing of the paper and for pointing out the main working guidelines.

I also received important information, suggestions and useful observations from Professors Constantin C. Petolescu, Alexandru Suceveanu and Liviu Petculescu, during the presentation of the doctoral thesis. The historical direction for this paper was initiated by Professor O. Toropu, to whom I hold a pious memory.

In the same time, I am grateful to the people that helped me elaborate the paper by providing useful information and suggestions: Professors Nicolae Gudea (The Institute of Art and Archaeology from Cluj- Napoca), Maja Đorđević (The Institute of Archaeology from Belgrad) and Mihail Zahariade (The Institute of Archaeology Bucharest).

My gratitude goes to Dr. Ovidu Țentea and Dr. Florian Matei-Popescu, the editors of this book. Last but not least, many thanks to Sorin Cleșiu and Alexandru Rațiu who processed the illustrations and the text.

*

Considering the wide geographical area and the studied time frame that covers over three centuries, I commenced by studying the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The short presentation of the geo-political situation of the region from the Lower Danube after the Roman withdrawal in the time of Emperor Aurelianus and the presentation of the issue of *Dacia restituta*, both introduce us in the main topic of the book.

However, the present paper is based on the two catalogues of the north-Danubian fortifications, the first one corresponding to the Late Roman Period and the second to the Pre-Byzantine Age. Unlike the usual approach I chose to include these catalogues in the body of the paper instead of placing them at the end. The reader will have thus, the opportunity to draw his conclusions based on the information presented. The fortifications were presented in geographical order, following the course of the Danube, from the west to the eastern side. In the two catalogues I also introduced the fortifications from the islands of the Danube.

Each fortification from the catalogue was approached distinctively by mentioning the ancient name (when known), the draughts (where they exist), as well as the information provided by stratigraphy, numismatic, epigraphic and *tegulae* findings. For the fortifications that have already been studied and published and are thus, better known to the public, I did not present all the material culture from the respective sites. Our priority was to highlight the technical aspects of the fortifications, the inscriptions, the stamps found on the bricks and tiles and last but not least the weapons and the military equipment. In some cases, the maps and draughts dating from the Modern Age represent important evidence for the existence of the fortifications.

The conclusions drawn in the second part of the paper were based primarily on the information provided by these catalogues. Moreover, I cannot ignore the migratory

populations that were present to the north of the Lower Danube: Sarmatians, Goths, Huns, Avars and Slavs.

The earthen *valla* situated north of the Danube represent another element that has to be taken into account when analyzing the realities of the Late Roman Period from the region. Moreover, I also studied the Roman Army in the Late Roman Period from the Lower Danube based on literary and archaeological sources.

The short presentation of the Christian discoveries from the Late Roman fortifications in the north of the Lower Danube can help us imagine the degree in which this religious phenomenon was spread.

As close-up conclusion, I have to admit that I was not able to fully clarify all the aspects of the Late Roman rule to the north of the Lower Danube. The results and the state of the archaeological excavations on the Late Roman north-Danubian fortifications are far from being at a satisfactory stage. There are only a few indirect and uncertain literary sources referring to this subject. The few archaeological excavations as well as the fact that they were published either summarily or rather late, represent two of the factors that influence the perspective on the issue in question. The functional character of some of the fortifications in the Late Roman Period is uncertain and the archaeological information is partially old or can no longer be verified. Presently, I do not have any published draughts of any watch towers from the north of the Lower Danube. Among the monuments presented in the present paper, only a few have been published as part of various monographs among which I will mention the fortifications from Gornea, Hinova, Sucidava and the Sucidava-Oescus Bridge.

In order to make the paper more accessible to the readers I used the Harvard reference system. Moreover, at the end of the paper I attached two annexes, one containing literary sources and the other epigraphic evidence that refer to the subject in question.

II

LITERARY SOURCES, EPIGRAPHIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

II.1. THE LITERARY SOURCES, used for studying this subject, are scarce and not very explicit. We are referring to historical and literary sources, geographical and cartographical with hagiographic character, judicial and administrative ones. The literary indications included in the paper have been published and partially analyzed. Most of them can be found in the second volume of the compendium *Fontes Historiae Daco-romanae*¹.

The biographical data on the ancient authors that mentioned certain aspects of the Late Roman domination to the north of the Lower Danube, can be found in M. Popescu-Spineni's paper² as well as in an encyclopaedia published in 1982³. At the end of the present paper we added a catalogue of the literary sources that concern our topic.

*

Sextus Aurelius Victor was an imperial clerk during the reigns of Emperors Julian the Apostate (361-363), Gratian (367-383) and Theodosius I (378-395). He presented in *Liber de Caesaribus* a series of biographies dedicated to several Roman emperors, from Augustus to Constantius II, where, can be found information related to the political history of the Lower Danube area, during the 4th century⁴.

Of great importance are also the panegyric series by ancient authors like: Eumenius, Julian the Apostate and Themistius; some of them contain indications of the Roman domination to the north of the Lower Danube, in the Late Roman Period⁵.

A powerful impact on the contemporary literary sources had the construction of the stone bridge from Sucidava - Oescus during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great. This event was reported by Aurelius Victor, and later on by Chronicon Paschale, Teophanes Confessor and Kedrenos⁶.

However, the most important historian of the 4th century was Ammianus Marcellinus, former *protector domesticus* in the Roman imperial guard of Emperor Valens. After the death of the emperor, Ammianus retired to Rome, where he wrote the book *Rerum gestarum libri XXXI*. This paper was made public in AD 390 and contains a lot of information related to our topic. His narrations are objective and trustworthy considering the fact that the author took part in many instances in the events he wrote about.

Auxentius of Durostorum, the disciple of the Arian bishop Ulfila and bishop of Durostorum until AD 381 left some notes on the process of Christian dissemination in the Danubian territories⁷. His book is called *Epistula de fide, vita et Obitu Ulfilae*. Writing about

¹ FHDR

² Popescu-Spineni 1978

³ ECR

⁴The bilingual edition, Latin-Romanian parallel text, with preface, translation, explanatory notes and comments by Gh. I. Șerban, Brăila 2006.

⁵ Brief data on Julian the Apostate are presented in FHDR II, 29, and on Themistius, in FHDR II, 55 and ECR 761.

⁶ Tudor 1971, 161-164.

⁷ FHDR II, 111; Popescu-Spineni 1978, 62-63; ECR 121.

Ulfila's activity, the bishop of the Goths, Auxentius mentioned that his activity as a missionary covered a period of four decades, out of which he spent seven years north of the Danube.

Acta Sanctorum represents a collection of original documents or late copies, of a Christian character⁸. The relevant part for our paper is the fact that the collection contains indications regarding Sava the Goth's martyrdom in AD 372⁹.

Priscus Panites, of Greek origin, was born in Thrace at Panion and due to his origins he received the cognomen of Panites¹⁰. He was part of the mission sent by Emperor Theodosius II during AD 448-449, to Attila's court. The centre of the Hunnic Empire was in Pannonia, therefore the respective herald passed through Romania's present territory. Upon his return, Priscus reported in his notes all that he had seen throughout his journeys, leaving to posterity valuable historical information¹¹.

Evidence on the lines of communication can be found in the cartographic sources. Out of them, the most important one is *Itinerarium Antonini*, elaborated during Emperor Caracalla's reign, to whose official name is the title of the book referring to. It was updated during the Tetrarchy¹².

Tabula Peutingeriana is one of the few preserved cartographic Roman documents. Elaborated during the existence of the Dacian province, the *Tabula* was revised in the Late Roman Period¹³. Its purpose was to record the lines of communication in the Roman Empire, during which a series of fortifications and Roman cities, seas, rivers, road stations, mountains was recorded¹⁴. A part of the information can be partially found in the *Cosmography of the Anonymous cleric from Ravenna*, dating from the 7th century.

Notitia Dignitatum, an official document of great complexity, recorded the Roman administrative and military structures pertaining to the two Roman Empires (the Eastern and the Western one), from the Late Roman Period. It was demonstrated that the Oriental part of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the one that interests us for the present paper, was revised not long after AD 395¹⁵. The last modification of this document can be noted at *Talamonium-Salmorus-Halmyris* (Murighiol, Romania), where the *NotDignOr* (XXXIX, 18) recorded a *cuneus equitum Arcadum*. It originated in the Arcadian province from the Egyptian diocese¹⁶, a province that was established sometimes between AD 386 and 392¹⁷. This fact proves that the revision of the *Notitia Dignitatum* was made around AD 395. *Notitia Dignitatum* is the last document that mentions the legions from the Lower Danube, after which their historical trace is lost¹⁸.

⁸ FHDR II, 705.

⁹ ECR 698.

¹⁰ FHDR II, 247.

¹¹ Popescu-Spineni 1978, 67-69.

¹² ECR 394.

¹³ ECR 744-746; Fodorean 2006, 53 sqq.

¹⁴ Weber 1976, 9; Fodorean 2006, 25-26.

¹⁵ Jones 1964, II, 347-358; Zahariade 1988, 27.

¹⁶ Aricescu 1977.

¹⁷ Zahariade 1988, 82-83.

¹⁸ In the present paper, I used the O. Seek edition, Berlin 1876.

In AD 439 the *Codex Theodosianus* was implemented¹⁹, elaborated on Emperor Theodosius I's disposition. In fact, the Codex represents a collection of laws issued between AD 313 and 347 that was continuously updated until the date of its official publishing²⁰.

Corpus Iuris Civilis, was issued between AD 533-554 during the reign of Emperor Justinian²¹ and contains some stipulations, mostly in its last part, that refer to the imperial military presence to the north of the Danube in the 6th century.

Ioannes Lydus lived in the 6th century and wrote three very valuable papers using a several papers that have not been preserved²². Despite the numerous confusions made by the author, a series of valuable information was preserved. In some parts, Ioannes Lydus made some references to the reconstruction of the borders of the empire and to numerous military actions initiated by Emperor Justinian.

Jordanes, born in Moesia, former secretary of a Gothic general from the Roman Army and later the bishop of Ravenna, represents a useful source of information for the history of the region of the Lower Danube²³. He left posterity two considerable works both as volume and importance: *De origine actibusque Romanorum* and *De origine actibusque Getarum*.

Procopius of Caesarea was a secretary and a councillor of the Byzantine general Belisarius, whom he followed in his military campaigns. Subsequently, he held important offices at Constantinople, where he elaborated his works that represent the most important historical source of Emperor Justinian's reign²⁴. His works contain very important indications for the reconstruction of the history of the Lower Danube region in the 6th century. One of the most significant, *De aedificiis*, depicts a large scale image of Emperor Justinian's public building policy on the Danubian border.

Theopylact Simocatta, born in Egypt held a few offices at Constantinople, among which that of city governor. He elaborated a well documented work, out of which a large part was dedicated to the events from the end of the 6th century at the Lower Danube. His information was partially taken over by Theophanes Confessor.

II.2. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE; inscriptions present a great deal of importance for the subject of the present paper. Despite the drastic limitation of the written culture at the north of the Lower Danube, a situation that can be noticed mostly after Emperor Gallienus' reign, several important epigraphic discoveries have been made. We are referring particularly to those found in the north-Danubian fortifications that remained under the domination of the Empire or to the ones newly built after the retreat of the Roman troops during Emperor Aurelian. Stone inscriptions or most frequently stamps on the tiles, presenting a different degree of accuracy, the epigraphic evidence represents an extremely valuable historical source. In the north of the Lower Danubian region, the most frequent epigraphic indications are on stamped tiles. They provide important information about the presence and dynamics of the Roman troops or the tile trade in the area.

¹⁹ Abbreviated for the rest of the paper as *Cth*.

²⁰ ECR 205.

²¹ FHDR II, 371.

²² FHDR II, 491; Popescu-Spineni 1978, 73-74.

²³ Popescu-Spineni 1978, 74-78.

²⁴ FHDR II, 433.

The efforts of many epigraphers to create a *corpus* of the inscriptions found in Roman Dacia province have been materialized in a few syntheses. For Oltenia, the first three editions (1942, 1958 and 1968) of the book *Oltenia romană*, written by Professor D. Tudor, contain each a *supplementum epigraphicum*.

The 2nd volume of the book *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* (București, 1977), elaborated by Grigore Florescu and Constantin C. Petolescu, contains the Roman inscriptions discovered in Oltenia and Muntenia²⁵. Moreover, we find the 3rd volume very useful²⁶, published in 1977 from the same collection, where were gathered the Roman inscriptions from Banat under the coordination of Ioan I. Russu, Milena Dușanic, Nicolae Gudea and Volker Wollmann.

The most important contribution for the Late Roman Period is the collection elaborated by Emilian Popescu: *Inscriptiones intra fines dacoromaniae repertae graecae et latinae anno CCLXXXIV recentiores* (București, 1976)²⁷. The paper contains Late Roman inscriptions discovered to the north of the Danube, representing an important instrument of study.

II.3. THE LATE ROMAN PRESENCE TO THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE, IN THE WORKS OF THE MEDIEVAL CHRONICLERS

Until the systematization of modern methods of archaeological excavations on the present territory of Romania, a series of information was gathered from the observations of medieval or modern chroniclers. Among them we will mention the most important ones.

Miron Costin (1633-1691) is the first to write about some of the realities relevant to our subject, like the earthen *valla* from the south of Moldavia and the Roman ruins in Drobeta²⁸.

The High Steward Costantin Cantacuzino lived approximately between 1640-1716 and elaborated a paper called *Istoria Țării Românești dintru început*, along with a map of the province²⁹; on the map, the High Steward drew up the bridge of Emperor Constantine the Great from Sucidava-Oescus as well as the Roman road that started from the Danube, following the stream of the Olt River to Romula³⁰.

Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723) in *Descriptio Moldaviae*, narrating the legend of the *Lord of the Dew* mentioned also the *copper* bridge from Celei, as well as the stone road on the valley of the Olt River³¹. He also knew about the earthen *valla* from Crișana, the Romanian valley and southern Moldavia, which he interpreted as a single masterpiece, spread to the east until the Don River³².

II.4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730) initiated the first research of the archaeological vestiges from the north of the Danube. His work, *Danubius Pannonicus*

²⁵ IDR II.

²⁶ IDR III/1.

²⁷ IGLR.

²⁸ *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei de la Aron vodă încoace de unde este părăsit de Ureche, vornicul din Țara de Gios*, Miron Costin, Opere alese, București edition 1967, 57; on Miron Costin see EIR 110-111..

²⁹ *Cronicari munteni*, I. Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino, București edition, 1961.

³⁰ EIR 80.

³¹ EIR 81-82.

³² Popescu-Spineni 1978, 177.

Mysicus, observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis perlustratus et in sex tomos digestus ab Aloysio Ferd. Com. Marsili, Socio Regiarum Societatum Parisiensis, Londinensis, Hagae Comitum et Amstelodami, M. D. CC. XXVI published in 1726³³, was republished in French, after his death, under the title *Description du Danube depuis la montagne de Kahlenberg en Autriche jusqu'au confluent de la rivière de Iantra en Bulgariae*, Haga, 1744. Here he accurately reported the large earthen *valla* from Banat and Crișana, those from southern Moldavia and Basarabia, the Roman roads, a series of Late Roman fortifications as well as those from Pančevo, Kuvin, Sapaja Island, Tibiscum, Orșova, Mehadia, Insula Banului, Drobeta, Celei, all related to the topic of the present paper.

In the 18th century, along with the expansion of the Austrians to Eastern Europe, many maps of this region were drawn according to specific scientific methods. This process was imposed primarily by the necessity to organize an efficient defence system on the Danube against the Turks. Among the maps drawn in this period, the most important ones are Count Francis Mercy's from 1716³⁴, Gabriel Bordener's map from 1718 and the maps of the Homan domains from 1730.

Another relevant source for the region is Francesco Grisellini's paper, *Lettere odeporiche ove i suoi viaggi e le di lui osservazioni spettanti all'istoria naturale, ai costumi di vari popoli e sopra piu altri interessanti oggetti si descrivono, giuntevi parecchie memorie dello stesso autore, che riguardano le scienze e le arti utili*, I, Milano 1780 (the German translation: *Versuch einer politischen und natuerlichen Geschichte des temeswarer Banats in Briefen und Standes Personen und Gelehrte*, I-II, Viena, 1779-1780; the Romanian translation: *Încercare de istorie politică și naturală a Banatului Timișoarei*, Timișoara edition 1984³⁵, where he mentioned several Roman antic vestiges from the territory of Banat, mostly inscriptions from the Herculane Baths and the earthen *valla*, west of Romania.

The Roman ruins from the north of the Danube drew the attention of interested researchers from the Modern Age. In the 19th century, the first archaeological excavations were conducted in Oltenia; unfortunately not all of them had a scientific motivation. The first ones worth mentioning are those initiated from the order of Ban Mihalache Ghica. Among the targeted sites were those in Drobeta and Suciadva. Some of the evidence revealed by Ban Ghica during the excavations from Sucidava, were mentioned and published by his brother-in-law, Colonel Vladimir of Blaremburg, in the newspapers *Muzeul Național* and *Curierul Românesc*³⁶.

The first actual evidence on the complex of fortifications from Barboși is published in Iași, in 1837 by Gheorghe Săulescu³⁷.

The investigation conducted by August Treboniu Laurian (1810-1881) on the Danube, both on the left bank as well as on the right one, was materialized in the article *Istriana*³⁸. Dierna, the ruins in Severin, those in Turnu Măgurele, the ruins in Celei, Izvoarele, Batoți-Tismana, Insula Banului, Reșca, Slăveni and the great earthen *vallum* called Brazda lui Novac, are only a few of the Roman archaeological monuments recorded by Laurian. It is

³³ Marsigli 1726.

³⁴ Edited in Vienna in 1728.

³⁵ Preface, translation and explanatory notes by Costin Feneșan.

³⁶ Apud Tudor 1978, 14-15.

³⁷ Săulescu 1937.

³⁸ Magazinul istoric pentru Dacia, II 1845, 65-126.

worth mentioning here a few of the theories belonging to the great scholar: the identity Drobeta-*Theodora* mentioned by Procopius³⁹, the localization of Constantine's Bridge at Celei, the localization of the Constantiola⁴⁰ in Kuvin and, the first identification on the field of the ruins from Celei as Sycibida-Sucidava⁴¹.

After the middle of the 19th century, the engineer Alexandru Popovici began his research activity on the line of the Danube⁴². In 1860 he went to Celei, where he began the elaboration of a plan of the ruins in Sucidava, which unfortunately is still unknown. His notes were partially published by Alexandru Odobescu⁴³, and later on were only partially used by Dumitru Tudor, in the four editions of the monograph *Oltenia romană*.

Dimitrie Papazoglu was also an amateur archaeologist, who as a collector of antiquities found in the Roman ruins along the Danube⁴⁴. His unscientific researches were criticized by Alexandru Odobescu; however, they were synthesized in a catalogue⁴⁵, in which were presented the pieces of his collection, without mentioning their places of origin.

Cezar Bolliac (1813-1881), a great collector of antiquities, excavated in an unscientific manner almost all the Roman fortifications along the Danube in Oltenia area. In 1869 he conducted excavations in Drobeta, and between the years 1869-1873 in Sucidava. The results of his research were published in several contemporary periodicals. Cezar Bolliac was the first to study the ruins of the northern gate of Constantine's bridge⁴⁶. Despite the fact that he was not professionally trained, he drew a plan of the ruins in Sucidava⁴⁷.

Alexandru Odobescu (1834-1895) can be considered the founding father of the Romanian archaeology. Even though he was not much involved in field surveys, his studies are the first of the Romanian historiography with an adequate scientific approach⁴⁸. During the 8th lecture from the *History of archaeology* course, held in the Faculty of Letters of the University from Bucharest beginning with 1874⁴⁹, he made a short presentation of the document *Notitia Dignitatum*. He emphasized the existence of the fortifications Dafne and Drobeta as well as the presence of some legionary detachments from legio V Macedonica and the XIII Gemina in the north of the Danube from the Late Roman Period. In September 1866 he conducted archaeological soundings in the area of Pietroasa⁵⁰. The main objective of the research was the Roman camp in this region and its possible connection to the hoard from Pietroasa. Most of his observations are still valid even today⁵¹.

The archaeological research in Banat began in the second half of the 19th century. Therefore, to the end of this century, F. Kanitz led a few excavation campaigns in the area along the Danube, following the orders of the imperial court of Vienna and of the

³⁹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 15.

⁴⁰ The map *Tabula Daciae antiquae ad mentem veterum scriptorium delineate*, București 1868.

⁴¹ On A.T. Laurian, see EIR 197-198.

⁴² Tudor 1978, 15.

⁴³ Odobescu 1878, 217.

⁴⁴ Tudor 1978, 15.

⁴⁵ Muzeul Papazoglu, București, 1864.

⁴⁶ Tudor 1971, 164-165.

⁴⁷ Apud Petolescu 2008, 116 fig. 1.

⁴⁸ See Odobescu 1961.

⁴⁹ Published in 1877.

⁵⁰ Odobescu 1976, 8.

⁵¹ On Al. Odobescu, see EIR 242-243.

Commission of the Danubian Countries. As a result, he elaborated several studies and articles among which we can mention: *Donau- Bulgarien und der Balkan*, Leipzig, 1874, I-II; *Römische Studien in Serbien*, Wien, 1892; *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1909-1914. He also presented several evidences on the Roman bridges in Drobeta and Sucidava and a broad plan of the fortification on Banului Island, which he named Ciplac-Ada (Insula Banului).

Beginning with 1876, the historian L. Böhm and his collaborators published their works in the magazines *Történelmi és régészeti értesítő* from Timișoara and *Archaeologiai Értesítő* from Budapest. Many of the lost vestiges are known because of his writings. Furthermore, a great merit belongs to Felix (Bodog) Milleker, who starting with 1894 became the managing director of the Museum from Vrșac (Vârșeț). His studies were published in *Délmagyarország régiségleletei a Honfoglalás előtti idkből*, Timișoara, I-1897, II-1899, III-1906. The map drew up by Milleker presents the archaeological vestiges from the territory of Banat.

The earthen *valla* to the north of the Lower Danube have been studied starting with 1885 by the scholar C. Schuchardt⁵², for which he drew up broad profiles. His conclusions on the earthen *valla* in the Moldavian territory were later commented by Radu Vulpe⁵³.

As Alexandru Odebescu's disciple, Gr. G. Tocilescu continued his activity at the University and as field researcher. Between 1894-1901, Tocilescu conducted archaeological excavations in almost all the Roman sites in Oltenia. The results of his excavations were briefly published in *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie*, București 1900 and in *Monumentele epigrafice și sculpturali ale Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, I-II, București 1902-1908. In 1898, with the agreement of G. Tocilescu, Pamfil Polonic began the research of the earthen *vallum* called *Brazda lui Novac de nord*. Along the *vallum*, there were field surveys and as a result Polonic left behind valuable information, sketches and descriptions of this gigantic fortification⁵⁴. Archaeological excavations were conducted for two years in Drobeta, checking the indications presented by Marsigli two centuries before. Near Drobeta, at a distance of almost 7 km, is situated the Late Roman fortification in Puținei, Malovăț Commune, Mehedinți County; Gr. Tocilescu and Pamfil Polonic were the first to find it; this fortification is registered on the archaeological map of the Roman Dacia in the annex of the paper *Fouilles et recherche archéologiques en Roumanie*. The research conducted on the large *vallum Brazda lui Novac*, led to the discovery of traces from the Late Roman fortification in Hinova⁵⁵. Tocilescu and Polonic considered it to be the westernmost point of the *Brazda lui Novac vallum*. At Batoți-Tismana, Deveselu Commune, Mehedinți County, they identified another Late Roman fortification along the Danube; on the date of its registration, only the south-eastern corner of the fortification had been still preserved, the rest being eroded by the river⁵⁶. In the area of the Izvorul Frumos Village, Gr. Tocilescu and Polonic discovered what was left from a Roman fortification with a *vallum* and a defence ditch, its ruins being destroyed by the Danube. Despite the scarce evidence, they managed to

⁵² Schuchardt 1885, 202-232.

⁵³ Vulpe 1950, 163-174.

⁵⁴ Polonic's notes were used by D. Tudor in the four editions (1942, 1958, 1968, 1978) of his work *Oltenia romană*.

⁵⁵ Davidescu 1980, 186.

⁵⁶ Tudor 1978, 265 - 266fig. 68/5.

draw up a general plan of the fortification⁵⁷. In Izvoarele Village, the two researchers identified a Roman square-shaped fortification, presenting watch towers in the corners, *vallum* and a defence ditch⁵⁸. At Desa, in Dolj County, Tocilescu and Polonic identified a Roman camp on the Castravița sand bank with a defence ditch⁵⁹. The next Roman fortification identified by Pamfil Polonic was Bistreț, north of the Danube. He also drew up the plans of the archaeological monuments found there⁶⁰.

At Sucidava-Celei in 1898, Tocilescu with Polonic led the systematic archaeological excavations. The Romano-Byzantine fortification was excavated carefully. Excavations were also conducted in the area of the bridge built by Emperor Constantine the Great and later on, the northern entrance of the building was discovered with interesting outcomes. Tocilescu and Polonic also managed to draw up a plan of the civilian settlement from Sucidava; the plan was afterwards revised and improved by the scholars that followed. It is worth mentioning that before the discovery in 1906 of the inscription that finally certified the identification of the ancient fortification Sucidava in the locality Celei: *[D]EAE NEMESI, PRO SALVTE AVG(ustorum duorum), CVRIAL(es) TERRIT(orii) SVC(idavensis) [te]MPLVM A SOLO RESTITVERVNT*⁶¹, Tocilescu considered it to be the place of the enigmatical Malva.

Gr. Tocilescu was also interested in localizing the much discussed fortification of Dafne on the field. After studying the information related to this topic mentioned by Procopius and *Notitia Dignitatum*, and due to the lack of clues from the area of the river mouth, where Argeș flows into the Danube, Tocilescu concluded that the Dafne fortification must have been situated in Spanțov⁶². The fortification of Turnu-Măgurele was considered by Tocilescu to have been *Turris*⁶³ after comparing the evidence with Procopius' writings⁶⁴.

The three stone pillars of Constantine's bridge from Celei, were excavated at the beginning of the previous century by a commission of Russian specialists; the information obtained on this occasion were taken over by Dumitru Tudor⁶⁵. In 1908, J. Maurice published, based on Modern copies, the golden medallion created in Constantinople with the occasion of the inauguration of Sucidava-Oescus Bridge⁶⁶. The authenticity of such medallions in the Roman Period was demonstrated by A. Alföldi⁶⁷.

In 1911, V. Pârvan published the first synthesis of the history of Christianity in the provinces from the Lower Danube, called *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria creștinismului daco-roman*. On this occasion, he studied all the literary, archaeological, epigraphic and linguistic sources that attest to the spreading of the Christian religion on the territory of Trajan's Dacia. Despite the fact that V. Pârvan made these observations almost a century ago,

⁵⁷ Tudor 1978, 281, 285 fig. 78/2; Davidescu 1989, 106.

⁵⁸ Tudor 1978, 279, 285 fig. 78/4; Davidescu 1989, 118.

⁵⁹ Tudor 1978, 274 - 266 fig. 68/6.

⁶⁰ Tudor 1978, 265, 267 fig. 69.

⁶¹ Pârvan 1913a, 61.

⁶² Tocilescu 1908, 180-181.

⁶³ Tocilescu 1908, 248-249.

⁶⁴ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, III, 14.

⁶⁵ Tudor 1971, 170 note 25.

⁶⁶ *Numismatique Constantiniense*, Paris, 1908, I, 105 pl. IX, 9 and II, 516, no. 516; *non vidi*, apud Tudor 1971, 175 note 33.

⁶⁷ *Die Donaubrücke Constantins des Grossen und verwandte historische Darstellungen auf spätromischen Münzen*, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXXVI, 1926, 161-166 and pl. XI, 1, *non vidi*, apud Tudor 1971, 175 note 34.

when the knowledge on this topic was very limited, most of his conclusions are still valid even today.

Important scientific contributions on the history of the Roman city of Drobeta, were made by Alexandru Bărcăcilă, Headmaster of the High School in Turnu Severin and founder of the local museum. His first synthesis study on Drobeta -*Drubeta-azi Turnu Severin*, Boabe de Grâu, 1932- is in fact a small monograph that includes also the results of his research completing the evidence available at that moment. In 1938, all this information was published again in the study *Une ville daco-romaine: Drubeta, L'archéologie en Roumanie*, București 1938. Alexandru Bărcăcilă did not limit himself to excavate only the ruins of Drobeta, but also other archaeological vestiges. His attention was also drawn by the Roman traces on Insula Banului; excepting a very detailed plan of the fortification here⁶⁸, his excavations remained unpublished. From Ostrovu Mare, Al. Bărcăcilă published a few Roman coins, some of them belonging to the Late Roman Period⁶⁹. A note taken down in 1936 and later published by M. Davidescu, proves that Al. Bărcăcilă discovered the Late Roman fortification from Ostrovu Mare⁷⁰.

A great contribution to the studying of the earthen *valla* on northern Danube was made also by C. Zagoritz⁷¹. Gheorghe Ștefan initiated the first large scale archaeological excavations from Barboși⁷². Later on, after analyzing the *Novella XI* issued by the imperial chancellery of Emperor Justinian, he approached the issue of the presence of the Roman Empire at the Lower Danube in the 6th century⁷³.

Following Laurian and Tocilescu's researches, Grigore Florescu was delegated by the Commission of Historical Monuments to conduct archaeological excavations in Turnu-Măgurele, in the fortification lying 3 km away from the city. The excavations began in 1936 were slowed down by the fact that on the old Roman tower was built a Medieval fortification. Despite these difficulties many valuable archaeological and historical clues were discovered⁷⁴, even if afterwards some of them were partially contested⁷⁵. Between 1956-1960, in Drobeta archaeological excavations were performed under the leadership of Gr. Florescu⁷⁶.

A considerable and indispensable contribution to the research of the Roman *limes*, was made by Giovanni Forni⁷⁷. The last part of his paper was dedicated to the *limes* on the Lower Danube.

Mihail Macrea elaborated the first monographic presentation of the Roman Dacia province⁷⁸. The last chapter of his work was dedicated to the situation in Dacia after the withdrawal of the Roman authorities. He emphasized the continuation of the Roman domination over the left bank of the Danube, and enumerated the Late Roman fortifications to the northern part of the river.

⁶⁸ Davidescu 1989, 97 fig. 30.

⁶⁹ Bărcăcilă 1957, 419-421.

⁷⁰ Davidescu 1989, 113.

⁷¹ Zagoritz 1938.

⁷² Ștefan 1935-1936, 341-349.

⁷³ Ștefan 1974, 65-70.

⁷⁴ Florescu 1936; Florescu 1945, 432-463.

⁷⁵ Cantacuzino, Sion, Gâscan 1979, 413- 417.

⁷⁶ Davidescu 1980, 30-31; IDR II 17-75.

⁷⁷ Forni 1982.

⁷⁸ Macrea 1969.

Professor Dumitru Tudor approached with great seriousness the matter of the Roman domination to the north of the Danube after Aurelian's withdrawal. As an author of an impressive number of studies, articles and books, D. Tudor dedicated a great part of his activity to studying this issue. His attention was drawn from the beginning by Constantine's bridge from Sucidava-Oescus; in 1933, with the support of the Dredging Division of Giurgiu and with the help of some of the divers from the Romanian Waterworks Service, D. Tudor made the first soundings, observations and measurements of the pillars of the bridge underneath the Danube, as well as a transversal profile of them. The result of his excavations was published in 1934⁷⁹, and it was combined with comments on the medallion issued by Constantine the Great for celebrating the construction of the bridge as well as with short considerations on the fortification of Sucidava. In 1971, Dumitru Tudor summarized all the evidence on Constantine's bridge in a monograph⁸⁰ with a French edition: *Les Ponts Romains du Bas-Danube*, București 1974; in both variants he presented also the other Roman bridges in the region. Moreover, he pointed out the Roman road that began in Sucidava towards Romula, restored under Constantine's reign. The incontestable proof for the reconstruction of this road was the discovery of a milestone in 1913 in the northern part of Celei Village⁸¹. The rehabilitation of the road was connected to the construction of the bridge and the expansion of the Late Roman domination to the north of the Danube.

Between 1933-1981, Dumitru Tudor conducted archaeological excavations in Sucidava - Celei, either alone or by leading several teams of researchers. His work was materialized in numerous studies and articles, as in the three monographs dedicated to this important Late Roman fortification from the north of the Lower Danube: *Sucidava. Une cité daco-romaine et byzantine en Dacie*, Bruxelles, 1965; *Sucidava*, București, 1966; *Sucidava*, Craiova, 1974. He also elaborated a short monograph *Prima biserică creștină descoperită în România*, Iași 1948, for the Christian basilica discovered during the archaeological campaigns between 1946-1947.

Vasile Barbu, one of D. Tudor's collaborators, published two very important studies about Sucidava⁸².

Realizing the importance of the brick stamps, D. Tudor created a catalogue of these discoveries from the sector of the northern border of Dacia Ripensis⁸³. However, the most important contributions made by Dumitru Tudor are included in his famous monograph *Oltenia romană*, published in four editions: 1942, 1958, 1968 and 1978. Out of his work, whole chapters were dedicated to the presentation of the Late Roman domination in the south of Oltenia after Aurelian's withdrawal. The activity of Constantine the Great to the north of the Danube represented a permanent concern for Professor Dumitru Tudor. He also paid great attention when he presented the earthen *vallum* called *Brazda lui Novac*, which for four decades had been thought to date from the 4th century. In addition, in his studies, he approached the military units that were permanently or temporary transferred in the north-Danubian fortifications, the economical and cultural relations between the Roman Empire and the territory of Oltenia as well as the presence of the barbarian populations from the region.

⁷⁹ Tudor 1934, 107-124.

⁸⁰ Tudor 1971.

⁸¹ Tudor 1938, 19-25.

⁸² Barbu 1973, 27-53 ; Barbu 1974, 83-92.

⁸³ Tudor 1960, 335-359.

In 1965, K. Horedt, starting with the study of V. Balás⁸⁴, approached the issue of the earthen *valla* in western Romania⁸⁵. His studies were continued later on by S. Dumitrașcu⁸⁶. As a matter of fact, the issue of dating these earthen *valla* appears to be solved; the most pertinent hypothesis seems to place these gigantic constructions in the period of the Later Roman Empire, in the 4th century⁸⁷.

Based on an analysis of a marginal adnotation made sometimes in the 4th century on one of the Ptolemy's manuscripts⁸⁸, N. Gostar proved the localization of the Aliobrix fortification on the Orlovka-Kartal height, to the north of the Danube, opposite the Noviodunum fortification⁸⁹. Starting with 1959, N. Gostar led the systematic archaeological excavations in the Roman site in Barboși. The results of the excavations were published in a few articles⁹⁰, in which he emphasized the military units that constituted the garrison of the fortification and the last stage of the *castellum* from the first half of the 4th century. Ammianus Marcellinus' mention (XXXI, 3, 5) of a mile stone with the number 20, determined Gostar to consider the existence of a Roman road on the valley of the river Nistru dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries and probably used also in the 4th century⁹¹. This hypothesis is supported by the recent discovery of an important settlement in Sobari with Roman materials⁹², at a considerably distance from Tyras.

Concerning the author Al. Popa, it is important to mention here his paper from 2001 on the stone edifices from *Barbaricum* in the Late Roman Period⁹³ with a special reference to the north-eastern region of the Black Sea.

R. Florescu created a general picture of the Late Roman border on the sector of the Lower Danube⁹⁴. The archaeological excavations in Drobeta, together with Gr. Florescu and M. Davidescu, offered him the possibility to elaborate an extensive study called *Problema originii bazilicii creștine și principia fazei târzii a castrului Drobeta*⁹⁵.

The stamps of legio V Macedonica were classified by A. Petre in his article *Organizarea limesului dunărean în provincia Moesia*⁹⁶. The author of the study classified them in four types based on the places where the legion settled. The last type, called *Sucidava-Oescus*, corresponds to the Late Roman Period when the unit had again the headquarters in Oescus.

The Late Roman fortifications from Oltenia were studied by M. Davidescu, former manager of The Iron Gates Museum. He elaborated two monographs, the first dedicated to Drobeta⁹⁷, and the second to Hinova⁹⁸. Each of them contains an article referring to the north-

⁸⁴ Acta Arch. XV 1963, 309-336.

⁸⁵ Horedt 1965, 725-730.

⁸⁶ Dumitrașcu 1969, 483-491.

⁸⁷ Soproni 1969, 117-133; Soproni 1978, 116; Garam et alii 2003.

⁸⁸ Muller 1883, 468.

⁸⁹ Gostar 1967, 987-995.

⁹⁰ Gostar 1962, 505-511; Gostar 1967, 107-113.

⁹¹ Gostar 1964, 63.

⁹² Popa 1997, 119-131.

⁹³ Popa 2001.

⁹⁴ Florescu 1972, 23-26.

⁹⁵ Florescu 1965, 573-574.

⁹⁶ Petre 1974, 33-38.

⁹⁷ Davidescu 1980.

⁹⁸ Davidescu 1989.

Danubian fortifications between Orșova and Desa: Insula Banului, Puținei, Batoși-Tismana, Izvorul Frumos, Ostrovu Mare and Izvoarele. The field survey made him consider that the Brazda lui Novac *vallum* had the westernmost point in Drobeta not in Hinova as Gr. Tocilescu and Polonic had thought.

Despite the fact that Cr. M. Vlădescu studied with propensity the Roman Army and fortifications from the 2nd and 3rd centuries, he also approached some of the aspects of the Late Roman Empire. Among his initiatives we can mention his efforts from 1976-1981 to initiate field surveys along *Brazda lui Novac vallum* following Polonic's model. With this occasion he corrected and completed the route of the *vallum* with important topographical and geographical details⁹⁹. Moreover, under his guidance several pre-emptive archaeological excavations were conducted in the Late Roman fortification in Bistreț¹⁰⁰.

Another scholar who was interested in studying the Late Roman domination to the north of the Lower Danube was O. Toropu, who led the archaeological excavations from the perimeter of the fortification Sucidava-Celei from 1982 to 1995. In 1968, together with D. Tudor, O. Toropu uncovered once again the northern gate of Constantine's bridge in Celei (see above). The results obtained on this occasion were presented in an article that ended the series of archaeological excavations on the bridge from Celei¹⁰¹. In his paper *Romanitatea târzie și străromânii în Dacia traiana sud-carpatică*, Craiova 1976, O. Toropu synthesized the archaeological evidence along with a study of the monetary circulation in Oltenia concerning the Late Roman domination in this area. The systematic excavations on the fortifications in Sucidava were materialized in several articles among which we can mention the following: *Sucidava și ripa nordică a limesului danubian în epoca romană târzie și paleobizantină*¹⁰²; *Inscripții tegulare de la Sucidava-Celei*¹⁰³ as well as the monograph elaborated with Corneliu Mărgărit Tătulea: *Sucidava-Celei*, București, 1987. During his courses of History held at the Faculty of Letters and History of the University from Craiova, O. Toropu also held a seminary called *Transdanubia în secolele III-VI*.

The numerous international congresses concerning the study of the Roman frontiers have given the possibility for publishing several systematic studies on the Late Roman domination to the north of the Lower Danube among which we can mention the study elaborated by R. Vulpe focused on the earthen *valla* to the south of Moldavia and Basarabia¹⁰⁴. Out of the four earthen *valla* from this area, only two were considered Roman being built successively and used in the 4th century¹⁰⁵.

In 1973, Gh. Diaconu and his collaborators began the excavations at Pietroasele, confirming most of the conclusions formulated by Al. Odobescu a century earlier. It is very important to mark the limits of the habitation in the camp in the Late Roman Period; it represents a particular case among this particular type of constructions in Dacia because of its geographical positioning, the archaeological material as well as its late dating¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁹ Vlădescu 1977, 79-88; Vlădescu 1978, 153-165; Vlădescu 1979, 146-162.

¹⁰⁰ Vlădescu, Zahariade 1984-1986, 29-40.

¹⁰¹ Toropu 1972, 20-33.

¹⁰² Toropu 1986, 45-60.

¹⁰³ Toropu 1988-1989, 36-41.

¹⁰⁴ Vulpe 1974.

¹⁰⁵ Vulpe 1950.

¹⁰⁶ Diaconu 1977, 199-220.

The south-western region of Romania has been studied mostly by Doina Benea. The archaeological sounding of the Late Roman fortification from Puținei¹⁰⁷, the studying of the stamp bricks and tiles from Dierna¹⁰⁸ and that of Drobeta¹⁰⁹, as well as the synthesis *Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și a Daciei. Legiunea a VII-a Claudia și legiunea a III-a Flavia* (Cluj-Napoca, 1983), represent works that cannot be overlooked when studying the Late Roman domination to the north of the Lower Danube.

A recent work, elaborated by Doina Benea, is the paper *Dacia sud-vestică în secolele III-IV*, Timișoara, 1996 dedicating a whole chapter to the Late Roman border from the Iron Gates region. Along with the Late Roman fortifications from both banks of the Danube, the paper also contains a catalogue of the Dacian- Roman settlements from Banat.

The terrestrial lines of communication from Banat were analyzed by O. Răuț, O. Bozu, R. Petrovsky¹¹⁰. On this occasion the routes were presented, the construction technique and the structure of these roads.

N. Gudea has brought important contributions to the study of the military presence of the Late Roman Empire in Banat. Among his studies can be mentioned the following: determining the detachment of the *legio VII Claudia* in Șvinița under the command of *Hermogenes* and the discovery of a watch tower in the same area¹¹¹; the presentation of the fortifications in the sector Sapaja-Puținei¹¹² with the summary of the archaeological excavations from the Late Roman fortification of Dierna; the study of the monetary circulation in the Late Roman Period in Banat¹¹³; the contribution to the studying of the Roman siege equipment from the Late Roman Period from Gornea and Dierna¹¹⁴; the archaeological monograph *Gornea. Așezări de epocă romană și romană târzie* (Reșița, 1977); the catalogue of the Roman fortifications from the sector Singidunum-Drobeta¹¹⁵.

Din istoria creștinismului la români. Mărturii arheologice (Oradea, 1988) is the paper where N. Gudea and I. Ghiurco gathered and commented all the archaeological evidence that demonstrate the spreading of Christianity to the north of the Danube. We should also mention here N. Gudea's paper elaborated in collaboration with M. Zahariade¹¹⁶.

Another important study written by N. Gudea on the stage of research of the Late Roman Period in Porților de Fier area was published in 2003, called: *Granița romană și romană târzie în zona Porților de Fier. Câteva note critice și statistice*¹¹⁷.

Regarding the monetary circulation to the north of the Danube in the period after the reign of Emperor Aurelianus, we should refer to the works of some of the best Romanian numismatists. First, we have to mention the works elaborated by C. Preda: *Circulația monedelor bizantine în regiunea carpato-dunăreană*¹¹⁸ and *Circulația monedelor romane*

¹⁰⁷ Benea 1977, 37-46.

¹⁰⁸ Benea 1976, 205-214.

¹⁰⁹ Benea 1977a, 173-179.

¹¹⁰ Răuț, Bozu, Petrovsky 1977, 135-159.

¹¹¹ Gudea 1974, 141-146.

¹¹² Gudea 1974, 174-180.

¹¹³ Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974.

¹¹⁴ Gudea 1978, 69-75.

¹¹⁵ Gudea 1982, 93-111.

¹¹⁶ Zahariade, Gudea 1997.

¹¹⁷ Gudea 2003, 171-194.

¹¹⁸ Gudea 1972, 375-416.

*postaureliene în Dacia*¹¹⁹. Secondly, for the discoveries in the region Sucidava-Orlea, a valuable research instrument was created by Iudita Winkler and C. Băloi¹²⁰. Focusing on the Banat area, Dana Bălănescu presented, in several articles, the monetary circulation in this region¹²¹ for the period in question.

Each of the editions of the monograph *Oltenia romană* by D. Tudor, contains a chapter dedicated to the discoveries of coins from Oltenia during the period between 2nd and the 5th centuries. O. Toropu's study¹²² follows the same structure. A very important study on the monetary circulation in Dierna was written by M. Chițescu and Gh. Poenaru-Bordea¹²³.

V. Butnaru elaborated a catalogue of the Late Roman coins found in Romania, *Monedele romane post-aureliene în teritoriile carpato-dunăreano-pontice* (anii 275-491), published in three parts¹²⁴. His efforts were considerable taking into account the massive amount of information presented.

More recently, a series of studies on the monetary circulation to the north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period have been elaborated by the numismatists of the National Museum of Romanian History from Bucharest like E. Oberlander-Târnoveanu: *From the Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages-The Byzantine Coins in the territories of the Iron Gates of the Danube from the second half of the 6th century to the first half of the 8th century*¹²⁵; idem, *La monnaie Byzantine des VI^e-VIII^e siècles au-delà de la frontière du Bas-Danubes. Entre politique, économie et diffusion culturelle*¹²⁶; Delia Moisil, *The Danube Limes and the Barbaricum (A. D. 294-498). A Study on Monetary Circulation*¹²⁷.

The joint Romanian-Yugoslavian efforts for the archaeological excavations in the Iron Gates area were materialized in the form of several studies and articles. Among them we will mention here the studies elaborated under the coordination of D. Tudor¹²⁸ and C.S. Nicolaescu-Plopșor¹²⁹. The latter one was continued in 1968¹³⁰.

Also, a remarkable achievement in this domain is the volume *Comori arheologice în regiunea Porților de Fier / Tresors archeologiques dans la region de Portes de Fier*, (București, 1978). Elaborated through the joint efforts of Romanian and Serbian scholars, the work is in fact a bilingual Romanian-French catalogue of the discoveries made in this region.

The archaeological monuments from Barboși were studied after N. Gostar, by S. Sanie who elaborated in 1981 the first monograph of the excavations: *Civilizația romană la est de Carpați și romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei (sec. II î.e.n.- III e.n.)* (Iași, 1981)¹³¹. A more recent contribution¹³² completes the evidence on the archaeological site from Barboși.

¹¹⁹ Gudea 1975a, 441-486.

¹²⁰ Winkler, Băloi, 1973, 181-212.

¹²¹ D. Bălănescu, *Banatica*, 2, 1981, 147-152; idem, *Acta MN*, 19, 1982, 375-386; idem, *Acta MN*, 20, 1983, 485-488- with N. Gudea; idem, *SCN*, 8, 1984, 129-136; idem, *Banatica*, 8, 1985, 173-186; idem, *Banatica*, 10, 1990, 187-204.

¹²² Toropu 1976, 205-217 annexes 6-15.

¹²³ Chițescu, Bordea 1982.

¹²⁴ Butnaru 1987, 113- 140; Butnaru 1988, 131-196; Butnaru 1991, 67-107.

¹²⁵ *Etudes Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, IV, Iași 2001, 29-69.

¹²⁶ *Histoire & Mesure*, XVII-3/4, Paris 2003, 155-196.

¹²⁷ *Histoire & Mesure*, XVII-3/4, Paris 2003, 79-120.

¹²⁸ Tudor et alii 1965, 395-406.

¹²⁹ Nicolaescu-Plopșor et alii 1965, 407-411.

¹³⁰ Nicolaescu-Plopșor et alii 1968

¹³¹ For the review of the work see Petculescu 1982, 249- 253.

¹³² Sanie 1996, 121-153.

Ion Ioniță elaborated a consistent synthesis of the ethnic and political relations east of the Carpathians through his paper: *Din istoria și civilizația dacilor liberi. Dacii din spațiul est-carpatic în secolele II-IV e.n.* (Iași, 1982), where he studied the fortifications from Barboși and Aliobrix, the earthen *valla* in southern Moldavia, the Roman road from the valley of the river Nipru and the stone constructions from Tyras in the 5th century.

Ion Barnea and Octavian Iliescu published in 1982, the monograph called *Constantin cel Mare*, that analysed, among other aspects of his reign, the presence of the Empire to the north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period as well as the dynamics of the monetary circulation from the same period.

M. Zahariade is another archaeologist who studied mostly the history of the Roman Army. We note here the analysis of the two military units mentioned at Dafne in *Notitia Dignitatum*¹³³, with the enumeration of the different opinions regarding the localization of the Dafne fortification. In the study dedicated to the first campaign of Emperor Valens against the Goths¹³⁴ and in *Moesia Secunda, Scythia și Notitia Dignitatum* (București, 1988), the archaeological and epigraphic discoveries were commented along with the information taken from *Notitia Dignitatum* and partly from the Codex Theodosianus. Also, M. Zahariade managed to define the surface of the camp from Drobeta in accordance with the troops indicated by the *Notitia Dignitatum* during Constantine's reign¹³⁵.

Particularly important are the published studies and the research conducted more recently by Romanian and Serbian archaeologists. We will mention here the works that approached the north-Danubian area. On one hand, we mention Vladimir Kondić who managed to locate the enigmatical Diana of Karataš, to the south of the Danube, solving thus, one of the biggest controversies related to the Roman limes from the area of Porțile de Fier. Related to it and taking into account also Marsigli's notes, V. Kondić identified Transdiana with the fortification on Insula Banului¹³⁶.

The fortification in Sapaja Island has also drawn the attention of the Serbian archaeologists. Between the years 1967-1970, archaeological excavations were performed under the leadership of J. Kovacević. The results were published by D. Dimitrijević, from the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad¹³⁷.

After analyzing the archaeological vestiges from Banat, Maja Đorđević concluded the simultaneous presence of the Sarmatian and Romans tribes, by pointing out the existence of several Roman military posts at Pančevo, Kuvin, Vršac and on Sapaja Island¹³⁸; the evidence found here were continued and completed later on in an excellent edition from 2007¹³⁹.

Last but not least we mention the recent treaty of Romanian History (*IR*), edited under the coordination of the Romanian Academy; the second volume of this paper (2001) contains a chapter by Gh. Popilian, called *Stăpânirea romano-bizantină la nordul Dunării*.

¹³³ Zahariade 1977, 391-402.

¹³⁴ Zahariade 1983.

¹³⁵ Zahariade 1997, 167-182.

¹³⁶ Kondić 1992-1993, 49-52.

¹³⁷ Dimitrijević 1982-1983, 59-62.

¹³⁸ Đorđević 1996, 125-134.

¹³⁹ Đorđević 2007.

III

THE ROMAN RULE TO THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE. "BRIDGEHEAD" FORTIFICATIONS

III.1. THE POLITICAL CONTEXT AT THE LOWER DANUBE BETWEEN LATE 3RD CENTURY – EARLY 4TH CENTURY AD.

This period corresponds to Emperors Aurelianus (270-275), Probus (276-282), Diocletian (284-305) and Constantine the Great (306-337), whose political approaches were focused on the following coordinates: pushing back the barbarian invasions, the extermination of the usurpers and the restoration of the unity of the Empire within the traditional borders.

The clear victory of Emperor Claudius II against the Goths at Naissus in AD 269 and Aurelianus' victories against the Sarmatians, Carpi and Goths put an end to the so called *bellum Scythicum* and allowed the creation of a balance of power between the Roman Empire and the barbarians to the north of the Lower Danube. The transferring of the Roman legions from Dacia on the Danubian line, the defeat of the Goths and afterwards of the Carpi¹, as well as the refortification of the Danubian border, brought peace to the Balkan provinces for two decades. The first to resume the hostilities against the Roman Empire were the Carpi between AD 295-297. Galerius fought against them, defeated them and colonized some of them in Moesia Inferior². Other Carpi were moved here after they had been defeated by Emperor Aurelianus³. Because of these victories, Galerius and the other tetrarchs received the title of *Carpicus Maximus*; in a military diploma from AD 304, the four tetrarchs were given this title for the fifth time⁴. The mention of this title demonstrates that even before this date other military conflicts against the Carpi had taken place. As a result it is possible that many of the Carpi were colonized in Pannonia⁵. The victories of the tetrarchs and the deportation of a numerous Carpi population on the Roman territory led probably to the defeat of the power of the Carpi. Sometimes between AD 306 and AD 311 another war against the Carpi took place after which Galerius received the title of *Carpicus Maximus VI*⁶. Finally, Constantine the Great also received this title. The last mention of the Carpi dates from AD 381 when under the name of *Karpodakai* they tried unsuccessfully to force the Danubian line; this information might be an allusion to the arrival of other Carpi tribes and free Dacians on the territory of the former province of Dacia.

Along with the Carpi, the Bastarnae are another population hostile to the Empire in this period. In AD 280 or 282, Emperor Probus moved 100,000 Bastarnae in Thracia⁷. Despite the fact that the authenticity of this information was questioned⁸, the existence of the Bastarnae at the end of the 3rd century is proved by other historical sources as well. Eusebius from

¹ SHA, *Aurelianus*, 22, 30.

² FHDR II, 11.

³ Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 39, 43.

⁴ CIL XVI 57.

⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus XXVIII, 1, 5.

⁶ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.*, VIII, 17, 3.

⁷ SHA, *Probus*, 18, 1; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, I, 71.

⁸ Babeş 1970, 215-236.

Caesarea⁹ wrote that in AD 295 the Carpi and Bastarnae were displaced in the Empire. Similar information can be also found at Eutropius (9, 25, 2). According to him, in AD 295 Emperors Diocletian and Galerius defeated the Carpi, Bastarnae and Sarmatians, after which a significant part of them was moved on Roman territory. Probably at the time of these events, the Bastarnae were somewhere near the Danube.

Many battles were also fought against the Sarmatians. They had infiltrated in the south of Moldavia and eastern Muntenia a long time before these events¹⁰. The Aurelian withdrawal allowed the infiltration of the Iazyges Sarmatians in Banat in the 4th century, their presence in this area was considered ordinary¹¹. The Aurelian withdrawal made also possible the movement of the Roxolani westwards because Jordanes¹² mentioned that at some point the border between the Iazyges and the Roxolani would have been the river Olt, even if this information seems hard to believe. In order to pacify the Sarmatians, Emperor Probus fought them both to the north of the Danube¹³, receiving the title of Sarmaticus, as well as in Illyricum¹⁴. On his way to the Orient, Emperor Carus stopped by the Danube to push the Sarmatians back¹⁵. On this occasion many of them were killed or taken prisoners¹⁶. In AD 289, 290 and 292, Galerius was also forced to fight against the Sarmatians¹⁷. Following his victories, in AD 311 Galerius received the title of *Sarmaticus Maximus* for the 5th time¹⁸. Many of the Sarmatians were colonized on the Roman territories¹⁹.

In the time of the Tetrarchy, between late 3rd century - early 4th century, a series of Late Roman fortifications were built *a fundamentis* to the north of the Danube as a result of the numerous military victories. We will mention here the fortifications of the *quadriburgium* type from Gornea, Dierna and Hinova²⁰; maybe there were many others which have not been discovered. The policy of fortifying the borders of the Empire extended during this period²¹. The Empire occupied some strategic points to the north of Danube, which is possible to have remained under Roman domination until the invasion of the Huns²². Some of the units of legions I Italica and II Herculia took part in the wars between the city Chersonesos and the Bosporan Kingdom, fighting on Chersonian's side²³.

After being defeated by Emperors Claudius II and Aurelianus, the Goths resumed, in early 4th century, the raids to the south of the Danube which determined the Roman authorities to take action several times against them. Especially during the reign of Constantine the Great, the Goths were many times defeated being forced to accept treaties with the Romans imposed by the Empire.

⁹ Chronicon, 8.

¹⁰ Sârbu, Bârcă 1999, 89-98; Harhoiu 1993, 41-52.

¹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus XVII, 12, 18.

¹² Iordanes, *Getica*, XII (74).

¹³ SHA, *Probus*, 5.

¹⁴ SHA, *Probus*, 16.

¹⁵ Iordanes, *Romana*, 294.

¹⁶ SHA, *Carus*, 8, 9.

¹⁷ Paulus Orosius, VII, 25, 11.

¹⁸ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.*, VIII, 17, 3.

¹⁹ Eutropius IX, 25, 2.

²⁰ Gudea 1972, 173-180.

²¹ Zahariade 1999a, 553-561.

²² Petolescu 2000, 333.

²³ Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *De administrando imperio*, 53, 2-123.

*

The line of the Lower Danube became again the border of the Roman Empire during Emperor Aurelian's reign, in the same time with the withdrawal from Dacia²⁴. It seems that in the Late Roman Period the term *limes* was replaced by *ripa*, emphasizing the new status of the Danube of frontier. The literary sources mention for example the *Ripa Thraciae* or *Ripa Gotica* along with many others that will be presented later on. We cannot find a unanimous opinion in the Romanian historiography on the functional character as *limes* of the line of the Danube in the Late Roman Period²⁵.

The construction works on the borders of the four Danubian provinces: Moesia Prima, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda and Scythia were completed during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. The emperor visited several times the fortifications from the *limes*²⁶. On this occasion the most important fortifications were inspected.

Hence, between the 26th of September and the 1st of November 294, Diocletian was at Viminacium, the headquarters of the legio VII Claudia. Probably the consolidation works of the Moesia Prima province had already been finished in this period²⁷. Further on, between the 8th and the 10th of October 294, the emperor inspected Ratiaria, the capital of Dacia Ripensis. Afterwards he visited the military centre from Novae and on the 18th of October 294, he arrived at Durostorum, the last two cities were the headquarters of the garrison of the detachments from the legio XI Claudia. The presence of the emperor in these sites is confirmed by a series of founding inscriptions during the Tetrarchy discovered in various fortifications on the southern *ripa* of the Danube²⁸. Among them we can mention the fortifications from Donje Butorke, Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca, Durostorum, Seimeni and Halmyris. Thus, in late 3rd century, most probably in AD 294, when Diocletian celebrated his 10th year on the throne, the rehabilitation of the border from the Lower Danube was completed.

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The withdrawal from the province Dacia during Aurelian's reign was widely spread in the literary sources²⁹. The consequences of this event left a decisive mark not only on the history of the north-Danubian area but also on the whole Balkan Peninsula. The Roman frontier had withdrawn on the Danubian line, which starting with this moment became again the border of the Empire. The sector of the Lower Danube became, due to the political and military events, one of the most important frontiers of the Empire, its strategic importance before the conquest of Dacia being thus rediscovered. Giving this situation, the imperial authorities treated this area with a special attention. The new defence alignment was strengthened with a significant number of fortifications, new and old ones, which were restored and became functional. For a stronger defence, a series of fortifications from the north of the Danube were built or restored as well. In these fortifications several *vexillationes*

²⁴ For the *limes* of the Danubian provinces Moesia Prima, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda and Scythia, see Forni 1982, 1267-1281.

²⁵ Gudea 1982, 96; for the sector of the Danube in Banat, there was used the phrase "fortified border"; apud Gudea 2003.

²⁶ For the chronology of these visits, Zahariade 1999, 4.

²⁷ Benea 1983, 94-95.

²⁸ Zahariade 1999a, 553-561.

²⁹ Iliescu 1971, 425-442.

from the military units to the south of the Danube, were temporary or permanently detached as we will present in the chapter dedicated to the Roman army. During Aurelian's reign the military strategic points in Drobeta and Sucidava, perhaps in others, were kept under Roman control³⁰.

III.2. DACIA RESTITUTA

A fragment from the panegyric dated in the period of the Tetrarchy on the 1st of March 297 has been raising discussions about a possible conquest of the province Dacia in this period³¹.

The hypothesis of a north-Danubian territory being re-conquered by the Roman Empire in the period of the Tetrarchy was rejected three decades ago. The warfare policy of the Tetrarchs that targeted also the Danubian border of the Empire, the north-Danubian fortifications, the "bridgeheads" built in this period and the appearance in the literary sources³² of the theory of Galerius' Dacian nationalism are arguments in favour of the re-conquest of the Dacia province, in the north of the Danube. However, in the current stage of the research there is no actual evidence to support the hypothesis of an effective Roman domination to the north of the Danube in the period of the Tetrarchy³³, neither archaeological evidence nor of other nature, even though theoretically the premises for such a hypothesis exist. The exaggeration of the panegyrist is proved by the fact that even later on, during the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, when the Roman Empire re-conquered some of the territories to the north of the Danube, the former Dacian Province from the time of Emperor Trajan would have never been restored.

T. Zawadski presented two possibilities to justify the history of the phrase *Dacia restituta*: either the panegyrist referred to the province Dacia Ripensis and to a possible rehabilitation of the Roman domination after this province had been previously lost which is not likely, or he recorded a reorganization of the Dacian provinces south of the Danube. The re-conquest of Dacia Ripensis cannot be questioned; there is no evidence supporting the losing and re-conquest of this province. The offensive politics and the victories recorded by the Roman troops against the barbarians from the north of the Danube reveal the possibility of a defection of Dacia Restituta. The only viable explanation for the phrase *Dacia Restituta* is a probable reorganization of the two Dacian provinces south of the Danube³⁴.

The literary and epigraphic sources record several reorganizations of this type. Initially, there was only one Dacia province in the southern Danubian area created by Emperor Aurelian, as the two literary sources closest to this issue mention³⁵. The literary sources that record the existence of two Dacia provinces south of the Danube³⁶ reflect a later state of things.

³⁰ Toropu 1976, 15.

³¹ Incerti Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus, III, 3: *Partho quippe ultra Tigrim redacto, Dacia restituta, porrectis usque ad Danuuii caput Germaniae Raetiaeque limitibus, destinata Batauiiae Britanniaeque uindicta. gubernacula maiora quaerebat aucta atque augenda res publica et, qui Romanae potentiae terminos uirtute protulerant, imperium filio pietate debebant.*

³² Lactantius Firmianus, IX, 2; XIII, 5; XXVII, 9.

³³ The late statement in support of this theory, from Protase, in *IR*, II, 2001, 585.

³⁴ Bondoc 1998, 54-56.

³⁵ Eutropius IX, 15, 1; SHA, *Aurelianus*, 39, 7.

³⁶ Rufius Festus, VIII; Iordanes, *Romana*, 217.

Sometimes until AD 283, the Dacia province south of the Danube established by Aurelian was divided into Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediteranea as it results from an epigraphic source discovered in 1910³⁷: *CARO ET CARINO/ AUGUS(tis), GAIANUS/ PR(a)ESES FINEM/ POSUIT (i)NTER DU/ [as D]ACIAS DILA/ [psum ?]*; this is a bronze plate discovered near Sofia, that certifies the existence of a milestone *inter duas Dacias*, during the shared reign (282-284) of Emperors Carus and Carinus. The dating of the plate is most probably AD 283³⁸. The inscription certifies the creation of the two Dacia provinces south of the Danube 7 years later since Dacia of Emperor Aurelianus had been founded. From unknown reasons the two Dacian provinces were probably reunited afterwards, so that in AD 321 only one Dacia was known³⁹. A new separation probably followed, sometimes in AD 343, because during the Council held in Serdica that year, the two Dacian provinces were represented by different bishops⁴⁰. The two Dacian provinces were recorded also by NotDignOr (III, 15-16) and it seems that from that point on the situation remained the same in general unless other reorganizations unknown to us had taken place meanwhile; the existence of the two Dacian provinces south of the Danube was attested by the literary sources from that period⁴¹. However, Ioannes Malalas⁴² presented in his chronicle a single Dacia which he called *Parapotamia*; the same author mentioned afterwards Dacia Prima and Dacia Secunda⁴³.

Therefore, as it can be noticed there were numerous reorganizations of the Dacian provinces south of the Danube throughout this period, so that the phrase *Dacia restituta* could refer to any of them. The panegyric was presented on the 1st of March 297. From the information presented above, it can be seen that between AD 283-321, with the exception of the recalled panegyric, any other information related to the Dacian provinces south of the Danube has not been found. The phrase *Dacia restituta* suggests a re-established Dacia, reunited or restored rather than re-conquered. This could mean that at a certain date, between the shared reign of Carus and Carinus and the 1st of March 297, another reorganization of the Dacian provinces south of the Danube took place, most probably merging them into a single province. It is important to notice, however, that the panegyric was dedicated to Constantius Chlorus not to Galerius, who administrated the border of the Lower Danube.

Starting from the first part of Diocletian's reign, *vexillationes* of the legio I Italica and legio II Herculia were sent to fight in the war that took place during AD 286-293, between Chersonesos and the Bosphoran Kingdom, the Roman Empire being the ally of Chersonites⁴⁴. On this occasion, the detachments of the two legions left several inscriptions at Chersonesos⁴⁵. The Roman Army was under the command of Κωνστας (Costas); most probably he could be Constantius Chlorus⁴⁶. After the end of the conflict, Constantius Chlorus was proclaimed *Caesar* on the 1st of March 293, placing Gallia and later on Britannia under

³⁷ Filow 1912, 234-239.

³⁸ Velkov 1998, 159.

³⁹ CTh II, 19, 2.

⁴⁰ Theodoretos of Cyros, II, 8, 1.

⁴¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 5, 11.

⁴² Ioannes Malalas, XI, 274, 1-2; Ioannes Malalas, XII, 301

⁴³ Ioannes Malalas, XI, 277, 12-15.

⁴⁴ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 53, 2-123.

⁴⁵ Sarnowski 1988, 96-98.

⁴⁶ A short presentation of this event at Madgearu 1996, 137-142; another opinion supported by Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 389, 441; Suceveanu, Barnea, 1991, 247.

his administration. From his residence in Augusta Treverorum (now Trier, in Germany), Constantius Chlorus could not have intervened to the Lower Danube. Therefore, following the custom commenced by the Tetrarchy, the panegyrist glorified the military successes of all the Tetrarchs.

In AD 295, Diocletian was forced to take action in Egypt against the usurper Achilleus⁴⁷; the intervention troops were made up of a great part of the *vexillationes* belonging to the legions from the Lower Danube⁴⁸. The detachments of the legions from Dacia Ripensis, legio XIII Gemina and legio V Macedonica that have been sent there did not return to the Danube, settling in Egypt from this period on⁴⁹.

After the defeat of Achilleus, in AD 297 began the hostilities against *quinquegentiani* from Mauretania⁵⁰, when it became necessary to create another body of troops or to bring up to number those sent in Egypt; the effectives of the Lower Danubian legions were again decreased by the detachment of a few *vexillationes* to Mauretania⁵¹. Moreover, also in AD 297 Galerius had to take action in Mesopotamia which was invaded by the Parthians⁵², a context that called for other intervention troops; on this occasion Eutropius (IX, 25) recorded the fact that new recruitments took place in Illyria and Moesia.

After more than 10 years of war on all fronts, the invasions were pushed back and the usurpations and internal rebellions were eliminated. The Tetrarchy instituted by Emperor Diocletian answered successfully to the necessities it had been created for. Despite the remarkable results, there is no evidence supporting the reestablishment of the Roman domination to the north of the Danube. Probably the extended military operations on several fronts did not offer the necessary time or the possibility of establishing an actual *Dacia restituta*.

III.3. *TERRITORIUM*

In the Late Roman Period the term of *territorium* was no longer used. At least, so far there have not been any epigraphic or literary indications to attest that this term was used in the 4th and 5th century. Actually, we are referring to the area under the jurisdiction of the civilian and military authorities. The term *territorium* included also the territory meant for economical exploitation and the strategic area administrated and defended by a military unit. The latter meaning survived until later on. In support of this hypothesis, we can give another example, questionable in terms of dating. An inscription from Sucidava⁵³ mentioned the *curiales territorii Sucidavensis*. The inscription [D]eae Nemesi, pro salute Aug(ustorum duorum), curial(es) territ(orii) Suc(idavensis) [te]mplum a solo restituerunt⁵⁴ attests to the existence in this period of a *territorium* under the administration of Sucidava. The widest dating of the inscription is placed between mid 3rd century and AD 313, the latter

⁴⁷ Eutropius, IX, 22; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 15.

⁴⁸ A short discussion and the bibliography on the issue, at Zahariade 1988, 69-71.

⁴⁹ NotDignOr, XXVIII, 14-15.

⁵⁰ Eutropius, IX, 22.

⁵¹ For the case of legio XI Claudia and legio II Herculia, see Zahariade 1988, 71-72.

⁵² Eutropius, IX, 24-25.

⁵³ Pârvan 1913a, 61; IGLR 277=IDR II 190, both with bibliography.

⁵⁴ Pârvan 1913a, 61; IGLR 277 = IDR, II, 190.

chronological reference point marking the official recognition of the Christian religion⁵⁵. As an autonomous administrative unit, *territorium Sucidavense* was led by an *ordo* (council), made up of *curriales*, mentioned in the inscription, who were the delegates of the communities and villages within the *territorium Sucidavense*. The debates of the Council were led by a delegation made up of the most important representatives (*quinquennales*). After the construction of the military fortification in Sucidava, the administration of the *territorium* must have been taken over by the local garrison, the commander of the garrison becoming the leader of this *territorium*⁵⁶.

Even if for the 4th century no other *territorium* is attested, in the vicinity of a military fortification must have existed agricultural areas, strategic roads, observation posts for, mining exploitations, practice areas, baths and the auxiliary services of the army. The latter category included manufacturing workshops of armament, military equipment, harness equipment, clothing and shoes. The exploitation of the opportunities offered by the border territories was absolutely necessary as the supplying of the border troops was done with great difficulties because of the large distances and the high costs⁵⁷. From the *territorium* the necessary provisions for the soldiers and animals of that military unit could be assured. This was achieved by exploiting the various resources: forests, pastures, waters, agricultural territories (*prata*). The existence of such *prata* is certified by the literary sources from the area of the Lower Danube; for example Procopius recorded the toponym *Ducepratum*⁵⁸.

If Procopius' information is accurate⁵⁹, in the 6th century, the authorities from Constantinople had been neglecting for years the *limitanei* troops along the border between the Romans and the Persians. In this context, the existence of these *prata* was absolutely necessary so that a fortification could function and be supplied in good conditions. In the case of the border troops and mostly of the ones to the north of the Lower Danube, a serious problem might have been caused by the necessity of finding possibilities to feed the animals. This is the reason why the troops of *limitanei* were frequently given pastures for this purpose⁶⁰.

Moreover, in the vicinity of the fortifications under military protection there were civilian settlements (*canabae*), the population being taxed in money or goods for the supplying of the troops. In a letter directed to the inhabitants of Thracia, Emperor Julian the Apostate agreed to exempt them of half of the taxes owed to the state; the other half was to be paid by the locals to the corresponding military units⁶¹.

Although no military *territorium* was clearly mentioned in the Late Roman Period, this notion may have been called differently. The fact that the area we are referring to was in that period a frontier territory has to be taken into account. The vicinity of the Danube determined the appearance of another frequently used term, that of *ripa*. This term was used both for the part of the limes that had to be supervised and guarded but also for the corresponding territory.

⁵⁵ IGLR 294-295.

⁵⁶ Tudor 1978, 207.

⁵⁷ Jones 1964 II, 651.

⁵⁸ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 5.

⁵⁹ Procopius, *Historia arcana*, XXIV, 12-14.

⁶⁰ Jones 1964, II, 629.

⁶¹ Julian, Letters, 73.

Hence, in Moesia Prima province the notions of *RIPA SING(idunensis)* and *RIP(a) VIM(inancesis)* were used and certified by stamped bricks⁶². In 335, the Danubian sector corresponding to the province Moesia Secunda was called *ripa Gotica*⁶³. Also, at Noviodunum there can be found bricks, stamped with the legend *R(ipa) Σ(cythica)*⁶⁴.

NotDignOr (XXXIX, XL) mentioned in the chapters corresponding to the provinces Moesia Secunda and Scythia, the term of *ripa legionis*. In addition, the *ripa legionis* is divided in *pedatura superior* and *pedatura inferior*. These notions do not appear however on the building material produced by the legions of these provinces. The term *pedatura* had many meanings; usually it signified a measuring or a section of constructed wall (measured). Vegetius (3, 8) presented *pedatura* as a term used for the constructive and administrative activities that were performed by the legions. In our case, the term *pedatura* designated a subdivision of a legion as well as the territory that was administrated and defended by it⁶⁵.

Another technical term similar to *pedatura* is that of *pars/partis*. Even though, it was not mentioned in Notitia Dignitatum, in the sections corresponding to the provinces Scythia, Moesia Secunda, Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Prima, the term *pars* appears on the tegular stamps discovered in the fortifications from the sectors of the latter ones. Strangely, the discovered tegular stamps indicate only *pars superior* and *pars citerior*, the others, *pars inferior* and *pars ulterior*, unattested in any way, being inferred. A very interesting case is that of the province Raetia, where *pars superior*, *pars inferior* and *pars media* are attested⁶⁶. The delimitation of an area belonging to a certain legion did not imply its total separation from the others, the tactical and territorial connections between various military units having been certified on different occasions (the raising and renovation of some constructions, the trade of tegular material, common military operations).

As long as the Danubian borders of the Empire were surpassed in the north, because of the offensive politics from the first decades of the 4th century, it is clear that the river represented for a while only a *limes* not a *finis*⁶⁷. The existence to the north of the Danube of various earthen *valla* used in this period as well as the attesting of a few military garrisons in several "bridgehead" fortifications situated either in the vicinity or at a distance from the stream of the river, demonstrates the fact that some north-Danubian territories could have belonged to the areas supervised by the Roman military units in the Late Period. The importance of these territories must have been equally economic and strategic, both of them being indispensable. In connection with the latter one, in the beginning of the 7th century, Mauricius (XI, 31) recommended in his treaty of warfare, the supply of the troops from the Danube with products from the northern part of the river.

⁶² Pavlović 1972, 62; Benea 1983, 96, 161-162.

⁶³ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 35.

⁶⁴ ISM V 285.

⁶⁵ Zahariade 1988, 74.

⁶⁶ NotDignOcc, XXXV, 17-19.

⁶⁷ A delimitation of the two concepts at Barnea 1997, 163.

III.4. THE CATALOGUE OF THE NORTH-DANUBIAN FORTIFICATIONS (late 3rd century - early 5th century)

*. **Cenad, Timiș County, Romania**

In the period of Roman Dacia (2nd and 3rd centuries), in Cenad functioned "the most important civilian and military settlement between Moesia and Partiscum" (Tudor 1968, 57-58). Its importance was most probably determined by its vicinity with the Mureș River, which in the ancient period used to be an important commercial route.

The theory of the existence of a Late Roman fortification in this location was suggested following the discovery in 1942 of a stamped brick *SISC(ia)* (IGLR 428 A = IDR III/1 277) (fig. 440). The name of the renowned Roman city from Pannonia, stamped on the bricks, indicated the situation from the 4th century (Tudor 1968, 58; IGLR, 428). The brick was found in the ruins of a Roman wall discovered accidentally in the yard and the garden of the Romano-Catholic Parish from Cenad, at a depth of 2 m. Thus, at first sight all the evidence seemed to support the presumed Late Roman fortification (Tudor 1968, 58; this is what we considered initially, acc. to <http://apar.archaeology.ro/bondoc.htm>).

This theory has been, however, questioned by some of the Romanian historians and archaeologists (IDR III/1 247), probably considering the positioning of the settlement, at a significant distance from the fortified line of the Danube. The numismatic discoveries dating from the time of Aurelianus, Probus, Constantine the Great and Constantius II? (Protase 1966, 174) and the Late ceramic discovered during the excavations from 1974 (Iambor, Matei, Bejan 1982, 90) and 1986 (Benea 1996, 240) can become arguments for supporting a Late Roman habitation but not necessarily a military one.

The plan of the feudal fortification Cenad drew up by Count Marsigli (apud Rusu 1979, 56, fig. 7; Iambor 2001, 108, fig. 1) indicated clearly inside the enclosure, a rectangular fortification (fig. 438). If it represents a Roman fortification, we cannot say for sure yet. For three out of the four corners of the construction, watchtowers, protruded out of the enclosure, a structure that is characteristic to a Post-Roman period; in fact, they have been considered (Rusu 1979, 56) to be medieval constructions from the 16th - 17th centuries.

Therefore, the brick with the stamp *SISC(ia)* (Borza 1945, 551-553) mentioned above cannot demonstrate by itself the existence of a Late Roman fortification in Cenad, a hypothesis which without being totally denied, is more of an assumption than a proved fact. The stamped brick could have been brought here as a result of the trade with tegular material.

Pančevo, Serbia

The locality Pančevo lays in the vicinity of the mouth of the river Timiș into the Danube. From a strategic point of view, this settlement was in the Roman Period a north-Danubian "bridgehead" of the large military base from Singidunum, on the southern bank of the Danube. At Singidunum were situated the headquarters of legio III Flavia (NotDignOr, XLI, 30). The Roman traces from the 2nd and 3rd centuries in the perimeter of Pančevo are well known (Đorđević 2007, 98-99). Less known is the fact that in the Late Roman Period, there was built a fortification of the *quadriburgium* type indicated by three sources as it follows.

The map drew up by Gabriel Bodener in 1718 (apud Đorđević 2007, 99) recorded very clearly a square fortification having circular towers in the corners, protruded out of the enclosure (fig. 4). Obviously, it represents a fortification of the *quadriburgium* type.

The same situation is depicted also by the map of the Homan domain (fig. 3) from 1730 (the map was sent to me by Maja Đorđević, many thanks). Both maps document the fact that the foundations of the Roman fortification were superposed and included afterwards in the perimeter of an Austrian fortification of the "Vauban" type, a process that took place in the Modern Age, after the Austrian conquest (Griselini 1780, I, 5).

The plan drafted by Count Marsigli presents the *quadriburgium* from Pančevo (fig. 2) as having a rectangular shape with towers in each corner, protruded out of the enclosure (Marsigli 1726, I, sectio XII, tab. 14; Đorđević 2007, 92) (fig. 1). The fifth tower, similar in shape with the others, is placed approximately in the middle of the eastern side. The perimeter of the fortification contains a series of constructions briefly drafted on the plan; judging after their uniform positioning, we suppose some of them were soldier barracks and others were annex constructions. In the middle of the fortifications, Marsigli left an empty space that suggests the existence of an inner yard.

The slight difference in the shape of the fortification cannot be explained: rectangular (acc. to Marsigli) or square (the maps G. Bodener and Homan). However, the three pieces of information attest without any doubt to the existence in Pančevo of a Late Roman fortification of the *quadriburgium* type. The fortification was also known by B. Milleker (fig. 5) who marked it on his map (the map reproduced also at Đorđević 2007, 107). Presently, the Roman fortification has not been identified yet in the field being overlapped or maybe even destroyed by the Modern constructions. It has been noted that in the times when the Roman walls were still visible they were built out of alternative stone and brick layers (Simu 1924, 39). The ancient name of the fortification remains unknown.

There are no technical details (dating, sizes) of the fortification. A powerful Sarmatian presence could be observed in the area of the settlement (the map of discoveries by Đorđević 1996, 127 fig. 2), a natural fact considering the presence of the Sarmatian tribes in the vicinity. They could have been *foederati*, whose massive intrusion took place most probably after the colonisations ordered by Emperors Constantine the Great and Constantius II (Ammianus Marcellinus XVII, 13, 21-23). On the territory of the locality Pančevo, there have been discovered several golden, silver and bronze coins dating from the period of Constantine the Great and his followers and perhaps Valentinian I (Protase 1966, 176; Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 74, no. 33).

The defence of the fortification could have been assured by a unit of legio IIII Flavia transferred from Singidunum. The presence at Pančevo of troops belonging to this legion is supported by the numerous stamped bricks discovered here (IDR III/1 30). The character of the troops (cavalry?; infantry?; fleet?) is impossible to specify due to the lack of clear information. The tegular material belonging to legio VII Claudia does not prove necessarily its presence in Pančevo but, could be justified through the trade of construction material of some *officina* belonging to this legion.

The aero photographic surveys made possible the identification, in the field, of a Roman road that started from Pančevo and went eastwards, along the Danube (apud Đorđević 1996, 127). In the locality Starčevo, that lays approximately 10 km south-east away from Pančevo,

there have been discovered two hoards of coins and jewellery from the 4th century (Đorđević 2007, 99).

The exact moment when the fortification in Pančevo was removed from function is not known, but if in AD 434 the fortification *Constantia-ContraMargum* (Kubin) was already under the Hunnic domination (see below), then Pančevo could not have represented anymore a military point under the domination of the Roman Empire.

According to an aero-photography, along the Roman road that was heading eastwards from Pančevo, in the sector after Vojlocia on the Topola domain, there were identified two possible defence and signal watchtowers. The distance between them was of about 2 km (Đorđević 1996, 127). It cannot be specified whether this post functioned also in the Late Roman Period.

Constantia-Constantiola-Contra Margum-Castra Augustaflaviensia-Flaviana (Kubin), Serbia

The strategic importance of the fortification from Kubin was given by its geographical location near the mouth of Moravia River (fig. 6). That was why the Roman authorities endowed it with a special attention, a situation proved by its frequent mentioning in the literary sources as well as by the fact that it bore several names. Furthermore, the fact that one of the earthen *valla* that crosses the Banat region from north to south, has its southern end in the vicinity of Kubin (see the trajectory of the earthen *valla* from Banat on the maps elaborated by F. Milleker and I.I. Russu).

The ancient name of the fortification was determined through the comparison of the literary sources: Priscus Panites (FHDR II, 247; NotDignOr, XLI, 2, 13; XLI, 33) and Teofilact Simocata (VII, 10, 3; VIII, 5, 7), the latter one was resumed by Teophanes Confessor (FHDR II, 615). It is worth mentioning the first opinion in the Romanian historiography on the location of the Constantiola in Kubin; it pertained to A.T. Laurian and it was marked up on the map *Tabula Daciae antiquae ad mentem veterum scriptorium delineate* (the Bucharest edition from 1986).

As its name clearly implies, this military point *Contra Margum*, must have been placed north of the Danube, across the ancient settlement Margum (Orasje), where it used to represent a "bridgehead" somewhere in the area of the Kubin locality today (TIR, L, 34, 71). The term *contramargum* reflects thus, both the vicinity and the opposition of the two settlements, related to the Danube River (*Contra Margum* = *Margum* beyond the river). In Margum, there was a garrison *auxilium Margense* (NotDignOr, XLI, 24) and a *praefectus classis Stradensis et Germensis* (NotDignOr, XLI, 39).

In the absence of any systematic archaeological excavations, the old maps and the accidental discoveries have a major importance. The plan drew up by Marsigli (fig. 7) presents in Kubin a complex of two fortifications: the first one triangular and the second one in a square shape (Marsigli 1726, tab. 5 fig. XII).

On the other hand, a military map of Kubin from 1788, called *Pan. Des_bey Kubin den 17^{ten} und 18^{ten} august 1788 genomnen Lagern* (the map was accessed by the grace of Mrs. Maja Đorđević, many thanks), indicates quite clearly the foundation of a construction of an almost triangular shape (fig. 8). The comparison between the two maps has raised the issue of

the localization of a triangular fortification somewhere in the centre of modern Kuvin (Đorđević 1996, 128 sqq.).

The little information has generated various assumptions. The presence of two constructions as presented quite clearly on Marsigli's plan suggests the existence of two different fortifications, maybe even two different construction phases; however the two buildings were connected by a small hall, noted on the Marsigli's plan with the letter b. The possibility for one of the fortifications to have been dating from the Middle Ages is excluded as Marsigli's plan has the direct specification "*Csovina, Antiquit. Rom*" (see also Đorđević 2007, 92-93).

The triangular fortification was placed by Marsigli to the west of the square one. It did not have corner towers or perhaps Marsigli failed to notice them. On the eastern side of the plan, the scholar drew up a curve that could indicate a median tower on this part of the enclosure. In the southern part from the curve, one can notice that the wall is interrupted on a small segment, where probably used to be the gate of the fortification. The triangular type of fortifications was specific, in general, to the 6th century (Anonymus Byzantinus, *non vidi*, apud Milošević 1996, 251). Fortifications of similar shapes were built in Bosman and on Insula Banului in the 6th century. However, the literary sources indicate without any doubt a Late Roman fortification at Kuvin dating from the 4th century.

Considering the information exposed above, the plan drew up by Count Marsigli and the fortification with a similar plan from Insula Banului (see below no. 18), one can suggest the following chronological separation. In the Late Roman Period in Kuvin lay a square shaped fortification, having an enclosure that was integrated later on, in the 6th century, in a larger triangular one.

It is possible that the the old Roman foundations have been also used in the Middle Ages (for the Medieval fortification from Kuvin, see Iambor 2002, 121). On the southern side, inside the wall, a square construction was drafted (noted by Marsigli with the letter c), which seems different from the rest of the fortification, its signification has not been determined yet; it could be a Medieval tower (?).

Unfortunately, the traces of the Roman fortifications have not been preserved and it is possible that they were destroyed by the Modern constructions. Another explanation would be that the old Roman foundations were destroyed along with the demolishing of the Medieval fortification following the Austro-Turkish peace from Beograd in AD 1739, afterwards the ruins being flooded by the Danube (Iambor 2002, 121). However, in the area of Kuvin, in the Grad point, there are the ruins of a medieval fortification, where the archaeological excavations revealed an occupation level containing Late Roman ceramics, but without any traces of construction (Đorđević 2007, 93). On this area several coins have been discovered, issued by the emperors: Probus, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Valentinian I and Valentinian II (Protase 1966, 175; Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 72, no. 23). Other traces (ceramic, stamped bricks, a ceramic lamp, an iron plough) of rural settlements have been discovered in several parts of Kuvin (Benea 1996, 268-269).

Another issue has been raised by the existence of no less than five ancient names for the Kuvin fortification: *Constantia*, *Constantiola*, *Contra Margum*, *Castra Augustaflaviensia* and *Flaviana*. This could suggest that after it was first built, the fortification was renovated several times, when it received different names. There is also the possibility for the names to

signify several military points nearby that could have bore different names. This situation generated the hypothesis of the existence of several military posts in the vicinity of Kuvin, perhaps at Manastirište, Ostrovo, Beli breg, Košica breg (Đorđević 1996, 129-130). The catalogue of the Late Roman fortifications from Banat, elaborated two decades ago by N. Gudea, contains distinctively the fortifications Flaviania, Contra Margum- castrum Augustoflavianensis and Constantia-Kuvin (Gudea 1982, 106).

Concerning the date when the fortification was built there are several points of view. The name *Constantia* indicates an emperor from the dynasty of Constantine the Great. Therefore this could be a construction dated in the time of Constantine the Great, built perhaps in the memory of his father, Constantius I Chlorus (Benea 1983, 193). According to other opinions the fortification could have been built by Constantius II (Barnea 1990, 78), and this event could have happened after the defeat of the Sarmatians between AD 358-359. Moreover, Constantine's step-sister was named Constantia and she was the daughter of Chlorus and Theodora. The names *Augustaflaviensia* and mostly *Flaviania* refer to Constantine the Great (see Zahariade 1988, 121-122 for the case of the Flaviania fortification from Scythia mentioned in NotDign, 39, 20) or maybe to one of his sons.

Actually, as it was the case of the fortification from Sapaja Island (see below, no. 3), the fortification of Kuvin was raised following the permanent threat of the Iazyges Sarmatians. The connection with the Margum fortification on the southern bank of the Danube can be easily noticed considering the fact that Margum was one of the headquarters of the fleet (NotDignOr, XLI, 39). The brick with the stamp *[C]ASTRA FLA(viensia)* discovered at Tricornium / Ritopek (Vulić 1933, 30; Benea 1983, 192) demonstrates the fact that the fortification possessed a military *officina*. The end of the Roman domination at Kuvin could have been caused by the Huns: in AD 434, the Roman mission, one of the messengers being Pricus Panites, found the Huns *across the fortification Constantia*, so they were rulers over the Banat region, to the north of the Danube (Priscus Panites, apud FHDR II, 247-249).

It seems that Kuvin would have been a part the military territory of legio III Flavia, as earlier epigraphic materials prove (Marsigli 1726, II, pl. 51; IDR III/1 1; CIL III 1653 = 8143; Benea 1983, 155). The presence of the stamped material of legio VII Claudia (IDR III/1 32), is a result of the brick trade or can be explained by the possible participation of the legion to the construction or the consolidation of the fortification.

Later on, an infantry unit was quartered in the fortification, for which there is no clear reference regarding its name and specificity: *praefectus militum....., contra Margum in castris Augustoflavianensibus* (NotDignOr, XLI, 33). Most probably, the unit was a part of the detachments of legio III Flavia and it was established in the period of Constatine the Great, as the majority of the *milites* troops (Zahariade 1988, 85). It could have been a unit of *exploratores* (Benea 1983, 193 and 196) supervising the barbarians to the north of the Danube.

From another perspective, because the fortification of Kuvin used to be called also Augusta Flaviania, as presented in the literary and epigraphic sources (see above), then another observation has to be made. It is important to mention that NotDignOr, at the position XLI, 13, notes a *cuneus equitum promotorum, Flaviania*. This is a cavalry troop dated as other *cunei*, at the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Great (Zahariade 1988, 77). Another interesting detail is its attribute, that of *promotorum*, which suggests a promotion in rank.

Considering the fact that both units were mentioned in Notitia Dignitatum, their existence lasted towards AD 395 when this document was revised (Zahariade 1988, 26-27), maybe even later. It is not clear whether the unit of *militēs* was settled in the fortification in the same time with that of the *cuneus* type.

In the 6th century, the fortification was recorded by Teofilact Simocata under the name of *Constantiola* (Teofilact Simocata VII, 10, 3; VIII, 5, 7).

Manastirište, Serbia

The locality bearing this name is situated to the east of Kuvin. Based on the numerous Roman bricks discovered here, some of them bearing the stamp of legio VII Claudia, F. Milleker assumed that this was the location of the Augustaflaviensia Roman fort (apud Đorđević 1996, 129) mentioned by NotDignOr, (XLI, 33). This identification has not been supported by clear evidence yet but it cannot be totally rejected. Either way, what is important to remember is the existence of a military Roman post at Manastirište.

2.2. Ostrovo, Serbia

Ostrovo is a small island in the middle of the Danube, across the locality Kuvin. The discoveries here of bricks and other Roman objects attest to the existence of a Roman military point on the island (Đorđević 1996, 129-130). Moreover, the positioning of the island almost across the ancient settlement Margum, approximately half the distance between Margum and Viminacium, made Maja Đorđević consider that the term *contra* is very appropriate (Đorđević 1996, 129-130), suggesting a possible identification with the Contra Margum fortification (a similar opinion at B. Milleker). A bronze coin discovered here comes from Crispus (Protase 1966, 176 note 528; Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 74 no. 31).

2.3. Košica breg, Serbia

The localization of a military point in this locality is based on the discovery of numerous bricks and fragments of Roman ceramics as well as on the configuration of the land that seems to indicate a fortified object of a square shape (Đorđević 1996, 130). At 100 m northwards from the locality, there were identified the traces of the Roman road that began in Pančevo heading towards east, and making the connection between the Roman north-Danubian fortifications on the river sector in Banat area.

2.4. Dubovac, Serbia

On the bank of the Danube, across this locality, there were spotted ruins of Roman brick walls, some of the bricks bearing military stamps (Đorđević 1996a, 28). The settlement is located to the north of the Danube, not far to the west of Banatska-Palanka.

In the area of the locality, the traces of a Roman ditch are still visible (Đorđević 2007, 92). Among other discoveries we can mention: a hoard of bronze coins from the 4th century (Protase 1966, 174 note 509; Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 67); cross-shaped pendants (Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 176, no. 4).

Sapaja Island, Serbia

A Late Roman fortification of the *quadriburgium* type was built on this island in the Late Roman Period (fig. 16); at present it is under the waters of the Danube. Its dimensions are 92.5 x 92 x 93 x 92 m (the inner dimensions: 88.5 x 88 x 89 x 89 m). The sides of the fortification are oriented to the direction of the cardinal points and the corner towers are square shaped (6.20 x 6.20 m). After the renovation from the 6th century, the towers became of a round shape (fig. 17), a situation recorded by Count Marsigli who was the first to draw up the plan of the fortification (fig. 14).

Excavated systematically between 1967-1970 (the results have been published by Dimitrijević 1984, 29-62; Vasić, Kondić 1983, 551-553; Đorđević 1996, 130), the fortification presented stone walls alternated by brick layers for better levelling. On the eastern, western and southern sides of the fortifications, three median rectangular towers could be observed.

The yard of the fortification was paved with a layer of mortar. In the eastern, southern and western sectors (the northern one could not be studied), parallel to the enclosure, there were observed layers of pillars that sustained open porches. Here, there have been discovered coins from the 4th century from Crispus and Constantine the Great. Taking into account the way they were structured, these constructions resemble the ones spotted in other fortifications as well (Hinova, Sucidava). They were mainly barracks for the soldiers in the garrison. One cannot exclude the possibility for these constructions to have sheltered also military ammunition and equipment, deposits etc.

The exceptional importance of the fortification consists in its location in the vicinity of the mouths of the rivers Nera and Caraş (fig. 11-12). Strategically, from here it was easy to observe the possible barbarian invasions through the valleys of these rivers. However, it is questionable whether the fortification garrison could have confronted a barbarian invasion coming from the north of the Caraş or Nerva rivers. The sizes of the fortification did not allow a significantly numerous garrison, therefore the main utility of Sapaja fortification seems to have remained the securing of the navigation on the Danube.

Supported on the southern bank by the fortification from Lederata-Ram and on the northern one by the outpost in Banatska-Palanka / Stara Palanka, the Late Roman fortification on Sapaja Island completed one of the most fortified passing points of the Danube in this sector. This used to be an old crossing point over the Danube from the period of Trajan's wars against the Dacians (Trajan, *Dacica*, I, apud Priscianus VI, 13), used also in the Late Roman Period (Tabula Peutingeriana VII, 2).

Count Marsigli could not fail to notice a point of such importance which he recorded on his maps as mentioned above (fig. 14). Also, Count Francisc Mercy's map (fig. 13) from 1716 (Dimitrijević 1984, 31), and the map of the Homan domains from 1730 (fig. 15), present the fortification as having round corner towers, surrounded by a ditch with a defence *vallum*.

At the current stage of research we can assume that the fortification from Sapaja Island was built in the period of Emperor Diocletian (Gudea 1972, 175, no. 1; Gudea 1982, 107, no. 13) or Emperor Constantine the Great. It has also been stated that the fortification could have been built after the victories from AD 322 or AD 323 against the Sarmatians (Dimitrijević 1984, 61). The Sarmatian discoveries can be attributed to mercenaries (*foederati*) from the garrison of the fortification. The Late Roman coins discovered in Sapaja had been issued by

the emperors Aurelianus, Probus, Maximian Herculeus, Galerius, Constantine the Great, Crispus, Constantin II, Constans, Constantius II, Julian the Apostate, Constantius Gallus, Valentinian I, Valens and ended in a first stage during Emperor Gratianus (Dimitrijević 1984, 58). The brick bearing the stamp *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior)* (IDR III/1 38) discovered here, could be dated at the end of the 3rd century, immediately after Diocletian's military reforms, when the legions were divided into two *partes*. The moment when the fortification lost its functional character is debatable.

The tragic events after AD 378-379 had consequences for the monetary circulation on Sapaja Island, a fact noticed during the archaeological excavations. In a first phase, the monetary circulation was interrupted, in the period of Emperor Gratianus (Dimitrijević 1984, 58), a fact suggesting that the Huns were the first to destroy the fortification, at the beginning of the 5th century (Dimitrijević 1984, 56; Benea 1996, 73). The fortification from Sapaja Island was rebuilt later on, during Emperor Justinian's reign.

The identification of the ancient name of the fortification is an issue that has been approached mostly by the Serbian researchers. Two significant opinions are worth mentioning, the first one elaborated by Danica Dimitrijević who has identified the fortification from Sapaja Island with Laederata-Litterata (Dimitrijević 1984, 59-62). The second one belongs to Alexandru Jovanović who, in search of the same Laederata, has considered that the fortification from Sapaja Island used to be called Nova Laederata (Jovanović 1996, 69-72; Đorđević 1996a, 41); hence, it could be explained why Procopius (IV, 6, 3-5) placed the Laederata fortification across a fortification called Novae. Although interesting, the conclusions of the Serbian researchers cannot be definite because of the lack of information, hence the problem of the ancient name of the fortification on Sapaja Island is still an issue open for discussions (for the Laederata- Litterata fortifications, see below the catalogue of the fortifications from the end of the 5th century to the 6th century).

In the fortification, there have been found stamped bricks of legio VII Claudia (fig. 18), which represent proves for the idea that, from a military point of view, the fortification depended on the centre in Viminacium. As we already specified, the brick with the stamp *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior)* (IDR III/1 38) could be dated in the period of the military reforms of Emperor Diocletian, after the division of the legions into two *partes*.

Other two stamps could be dated after the military reforms of Emperor Constantine the Great: [*LEG(io)*] *VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) EVF(emi) P(raefecti) F(ecit) BESSIO* (IDR III/1 9 = CIL III 8275, 5.) (fig. 19) and *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) AVR(eli)* (Benea 1996, 73; Dimitrijević 1984, 54 note 66) (fig 18).

Eufemus was a *praefectus* of the legion while the job of Aurelius was not specified; he could have been a *praepositus*. The military garrison from Sapaja was built most probably by the infantry and the soldiers belonging to the fleet on the Danube. The equestrian character of the troops could be excluded from the start, considering the fact that on an island there is no point in having a garrison made up of equestrians.

Some of the archaeological discoveries, fewer in number, are of a Germanic origin and there has been assumed that a group of Ostrogoths might have lived in the fortification after the Hunnic destruction (Dimitrijević 1984, 50). We are referring here to a belt buckle (fig. 23) that could have belonged to a cultural area of the Gepidae (for analogies see Germanen,

Hunen und Awaren 1988, 221. fig. V). It could also indicate the presence of some German mercenaries in the garrison of Sapaja fort.

Banatska (Stara) Palanka, Serbia

The hypothetical Roman fortification from the territory of this locality has not been discovered in the field yet (IDR III/1 34). Even though, at the end of the 19th century its traces were spotted by L. Böhm and F. Milleker (apud Antonescu 1910, 75 notes 1-2). Unfortunately, we do not have new information; at present, on the territory of the locality no serious Roman traces can be seen (information Maja Đorđević).

However, the existence of the fortification is attested by several discoveries (TIR, L 34, 33; IDR III/1 36-39; Gudea 1997, 25, no. 6; Gudea 2001, 57-58), at least from the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The term of "Palanka" was used to designate a fortification, a place fortified with a *vallum* and defence ditch (Griselini 1780, I, 4). The discovered coins dating from Late Roman Period had been issued by the emperors Diocletian, Licinius Senior and Junior, Constantine the Great, Constantius II, Constans, Constantius Gallus (?), Valentinian I, Gratian, Valentinian II, Arcadius and Theodosius II (Protase 1966, 171 note 492; Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 66 no. 1, 4 and 70). Another interesting finding was that of a Christian lamp made of clay, having a disk ornamented with a fish (Protase 2000, 209 no. 304).

Banatska-Palanka was the north-Danubian "bridgehead" of an old Roman route having commercial and military purposes (Trajan, *Dacica*, I, apud Priscianus, *Institutiones grammaticae*, VI, 13; *Tabula Peutingeriana*, VII, 2). In his dissertation upon the localization of Laederata, Al. Jovanović considered that the fortification from Banatska-Palanka used to be called Translaederata (Jovanović 1996, 69-72).

Belonging to the Late Roman Period, the brick with the stamp *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(sub) C(ura) ADVENTINI P(rae)F(ecti)* (IDR III/1 8) indicates the presence of a detachment of legio VII Claudia in this fortification (fig. 24). Adventinus was one of the *praefecti* of the legion. The brick can be dated most probably in the period following the reforms of Constantine the Great.

*

Concerning the military troops dislocated in this region, the following observation has to be made. On the southern bank of the Danube, across the fortifications from Banatska-Palanka and that from Sapaja Island, there lay the fortification from Ram; here, in the Late Roman Period, NotDignOr (XLI, 17, 36) recorded two units: *cuneus equitum sagittariorum Laedenatae* and *praefectus militum Vincentiensium Laedemata*. Taking into consideration the fact that the late fortification from Ram is quite small (60 x 50m, acc. to. Jovanović 1996, 70), the quartering here of the two military units previously mentioned by the NotDignOr is impossible to accept. In this case one should take into consideration the possibility that those troops could have been distributed in other military sites nearby, as Sapaja Island and Banatska-Palanka.

Vršac, Serbia

The Roman archaeological sites from the territory of Vršac locality are most probably covered by modern buildings, and the latest archaeological excavations in the place Vršacka Kula have not revealed any Roman foundations (Đorđević 1996, 132). However, earlier

accidental discoveries attest to the existence of a Roman military site (TIR, L 34, 121; Đorđević 1996a, 38), perhaps used also in the Late Roman Period.

On the area of the locality, there have been found two military inscriptions dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries (IDR III/1 106-107 = CIL III 6273-6274) and several stamps belonging to legio VII Claudia and legio XIII Gemina (IDR III/1 126-127). From this point of view, the existence of a Roman fort in Vršac in the 2nd and 3rd centuries is certain (Daicovicu 1939-1942, 106; IDR III/1 124; Mărghitan 1980, 7; Gudea 1997, 28 no. 10). In 1888, in the public garden of the town, there were found the Roman foundations of the fort (Simu 1924, 33). We do not know the ancient name of the settlement; it has been considered (Simu 1924, 33) that in the Ancient Period, Vršac locality bore the name *Cannonia*, a toponym attested together with Arcidava, in the Cosmography of the Anonymous from Ravenna.

To the discoveries presented above, there can be added a few significant evidence coming from the Late Roman Period, as it follows. On the first place, we will mention the six monetary hoards found in this area dating from the period of the Constantine the Great and his sons (Đorđević 1996, 132; Đorđević 2007, 107). As a proof for the spreading of Christianity to the north of the Danube, a white metal cross is worth mentioning, that was found on the territory of the locality, presenting an orifice used for hanging (Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 176 no. 5).

Of great importance is also the fact that the town Vršac lays on the opposite side of one of the earthen *valla* (the eastern one) that crosses the Banat region from north to south (Garam et al. 2003, 125 karte A).

In its proximity, there was also recorded a watchtower, raised somewhere on a height (Simu 1924, 15); perhaps this observation point could be found to the east of Vršac, where a hill called "Măgura Vârșeț" is located, near the Serbian- Romanian border.

In the vicinity of Vršac, at Vatin, an exceptional archaeological discovery has been made, representing a golden bracelet inscribed both outside and inside (IDR III/1 108 = CIL III, 14496, 4). The inscription on the outer side contains the name of Emperor Constans, while, on the inner side, there is written the word Matgog(os) in Greek, most probably a Sarmatian *foederat* (?) military commander. This is obviously a jewel given by the Romans to this Sarmatian. The bracelet is dated in the 4th century, most probably within 338-339, after the victory of Emperor Constans against the Sarmatians. In fact, the number of Sarmatian discoveries on the territory of Vršac is considerable (Đorđević 1996, 132).

The discovery of the bricks with the stamp of legio VII Claudia proves that the Roman fortification from Vršac was placed in the territory supervised by this military unit. One of the stamps indicates the name of a *praepositus*: *LEG(ionis) VII CLAVDI(a)E S(sub) C(ura) MVCATR(a)E PR(ae)P(ositi)* (IDR III/1 127); it could be dated in the period following Emperor Constantine's military reforms.

The dependency on the military centre from Viminacium is demonstrated by another stamped brick found at Vršac (fig. 27-28), naming clearly the military centre: *III VIMINACE* (IDR III/1 126-127, fig. 85). This stamp attests to the existence of a military unit (the 3rd cohort) which came from Viminacium, most probably in the second half of the 4th century.

*** *Tibiscum* (Jupa, Caraş-Severin County, Romania)**

The integration of this settlement in the present catalogue is purely hypothetical. From the published archaeological discoveries it is not very clear whether the renowned military fort from the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Benea, Bona 1994, 31-60) was used in the Late Roman Period by a military unit (Protase 2000, 10).

In 1925, in the vicinity of the Roman fort, a great hoard was found, containing a number of 971 bronze coins, most of them issued during the reign of Emperor Constantius II (Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 5-14). Very significant is the fact that the last issued coin belongs to the reign of Valentinianus. Other discoveries consist in Late Roman ceramics, ceramic lamps, a pottery kiln, tiles, gutter tiles, beans from a glasswork (Benea 1996, 98-104).

If the old fort was also reused in the Late Roman Period for military purposes, it remains to be seen. Due to its location, at a significant distance away from the fortified line of the Danube, the fort could have been probably used by civilian population.

Pojejena, Caraş-Severin County, Romania

The Roman fort from Pojejena was recorded for the first time by Count Marsigli (fig. 29) under the name of *Bosisiena* (Marsigli 1926, II, tab. 5 fig. 15). This fortification is however well-known (fig. 30) through the archaeological excavations conducted here (last at Gudea 2001, 59-61). For the period of the Roman Dacia, the situation is clear: this was a Roman auxiliary fort (185 x 148m) built out of stone. Its walls were built in the *opus incertum* technique and have a thick foundation of 1.5 m. The fort was surrounded by a defence ditch, 9 m wide and 2.50 m deep (Gudea, Uzun 1973, 87).

There has been considered, based on the tegular material found here, that at Pojejena, there was a military unit in the Late Roman Period. This consists of stamped bricks, found in the perimeter of the fort and dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The most interesting stamped bricks are those of legio VII Claudia (CIL III 8071, f-g and 14496; IDR III/1 49-50), thus proving the functional character of the military unit from Pojejena in the Late Roman Period (fig. 31-33). There are also stamped bricks of legio IV Flavia (CIL III 8070 d; IDR III/1 49), which are probably older or come from the trade of tegular material. It is also important to mention the intensive monetary circulation and a hoard of bronze coins, issued from the time of Constantine the Great to Julian the Apostate (Protase 1966, 176; Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 69 no. 15 and 74 no. 36; Benea 1996, 74).

In the Late Roman Period, the old Roman fort was reused. Being well preserved, the construction of a new fortification was not necessary. The discovery of the stamped bricks in the ruins of the fort (Gudea, Uzun 1973, 94) supports this hypothesis.

It has been asserted (Tudor et al. 1965, 400) that the purpose of the Roman fort from Pojejena was both to assure the security of the traffic on the Danube before entering the Clisura area, and also to control the access to the river from the nearby valleys. Its location on a high terrace of the Danube allowed it to carry these duties. In present the plateau where the construction was raised is covered by agricultural cultivations. The ancient name of the settlement is still unknown.

In fact, the issue raised by N. Gudea concerning the utility of the Roman fort from Pojejena in the period of the Dacia Province between the 2nd and 3rd centuries is logical (Gudea 1975, 340). Strategically, the building of a Roman military fortification in Pojejena

would have been better justified in the Late Roman as a north-Danubian connection to the *Pincum* fortification (Veliko Grădiște), the latter being military dependant on *Cuppae* (Golubac). Most probably, the security of the navigation on the Danube was the main purpose of the fort from Pojejena.

On the military effectives detached to this area, the *Notitia Dignitatum* gives the impression of important concentration of troops. Hence, in *Pincum* there were two *cunei*: *cuneus equitum Constantiacorum* (NotDignOr, XLI, 12) and *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* (NotDignOr, XLI, 18); and in *Cuppae* another *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* (NotDignOr, XLI, 19), an *auxilium Cuppense* (NotDignOr, XLI, 19) and a *praefectus legionis septimae Claudiaae* (NotDignOr, XLI, 32).

The epigraphic evidence suggests that the military site from Pojejena was under the protection of legio VII Claudia (IDR III/1 49-50). The stamped bricks with the legend *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) C(uppis)* (CIL III 14496, 2 = 8071f; Tudor 1958, 373- 378; IDR III/1 22, 22a = IGLR 427), one having a sketched bird (fig. 33), demonstrate the fact that a detachment of the legion from *Cuppae* (Golubač) was forted in Pojejena in the Late Roman Period, most probably during the reign of Constantine the Great.

Moldova Nouă-Moldova Veche, Caraș-Severin County, Romania

Considering the insufficient published information on the localities Moldova Nouă and Moldova Veche, it is very difficult to present systematically the Roman archaeological site located here. In order to tackle this topic I have made reference to older papers dating from the end of the 18th century or from the period between the two world wars and I have also gone on a field survey in this region.

The epigraphic (IDR III/1 26-28 = AE 1959, 107, 307) and tegular material (IDR III/1 55 = CIL III 8074, 15 b, 29 a) discovered here, suggests the existence of several Roman military posts (TIR, L 34, 81) in the region. On the map of the Banat region drawn up by B. Milleker, *Del-Magyarország leletterkepe* there is only one toponym Moldova where he marked two Roman fortifications (fig. 34).

Moldova Nouă and Moldova Veche lie at a distance of 4 km from one another. The strategic importance of the area must have grown significantly after the withdrawal of the Romans from Dacia.

The necessity of a Roman military base at Moldova Nouă could be related to the existence of iron and copper mines (Benea 1996, 74-75; Bozu 2008, 14-15) which were functioning in its vicinity. F. Grisellini registered such mines at Sasca, Moldova, Moldova Nouă (Boșneac) and in the Bezedin Mountains (Grisellini 1780, I, 9; II, 8-9). In 1850, in a deserted mine from Moldova Nouă, there were discovered Roman ceramic lamps and fragments of mining equipment (Simu 1924, 50).

Taking into account the proximity of the Danube, we must consider the existence of a harbour facility. Also, in the perimeter of the locality other Roman discoveries have been made (Tudor 1968, 66).

The scarce published information point to the fact that at Moldova Veche there was a Roman fort, with a surface of 3,414 m², with walls of 1.5 m thick and with inner buildings (*non vidi*, apud Simu 1924, 50; Moisil 1938, 183; on the contrary Tudor 1968, 66; Protase

2000, 237, no. 428). I. Glodariu (in Glodariu 2000, 93) mentioned a stone square-shaped fortification with round corners and without towers.

A hoard discovered in the region (Mitrea 1971, 409) contains coin emissions to the time of Emperor Julian the Apostate. Whether this moment signifies a political and military event or comes as a result of a less intense monetary circulation in the entire Roman Empire it is hard to determine (Gudea, Ardevan, Toma 1997, 84).

The traces of the fortification (D. Tudor et al. 1965, 400-401; Macrea 1969, 229) could be located somewhere under the modern constructions by the port area (Gudea 1982, 107 no. 19). In this area, there have been discovered several stamped bricks (CIL III 8074, 15b, 29a; IDR III/1 55). For the topic in discussion, it is very important to add that, besides the hoards from the 4th century (four hoards at Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 68, no. 11-12) there have been discovered numerous isolated coins.

The numerous discoveries of coins from the 4th century, from this area (Protase 2000, 236-237) and generally in the entire Banat region (Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 66-75; Benea 1996, 301-302) have led to the conclusion that the region of Banat was under Roman rule during this period. Comparing the monetary discoveries dating from the Late Roman Period found in the neighbouring provinces to those in Banat and taking into account the context of a strictly controlled commerce at the frontier, it becomes obvious that Banat region was under Roman rule in the Late Period. If we take into account also the rather important number of fortifications and settlements in this region, then Banat represents more than a "bridgehead" area of the Empire.

A Late Roman settlement has been spotted, and partially excavated, in Moldova Veche, in the *Vinograda-Vlaskicrai* point (Bozu, El Susi 1987, 239-269). At present this archaeological site is under the waters of the Danube because of the rise of the water level produced by the construction of the hydroelectric power plant in The Iron Gates. Despite the fact that it is a civilian settlement, within its perimeter, military objects have been discovered: fragments of *lorica*, spear-heads, pike-heads and arrow-heads, buckles, fibulae, etc. (fig. 36-45). At a distance of approx. 500 m from the locality, a hoard of coins from the 4th century was discovered (Benea 1996, 272).

In Moldova Veche another hoard, of 4,121 bronze coins, was discovered, with the last coin emissions dating from AD 361 (Comori/Tresors 1978, 176); moreover, on the bank of the Danube a ceramic vessel was found having inside a fibula (fig. 41) with "onion-shaped" head (Benea 1996, 272).

Pescari, Caraş-Severin County, Romania

In the area of this locality, Roman and Late Roman coins from the time of Diocletian, Constantius II, Constantius Gallus and Valentinian I have been found (Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 74 no. 35) as well as traces of a (Late?) Roman watch tower, in the place called *Culă* (Gudea 2003, 173). No other details have been published.

Gornea, Sichevița Village, Caraş-Severin County, Romania

A fortification of the *quadriburgium* type (fig. 46) situated 6 km westward of this locality, on the northern bank of the Danube, in the place called *Cetate* or *Căunița de Sus*, was systematically excavated between 1968-1970 (Gudea 1977a, 42-58). At present the traces of

the fortification are totally under the waters of the Danube. This represented a north-Danubian outpost of the fortification *Novae* (Čezava) and it was square-shaped with the sides of 41.50 m, in the direction of the cardinal points. The walls were built of stone alternating with brick layers for levelling. The walls are not uniformly thick all along the line: 1.30 m, 1.50 m or 1.70 m. The foundation was made of stone and mortar and it was of 1.80 – 2.10 m thick. The corner towers were square-shaped (9.20 x 9.20 m), protruded out of the enclosure (fig. 48), a structure characteristic to the *quadriburgium* fortifications. Both the ground floor and the higher floors of the towers used to be inhabited. The gate was identified on the southern side of the fortification and had an aperture of 5.55 m being flanked by two rectangular bastions (9.05 x 3.65 m). The bastions of the gate were also inhabited.

Excepting the corner towers and the bastions of the gate, only the area along the walls was meant for dwelling (Gudea 1977a, 57). The positioning of dwellings along the walls protected them against presumable artillery attacks. The estimated sizes of the dwellings were of about 3.50 x 3.10 m. Their walls were made of adobe bricks with the base of 0.40 m wide. There have not been found traces of habitation in most part of the inner yard. We are referring to a surface of 1,089 m² out of 1,826 m², the total surface of the enclosure of the fortification. A layer of stones found in the centre of the fortification indicated some sort of a pavement. It is possible for this space to have been an interior yard as it doesn't present any traces of dwelling. In case of emergency this area could have been used for military tents and shelters for the animals.

The fortification was built on a promontory on the line of the Danube, which allowed the supervision of a large sector to Drencova eastwards (10 km) and to Liuborajdea westwards (3-5 km). Outside the walls of the fortification there have not been found any defence works. The archaeological inventory here consists of ceramic, weapons (fig. 49), tools, coins, bricks and tiles, etc. The moment when the fortification was built has been placed in the period of Emperor Diocletian, most probably between AD 294 and 300 (Gudea 1977a, 68-69). However, strangely enough, no coins dating from this period have been found in the perimeter of the fortification. This led to other opinions that place the construction of the fortification during the reign of Constantine the Great (Benea 1996, 78); this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the monetary circulation began in this period. There have been no debates concerning the moment of the destruction of the fortification, this happened at the end of the 4th century during the turbulences produced by the raids of the Goths and their allies after AD 378. A small hoard with bronze coins discovered in the perimeter of the locality contains coins from Constantius II, Constantius Gallus, Julian and Valentinian I (Protase 1966). The monetary circulation in the fortification had its ending moment during Emperor Arcadius; the last coin is dated from AD 392 (Gudea 1977a, 62).

The archaeological excavations have led to the discovery of several epigraphic materials, out of which the most interesting for the present subject are the following stamped bricks (for all see IGLR 424-426; Gudea 1977a, 88-89; IDR III/1 59-60):

- *Leg(io) VII CL(audia)*;
- *S(ub) C(ura) BVBALI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(ionis) VII CL(audiae) MVIT* (fig. 51);
- *EQ(uites) SAGI(ttarii) S(ub) C(ura) ITALICI [P(rae)P(ositi) R(ipae)]* (fig. 52);
- *DA(ciae) R(i)P(ensis)*.

Some other stamped bricks of legio VII Claudia come from the civilian settlement lying nearby (Gudea 1977a, 31-32). It is a clear fact that a *vexillatio* belonging to legio VII Claudia was fortified in Gornea in the Late Roman Period, under the command of a *praepositus* called *Bubalus*. We cannot find any explanations for the group of letters *MVIT* placed at the end of the legend on some of the stamped tiles; they could be a part of a toponym.

Other debates have been raised by the unit of *eq(uites) sagi(ttarii)* led by *Italicus*. This unit seems to belong to the cavalry army created at some point by Gallienus and disbanded later on by Diocletian, the resulting sub-units being afterwards dispersed at the borders (Gudea 1977a, 64-65). Its presence at Gornea was placed in different periods: in the period after Diocletian's military reforms, more precisely between AD 294 and 300 (IGLR 424), before the reforms of Constantine the Great, meaning the period between the end of the 3rd century and the 3rd and 4th decades of the 4th century (Gudea 1977a, 64), or in the second half of the 4th century (Benea 1983, 99). The brick with cursive inscription (fig. 55-56) discovered in the south-eastern tower of the fortification (Gudea, Dragomir 1975, 99-121; IGLR 425; Gudea 1983, 91-109), was attributed to the soldiers from this unit (IGLR 370). Being a cavalry unit, an interesting issue is the localization of the horse stables which have not been identified. Considering the fact that on a large area inside the fortification, there have not been found traces of dwelling it could be assumed that the animals were sheltered here.

The two units attested epigraphically in the fortification were identified in the list of the troops presented in *Notitia Dignitatum*. This is because at the time when *Notitia* was revised (app. 395 AD), at Gornea there was no Roman military fort. Taking into account the small sizes of the fortification one can assume that the stationing of the two units at Gornea could not have been done simultaneously. There can be noticed that in the fortification of *Novae*, on the southern bank of the Danube, across Gornea, *Notitia Dignitatum* recorded an *auxiliares Novenses* (NotDignOr, XLI, 23) and a *praefectus militum exploratorum* (NotDignOr, XLI, 34).

Finally, the military stamps with the legend *DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis)* from the second half of the 4th century, attest to the existence of a territorial unit whose name cannot be specified. In this case, we are dealing either with a result of regular trade, or with a collaboration with the troops from the neighbouring province of *Dacia Ripensis*.

Further details about the troops stationed in Gornea can be determined by studying the three pieces of artillery discovered in the perimeter of the fortification (Gudea, Baatz 1974, 50-72; Gudea 1977, 47-60; Gudea 1977a, 82-83; Gudea 1978, 69-75; Bondoc 2002, 641, no. 1). There are three cylindrical pieces of iron (*kambestria*); the longest one is of 14.7 cm (fig. 53-54). Their dating by the 4th century is supported by the contemporary findings of coinage. This is a unit that was made up of artillery men specialized in shooting arrows launched by *manuballistae*. This kind of weapons, easily handled by one man, could have been used against the walls of the fortification as well as in open field. The military unit that owned this type of weaponry cannot be specified - both units attested in the fortification could have used them. However, there is a high probability that the soldiers belonging to the *equites sagittarii* troops used the *manuballistae* (Gudea 1977a, 73).

Among the pieces of the archaeological inventory found in the fortification, there is a significant quantity of pottery (fig. 59-62), and an important number of tools and instruments (fig. 57-58) made of iron, bronze, bone and clay, and also pieces of slag and a spoon for pouring the melted metal, illustrating some of the occupations of the soldiers from the limes, outside the military service.

10. Drencova, Berzasca Village, Caraş-Severin County, Romania

The existence of a military fort in the Late Roman Period in the area of this locality is rather inferred than clearly proved. At the end of the 19th century, in Drencova, there were found traces of a stone square-shaped fortification, with a side of 60 m (Milleker 1899, 43; Protase 2000, 221 no. 368). The dating of the fortification in the Late Roman Period is supported by the discovery here of several bricks with the stamp *DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis)* (CIL III 8075b; Tudor 1960, 341-342, no. 20; Tudor 1968, 66; Protase 2000, 221).

11. Contra Regina

The existence of this fortification is attested by NotDignOr (XLI, 21), but so far it has not been located in the field. The name Contra Regina could have been attributed to one of the north-Danubian fortifications already discovered during archaeological excavations.

The name shows that the fortification Contra Regina represented in the 4th century a bridgehead of a fortification or settlement called Regina, not mentioned by literary sources, located on the southern bank of the Danube being still unidentified in the field. The fact that the fortification Contra Regina was mentioned in Notitia Dignitatum suggests that its destruction must have happened after AD 395 (in late 4th century or early 5th century).

An infantry unit, an *auxiliares Reginenses*, was quartered in the fortification. This unit is daing after the reforms of Constantine the Great until after AD 395. Its name leads to the conclusion that *auxiliares Reginenses* were transferred to Contra Regina from the south-Danubian fortification of Regina.

12. Şviniţa, Mehedinti County, Romania

In 1879, L. Böhm reported at Şviniţa a Roman construction (apud Simu 1924, 52). A few years ago, in *Rejişte* point, 7 km west from the town, a watch tower was identified during archaeological surveys conducted in 1970, dating perhaps from the end of the 3rd century (Gudea 1970, 559). No technical details were specified.

I personally went there in 2003 but during my field surveys I did not find out anything new; the place where the foundations of the tower used to lay is now covered by trees and by very dense vegetation, the vipers are frequent in the area and the perimeter of the building has been ravished, probably by treasure hunters. On the surface of the soil, there are fragments of bricks with traces of mortar. In fact, Rejişte is a hill peak, difficult to climb up, on the left precipice of the brook called Glaucina, near the mouth river. From this dominant position it is easy to supervise the traffic on the Danube River. It has been thought that Şviniţa belonged to the province Moesia Prima (Gudea 1970, 555 note 1), being its easternmost military point to the north of the Danube.

Regarding this issue, several bricks from Şviniţa with the stamps of legio VII Claudia (fig. 64-66) have been published. The legend for all of them is the following:

S(ub) C(ura) HERMOGENI P (rae)P(ositi)

LEG(io) VII CL(audia) PART(is) CIT(erioris)

(Gudea 1970, 555-557; Gudea 1974, 141-146; IGLR 423 = IDR III/1 33)

These stamps most probably date from the period of Emperor Diocletian, when the legions were divided into two *partes*. The presence of Hermogenes in Boljetin is attested by the tegular stamps found here (CIL III 13814a; Dušanić 1976, 276-277). Thus, a small

detachment of legio VII Claudia from Boljetin was sent across Şviniţa to supervise the traffic on the Danube. According to a hypothesis that has been made recently (Mirković 1998, 118) the stamped tiles attesting the presence of Hermogenes come from the period immediately after the withdrawal of Aurelian from Dacia.

There can be noticed that legio VII Claudia had to supervise the region until Şviniţa, a fact which strengthens the hypothesis of this being the north- Danubian border of the province of Moesia. The limestone kilns found nearby (Olteanu 1974, 179-185) could be related to the presence of the Romans in this locality in the Late Period. In Şviniţa, there was found and published a statuette of the god Hercules (apud Tudor 1968, 66 note 12), however, it cannot be specified whether it belongs to the Late Roman Period or the previous one.

In the point *Tricule*, 4 km westwards of the locality, there have been found Roman artefacts along with vestiges from the Middle and Modern Ages; it is worth mentioning a brick with the stamp *D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA* (IGLR 423 A; IDR III/1 62), dating from the second half of the 4th century (fig. 67). The existence of another Roman military point in Şviniţa, in the point *Tricule*, is not supported by additional evidence besides the stamped brick mentioned above. If so, under the ruins of the medieval towers, there could have laid a Late Roman building. Otherwise, the brick could have been brought from elsewhere.

The end of the functional character of the watch tower in Şviniţa-Rejişte as well as the possible existence of a military fort in Tricule, are issues difficult to mark chronologically. However, a few hypothetical theories can be formulated. Considering the fact that the fortification in Boljetin was destroyed by the Huns at the beginning of the 5th century, it can be concluded that the Roman military presence in the area of Şviniţa could not have resisted after this date unless it had ended even before. For a more accurate dating, there should be taken into account that the fortifications in Gornea and Orşova neighbouring geographically with Şviniţa to the west and east, was destroyed in the end of the 4th the century - the beginning of the 5th century.

13. Peştera Veterani / Pescabara (Dubova, Plavişevîţa Village; Mehedinti County), Romania

On the territory of the locality Dubova, there has been found a Roman settlement (Tudor 1968, 66; IDR III /1, 63) and a signal watchtower (TIR, L 34, 56; IGLR 364; Gudea 2003, 173). Geographically, Dubova lies on the left bank of the Danube, across the fortification in Hajdučka Vodenica. The Danubian sector corresponding to the fluvial kilometres 950-995 bears the name of Donji Clisura (Serb.) or Clisura (Rom.). This term derives from *claustra* or most probably from *clausura/clusura* (Zahariade 1996, 249) and it has been used throughout the Ancient Period, until the 6th or 7th century (Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 14). The name bore by the military unit that defended the region, *auxilium Claustrinorum* (NotDignOr, XLII, 27), is also revealing. The names "Cazane" (Cazanele Mici and Cazanele Mari) or "Cataracte" are still being used. This is because of the narrow rocky strait of the Danube in this region as well as the noise produced by the water when passing through it (Suidas, III, 56).

The strategic importance of the "cataracts" is highlighted by the desire of the Romans to conquer those (Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 5). Compared to the water level of the Danube, the nearly vertical banks were considerably high. The landscape is spectacular. The rocks, the

relatively small depth of the river and the extremely fast water flow represented serious problems which made the navigation in this sector of the river particularly difficult. Despite these impediments, the Danube could be easily crossed, considering the narrowness of the strait in this area. Moreover, close to Hajducka Vodenica, the River Porecka flows into the Danube, a point that was the north-western border of the Dacia Ripensis Province. All these considerations indicate that the Cazane region required a special supervision. In this sector, there also lies the town Dubova, between Cazanele Mari (3.8 km long and 200-350 m wide) and Cazanele Mici (3.6 km long and 150-350 m wide).

Veterani Cave, called also Gaura Veterani or the Cave of Maovăț, lies on the area of the locality Dubova on the northern bank of the Danube (fig. 69); at present, as a result of the increasing water level of the river, the cave can only be accessed by water (I personally found out this during a field survey in 2000). It was given the name Veterani in the 18th century, after the name of the Austrian General Friedrich Graf de Veterani, who fortified the cave and placed here an Austrian military post, to prevent the navigation of the Turkish ships on the Danube. From the Austrian work of consolidation are still visible today the walls that flanked the cave, upstream and downstream.

An older name for the Veterani Cave, probably a medieval one, is Pescabara or Piscabara. This was quite clearly noted down by W.C.W. Blumenbach (Blumenbach 1840, *non vidi*, apud Groza 2002, 129) and the fact that Veterani Cave and Pescabara/ Piscabara are one and the same has already been pointed out for some time (Groza 1996, 65).

It is important to emphasize that a north-Danubian fortification with the name of Pescabara had been recorded by Marsigli in his notes (fig. 70), before General Veterani raised the Austrian constructions (Marsigli 1726, II table 6 fig. XXIII). The fact that it was a Roman fortification is proven by the discovery of a large number of Roman bricks in the space between the Austrian walls mentioned above and just below them, arranged as a platform of 1.30 m wide; some bear the stamp *DRP DIERNA* (Benea 1976, 205) (fig. 71).

According to Marsigli's plan (fig. 70), the fortification was square, having in the south-eastern corner a round tower noted by the author with the letter b. On the northern side, the wall of the enclosure has a loop (noted with the letter a), its purpose cannot be explained. Finally, near the western corner of the southern side, there can still be seen a wall (noted with the letter c by Marsigli) that goes down towards the Danube - it is probably a port facility.

It cannot be specified whether Pescabara from Marsigli's work, is one and the same with the Veterani Cave, but the coincidence of the names is too high. Another town named Pečka Bara lies south of the Danube (Minić, Ertegovic-Pavlovic 1984, 301-303).

The strengthening of the north-Danubian area on the sector of Porților de Fier is certified by another cartographic source contemporary with Marsigli. This is the map of Muntenia, elaborated by the High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino at the end of 17th century and printed in Padua in 1700. Later, in 1718, the map was reproduced in Venice. On the map, in the area of the Cataracts, to the north of the Danube, a Roman fortification called *Porta di Ferro*, (fig. 72) was drawn up.

The bricks with the stamp *DRP DIERNA* (fig. 71) found in the Veterani Cave (IGLR 422; IDR III/1 63; Benea 1976, 205) might prove the existence of a Roman military point in this locality that has not been localized so far. It is unlikely that the bricks would have been brought from Dierna (Orșova). This problem could only be explained if a military detachment

had been transferred from Dierna to Dubova and left its name printed on the bricks; it's difficult to believe that the tegular material would have been transported down the river for fitting up a cave.

In the Veterani Cave, along with stamped bricks, there have been also discovered spearheads, pottery, two coins issued in the time of Emperors Aurelian and Theodosius I (Ploșor et al. 1965, 407-408) and a Roman wall (Boroneanț 1979, 180). Obviously, here took place military activities. Most likely, in the 4th century (maybe even earlier!) the Veterani Cave was fortified and used for supervising the traffic on the Danube, downstream from Cazanele Mari. The discovery of a shrine of Mithras (now lost) allows the hypothesis that the cave could have been used as a place of worship (Boroneanț 1979, 180). Moreover, it should be added that only strategic or cultural purposes could motivate the Romans to live in a cave.

Roman traces have been found in other caves nearby. Several small objects have been found in the Cuina Turcului Cave (IDR III/1 63; Boroneanț 1979, 163). The small findings included pottery, a coin from the time of Severus Alexandrus, another one from the period of Anastasius, an iron fibula, a bronze buckle, etc. (Ploșor et al. 1965, 410-411). From the cave number 1, in Gura Ponicevei (Climente II), there come two coins (Diocletian and Constantius II) holed and worn as pendants (Boroneanț 1979, 177); one of them has a cross on the reverse (information at V. Boroneanț).

Unlike these caves, the Veterani Cave lays right on the rocky bank of the Danube, offering the possibility of a very effective supervision of the fluvial traffic. From here, even a military intervention could have been very easily led, which is why, there is a high possibility that a watch tower could have been placed here (TIR, L 34, 56; IGLR 364; Gudea 2003, 173). Describing the cave, Grisellini mentioned the ruins of such a building (Grisellini 1780, II, 2). The brick platform in front of the cave could come from a port facility or from a watch point meant to supervise the traffic on the Danube (Benea 1976, 208).

The Romans were the first concerned with organizing a regular transport route and with securing the fluvial traffic in this area. A Roman military point on the area of Dubova locality could have existed most probably in the 4th century, even if earlier in the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the placing of such a post had been also justified.

Unfortunately, other details cannot be added. Creating an accumulation lake for the hydroelectric power station from the Iron Gates I (built between 1964 and 1972) has led to a considerable increase of the water level of the Danube. At present, important archaeological sites are under water, among them being also the Late Roman traces of Dubova.

There is no possibility to set clear chronological marks of the military post from Dubova. The latest coins discovered in the Veterani cave belong to the period of Emperor Theodosius I (Boroneanț 1979, 180). From a military point of view, Dubova is located in the vicinity and on the area of the fortifications from Dierna, where a military *officina* used to function (Benea 1976, 205-214). Some of the bricks found in the Veterani cave bear the stamp: *D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) Dierna* (IGLR 422; IDR III/1 63; Benea 1976, 205) already mentioned.

14. *Lucus* (Ogradena?)

The existence of the south-Danubian fortification named *Translucus*, mentioned in NotDignOr (XLII, 27) implies the existence of a *Lucus* toponym to the north of the Danube

(Tudor 1960, 351). Since the fortification *Translucus* can be identified with Hajducka Vodenica (Zahariade 1996, 249-251), then a settlement or a Roman north-Danubian fortification might have been raised in Ogradena, and its name could have been Lucus in the ancient period (fig. 68). In Ogradena, on the map Dél-Magyarország lelettérkepe, B. Milleker recorded a Roman fortification. The Lucus toponym designates a sacred forest, dedicated to a deity. Anyway, the name Lucus is older than the one of Translucus (*Translucus* = *Lucus* over the river). The *Lucus* toponym can be also found in Gallia and Spain (NotDignOc, XLII, 29).

15. Dierna (Orșova, Mehedinti County), Romania

A Late Roman fortification of *quadriburgium* type, accurately recorded by Marsigli (fig. 74), was raised in the area of this locality, on the north bank of the Danube (Marsigli 1726, II, table 6, fig. XXVI). Today, the ruins of the fortification are covered by the waters of the accumulation lake of the hydro-electric power station of The Iron Gates I. The fortification was systematically excavated between 1966 and 1971, but at that time the results were briefly published. The first conclusions were published in 1968 (Ploșor et al. 1968, 38 sqq.).

The fortification was of a square shape (fig. 75) with sizes of approx. 34 x 35 m (Gudea 1972, 177; Benea 1996, 83) or 35 x 36 m (Gudea 1982, 109). The sides are oriented in the direction of the four cardinal points and the corner towers, are square and protruded out of the enclosure (in Marsigli's plan, the towers are of a round shape!), with sizes of 9 x 9 m.

The corner towers of the fortification were used for dwelling; thus in the Museum of Oltenia from Craiova, there are many ceramic materials found in a dwelling from one of the corner towers of the fortification. The walls of the fortification are 2.10 m thick and were built of stone and brick alternative layers. There were no defence works out of the enclosure.

The gate of the fortification appears to have been located on the southern side, where the wall is interrupted on a rather long segment. Also it was noticed an extension of the fortification wall, with additional approx. 30 m on the eastern side. This can be explained either as an extension of the enclosure, or as a harbour annex. To support the latter hypothesis, one can point out the strategic importance of the fortification in Dierna. *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VII, 3) mentioned the existence of a military and trade route that linked the north-Danubian region to the southern area, and Dierna was clearly registered as a bridgehead.

The archaeological inventory of the fortification consists of pottery, weapons, stamped bricks and tiles, coins, etc. In the civilian settlement of Dierna, there was also a glassware workshop (Stoicovici 1978, 245-250). The two hoards of 730 and 1,222 coins, found in the area of old Orșova (Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 15 sqq) are worth mentioning, most of the pieces dating from the Late Roman Period. Isolated findings of coins have to be noted (Chirila, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 73; Chițescu, Bordea 1982).

The particular importance of the fortification in Dierna is given by its location, near the river mouth where Cerna flows into the Danube, a place where any invasions in the south of the river through the passing point here could have been stopped. Dierna was the starting point of an important imperial Roman road which went through Tibiscum to Sarmizegetusa. The possibility to control and easily charge custom duties for the trade on this road but also on the river Danube was another very important detail. Although supported by the south-

Danubian fortification Transdierna, it seems that Dierna did not depend on it. Having its own military *officina* (Benea 1976), Dierna could not have represented only a mere north-Danubian appendix of the Empire. Stamped bricks with the inscription *D(acia) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA* have been found on a large area (fig. 81), to the north as well as to the south of the Danube (Benea 1976, 207-208; Benea 1996, 88). It is important to mention the finding of stamped bricks with the inscription *D(acia) RIP(ensis)*, in the area, spread until Pečka Bara (Minić, Ertegović-Pavlovic 1984, 301) and Singidunum (Bojović 1996, 62-63, fig. 6/12).

Concerning the civilian settlement in the vicinity of the fortification, there have been revealed two large occupation areas and from the stratigraphic point of view, there have been noticed two levels of occupation, a Roman one, dating from the 2nd - 3rd centuries and a Late Roman one (Benea 1996, 83-84). The fortification of Dierna had two phases in the Late Roman Period, the first dating from the time of the Tetrarchy and the second one from the Constantinian period. If the dating of the coins found here is taken into account, then it seems that the first level of construction could be dated in the time of Emperor Probus (Chitescu, Bordea 1982, 186 and 192); the monetary circulation, after a short interruption, continued in the end of the 3rd century, beginning with Emperor Probus and continuing with Emperor Carus (Chitescu, Bordea 1982, 192).

The destruction of Dierna must have occurred at the end of the 4th century (N. Gudea) or at the beginning of the 5th century (D. Benea); the monetary circulation was interrupted after the latter date. The fact that the two hoards found here ended with coins that had been issued until AD 367-375 (Chirila, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 15 sqq.) suggests a rather insecure period; the latest issued coins found in the perimeter of the fortification date from the period 395-402. A golden coin from the time of Emperor Theodosius II, discovered in the north-eastern side of the fortification raises to the hypothesis that Dierna could have been destroyed by the Huns (Bujor 1972, 197; Bujor 1974, 61, 63), possibly during the attacks from AD 408-409 (Sozomenos, 9, 5, 1); it is however harder to believe that such a small fortification could have held out against attacks until this date. Therefore, one can consider that the destruction of Dierna happened most probably at the end of 4th century. Anyway the fortification was destroyed for good.

The toponym of Dierna is of Dacian origin and was translated as "pass", "gorge" (Russu 1967, 102; IDR III/1 63). Another recently suggested etymology is that of "dark place" (Ardevan 1996, 243-246). Both hypotheses can be supported, thus it is difficult to say which of them is more plausible.

Although the identity Dierna -Zernes is still supported by many historians, it has not been proved by any actual discovery. The information about the *colonia Zernensium*, given by the lawyer Ulpianus Domitius (Digesta, L 15, 18) is incorrect (Tudor 1968, 17). NotDignOr (XLII, 37) reports no clear positioning (south or north) of the Zernes locality as compared to the Danube. Moreover, Procopius placed *Zernes* (*De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 5) to the south of Danube, and he wrote that *Zernes* was rebuilt in the 6th century. Despite the fact that a reconstruction of Dierna in the 6th century would have been possible, the archaeological excavations, however, have not revealed a level of occupation dating from this period (Bujor 1972, 197; Bujor 1974, 63; Toropu 1976, 36 note 143; Iambor 2002, 116). The fact that the presence of the Slavs and of the Gepidae in the area has been archaeologically supported (Comşa 1974, 88-94) could be an argument in this respect.

The identity between Dierna and Zernes is hardly acceptable (Toropu 1976, 36) also from another perspective. In Zernes, in the 4th century, there was placed a *praefectura* of legio XIII Gemina (NotDignOr, XLII, 37). It is very hard to believe that the small *quadriburgium* fortification from Dierna, having a side of 35 m, could have served as a garrison defending a *praefectura*. This would have required the hosting of a cohort of at least approx. 300 men (Petolescu 2000, 326), which seems almost impossible for a fortification of the size of Dierna. For comparison, the fortification of Sucidava where a *praefectura* of legio V Macedonica is clearly attested (NotDignOr, XLII, 39), was 4 to 5 times larger (Toropu, Tatulea 1987, 74-75). All the accurate epigraphic (IGLR 413; IDR III/1 44 = CIL III 8277, 2 ab; IDR III/1 60 = CIL III 1568) and literary sources (Ptolemy III, 8, 4; Tabula Peutingeriana VII, 3) name the ancient settlement of Orșova as *Dierna-Tsierna-Tierna*, not Zernes.

The military units that transferred detachments to Dierna can be easily identified after the stamped bricks found in the perimeter of the fortification (Tudor 1960, 347 no. 54; IGLR 413-417, IDR III/1 71-75).

L(egio) V M(acedonica) (IDR III/1 74, fig. 46); it is typologically similar to the stamps on some of the bricks found in the Late Roman fortification from Hinova (Davidescu 1989, 34 fig. 8/b). Therefore, a detachment of this legion was in Dierna at some time. Most probably, the stamps of this kind could date from the end of the 3rd century – the beginning of the 4th century (fig. 76).

LEG(io) Gem XIII (ina) (CIL III 8065, 1; IDR III/1 74); the similarity with the stamps of the *officinae* from the period when legio XIII Gemina was located in Apulum is striking. Probably, a detachment of this legion was forted temporarily (stationed) in Dierna.

The brick with the stamp XIII (ILGR 414 = IDR III/1 51, fig. 45) can be restored as *(legio) XIII (Gemina)* being different from the other stamps of this legion discovered so far (fig. 78). A similar finding comes from Băile Herculane (IGLR 420 = IDR III/1 98, fig. 59) and most probably we are dealing with a cohort of legio XIII Gemina that used to stamp in this manner the bricks it produced. Both stamps attested the presence of the soldiers of legio XIII Gemina in Dierna and Băile Herculane at some point in time. A chronological estimation is difficult to make; it might have been around the time when the legion left Dacia and during its transferring from Apulum to the Danube it forted temporarily (stationed) in Dierna and Băile Herculane. However, the hypothesis of a later dating cannot be excluded either, when detachments of legio XIII Gemina could have been transferred to the north of the river.

Another tegular stamp from Dierna, *LEG(io) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior)* (Benea 1996, 88) can be dated after the military reforms of Emperor Diocletian, when the legions were divided into two *partes* (Benea 1996, 88).

The brick with the stamp *LEG(io) XIII R(atiaria)* (AE 1972, 493a = IDR III/1 47) dates from the time when the garrison headquarters of the unit used to be stamped (fig. 77). It indicates a detachment of the legion that was transferred to Dierna from Ratiaria. It could date from the reign of Constantine the Great.

LEG(io) III FL(avia) (D)IER(na) (CIL III 8276, 2; IDR III/1 75); if the restoration is correct, then it is possible for legio III Flavia to have transferred a detachment to Dierna.

The following stamped bricks date from the second half of the 4th century (fig. 79, 82):

- *D(acia) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA* (CIL III 8277, 2; Tudor 1960, 347 no. 53; IGLR 413; IDR III/1 44; there can be noticed the large number of stamps with this legend, acc. to Benea 1976, 205-214).

- *DA(cia) R(ipensis) DIANA* (CIL III 14215, 12; AE 1972, 493; Tudor 1960, 347, no. 55; IGLR 416; IDR III/1 46);

- *DIERTRA* (IGLR 417 = IDR III/1 45). This stamp is probably related to the fortification Transdierna, located on the southern bank of the Danube, across Dierna.

The discovery of two pieces from a war machine - *ballista* - dating from the end of the 4th century (Gudea 1977, 47-60; Bondoc 2002, 642 no. 2) in this fortification, raises again the issue, as it is the case of the fortification from Gornea mentioned above, of the character and the structure of these troops. The two pieces are a *kambestrion* (L = 36cm) and a *kamarion* (L = 145cm), both made of iron (fig. 83-84). This discovery certifies that in the garrison of Dierna existed also artillerymen- *ballistarii*. The inefficiency of the infantry legions against the barbarian horsemen led to changes within the old Roman military units. The Late Roman garrisons with reduced number of soldiers could not afford a confronting in the open, which was avoided, preferring instead the fight from a distance. Thus, the war machines gained a considerable importance. In the same general context, the *ballista* from Orșova can be analysed, which being a heavy war machine, was probably placed on the platform of a tower and was handled by many people. It was meant for defensive purposes (for reconstitutions of this type of machinery, see Baatz 1994, 224; Anstee 1998, 131-139).

16. Mehadia, Caras-Severin County, Romania

Geographically, Mehadia is a town at a distance of 174 km south of Tibiscum (Caransebeș) and 30 km north of Orșova. From this position the access to the natural corridor that connected Transylvania with the Danube could be blocked both from the north and the south (fig. 89).

In the place called Zidină, lying at 3 km north of this locality (the plan of the locality from Gudea 1997, 31 no. 15), there are the ruins of a Roman fort from the 2nd - 3rd centuries. With a rectangular shape, the dimensions of the fortification being 142 x 116m (a plan of the fortification at Macrea, Gudea, Moțu 1993, 15), the Roman fort had thick walls of 1.30 m (fig. 91).

The hypothesis that the Roman fort of Mehadia was used in the Late Roman Period is supported by several arguments (Macrea, Gudea, Moțu 1993, 30-31, 47; Protase 2000, 235 no. 424). The first argument is that Marsigli (fig. 90) recorded here a *quadriburgium* with round corner towers protruded out of the enclosure (Marsigli 1726, II, tab. 26, fig. 37). At present, this *quadriburgium* is impossible to identify in the field as the old fort was restored in this form in the Late Roman Period.

Furthermore, the coins discovered in the perimeter of the Roman fort (Gudea 1975, 147-151; Macrea, Gudea, Moțu 1993, 115; Buracu 1924, 14) attest to the habitation in the fortification in the time of Constantine the Great, a fact supported also by the discovery of a vessel lid with an incised *chrismon* (Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 192) (fig. 95). Several Late Roman evidence has been found more recently during archaeological excavations (Benea et al. 2003, 193-194; Benea et al. 2004, 195-196; Benea et al. 2005, 237-238; Benea et al. 2007, 232).

The strategic importance of the military fort from Mehadia must have been considerable. Located on the imperial road Dierna-Tibiscum, it seems to have been an outpost of the fortification in Dierna. In addition, it is important to mention here some of the stamped bricks (fig. 92-94) of legio XIII Gemina (IDR III/1 101; Macrea, Gudea, Moțu 1993, 52) and legio V Macedonica (IDR III/1 119; Macrea, Gudea, Moțu 1993, 53).

16.1. Băile Herculane, Caraș-Severin County, Romania

Located approx. 13 km to the south of Mehadia, the town Băile Herculane was famous in the antiquity, as it is also today, for the thermal springs. Its ancient name is unknown. In the perimeter of the locality, a brick (fig. 96-97) with the stamp *XIII* has been found, which obviously refers to (*legio*) *XIII (Gemina)* (IDR III/1 98; IGLR 420). The brick could come either from the trade of construction material or it can attest to the existence of an outpost of legio XIII Gemina in Băile Herculane, in the period right after the Aurelian withdrawal. The latter hypothesis is supported by the random discovery of coins and bronze ornaments from the 4th century (Benea 1996, 229 no. 12).

17. Ada-Kaleh Island, Mehedinți County, Romania

Ada-Kaleh Island, before being flooded by the waters of the Danube, was located in the middle of the river (fig. 98), in the area of the Iron Gates, 4 km south-east of Dierna (Orșova) and 18 km west of *Drobeta* (Turnu-Severin). It was 1,750 m long and 400-500 m wide and it was part of Mehedinți County. In the late 1960's - early 1970's, according to the decision of both Romanian and Yugoslavian governments, construction works were conducted here for the restoration of the storage lake of Iron Gates I hydroelectric power plant. As a result of this project, in 1971, Ada-Kaleh Island was flooded by the waters of the Danube which increased considerably.

The question of a Roman fortification on Ada-Kaleh Island was raised for the first time by the Serbian archaeologist V. Kondić (Kondić 1992-1993, 49-52); according to his opinion, Roman constructions would have been reported here by Count Marsigli (*non vidi*, apud Kondić 1992-1993, 50), who excavated a rectangular fortification with circular towers in the corners, therefore a *quadriburgium* type of fortification and two watchtowers, which he recorded in his notes.

Other indications are given by some cartographic sources from the Modern Age (Bondoc 2005, 793-798). Thus, a map of the 18th century: *Plan de l'Ysle de Orșova et de la fortification situee sur le Danuve...*, drew up by Joseph Deharo (fig. 99), Viscount of Lincourt, recorded an Austrian fortification of the "Vauban" type on the island; the map is now at the Museum of Archaeology from Istanbul, inv. 5842 (Panait 1974, 215-219). On the map, there can be seen a structure noted with the letter A, inside the Austrian fortification, having the shape of a *quadriburgium*, with rhomboidal corner towers. At the time when I first used this information, I was not sure whether it was of Roman origin (Bondoc 2002a, 168 no. 4, noting that it may be about the Austrian fortification). The rhomboidal shape of the corner towers lead us to believe that we are dealing with a structure of the Vauban type. However, rhomboidal towers are not unusual for the Roman Period; for example, such constructions can be found in Tekija-Transdierna (Cermanović-Kuzmanovic 1982-1983, 342).

The strengthening of the military points from Ada-Kaleh Island and from Orșova was also recorded by F. von Reilly on the map *Karte von dem Öschmanischen Reiche in Europa*, from 1796. F. von Reilly's map seems to have been published under the same name by F.L. Gusefeld in 1802. On both maps, the fortifications from Ada-Kaleh Island (= Neu Orschova) and from Orșova (= Alt Orschova) were recorded distinctly. It cannot be specified whether they are Roman or medieval buildings.

Meanwhile, further information has appeared. A map elaborated in 1774 by Avon Bellavich (fig. 101) of scale 1: 68,000 (*apud* Groza 2002, 39-64, Annexes 2-7) has been recently studied and discussed. The name of the map is *Plan des gegen das Turkische Gebiet ausstellen Banatischen Cordons mittelst welchen die bereits vorhandene gut-und Brauchbahre alte, dann die neu zu errichten antragede Wachtehaltmussen als Chardaquen, Wachthausen, Erd-und Ruhr-Hutten nach ihrer verschiendenen Bau-Arth mit distinguirten Farben aufgezeichnet seynd* (*The defence line from Banat raised against the Turks where the essential guard posts are drawn, partly the old and the well kept ones, then the newly constructed ones, of which: huts of earth and reed, guard posts differently coloured according to their construction shape*); at present, the map belongs to the War Archives from Vienna - Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Wien, Hofkriegsrat, 1791, listing B IX, c 683 (*apud* Groza 2002, 56 note 15; Mr. Ortolf Harlem tried to find the map in the archives in Vienna but without any results, cf. Bondoc 2005, 794 note 14).

The sector of Orșova in Von Bellavich's map also contains a draught of the Austrian "Vauban" fortification on Ada-Kaleh Island; the island is presented there with the old entitling: *Insel Orsova*. As in the case of Joseph Deharo's map discussed above, inside the Austrian fortification there can be clearly seen a *quadriburgium* with corner towers protruded outwards (Groza 2002, 5, Annex 2). Unlike Joseph Deharo's map, in the one elaborated by Avon von Bellavich, the shape of the corner towers is approximately round. This difference cannot be explained. The building of the "Vauban" fortifications over old ruins, in this case just over the Roman foundations, is not an unusual practice as similar situations have been noticed in other places, too (the Roman forts from Singidunum and Apulum or the Late Roman fortification from Pančevo were "superposed" by Austrian fortifications of the same type).

Additionally, in support of the idea of the existence of a Roman fortification on Ada-Kaleh Island, we can mention another cartographic source. It is a military map made by the Topographic Ministry of Defence RPR in 1962 (Timoc 2001, 109, fig. 7), when the Danubian waters had not covered the island yet and the archaeological investigations had not been started. The map shows a rectangular-shaped fortification, crossed by two roads directed north-south and east-west, indicating a Roman fort (fig. 100). From the middle of the eastern side of the fortification, where probably a gate was placed, a road began heading towards the easternmost point of the island. In this point, the map recorded a circular-shaped construction that might represent the ruins of a watchtower (Timoc 2001, 99).

The cartographic sources mentioned above present differently the shape of the fortifications from Ada-Kaleh Island. On one hand, the Austrian maps present a *quadriburgium* fortification, datable in the Late Roman Period while on the other hand, the military map elaborated by the Topographic Ministry of Defence in 1962 shows a building that seems to be a Roman fort from the 2nd - 3rd century. For the moment this difference

cannot be explained and there is no reason to suspect the inaccuracy, of the evidence offered by both sources.

The efforts of the Serbian archaeologist Vladimir Kondić to explain Procopius' notes led him to believe that the Roman fortification from Ada-Kaleh Island can be identified with *Ducepratum-Ducis Pratum* (*De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 5) so that this toponym can be translated as *The Commander's Pasture* (*Dux* = commander; *pratum* = pasture). Kondić considered that the Ada-Kaleh Island could have been used for this purpose in the 4th century as well as in the 6th century (Kondić 1992-1993, 50). His opinion was received with reserves by Milutin Garašanin (Garašanin 1994-1995, 38-39). An important argument against the hypothesis of the identity *Ducepratum*-Ada Kaleh is that the toponym *Ducepratum* toponym, by its etymology (The Commander's Pasture), cannot be located on an island, but rather on one of the banks of the Danube.

Across the island, there are the mouths of rivers Bahna and Cerna. From a strategic point of view, it is clear that the fortification on Ada-Kaleh Island could have blocked or signalled a barbarian invasion through these passages to the south of the Danube. Moreover, from this fortification the navigation on the Danube could have been supervised and secured. Thus, the placement of a watchtower in the easternmost point of the island (Timoc 2001, 99) could have been possible.

We cannot specify the exact period when this fortification was built on the Ada-Kaleh Island. The military map elaborated by the Topographic Defence Ministry of the RPR in 1962 indicates a Roman fort from the 2nd - 3rd centuries. The plans of the Austrian maps showing a Late Roman *quadriburgium* and a coin from the period of Constantine the Great discovered in 1967, dating from A. D. 306-307 (Heitel 1974-1975, 197 note 4; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 154), can attest to the existence of the fortification in the time of Emperor Constantine I.

Today, Ada-Kaleh Island is under the waters of the Danube. In 1845, when August Treboniu Laurian visited the island, he did not notice any ancient traces (Laurian 1845, 119) and this leads us to the conclusion that the fortification had been already destroyed by the superposing of the Austrian fortification and later by the Turkish constructions (Kondić 1992-1993, 51).

This assertion was confirmed by the archaeological excavations from 1967-1968. Excepting a coin dating from the 4th century, discovered in the modern layer, opposite Gate 1, no other Roman traces have been found on the island (Heitel 1974-1975, 197 note 4; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 154). Their absence raises a serious problem. This could be explained by the fact that the traces of the Roman Period may have been cleared from the island or partially reused for the medieval and modern constructions. It is a known fact that in many cases the Austrians used to dynamite the old foundations (this was applied in Cenad, on Sapaja Island, etc.). The Austrians might have used the same process on Ada-Kaleh Island a case in which the Roman vestiges would have been destroyed. An additional observation needs to be made here. During the archaeological excavations from 1967-1968, there was noticed that in order to raise the treading level inside the Austrian fortifications, a large quantity of earth was brought, entirely from one or both banks of the Danube, placed between the walls, and in the end levelled (Heitel 1974-1975, 199).

It is not our propose here to look to explain the lack of Roman vestiges on the Ada-Kaleh Island but, the elements presented above can represent some of the causes for this

situation. Furthermore, by examining the published plan of the excavations (Heitel 1974-1975, fig. 1), there can be noticed that they were actually mere surveys meant to reveal the Austrian fortification. The results of the previous excavations from 1965-1966, conducted by N. Constantinescu, have not been published yet, but as the published plans indicate, a large part of the island has remained unexplored. All these aspects make us believe that the archaeological secrets of Ada-Kaleh Island have not been entirely revealed.

Anyway, Ada-Kaleh Island represented throughout its entire history a very important strategic point in the area of The Iron Gates. The idea that a Roman fortification was needed here comes out naturally due to its location in the middle of the Danube, which allowed the crossing of the river easily. Consequently, a barbarian invasion through this ford would have been difficult to avoid. Hence the Romans were concerned with the fortifying of the islands on the Danube. There are analogies for this fact in the case of the islands: Ostrovo, Sapaja, Insula Banului and Ostrovul Mare, where the Romans built other strong fortifications. Last but not least, another eloquent element for this discussion is the interdiction imposed to the Iazyges by Emperor Marcus Aurelius, through which the barbarians were banned to access the islands on the Istru River (Cassius Dio, LXXI, 19).

18. Transdiana (Insula Banului -Ostrovul Golu, Gura Văii Village, Mehedinți County), Romania

The fact that Vladimir Kondić identified without a doubt Karataš with the Roman fortification called *Statio cataractarum Diana*, solved one of the biggest controversies related to the limes from the area of The Iron Gates (Kondić 1987, 43-47). Continuing his studies, V. Kondić (Kondić 1992-1993, 49-52) concluded naturally that the fortification *Transdiana*, mentioned only by Procopius (*De aedificiis*, IV, 4), lay across the contemporary Karataš. The only fortified Roman point located across Karataš is on Insula Banului. Moreover, regarding the 'pair' Diana-Transdiana, there are many analogies along the Lower Danube limes; some of them have been already discussed (Dierna-Transdierna) and the others will be presented below. The particle 'trans', linked to a toponym that had been given to an already built fortification, made up a new word that designated a secondary fortification located across the river, opposite to the main one. A similar situation happens with the 'contra' toponym (Contra Margum, Contra Regina).

The vestiges from Insula Banului have drawn the interest of many scholars in this field. There have been drawn up several plans of the fortifications. The vestiges on Insula Banului were recorded for the first time by Marsigli (Marsigli 1726, II tab. 8 fig. XXVIII) (fig. 103). Marsigli chose this ford of the Danube in order to raise a vessel bridge for the Austrian troops to cross the river.

Later on, the Austrian F. Kanitz (Kanitz 1892, 35; Kanitz 1909, 494) wrote down valuable information about the fortification on the island, which he named Ciplac-Ada. Kanitz described the corner towers as being square-shaped.

Teoharie Antonescu published several very useful comments after he had conducted some field survey in the area (Antonescu 1910, 67). The plan presented by T. Antonescu is of rectangular shape, with square-shaped towers in the corners (fig. 104).

The first systematic excavations were initiated by Al. Bărcăcilă, but they have not been published. In his plan from 1931, Bărcăcilă (Davidescu 1980, 207; Davidescu 1989, 97 fig.

30) registered a triangular-shaped fortification (fig. 107). At the top of the triangle, there are four quadrilateral towers (on Marsigli's plan, the towers were round-shaped). This structure with four towers was recorded by all the researchers of the fortifications from Insula Banului. Two decades ago, N. Gudea considered it a fortification of *quadriburgium* type with the following dimensions 37 x 32 x 31 x 32 m (Gudea 1982, 110). The quadrilateral corner towers (4.50 x 5 m) are protruded out of the enclosure.

In 1965, M. Davidescu started a new series of excavations and he was the first archaeologist who published clear information about the Roman-Byzantine fortification (Davidescu 1977, 37-42).

Unfortunately, on the published plans, the Roman vestiges have not been clearly separated from the medieval ones. This situation was determined by a few objective reasons: the enclosure from the 4th century was superposed by and integrated into the fortification from the 6th century, and later on, the ruins of the latter one were superposed by another medieval fortification. The process of destructions changed for the worse a few decades ago, when the monument became a source of stone for local constructions. This explains the differences between the published plans (Tudor 1958, fig. 50/2; Morintz, Roman 1969, 395; Davidescu 1977; Gudea 1982, 99 fig. 38) (fig. 103-108).

As in the case of other fortified islands (see above Sapaja, Ada-Kaleh) the purpose for building the fortification from Insula Banului was to provide control and security over the traffic on the Danube. A circular building located in the easternmost point of the island, noted by Marsigli with the letter g has been recently considered a watchtower (Timoc 2001, 98). No inscriptions or stamped bricks have been found. In the area, there have been discovered two brick kilns (Davidescu 1977, 41-42) and a necropolis with inhumation tombs and brick sarcophagi (Davidescu 1989, 102) have been found.

The inaccurately published information on the vestiges from the Banului Island makes quite difficult a chronologic determination. The material discovered during the archaeological excavations is of rather modest quantity and it consists of pottery dating from a wide period of time (too wide!) between the 2nd - 3rd and 4th - 6th centuries (Davidescu 1989, 98-100).

Considering the evidence we have so far, I can suggest the following chronology. The first fortification (the structure with four square towers) was built in the Late Roman Period, most likely during the Tetrarchy; N. Gudea considered it to be a *quadriburgium* fortification (Gudea 1982, 110). Its existence should have ended at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century, taking into account the fact that the south-Danubian fortification, Diana-Karataš, was destroyed by the Huns towards the middle of this century. There is no evidence of the military units that were fortified on Insula Banului.

A second phase dates from the 6th century, when the fortification was restored. The subsequent restoration from the 6th century integrated the Late Roman precincts in a larger building of a triangular shape (Al. Bărcăcilă, apud Davidescu 1980, 207 and Davidescu 1989, 97 fig. 30; Davidescu 1977, 37-42) with horseshoe-shaped towers on the base of the triangle.

In the late Middle Ages, probably in the 15th century, the fortification was superposed by a medieval castle.

19. *Drobeta/Drubeta* (Turnu Severin, Mehedinți County), Romania

Placed across the south-Danubian fortification Pontes/Transdrobeta, the Roman fort from Drobeta (latest presentation at Gudea 2001, 81-85 no. 20) was built with the purpose of protecting the northern head of the Roman stone bridge, built at the order of Emperor Trajan, between the two Dacian wars.

Drobeta, an important commercial, administrative, military and urban site of Roman Dacia, benefited from an excellent geographic positioning from a strategic point of view. A strong garrison placed here could block the access to the Danube from east to the Iron Gates, or from north to the south of the river. Additionally, along with the fortification of Pontes, they made up a couple of fortifications that provided security over this ford of the river (*De aedificiis*, 4, 6, 15-16). The toponym 'Drobeta' was used for the fort as well as for the civilian settlement from Turnu-Severin. The literary sources (Ptolemy III, 8; Tabula Peutingeriana VII, 4; NotDignOr, XLII, 6, 16, 24), the stone and brick inscriptions (IDR II 20) present it under the following forms: *Drubetis-Drobeta-Drubeta*.

There has been suggested that, in the 6th century, the old name -Drobeta- had been forgotten, the toponym *Theodora* being used instead, mentioned by Procopius (*De aedificiis* IV, 6, 15). The origin of the toponym "Theodora" has been very controversial because of the lack of clear epigraphic and literary sources. Another tempting hypothesis is that it was named after the wife of Emperor Justinian (Tudor 1978, 459), but Procopius wrote that, in the 6th century, the fortification Theodora had not been restored anymore, *because it was exposed to local barbarian attacks*. If the identity Drobeta-Theodora were correct, the information of the Byzantine author would be contradicted by the archaeological excavations which revealed that the fortification was restored during the reign of Emperor Justinian. On the other hand, if we believe Procopius, the name of the famous empress could not have been given to a fortification that was out of service.

Another hypothesis has been studied by M. Mirković (Mirković 1968, 114) and seems more plausible (Garašanin 1994-1995, 38) According to it the toponym 'Theodora' was given after the step-daughter of the Tetrarch Emperor Maximianus Herculius, who was also the wife of the *caesar* Constantius Chlorus. This theory has recently been raised for discussion again (Petolescu 1997, 20) and according to it, the fortification named *Theodora* would be, hypothetically, one and the same with the fortification from Hinova (Petolescu 1997, 22).

The civilian settlement in Drobeta used to lay north, east and west of the fort. The plans drawn up by Marsigli (fig. 112) and later on by Gr Tocilescu and Polonic (fig. 116) indicate its irregular pentagonal shape. The eastern and westernmost points correspond in the field to *Ogașul Tăbăcarilor* and *Ogașul Fântânilor*. Taking into account the discovery in this area of several Roman tombs, the dating of the pentagonal enclosure in the period of the Principate is disputable, because the *intra muros* burials (Stângă 1994, 4) were banned. Moreover, there has been asserted that the pentagonal plan of the civilian settlement from Drobeta could suggest that it was dated either from the middle of the 3rd century (Stângă 1994, 5) or from the end of the 3rd century (Davidescu 1980, 97), when the banning was no longer in effect. On both plans, on the northern side, there are two circular towers protruded out of the enclosure, characteristic to the Late Roman Period.

After the Aurelian withdrawal the Roman fort and the civilian settlement continued to exist also in the Late Roman Period. Thus, in this period at Drobeta used to work an *officina*

that manufactured lead mirrors (Benea 1974, 169-178). Nearby, there were harbour facilities (File no. 126/1898 of the Ministry of Culture and Public Instruction, *non vidi, apud* Tudor 1978, 175) for the traffic on the Danube River. A circular-shaped building (at present under the waters of the Danube), connected by a wall to the eastern enclosure of the Roman fort has recently been considered a defence and signal watchtower (Timoc 2001, 98). On the eastern side of the fort, along its most exposed part, three defence ditches and *valla* were raised (Tudor 1978, 448). Closely connected with Drobeta were the Late Roman fortifications from Puținei and Hinova.

Taking into account the stratigraphy, the inner constructions of the fortification and also the monetary circulation, there could have been five phases of construction: I – in the time of Emperors Trajan and Hadrian; II – the middle of the 3rd century; III – at the end of the 3rd century (Diocletian) (for an opposite opinion, see Tudor 1978, 448); IV – from the 4th century to the beginning of 5th century; V – the period between the reigns of Emperors Anastasius and Justinian.

Archaeological excavations have revealed the fact that by the middle of the 3rd century, in the time of Emperor Gallienus (phase 2), the Roman fort was restored (Florescu 1965, 573 sqq); probably because of the damage caused by the political and military events of that period. The towers, gates and walls were restored. A Basilica with three naves was also built inside the fort.

In the 3rd phase, the Roman fort was fully restored keeping its old shape and dimensions; the corner towers protruding out of the enclosure were raised in that period - their large side was in the shape of an arch or rather of a fan. To the southern gate, there were attached two bastions, also protruded out of the enclosure, one of the sides of the bastions being rounded off. Other rectangular towers blocked the northern, western and eastern gates, from that point on the access into the fortification being done only through the southern gate. On the southern and northern sides, between the gates and corners of the fortification, there were built intermediary square towers, raised probably for the purpose of placing here war machines used for launching arrows or projectiles to a great distance (Tudor 1978, 449; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 114). As a result of these restoration and construction works, Drobeta had no longer the characteristics of a military fort.

In the 4th phase, the old sizes were preserved (Tudor 1978, 448-449). But along with the thickening and the raising of the enclosure walls, the plan was considerably modified, by the construction of a cross-shaped edifice (fig. 115), made up of 78 square-shaped rooms (3.50 x 4 m). These rooms were clearly used as barracks and had thick walls of 0.65 m. This manner of dividing the perimeter of a fortification is, however, very unusual on the territory of the Roman Empire. The 78 rooms of the cross-shaped building must have been used as barracks and dwellings for the soldiers of the garrison. Each room had an exit to the street. The 78 rooms were placed as it follows: 42 in *praetentura* and 36 in *retentura*. The distribution and location of the rooms seem to have been closely connected to the necessity of hosting the two units mentioned by NotDignOr (LXV, 16; LXIII, 24), *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* and *auxilium primorum Daciscorum* (Zahariade 1997, 167-182). Between the cross-shaped building and the enclosure walls, parallel to them were three layers of brick pillars that represented structures of some buildings used probably as: barracks, warehouses, stables, etc. The corner towers, protruded out of the enclosure, with walls of 2 m thick were

included into the new architectural project. It was also the case of the square towers on the southern and northern sides, between the gates and the corners of the fortification, where ballistic machines used to be placed (Tudor 1978, 449; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 114). There was kept only one gate, the one on the southern side.

Constantinus Porphyrogenetus (*De administrando imperio*, 40, 30-34) mentioned that in Drobeta, there was *the tower of the Saint and Great Emperor Constantine*. I cannot specify yet which tower he was exactly referring to; D. Tudor believed that it was the polygonal tower in south-west of the Roman fort, which he considered to be Byzantine (Tudor 1971, 56). Later, there was confirmed that this tower was built in the Middle Ages (Davidescu 1969, 14; Davidescu 1970, 16-19). However, Constantinus Porphyrogenetus' reference to the fortification from the 4th century is obvious.

The harbour facilities that have been discovered here (Stângă 1998, 45-48), at least one of them dating back to the 4th century (Stângă 1998, 47-48), demonstrate an intense traffic on the river through the Drobeta-Pontes ford. There is a high probability that stone structures from the bridge built two centuries earlier were reused in the Late Roman Period.

The destruction of the fort from Drobeta probably occurred in the late 4th century or at the beginning of the 5th century and it should be attributed to the Huns. After this moment the name *Drobeta* was most likely abandoned. The monetary circulation was interrupted first during the reign of Emperor Arcadius, thus certifying the moment of the destruction. Older studies, recently raised for discussion, give important details regarding the monetary circulation in Drobeta (Stângă 1998, 143-208). In Drobeta, there have been found 116 coins from the period AD 253-285, 34 of them come from the fort (Stângă 1998, 204); it is important to add that, out of the 116 pieces, 65 had been issued during the reign of Emperor Aurelian, 24 being found in the perimeter of the fort.

From the time of Emperor Diocletian, there have been found 31 coins in Drobeta, out of which 17 coins were found within the fort.

Other 86 coins, found also in Drobeta, had been issued between 330-337, to the end of the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great, and further on, 60 coins found here, had been issued between 341-346 (for all of them, see Stângă 1998, 205).

From the period AD 351-364, there were found 93 coins, from 364-378 there were discovered 61 coins (the period of the reigns of Emperors Valentinian and Valens). From the period AD 378-395, there were found 18 coins in Drobeta. The latest found Late Roman coin has been dated in the period AD 395-450 (wide dating, Stângă 1998, 206); probably the piece had not been issued after AD 408 (Toropu 1973, 52). The Roman fort was restored again in the period of Emperors Anastasius and Justinian when the monetary circulation was resumed. Evermore strange, at Drobeta no monetary hoard was ever found.

The dynamics of the troops fortified in Drobeta in the Late Roman Period requires a special discussion. From the period following the Aurelian withdrawal, there comes an altar dedicated to *Iupiter cohortalis* by a tribune called *Lupus* (Bărcăcilă 1932, 33; Bărcăcilă 1934, 82-84; IGLR 402): *ARA(m)/ IOVI / CO(ho)RTALI/ PRO (centurionibus) O(mnium) O(rdinum) LUPUS / TRIBUNUS* (fig. 120-121). The inscription could be an evidence of the arrival of some troops from the former province of Dacia that withdrew on the line of the Danube. The fact that the military unit from which the tribune *Lupus* belonged to was not mentioned along with the fact that the dedication was made on behalf of all centurions, could

suggest that this was a mixed military unit, made up of troops belonging to several units, gathered under the same command.

In Drobeta, after the Aurelian withdrawal, a *vexillatio* of legio V Macedonica was stationed, which left several stamped bricks (CIL III 8066, 14216; IDR II 99) that could date from the period of Emperors Aurelian-Diocletian (Benea 1977, 176). All of them were stamped with *L(egio) V M(acedonia)* and are typological similar to those from Potaissa and Sucidava. Most likely, after the abandonment of Dacia, on the way to its new garrison, Oescus, legio V Macedonica temporarily transferred a detachment in Drobeta. The same detachment or another one is certified also in Hinova (Davidescu 1989, 33). The resemblance of the stamps of the legion, found in the two fortifications, with those from Potaissa is striking.

Near Drobeta lies Ratiaria, where legio XIII Gemina was fortified. Surprisingly, only one piece of epigraphic evidence was discovered here, a stamped brick from the perimeter of the fort: *LE(gio) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior)* (Tudor 1960, 346 no. 47; IGLR 403), but which is somewhat later. The mentioning of a *P(ars) S(uperior)* of legio XIII Gemina helps us date the stamp as coming from the period after the military reforms of Diocletian, when the legions were divided into two *partes*. It is possible that the dedication made to *Iupiter cohortalis* by the tribune Lupus to refer to the *vexillationes* of both legio V Macedonica and legio XIII Gemina. The following hypothesis can be, however, raised: after the military reforms of Diocletian, the *vexillation* of legio V Macedonica could have been transferred from Drobeta, the defending of the fort being taken over by the detachment of legio XIII Gemina. The presence of the latter in Drobeta is natural considering the vicinity of Ratiaria where legio XIII Gemina had its garrison headquarters as well as the fact that in Pontes-Transdrobeta there was a *praefectura* of this legion (NotDignOr, LXV, 35).

The structure of the military troops in Drobeta changed radically starting with Emperor Constantine the Great, along with the change of the interior of the old fort, in the shape of a Greek cross. In this period, there were fortified two units in Drobeta, according to NotDignOr, (LXV 16; LXIII 24), a *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* and an *auxilium primorum Daciscorum*, both dating from early 4th century up to the end of this century, perhaps even after (according to the last updating of the Notitia Dignitatum in 395). The troops of this kind are the result of the reforms of Emperor Constantine the Great and they were formed because the reduced effectives of the legions had to be brought up to full number. The moment when they were detached to Drobeta is unknown. It could have been the result of the military reforms, mentioned by Joannes Lydus (II, 10 and III, 31) two times; in the latter case, the ancient author wrote that the troops from the north of Danube were targeted as well.

Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium originated, as all the units of *Dalmati*, from the cavalry unit raised by Gallienus; the cognomen *Divitensium* appeared after this regiment had stationed in Divitia (Deutz) (Hoffman 1970, 177-179). The other unit - *auxilium primorum Daciscorum* was an infantry one, belonging to the army of the former Dacian province or recruited from Dacia Ripensis as its name indicates.

Recently, by combining the literary sources with the archaeological evidence (Zahariade 1997, 167 sqq), the area of the fort and the size of the garrison have been compared. On the outside of the "arms" of the cross-shaped building, there were raised 78 square rooms (barracks) for quartering. The sizes of the rooms disposed along the main streets are 3.5 x 3.5

m and 4 x 4 m and they could house six and respectively eight people. In case the rooms had been equipped with bunk beds, the possibilities of quartering would have doubled, but this hypothesis had not been demonstrated (Zahariade 1997, 172, note 8). Moreover, in the Late Roman Period, an operative group seem to have had a number of six soldiers in the command of an *exarchus* (Lambrino 1940; Zahariade 1997, 172; Hodgson 1999, 547; about the *exarchus*, Grosse 1920, 109-110). Thus the 42 rooms of the *praetentura* were probably inhabited by the horsemen of *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* (290/300 men) and the other 36 from the *raetentura* by the infantry men from the *auxilium primorum Daciscorum* (240/250 men).

Even though there cannot be brought serious arguments against this theory, an issue can be raised concerning the somewhat reduced effectives of this kind of units. The figure of 300 people is small for a *cuneus*, taking into account the rank of these troops (CTh 5, 4, 1) and their offensive capacity (Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 45, 1). The only possible explanation is that the cavalry regiment from Drobeta resulted from a larger unit after the implementation of a military reform. In Dorticum (Racovița), (NotDignOr, LXV, 14) there is mentioned another *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* and it is likely that we are dealing with the same large unit, which was subsequently divided into two parts. Thus, it could be estimated that the effectives of a *cuneus* during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great was of about 500-600 men, which seems a reasonable figure. Another problem to be solved is the localization the stables where the horses of the cavalry regiment *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* were kept. The buildings for this purpose could have been those placed between the cross-shaped construction and the enclosing walls, out of which have been preserved only the bases of three layers of brick pillars.

The situation of the *auxilium primorum Daciscorum* is similar. The effectives of the auxiliary troops from Drobeta were estimated at 240-250 men. The number is small for an *auxilium* in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, but it can be explained as it follows. The numeral *primorum* indicates that it originated from a larger unit that was divided at some point (Zahariade 1988, 86). Taking into account the presence of an *auxilium secundorum Daciscorum* in Burgo Zono (NotDignOr, LXIII, 28), we can admit the earlier existence of only one *auxilium Daciscorum*, which was subsequently divided into two detachments. If this is the case, then the document mentioned above recorded a *de facto* situation, namely, the splitting of the Roman military units in this period. Accepting the situation that the two *auxilia* were parts of a larger unit at some point, divided probably later on during the reign of Emperor Constantius II, when the effectives of an *auxilium* during the phase of its formation were of approximately 500 people, which seems to be an acceptable number.

Both dividing operations in the case of the two military units from Drobeta are the consequences of implementing military reforms over the troops from the Lower Danube in the Late Roman Period. Ingeniously, taking into account the strategic importance of Drobeta, here were transferred a group of cavalry and one of infantry troops.

Another important observation is connected to the ethnic origin of the soldiers from Drobeta namely, this type of barracks spread along the main streets, are characteristic to the troops of Illyrian origin (Zahariade 1997, 169).

Judging after the discovered stamps, other units from Aquae and Diana seem to have also conducted military interventions in Drobeta, unless the tegular materials had been imported:

DA(ciae) R(ipensis) DIANA (IGLR 404, 408);

DA(ciae) R(ipensis) AQUIS (IGLR 405);

[D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA (IGLR 407)

The discovery, inside and outside the fortification, of several kilns for burning pottery and bricks (Davidescu 1980, 112-114), proves the existence of ceramic workshops in Drobeta. This may suggest that the demand for construction materials could have been supplied also by the local production. The latest series of stamped bricks could be dated in the second half of the 4th century.

Of great important are also the bricks bearing the stamp *DRVBETA* (CIL III 14216, 13; IGLR 406), as they attest to the manner in which the name of the settlement was pronounced. Nothing contradicts, however, the possibility that "Drubeta" was the name of a military unit.

The elements presented above (archaeological evidence, the dynamics of military troops, the monetary circulation) demonstrate the fact that in the Late Roman Period, Drobeta preserved its military and strategic importance it had had during the 2nd – 3rd centuries.

20. Alba

Alba is a settlement or a Late Roman fortification, located in north of the Danube which has not been identified in the field yet (Bondoc 2002a, 168 no. 7). Its existence is attested indirectly by the recording in NotDignOr, (LXV, 23) of a fortification called *Transalba*, probably located on the southern *ripa* of the Danube, which is also unidentified in the field (Tudor 1960, 351). The opposition Transalba-Alba is a regular one on the limes of the Lower Danube (Diana-Transdiana, Drobeta-Transdrobeta), the particle "*trans*" making the distinction between the two fortifications lain on both sides of the Danube. The toponym "Alba" was frequently used in the Roman Empire: Alba Long, Alba Helviorum, Alba Fucentia.

21. Puținei, Izvorul Bârzii Village, Mehedinți County, Romania

This locality is placed 7 km north of Drobeta (fig. 139). A strong Late Roman fortification of *quadriburgium* type (fig. 140) was built here, in the place called by the local people *Cetatea lui Negru Vodă* (Gudea 1972, 178; Benea 1977, 37-46; Gudea 1982, 110; Tudor 1978, 290-292; Davidescu 1989, 103-105; Benea 1996, 106-107). It was of rectangular shape (100 x 40m), with the sides oriented on the direction of the cardinal points. The width of the walls was not uniform (from 1 m up to 1.60 m). The walls were built alternating a layer of clay, three stone layers, then several stone and mortar layers, on top being laid tiles and bricks. For the precincts, there were used also old Roman monuments: during a personal field survey in 2001, I found inside the fortification, a fragmentary Roman altar without inscriptions, which bore traces of mortar on the surface (Bondoc 2004a, 46-47 no. 54). In the four corners of the fortification, there were raised square towers (7 x 7m) protruded out of the enclosure. The walls of the towers were 1.40 m wide. At a distance of 50-60 m from the northern wall of the enclosure, a defence ditch was dug.

The preservation of the fortification is precarious: the towers on the eastern side have been destroyed by the river Pleșuva and the south-western tower has been ravaged by treasure hunters. The archaeological excavations have not been able to find the entrance, however an interruption of 2.70 m of the enclosure wall has been found on the western side (Benea 1977, 41).

It appears that the fortification was built by superposing an older enclosure, a settlement or a Roman military building from the 2nd - 3rd centuries (Benea 1977, 38 note 4; Tudor 1978, 290; Davidescu 1989, 103-104). Four Roman graves have been discovered by chance near the fortifications (Crăciunescu 1994, 1). The inventory of the two Roman graves was partially saved during the excavations; other two graves 50 m north of the fortification have been just unveiled.

The fortification was partially excavated in 1968 (Benea 1977, 37-46). The inventory found here is quite modest. The ceramics is mostly of a grey-black colour, worked at the potter's wheel, with a great deal of degreasing substance in the paste. One of the three discovered coins on the eastern wall has been considered to have been issued during the period of Emperor Constans. Another coin from the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great or of his followers was found near the southern wall of the enclosure (Benea 1977, 41). A fibula with "onion-shaped" heads (fig. 141), discovered near the western wall was dated around the middle of the 4th century (Benea 1977, 43). A bronze coin has been also found, coming from the period of the reign of Emperor Valentinian I (Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 74 no. 39).

The purpose of raising the fortification from Puținei seems to have been that of an outpost of the Roman fort from Drobeta to blocking the access from the Vâlcan Pass. It has been assumed that the fortification was built during the reign of Emperor Aurelian, or later in the time of Emperor Diocletian (Benea 1977, 45).

However, the possibility that the fortification could have been built later, during the reign of Emperor Constantine cannot be denied. During this period, the Late Roman domination extended to the north of Danube and the locality Puținei is located at 7 km north of Drobeta. An important fact is that the coin dating from the reign of Emperor Constans was discovered right on the wall of the enclosure. Fortifications having relatively large sizes, such as the fortifications from Puținei were built during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great.

There is no epigraphic evidence and generally there is poor information about the fortification from Puținei. The ancient name has remained still unknown. The deviation of the Pleșuva brook, the stone theft committed by local people, the treasure hunting and the modern buildings have contributed and are still contributing to the rather precarious state of preservation of the entire fortification. The date when the fortification was removed from service is not certain; the archaeological excavations have not revealed any traces of a violent destruction. It has been assumed that this event occurred as a result of Hunnic invasions (Benea 1977, 46). It is however very likely that the removal from function of the fortification could not have happened long after AD 378; this can be asserted considering its location far from the fortified line of the Danube and north of the earthen *vallum*, Brazda lui Novac. The lack of traces of a violent destruction could suggest that the fortification was abandoned.

There is no information on the military unit from Puținei. Most probably, the fortification was secured and defended by the garrison from Drobeta.

22. Hinova, Mehedinți County, Romania

A Late Roman fort (fig. 144) of *quadriburgium* type (45.85 x 39.80 m) was built on the first terrace of the Danube at the entrance to this locality. At present, across the fortification, there is located the building of a frontier post. Its geographically dominant position allowed it to supervise the line of the Danube, north-east, up to Drobeta and to Batoți-Tismana, south-west (fig. 143). The archaeological excavations during 1976-1982 (Davidescu 1989, 12-94) revealed thick walls of 1.40-1.50 m, built out of river stone and limestone, alternating with brick layers. The four corner towers were of a rather square shape (3.70 x 3.95m) protruded out of the enclosure. The gate flanked by two rectangular bastions was discovered on the southern side of the fortification with an aperture of 3.65 m. A median tower was discovered on the northern side of the wall. The plan is typical to the *quadriburgium* fortifications (an almost identical construction was raised in Arabia Province, in Kirbet el-Quirana, apud Lander 1984, 28 fig. 3).

Inside the fort, along the enclosure and at a distance of 3.60 – 3.80 m from it, there was a second wall with stone and brick foundation. The wall was identified as the foundation of several barracks-houses (*contubernia*) for the garrison soldiers. Such barracks seem to have been placed, within a *quadriburgium* fortification, mainly near the walls of the enclosure (analogies at Gornea, apud Gudea 1977, 57, but also in other parts of the Empire, for example in Jordan, at Qasr el-Hallabat, apud Kennedy 2000, 92). The superstructure of the barracks was made from wood beams plastered with earth. Each barrack-house had a door towards the yard of the fortification. The aperture of the door was about 1-1.10 m wide. Inside each *contubernium* one or two fire places were discovered (in some cases, there were found two rows of fire places corresponding to the two levels of occupation of the fortification). The total surface of the fortification was approx. of 1,825 m², out of which the houses of the soldiers occupied about 600 m²; the towers were also used for housing. A rectangular building lying at a distance of 2.5 m across the northern median tower was allegedly identified as the headquarters of the commandment. Outside the fortification, three ditches (fig. 147-148) have been dug at a distance of 4 m, 11.50 m and respectively 23 m from the enclosure (Davidescu 1989, 23-24).

The archaeological inventory found in the perimeter of the fort is extremely abundant and it is made of ceramics, tools, weaponry, clothing accessories etc. and a ceramic vessel with the inscription *CONCORDE* (Davidescu 1989, 57). The numismatic discoveries deserve also a special attention (Davidescu, Stângă 1986, 75-102). The coinage findings have been divided into several stages, according to the period when they had been issued: the first Tetrarchy, Emperor Constantine the Great, his sons, the period AD 346-341, Emperors Valentinian-Valens, the period AD 378-383 and finally Emperors Theodosius-Arcadius. The first one corresponds to the construction of the fortification and is represented by coins dating from AD 294, issued in the time of Emperor Galerius (Davidescu 1989, 202), and from AD 304-305 issued in the time of Emperor Maximianus Herculius (Davidescu 1989, 31).

The most intensive phase of monetary circulation, regarding the fortification in discussion, corresponds to the period of the Emperors Valentinian-Valens, when at Hinova

was recorded a maximum flow of currency (Valentinian = 37 pieces; Valens = 47 pieces). This situation was due to the measures taken in this period by the Roman authorities for the fortifying of the Danubian border. In AD 364-365, Emperors Valentinian and Valens made a voyage from Constantinople to Sirmium. In Naissus (Niš) they had an encounter with Tautomedes, *dux limitis Daciae Ripensis*. On the 14th of June 365, the latter received a disposition from the two Emperors (CTh 15, 1, 13), through which they clearly required the restoration of the border fortifications damaged by the passing of time or by barbarian invasions.

After AD 378, the monetary circulation recorded a severe decrease so that at the beginning of the 5th century to be registered a cessation altogether of the coin emissions (the last coin had been issued in the time of Emperor Theodosius II, in the period AD 402-408, cf Davidescu-Stângă 1986, 100).

The numismatic evidence reflects very well the history of the fortification from Hinova. It was raised during the first Tetrarchy; the construction works might have started in the period AD 294-296, as the first coins discovered here leads us to believe. In any event, in the early 4th century the construction works were completed; the coin from AD 305 discovered in the mortar of an inner building represents a certain *terminus post quem*. The first destruction of the fortification took place in AD 378-379. Afterwards it has been restored to be completely destroyed in late 5th century; most probably this was because of the Hunnic attacks from AD 408-409. The violent destruction is archaeologically proved by a consistent level which contains traces of burning.

Recently (Petolescu 1997, 19-22), it has been suggested the identity Hinova-Theodora, the latter mentioned by Procopius (*De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 15). This hypothesis is based mainly on the fact that Hinova has not been restored anymore in 6th century, exactly as the Byzantine author notes. On the other hand, the fortification lay near the southern portal of Trajan's bridge and it is very possible for Procopius to have confused Hinova with Drobeta. The hypothesis of the identity Theodora-Hinova could offer a solution for matching Procopius' information with the actual the situation in the field.

The military units can be recognized after the stamped bricks found in the perimeter of the fortification. The security and defence of the fortification was provided by a unit of legio V Macedonica (fig. 149/a-d), as illustrated by the discovery of 8 stamps with the tegular inscription *L(egio) V M(acedonia)* (Davidescu 1989, 33).

Other tegular stamps discovered here belong to the troops from Diana and Drobeta (fig. 149/e-h):

DIANA (Davidescu 1989, 35);

DA(ciae) R(ipensis) DIANA (Davidescu 1989, 36);

DRVBETA (Davidescu 1989, 36)

A special and obscure type of stamps are those in the shape of a rectangular cartouche with a mark inside, similar to number "5" (fig. 151-152), lacking the horizontal bar (Davidescu 1989, fig. XV, Stângă 1998, pl. XXV/5-8).

The presence of artillerists in the garrison from Hinova is documented by the discovery in the fortification of several spherical stone projectiles (Davidescu 1989, 67, without photographs or drawings; Bondoc 2002, 643 no. 5). These projectiles (fig. 156-157) could have been launched by the defenders of the fortifications, using war machines or even thrown

way. Very likely, these machines were placed on the towers of the fortification, especially on the one located on the middle of the northern side, which was meant also for such purposes.

The archaeological findings have proved the presence of barbarian mercenaries in the fortification of Hinova: a piece from a Hunnic cauldron (Davidescu 1980, 84 fig. 7) (fig. 161) and a Germanic shield boss (Davidescu 1989, 68 fig. 19/g) (fig. 153/g and fig. 154/10). Since both pieces were found inside the fortification, it can be concluded that they belonged to foreign mercenaries in the service of the Empire.

The analysis of the animal remains discovered in the perimeter of the fortification (El Susi 1993, 215-221) revealed some interesting aspects of the everyday lives of the soldiers from Hinova. Fishing, cattle farming and hunting were the favourite occupations of the soldiers from the garrison of the fortification. A wide range of tools and instruments have been discovered during the archaeological excavations: scythes, hoes, pruning knives, cattle bells, knives, harpoons, fish hooks, anvils, chisels, drills, etc. These discoveries allow us to believe that other occupations were agriculture and metalworking. The conclusion according to which the military unit from Hinova was formed also out of local people, who besides their military duties had other occupations, seems to be supported.

23. Batoți-Tismana, Devesel Village, Mehedinți County, Romania

A Roman fortification was raised in the area of this locality (fig. 164-165). It lay on the bank of the Danube River, 2 km south of the locality, in the place called *Cetățuia*. Unfortunately, the fortification was entirely destroyed by the waters of the Danube (in 2002 I made a field survey on the bank of the river in this area and I could not spot any archaeological traces).

The fortification was recorded for the first time in 1845 by August Treboniu Laurian, who noticed there some *traces of ancient constructions* (Laurian 1845, 91). The ancient name of the fortification remains still unknown. The plan drew up by Gr Tocilescu and Polonic (apud Tudor 1978, fig. 68 /5) depicts a quadrilateral-shaped fortification, out of which, at that time, there had been still preserved its south-eastern corner (70 x 50m). On this section, the fortification had been surrounded by an *agger*. This was considered (Tudor 1978, 265, no. 4. Davidescu 1980, 203; Toropu 1986, 47; Davidescu 1989, 106) to have been a Late Roman fortification (N. Gudea has considered it an auxiliary fort of the 2nd - 3rd centuries, cf. Gudea 2001, 86 no. 21a).

East to the fortification, in its proximity, passed a Roman road that used to follow the northern bank of the Danube, from Orșova to Islaz (Tudor 1978, 56). Recently (Stângă 1998, 95 pl. XLIX/3), there has been reported the discovery here of a large storage vessel (*dolia*) (fig. 166). It is also known that the walls of the fortification were built out of stone and brick (Tudor 1978, 265), which could indicate that the construction was raised during the first Tetrarchy. On the western side, the fortification was provided with a wide defence ditch of 10 m, locally called *Hunia* (Tudor 1978, 265). The military unit from this fortification remains still unknown.

24. Izvorul Frumos, Burila Mare Village, Mehedinți County, Romania

The Late Roman fortification from this locality (Tudor 1978, 281; Davidescu 1989, 106-107) has been destroyed by the waters of the Danube (fig. 167-168). On the plan drew up

in 1890 by P. Polonic (apud Tudor 1978, 266, fig. 68/2, 285, fig. 78/2) the fortification was in a quadrilateral shape. It has been noticed that the walls were made of river stone and mortar work, alternating with brick layers for levelling (Davidescu 1989, 106). The fortification had both a *vallum* and a defence ditch. In its proximity lay a civilian settlement.

At that time, Izvoru Frumos represented a "bridgehead" of the south-Danubian fortification from Egeta (Brza Palanka), where were stationed important Roman military effectives, both terrestrial and naval. Neither the date of its construction nor the moment of its destruction can be specified. A coin found nearby dates from the time of Emperor Constans (Tudor 1978, 189). There is no information about the military garrison stationed here.

25. Ostrovu Mare, Gogoşu Village, Mehedinţi County, Romania

On Ostrovu Mare Island more archaeological sites have been reported belonging to several periods of time. For the present subject, the following discoveries are relevant. A fragmentary inscription (CIL III 12600 = IDR II 138) could be dating from the 2nd - 3rd centuries. Some of the published coins had been issued in the time of the following emperors: Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Gallienus, Claudius II, Constantius Chlorus, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Urbs Roma, Constans, Constantius II, Valentinianus I and Mauricius Tiberius (Bărcăcilă 1957, 419-421; Tudor 1978, 220-221; Davidescu 1989, 107). There should also be taken into account the traces of some constructions mentioned by Al. Bărcăcilă, belonging to a fortification surrounded by a ditch and a defence *vallum* (Davidescu 1989, 113-114). The late dating of the brick with the stamp [CO]H(ORS) VIII discovered in Balta Verde (IDR II 140) is uncertain (Petolescu 1981, 602 no. 29).

The construction of The Iron Gates hydroelectric plant allowed the discovery of the ruins of a Roman harbour (fig. 187), whose wooden unloading deck have been well preserved in the sand of the island (Davidescu 1989, 110 fig. 34). The fragments of layers are made of stone, bricks and lime mortar, being datable in the 4th century.

Continuing the research in year 1981, M. Davidescu found a part of the Late Roman fortification (fig. 169-170). The archaeological excavations (Davidescu 1989, 113-117) revealed only a section of the eastern wall of the enclosure, 23.50 m long. It was built from river stone, carved blocks of limestone and brick. The wall was 2.80 m wide. In the northernmost point of the wall, there was found a circular tower with the inner diameter of 3.50 m, and in the southernmost point, there was another tower, pentagonal-shaped outside and rectangular-shaped inside (4.05 x 3.45 m). Both towers were protruded out of the enclosure. A gate with an aperture of 3.27 m was found at a distance of 8.50 m from the northern tower. It had been blocked at some point by a rectangular tower. The technical and archaeological evidence seems to lead us to the hypothesis that we are dealing with a fortification of the *quadriburgium* type. The fact that the northern, southern and eastern sides of the fortification have not been found, led the author of the excavations to the conclusion that the fortification was not completed, although he had seen traces of organized destruction of the enclosure such as the removal of the stone along the wall. M. Davidescu dated the fortification during the reign of Emperor Justinian and believed that there must have been another fortification from the 4th century, undiscovered yet.

Concerning the above assertions, several considerations have to be made. On the first hand, the excavated wall was only a section from the eastern side of the fortification, which

must have been continuing to the south, as the plan suggests, as beyond the southern tower, there can be easily noticed an extension of the wall. In this case, the pentagonal tower cannot be a corner tower, but a median tower. On the other hand, the placement of the gate at different distances from the corner towers is an unusual situation, like the fact that the gate was blocked by a rectangular tower which would have made sense only if the fortification had been older and restored, not started and unfinished. The northern tower can be considered a corner tower to the extent that the westward corbel was rather a section of the northern side of the fortification. A coin from the period of Emperor Aurelian was discovered during the excavations (Davidescu 1989, 116), and another one coming from the time of Emperor Valens was found in the enclosure wall (Davidescu 1989, 116, the author considered that the piece had no connection to the enclosure). On the island, there have been made other findings of coins from the same period, issued in the time of emperors like: Probus, Diocletianus and Constantius (Stângă 1980, 122).

The discovery of a couple of stamped bricks with the legends *DIANA* (Stângă 2003, 85 fig. 2/7) and *AQUI[s]*, both from the 4th century (Bondoc 2007, 490-499) has raised the hypothesis that the fortification from Ostrovu Mare was built at that time. The bricks were brought here from the tegular material trade, the first brick came from Karataš (*Diana*) and the second one from Negotin (*Aquae*); the latter fortification is located just across Ostrovu Mare, on the southern bank of the Danube. Another brick bears the stamp *Da(cia) Rip(ensis)* (Bondoc 2007, 490-499, fig. 171-178).

No information on the military unit which guarded the fortification has been obtained. Considering the stamped bricks, it is possible to think that detachments could have been transferred from the south-Danubian fortifications of Diana and Aquae.

M. Davidescu recorded, in the archaeological inventory found here, three round pieces of limestone (Davidescu 1989, 116), that have been considered to be weights for fishing nets. Out of them, the largest one, although perforated in the middle, could have been a projectile for a war machine, a hypothesis that is not supported by any clear archaeological evidence yet (there are no drawings or photos, cf. Bondoc 2002, 643 no. 6).

Most probably, during the reigns of Emperors Anastasius and Justinian, the fortification has been restored; a period in which the gate was blocked and a pentagonal-shaped tower was erected, situated at the southern end of the excavated section of the wall; the closest analogy for this type of towers can be found in Hajdučka Vodenica, where a similar construction dating from the reign of Emperor Justinian has been excavated (Jovanović 1982-1983, 331). Other similar towers, of the same shape and dating from the same period, can be found in Sucidava (towers I and J, cf. Tudor 1978, 424, fig. 127).

Therefore, it can be concluded that on Ostrovu Mare Island, there was a single construction, built in the 4th century, and then restored in 6th century. The dating in the 4th century is based on the stamped bricks found in the walls of the tower, and also on the coin issued in the time of the Emperor Valens, found exactly on the wall of the fortification. The fact that the stamps recorded only toponyms and the name of the province, could suggest a later period, perhaps the mid 4th century- early 5th century. Unfortunately, there is no further information. In the 6th century, after the rule of the Roman Empire along the line of the Danube had been re-established, the fortification was restored and most probably this was the moment when the pentagonal tower was built.

26. Izvoarele, Gruia Village, Mehedinți County, Romania

Lying on the left bank of the Danube, across *Aquae* (Negotin), the fortification from Izvoarele (fig. 189) was identified in the field for the first time by August Laurian Treboniu, who found here *ruins of ancient walls* (Laurian 1845, 91). Later the fortification was recorded by Gr. Tocilescu and Polonic. According to their descriptions (apud Tudor 1978, 279) this was a square-shaped fortification (100 x 100m) with corner towers, a *vallum* and a defence ditch. In its proximity, there are a necropolis and a civilian settlement (Tudor 1978, 279-281). There can be still seen traces of the walls of the fortification on the surface of the ground (I personally observed this during a field survey in 2000).

The excavations conducted by M. Davidescu (Davidescu 1989, 118), began in 1968, revealed the existence of an enclosure wall on the southern side of 4.80 m long and 1.55 m thick (fig. 190). The carved stone blocks as well as a rectangular buttress suggest a carefully built construction. Unfortunately, the theft of the stone by the local people and the modern buildings destroyed the fortification almost entirely. Other findings are: Roman and Late Roman pottery, 4th century coins, issued in the time of the emperors: Constantius II, Urbs Roma, Constantinopolis, Justin II (Berciu, Comșa 1956, 401, 401; Tudor 1978, 281), a fibula with "onion-shaped" heads (fig. 191) from the 4th century (Berciu, Comșa 1956, 401, fig. 131/2), bricks, etc.

The moment when the fortification was built could be placed probably during the reign of Emperor Constantine. The date when it was destroyed remains still unknown like the name of the military unit that guarded and defended the fortification in Izvoarele.

27. Desa, Dolj County, Romania

The localization of the Roman fort from Desa, related to the civilian settlement, both lying on the bank of the Danube River, 12 km distant south-east of the locality, still raises discussions. Gr. Tocilescu and Polonic localized the fort on the bank called *Castravița* (apud Tudor 1978, 274; Gudea 2001, 94 no. 30a). In the late 19th century-early 20th century, when it was discovered, the walls of the fort had been damaged by the waters of the Danube more than 50%. Some of its sides had been partially preserved, the north-western side (30m) and the south-eastern one (30 m) while the north-eastern side had been entirely preserved (80m) (fig. 193). The walls were 1.50-2 m thick. The fortification had a defence ditch of 10 m wide and 1.50 m deep.

According to other opinions, the localization in the field of the fort on the bank Castravița remains still uncertain. In this area, must have existed another fortified point or rather a Roman settlement (Tudor 1978, 223). In 1967, O. Toropu localized the fort near the fluvial mile numbered 767, indicating that its ruins could be seen in dry summers when the waters of the river were quite low. I personally conducted an archaeological field survey in Desa, in 1997. Excepting a few bricks found on the bank of the Danube, I did not find anything special, the ruins of the fort being probably entirely under the waters of the river. Also, the archaeological excavations initiated in 2001, did not reveal any information on the location of the fort (Gherghe, Nica, Ridiche 2002, 121-124). The plan drew up by Gr. Tocilescu and Polonic (apud Tudor 1978, fig. 68/6) clearly demonstrates that the two scholars have found the Roman fort.

The only archaeological evidence in support of a Late Roman fortification in Desa is a brick fragment (fig. 194-195) with the stamp *L(egio) XIII G(emin) RAT(iaria)*, "taken out of a Roman wall" (Tudor 1936, 187). I found some traces of a Late Roman settlement in the point called *Răduncu* (Bondoc 1999, 52), and a necropolis seems to have lain in the point called *Lăstuni* (acc. to O. Toropu, apud Tudor 1978, 223-224).

The coins discovered in the civilian settlement extend chronologically from Vespasian to Constantius II (Tudor 1978, 223), and those from the fort, from Augustus to Constans (Tudor 1978, 274). Other findings are: Late Roman pottery, a bronze eagle (Pârvan 1913, 26), glassware objects, etc.

Judging by the preserved plan, this does not appear to be a new fortification. In the Late Roman Period the old fort, dating from the 2nd-3rd centuries, was probably still used (as in the case of the fort from Pojejena, see above no. 6). Located across Ratiaria, the Roman fort from Desa was restored most likely during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great. In this respect, it is important to notice that the monetary circulation presents a gap in the period between Philippus Arabs and Constantine the Great (Toropu 1976, 21; Tudor 1978, 274). According to an opinion stated a few decades ago (Toropu 1973, 51-52) the coins cannot represent the basis for establishing the moment when the fortification was abandoned since no systematic archaeological excavations had been conducted in Desa.

The brick stamped with the inscription *L(egio) XIII G(emin) RAT(iaria)* (Tudor 1936, 187; IGLR 401) attests the presence of a unit of legio XIII Gemina in the old fort in Desa. The stamp is identical to those discovered in Ratiaria (CIL III 14597; Tudor 1960, 345).

The discovery of artefacts from the migrations period in the area of Desa, like a Hunnic cauldron (Nestor, Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1937, 178-179) and two Germanic swords (Gherghe, Ridiche 2007, 197, pl. V) certify the actual presence of different foreign populations in the area (fig. 196-197).

28. Bistreț, Dolj County, Romania

At a distance of 12 km south of this locality, on the bank of the Danube, Gr. G. Tocilescu and Polonic found two Roman forts (fig. 198-199), one made of earth and the other of stone (apud Tudor 1978, 265 and Vlădescu, Zahariade 1986, 29). We will be referring here strictly to the stone fort, which was proved to date from the 4th century (Vlădescu, Zahariade 1986, 29-40).

To the end of the 19th century, from the enclosure of the stone fortification only the northern side had been still preserved, 180 m long, with an additional 20 m from the western side, the rest of the walls being destroyed by the waters of the Danube. The fortification lay right across the fluvial kilometre number 716, at a height of 5 m from the water level of the Danube. The enclosure wall was 2 m thick and was made of stone blocks and bricks. The corner towers might have been in a semicircular shape (Tudor 1978, 265). According to the older historiography, the fortification was defended by two ditches, 15 m wide and 1 m deep, between which a *vallum* was raised, of 1 m high and 8 m wide at the base, (Tudor 1978, 265); however, recent archaeological excavations have revealed only one defence ditch (fig. 202). In its proximity, there was a pedestal of stone (4.40 x 4.60 m), entirely destroyed at present, which seems to have belonged to a port facility (on Polonic's plan this is noted with the letter **A**, cf. Tudor 1978 265).

P. Polonic found in Bistreț a series of Roman Republican coins, but also Late Roman ones from the period of the emperors: Diocletian, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Constantius II and Valentinian (apud Tudor 1978, 265).

In 1985, when the first archaeological excavations took place (C.M. Vlădescu, M. Zahariade), about 3/4 of the fortification had already been destroyed. It was revealed that the enclosure wall had actually been of 1.60 –1.80 m thick and that the fortification had had only one defence ditch. The presumed tower had not been identified, being probably destroyed by the local people, who had been looking for stone for various modern constructions. Other technical details could not have been obtained. The archaeological inventory consists of several coins (Constantius II, Constantius Gallus), a bronze buckle (fig. 204), Late Roman pottery (fig. 207-209), weights of clay and stone projectiles (fig. 205).

In the area of Bistreț locality, a hoard has been discovered (Toropu 1976, 205; Tudor 1978, 117), containing coin emissions from the time of the emperors Constantine the Great, Constans, Valentinian I, Valens, Urbs Roma, a few coins that could not have been dated, and ending with Arcadius (1 AE, issued between 383-385). It appears that the monetary circulation in the Late Roman Period began however, much earlier, as proven by the discovered coins that had been issued in the time of the emperors: Carus, Constantine the Great, Constantius II (Iliescu 1957, 461), Diocletian, Licinius, Constantine I and probably Valentinian (I ?) (Protase 1966, 180).

We can infer that the Late Roman fortification from Bistreț was built during the reign of Constantine the Great as a “bridgehead” of the fortification Cebrum/Cebrus from Dacia Ripensis; in the latter fortification, there had been stationed a *cuneus equitum scutariorum* (NotDignOr, LXIII, 15) and a *praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae* (NotDignOr, LXV, 32). The moment when the fortification from Bistreț was removed from service cannot be specified. Since no traces of violent destruction (fire) have been revealed, it is possible for the fortification to have been simply abandoned.

The name of the military unit of the fortification from Bistreț is still unknown. We can form an idea regarding the kind of troops stationed here, based on the archaeological discoveries that revealed a few stone projectiles (Vlădescu, Zahariade 1986, 29-40). They prove the existence, in the fortification from Bistreț, of troops that included, at least partially, artillerymen (Bondoc 2002, 643 no. 7). Another interesting archaeological discovery coming from Bistreț is a brick (fig. 206), on which had been scratched a game of morris (this item is exhibited in the Central Military Museum from Bucharest; a similar item was found in Drobeta, cf. Miclea, Florescu 1980, fig. 326).

The presence of Germanic elements in the area can be attested by an inhumation grave belonging to a warrior (fig. 210), but dating from a later period (Marcu 1987, 184-191).

29. Orlea, Olt County, Romania

So far, no traces of a Late Roman fortification have been found in the field in the locality Orlea. However, the archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence leave no doubt on its existence. Thus, in the surroundings and on the territory of this locality there were found, in several points, Late Roman coins and ceramics (Toropu 1976, 214; Tudor 1978, 230-231). Other findings consist of fibulae (fig. 216), with "onion-shaped" heads (Toropu 1976, pl. 18/2-5) and a Germanic fibula with a rhomboid-shaped pin (Toropu 1976,

pl. 18/7). The monetary circulation was very intense in the Late Roman Period (Winkler, Băloi, 1971-1973).

The importance of the Orlea settlement the Roman age is also suggested by the fact that the Orlea-Vadin ford was used for the building of a bridge (Tudor 1971, 17-31). The bridge which was recorded very accurately by Count Marsigli (Marsigli 1726, fig. XXXVIII) at Vadin (today Dolni Vadin, in Bulgaria) and which was located by D. Tudor at Orlea (Tudor 1971, 17-31), will not be discussed here. As N. Vintilă has shown (Vintilă 2004, 27-29) and as I have personally noticed during two field surveys, the bridge was built between Dolni Vadin (on the southern bank of the Danube, in Bulgaria) and Grojdibodu (on the northern bank, in Romania). But I will resume the discussion of this problem some other time.

Concerning the possibility of the existence of a military point in Orlea during the Late Roman Period, in the Museum from Orlea, there are some stamped bricks and tiles (fig. 211-214) as it follows (Toropu 1976, 214):

L(egio) V M(acedonica) CO(hors) II[I] or II[II]

L(egio) V M(acedonica) OES(co)

L(egio) V M(acedonica) VA[R](inia)

VARINIA

VARI(niae) DAL(mati)

VTO

DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis)

All the elements briefly presented above, prove the existence of a "bridgehead" in Orlea, in the Late Roman Period.

30. Sucidava (Celei, Olt County), Romania

Sucidava is the most important Late Roman fortification from the northern *ripa* of the Lower Danube. Its history reflects clearly the stages through which the fortification of the Danubian line underwent, in the 3rd - 6th centuries. A fort dating from the 2nd - 3rd centuries has not been identified with certainty, but its location might be somewhere under the modern village that has superposed the ancient city (Tudor 1978, 307). However, a *castra aestiva* must have existed here at least during the Dacian wars (Tudor 1978, 199-201; Bondoc 2006, 45, no. 4).

The fortification (fig. 239) was identified in the field by comparing the information from NotDignOr (LXV, 39) with the inscription (fig. 281) dedicated to goddess Nemesis (Pârvan 1913, 61; IGLR 277 = IDR II 190) and it had been built in the south-eastern corner of the ancient city, on a high plateau. Over the Danube, across Sucidava, there was the Roman town and fortification called *Oescus*; in the Ancient Period, the ford Sucidava-Oescus represented an important economic and strategic area for crossing the Danube, wherefrom the concern of the Romans to ensure its security and safety. Accordingly, the possibility of obtaining some commercial traffic taxes must have been also taken into consideration. In the surrounding areas, there were forests for hunting and wood, lakes for fishing, fertile fields for agriculture, all favouring an intense habitation in Antiquity. The fortification did not slip Marsigli's attention (fig. 230), who inexplicably, however, presented it quite superficially (Marsigli 1726, II tab. 16 fig. XL).

The first to assert that the ruins of the ancient Sucidava were in Celei, was August Treboniu Laurian (Laurian 1845, 90). His point of view was confirmed half a century later, after the discovery of the inscriptions mentioned above (IGLR 277 = IDR II 190). In Sucidava, an impressive number of archaeological excavations have been conducted (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 11-19), targeting both the fortification as well as the civilian settlement. The most important foreign began in 1936, led by Prof. D. Tudor and the research has been continued, with some interruptions, until today.

The plateau, where the fortification was raised, was high enough to allow a good observation of the area. The fortification was isolated from the rest of the settlement by a natural ravine, which was fitted up as a defence ditch (fig. 240-241). The first Roman fortification to have been built in this place dates from the time of Emperor Gallienus (Barbu 1973, 42 sqq.; Barbu 1974, 84; IDR II 101); other opinions have placed the beginnings of the fortification in the time of Emperor Aurelian (Tudor 1978, 430) or Emperor Constantine the Great (Tudor 1968, 432). Because it was restored so many times, the shape of the original fortification cannot be determined. Establishing the starting point of the construction works is a difficult issue to solve, however dating it during the reign of Emperor Gallienus seems the most plausible conclusion. This fact has a very important significance, demonstrating that the line of the Danube had been fortified before Dacia was abandoned by the Romans. Throughout time, the fortification underwent many constructive phases, the most important restorations dating from the times of Constantine the Great (324-328) and Anastasius-Justinian. Finally, in the 16th century, the south-eastern corner of the fortification was structured like a Romanian medieval redoubt. The stone for the construction works was brought from quarries from Bulgaria today, at a short distance from Sucidava.

The dimensions of the fortification are as it follows (cf. Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 74-75): the western side (the towers A-E) - 126.05 m; the north-eastern side (the towers E-J) - 161.15 m; the southern side (destroyed) - approx. 160 m. The enclosure wall is double; the inner wall is of 1.60-1.67 m thick and the outer one of 1.60-1.65 m. On the southern side of the fortification the wall has no longer been preserved. The archaeological excavations have revealed 10 towers protruded out of the enclosure, 8 interior towers, 9 segments of walls and a gate. The sizes and mostly the different shapes of the towers (arc, irregular rectangular, rectangular, semicircular, trapezoidal, pentagonal) suggest the existence of several phases of construction and reconstruction (fig. 243-251).

A gate was built on the western side of the fortification at the same time with the inauguration of the bridge built by Constantine the Great. It had an aperture of 2.50 m, without being flanked by bastions. In the opening of the gate, there were in fact two gates (fig. 252-253): one with *cataracta*, the other with two wings. The gate was functional only during the existence of the bridge, being blocked afterwards. Inside, parallel to the enclosure wall, 5-6 m from it, there was a series of pillars made of stone, brick and mortar layers in order to support various constructions: barracks, warehouses, deposits and most importantly the barracks of the soldiers from the garrison of Sucidava (Tudor 1978, 427-428). To quarter them, the barracks were built of stone and brick or wood or adobe bricks, smeared with clay (Tudor 1978, 443). Each barrack had a fireplace. It has been considered that the main occupations of the soldiers were agriculture and fishing.

Also important, is the discovery in this area of a house (9 x 6.50 m) added to the enclosure wall, with the walls made of adobe bricks (Barbu 1974, 83-92). The house was covered with tiles placed on a structure made of wooden beams. The inventory which consists of ceramic and glass vessels, ceramic lamps, gold ornaments, coins, etc., suggests a certain social or military status. Probably the building belonged to a military man of high rank (officer). The dating of the complex was placed in late 4th century or possibly in early 5th century (Barbu 1974 88 sqq). If the destruction of this complex is attributed to the Huns led by Uldes, after the attacks in AD 408-410 (Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 5, 1), then this date represents an important indication of a difficult moment from the existence of the fortification. Moreover, a general level of destruction of the fortification was dated in this period (Barbu 1973, 34), a theory based also on the study of two hoards discovered in 1968 (Poenaru-Bordea, Barbu 1970, 290-295).

From a stratigraphic point of view, there can be established six phases of construction of the fortification which correspond to four levels of occupation (apud Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 83-85). The first level of occupation is contemporary with the first phase and can be placed chronologically between approx. AD 265/274-323. In that time, at Sucidava, the first military fortification was raised *a fundamentis*. The inner wall, the first defence ditch and the western winged-gate were built in the first phase. The second level of occupation (aprox. AD 324/328-378/382) corresponds to the second and third phases of construction. This is supported by a hoard discovered in 1866, ended with coins issued in the time of Emperor Gratianus (Bolliac 1956, 233; Tudor 1978, 118 - Celei III). In the second phase, there were built the outer wall, the second defence ditch, the towers protruded out of the enclosure, the western gate with *cataracta*, as well as the inner constructions, out of which only the series of pillars have been still preserved. Corresponding largely to Constantine's period, also in the second phase the walls of the civilian settlement (in the southern part) were rebuilt, the bridge opened in the year 328 was raised, and the road was restored (a attested by a milestone from the period of Constantine the Great) that started from the Danube onwards the Olt river valley

In the third phase, the outer wall of the fortification and its towers were repaired while the inner towers had been erected. The third level of habitation (approx. AD 383-447) includes the fourth and the fifth phases. In the fourth phase, the outer wall of the fortification was repaired along with the interior towers and towers protruded out of the enclosure, probably damaged during the events from AD 378-379. In the fifth phase, in the context of the Hunnic threat, the walls and towers were consolidated. However, Sucidava was destroyed by the Huns. The fourth level of occupation (about AD 498/535 - late 6th century) corresponds to the sixth phase of construction and attests to the military return of the Roman Empire on the Danubian border in the Pre-Byzantine Period.

The civilian settlement (fig. 231-235), at present, superposed by the modern village Celei, dating much earlier than the fortification, had its beginnings in the first half of the 2nd century (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 61-62). At an unknown date, the civilian settlement was fortified with ditches and defence walls. The last restorations of the settlement walls have been dated to the beginning of the 4th century. At this time, in Sucidava, lay an *officina* manufacturing lead mirrors (Tudor 1959, 425). Moreover, nearby there were port facilities (Tudor 1978, 198) serving the naval traffic on the Danube. Fortified with a defence ditch, the civilian settlement was enclosed by a wall of stone with circular corner towers and rectangular

median towers, all of them protruding out of the enclosure. The walls enclosed a rather trapezoidal area with the northern and western sides of approximately 500 m and respectively 487 m. The access to the settlement was done on two gates located on the northern side and southern sides of the fortification.

In Sucidava, beside the tombs or the groups of isolated tombs, there have also been discovered several necropolises (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 87 sqq). Only the necropolis, north of the civilian settlement, was entirely excavated (the results of the excavations have already been published); it has been concluded that the necropolis was used during the 2nd- the 4th centuries (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 90-94).

The monetary circulation in Sucidava was very intense and it started with the coins that had been issued in the time of Emperor Trajan. After some fluctuations, it was first interrupted in the time of Theodosius II (408-450), confirming at that moment the fortification was removed from function, sometime in early 5th century (Mitrea 1968, 1, 177; Poenaru-Bordea, Barbu 1970, 251 -295; Tudor 1978, 118; Poenaru Bordea-1998, 41-81). Half of the hoards found here consist of coins last issued in the time of the same Emperor (Tudor 1978, 118), being buried because of the uncertainty caused by the Hunnic raids. A revival of the monetary circulation was recorded in the 6th century, when the fortification of Sucidava was again under the rule of the Empire.

The defence of the fortifications in the Late Roman Period had been permanently assured by sub-units belonging to legio V Macedonica. The presence in Sucidava of detachments belonging to this legion is certified by the large number of stamped bricks (fig. 282-301) found in the perimeter of the fortification (Tudor 1974, 74-75; IGLR 277-299; the latest classification and dating at Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 103-104). The typological-chronological draft established almost three decades ago for the stamps of legio V Macedonica (Petre 1974, 38 note 46) from the 1st to the 6th centuries is still valid today. Four types of tegular stamps were established, depending on the places where the unit was stationed throughout time: Oescus (until AD 106), Troesmis (AD 107-169), Potaissa (AD 169-275) and Sucidava-Oescus (after AD 275). Referring only to the Late Roman Period, in Sucidava, there have been discovered 25 types of stamps (Tudor 1974, 74).

Before moving on to the presentation of the tegular stamps from Late Roman Period discovered in Sucidava, it is necessary to point out that some of them got there as a result of the trade of tegular material. We refer mainly to the much debated *Cohors III* and *Cohors IV* of legio V Macedonica, about which it has been asserted that they were transferred from Oescus to Sucidava to build and defend the latter fortification (Tudor 1974, 74). In fact, as it has been noticed (ILD, 82 no. 117), stamped tiles and bricks with the numbers of the two cohorts have also been found to the south of the Danube, sometimes at great distance from one another (for discoveries of the same type from Romuliana/Gamzigrad, see *Gamzigrad. Kasnoantički tzarski dvoratz* 45, Beograd, 1983, fig. 127). Therefore, the stamps of the two cohorts (III and IV) of legio V Macedonica, prove that the pieces are a result of the trade with tegular material.

The first period that includes a series of stamps is dated between the reigns of Emperors Gallienus/Aurelian until the first reforms of Diocletian:

L(egio) V M(acedonica) (CIL III 8066b; IGLR 279);

L(egionis) V M(acedonicae) CO(ho)RS III (Tudor 1941, 377; IGLR 280);
CO(ho)RS III (IGLR 281);
[L(egionis) V] M(acedonicae) P(rae)P(ositus) C(ohortis) III (Tudor 1960, 337 no.5; IGLR 282);
L(egionis) V M(acedonicae) C(ohors) IIII or *LEG(ionis) V M(acedonicae) C(ohors) IIII* (Tudor 1953, 706; IGLR 283);
Rom(ulus) p(rae)p(ositus) C(ohortis) IIII (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 103).

The period of Emperors Diocletian - Constantine the Great, until mid 4th century includes another numerous series of stamps:

L(egio) V M(acedonica) OES(co) (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 335; IGLR 284);
L(egio) V M(acedonica) VAR(inia) (Tudor 1935-1936, 413, fig. 16/d);
[L(e)]G(io) V M(acedonica) S(ub) C(ura) ROM(uli) (Tudor 1935-1936, 414; IGLR 285);
P(rae)P(ositus) RIP(ae) VAR(iniae) (Tudor 1960, 339);
LE(gio) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior) (IGLR 287);
L(egio) VII (Claudia) S(ub) C(ura) VRSA[ci F(lavi) AR]GVTI OF(ficina) (Toropu 1988-1989, 35);
NV(merianus ?) P(rae)P(ositus) R(ipae) (IGLR 292);
E(quitēs) N(umeri) C(onstantianorum) (IGLR 288 A);
DAL(matae) VARI(niae) and *VARI(niae) DAL(matae)* (Tudor 1935-1936, 413-413; IGLR 289 A);
C(uneus) A(equitum) D(almatarum) (Tudor 1941, 379; IGLR 296).

The stamps containing also toponyms (Oescus, Varinia) together with the names of the legion prove the division of the unity into several sub-units, with different garrison places. It can be noticed the explicit mentioning of the border commanders (*praepositi ripae*), sometimes nominated in an abbreviated manner: Romulus, Numerianus (if it was correctly registered). The stamps certifying cavalry troops (*equites, cunei*) could had come from the south-Danubian fortifications in the vicinity of Varinia and Utus where NotDignOr, (XLII, 31 and 18 respectively, XLII, 21) recorded such garrison units. The bricks manufactured by the *officinae* of legio XIII Gemina and legio VII Claudia must have been imported, being more difficult to explain the presence of two sub-units belonging to these two legions, situated at a great distance from Sucidava.

During a fortaign of archaeological excavations conducted after 1990, a stamp was found with the text *[P(raefectus) L(egionis) V M(acedonicae)] VAL(eriana)* (Toropu, Gherghe, Bâciu 1996, 12).

NotDignOr (XLII, 39) recorded at Sucidava a *praefectura* of legio V Macedonica: *praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae*. This justifies also the large number of stamps of legio V Macedonica found in the fortification. A *praefectura*, belonging to legio V Macedonica, was set in Sucidava, most probably, during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great, after Licinius had been eliminated in AD 324. Starting with this moment appeared the need of setting up a *praefectura* due to the increasing importance of the fortification, after the road from the Olt Valley had been repaired of the and a stone bridge had been built from Sucidava to Oescus.

The last series of stamps discovered Sucidava date from mid 4th century - early 5th century:

VARINIA (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 32; Tudor 1935-1936, 413; IGLR 289);

[VAR]INA [V]ARIN(a) (IGLR 291);

VTO and *OTV* (Tudor 1935-1936, 416; IGLR 293);

ALM(a) (Tudor 1941, 379; IGLR 294);

DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis) (Tudor 1935-1936, 416; IGLR 295).

This last group of tegular stamps contains the names *Varinia* (Lescovec) and *Almus* (Lom). In the fortification from *Varinia*, there were a *praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae* and a *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* (NotDignOr, XLII, 31 and 18). At *Utus*, the eastern border of Dacia Ripensis, according to NotDignOr (XLII, 21), a *cuneus equitum Constantinianorum* was stationed. *Almus* (Lom), a Late Roman fortification, was defended by a *cuneus equitum stablesianorum* (NotDignOr, XLII, 19). In all cases, it is rather difficult to say whether we are dealing with troops transferred from these fortifications to Sucidava. On one of the bricks with the stamp *VTO*, there were drawn three horses – a fact explained by D. Tudor through the alleged equestrian character of the troop (Tudor 1960, 340-341 no. 19). Finally, the stamps with the text *DACIA RIPENSIS* attest to the presence of a military unit whose name is not specified.

Interesting details about the type of the troops from Sucidava have been found in the semicircular towers protruded out of the enclosure which have been used until the end of the 4th century. They were used as platforms for war machines (Tudor 1978, 430), meant for throwing projectiles to a great distance. The height point of the plateau on which the fortification was built represented an excellent place for setting ballistic machines. The discoveries of spherical projectiles (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 73, 112; Bondoc 2007a, 247-256), inside the civilian settlement and the fortification, support these considerations (the pieces are exhibited at the National Military Museum from București).

Some of the archaeological discoveries are not of Roman origin. We are referring to the tomb of a Germanic warrior (fig. 313-314) buried with sword (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 94 fig. XXXII/1-2) and several *fibulae* (fig. 310) having heads in the shape of a semi-disk or in the shape of a rhomboid plate (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 99 fig. 23/1-2).

In 1993, when I was a student, during the archaeological excavations led by Professor O. Toropu, within the Late Roman fort, two Germanic *fibulae* made of silver of 28 cm in length respectively 28.3 cm were discovered (fig. 433/a-c; 434/a-c). The two *fibulae* were plated with gold, decorated with cherry-coloured amaldines. Perhaps these pieces belonged to a Gothic ruler serving the Roman Empire, in the perimeter of the Sucidava fort.

Moreover, in the fortification, some fragments of bronze cauldrons (fig. 393), specific to the material culture of the Huns have been also discovered (Tudor 1941, 375; Tudor 1978, 443, fig. 143; Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 98 fig. 23/4, 5) and most probably they belonged to Hunnic mercenaries enrolled in the troops of Sucidava.

30.1. Islaz, Teleorman County, Romania

If the existence of the three fortifications (fig. 323) supposed by a scholar (apud Tudor 1978, 279) were demonstrated, one of them would probably belong the Late Roman Period.

This hypothesis is based on the fact that the existence of three Roman fortifications from the same period in such a small area cannot be explained.

31. Turnu-Măgurele, Teleorman County, Romania

The ruins of a Late Roman fortification were located 3 km south of the present town of Turnu Măgurele (Tudor 1978, 308, 461). In the Middle Ages, the fortification was superposed by a Medieval Romanian fortification (Ploșor 1932, 1-4), which made the archaeological excavations very difficult. The fortification was also recorded by Count Marsigli (sectio XVII, tab. 19); in his drawing, at Turnu Măgurele, there can be seen a fortification of irregular shape under the name of *Turen* (fig. 324-325).

After some field surveys here in the summer of 1845, August Treboniu Laurian, concluded that the medieval fortification was built superposing the foundations of an old Roman tower (Laurian 1845, 83). Later on, the archaeologist and epigraphist Gr. Tocilescu wrote that, in Turnu Magurele, there were *ruins of Roman towers* (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 225). Moreover, Gr. Tocilescu tried to prove the identity between the tower and the enigmatical *Turris* (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 248-249) mentioned by Procopius (*De bellis*, VII, 14, 32).

The excavations conducted by Grigore Florescu (Florescu 1936, 5; Florescu 1945, 432 sqq) revealed a tower of an irregular polygonal shape, with semicircular towers protruded out of the enclosure (fig. 326) (for a fortification of a similar shape, see Torbatov 2000, 13 fig. 7). The determining of the construction and reconstruction periods represents a difficult task. The superstructure of the tower certainly dates from the Middle Ages showing several restorations. The Roman foundations had been preserved only partially, as Florescu indicated in his plan (Florescu 1945, pl. I). Among the inscriptions found here, one was dated in the 4th century based on the type of the letters (IGLR 439).

The technique used by the builders was considered by the author of the excavations to have belonged to the Late Roman Period, more precisely the time of Emperor Constantine the Great (Florescu 1945, 450). The facing of the wall, made of carved large stones, small stones and mortar layers, was used as *emplecton*. Three metres away from the enclosure, a defence ditch was revealed.

Being a "bridgehead" for the fortification called *Asamum* from Moesia Secunda, the fortification from Turnu Măgurele had probably a short existence. This hypothesis is based mainly on its unfavourable geographical position (east of the Olt). Also the small size of the fortification did not allow a large garrison, thus a long resistance in case of emergency could not have been possible. Gr. Florescu, taking as reference the pieces of a broken Slavic vessel, asserted that the tower was abandoned by the Romans sometime in the 6th -7th centuries, a hypothesis which cannot be supported by any actual proves.

Moreover, the existence of Roman traces in Turnu Măgurele was later contested (Cantacuzino, Sion, Gâscan 1979, 417). The archaeological excavations conducted in 1978, did not reveal either a Roman level of occupation or materials from to this period. A clear conclusion on this issue cannot be drawn because the excavations have not been completed; the ground-water layer did not allow the excavation to the foundation of the walls (Cantacuzino, Sion, Gâscan 1979, 413). Also, the architectural and epigraphic elements reported at Turnu-Măgurele (IGLR 439; IDR II 637-639) were believed to have originated from other places (Cantacuzino, Sion, Gâscan 1979, 417). An aero-photograph taken in 1980

(Ștefan 1983, 186) indicates that the tower had a pentagonal-shaped enclosure (fig. 327). For the moment, the purpose of raising this structure cannot be specified. Until all these aspects will be clarified, the fortification of Turnu Măgurele has its special place in this catalogue. The hypothesis that the ancient fortification and the ancient *Turris* is one and the same (see below) cannot be supported by strong arguments.

32. *Turris*

The enigmatical tower known by the name of *Turris* has not been located in the field yet, its existence being mentioned only by Procopius (*De bellis*, VII, 14, 32). The ancient author wrote quite clearly that this building used to lie to the north of the Danube. The fortification was reported here because of the intention of Emperor Justinian to give it to the Anti Slaves in exchange of an alliance. Although the fortification had not been under the rule of the Roman Empire for a long period of time, Justinian took the live to negotiate it, considering that the fortification belonged to the Roman Empire along with its surrounding territory.

Built, according to Procopius, during the reign of Emperor Trajan, the fortification was probably restored in the 4th century as a tower, as its name suggests. This transformation probably took place in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, taking into account that in this period, "bridgehead" fortifications were raised on a large scale.

The tower fortification went out of service on an uncertain date; anyway, during the 6th century it has not been restored; Procopius (*De bellis*, VII, 14, 32) wrote that, the fortification was completely in ruin at that period.

Turris was alternately considered to have lain in Turnu Măgurele (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 246-249; Tudor 1978, 308, 461), Barboși (Madgearu 1992, 203-208), or Tyras (Teodor 1981, 19).

33. *Marisca-Dafne*

Besides Sucidava and Drobeta, the fortification *Dafne* was probably the third point of outmost importance on the northern *ripa* of the Lower Danube. Its existence is attested by three literary sources that are among the most important sources to the studying of the history of the Lower Danube in the Late Roman and Late Pre-Byzantine Periods. It lay across the south-Danubian fortification of *Transmarisca* (Tutrakan = Turtucaia, in Romanian language). The fortification has not been identified in the field yet, the few clues given by the literary sources place it most likely in the area of the mouth of Argeș River (for other localizations, see Diaconu 1971, 311-318 – localization in Pârjoaia; Zahariade 1977, 391-401 - other localizations).

If *Dafne* was close to the Danube or near the mouth of the river Argeș, then the waters of the two rivers could have probably destroyed irrevocably any traces of the fortification. There has been raised the hypothesis that the fortification *Dafne* could have lain on an island in the middle of the Danube, which in time, would have been flooded (Aricescu 1977, 166). Consequently, all the efforts of the researchers to localize the fortification have failed. Its existence was mentioned in the following literary sources: Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVII, 5), NotDignOr (VIII, 45-46) and Procopius (*De aedificiis*, IV, 7); the latter mentioned that the fortification was built in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, *with great care*.

The fact that Transmarisca was mentioned as lying to the south of the Danube (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 7), naturally suggests the existence of a settlement or a north-Danubian fortification called Marisca. This is why we have raised the hypothesis of the Dafne-Marisca identity. "Marisca" is probably a toponym of Getae origin (Tudor 1960, 656), naming a fortification, in connection to which, the fortification across the Danube was named "Transmarisca". Marisca seems to be a toponym that can be translated from Latin as "fig".

Probably across Marisca, or in its proximity, Constantine the Great built a *fundamentis*, the fortification *Dafne* in honour of a victory, as its name suggests (*dafne* = laurel, victory, triumph). It could refer to the victory against Licinius in the Battle of Chrysopolis from A. D. 324, or to the battle against the Goths in AD 332. In any case, the name "Marisca" is older than "Dafne" meaning that when *Dafne* was built, the old name was no longer used.

The toponym "Marisca" and implicitly a fortification bearing that name was recorded explicitly on the late medieval maps from the 16th -17th century (fig. 328-330), drawn up by G. Mercator, Abraham Ortelius (apud Ivanov 1999, 47), Petrus Kaerius (apud *Ivanov 1999*, 49) and Philipp Cluverius (apud Popescu-Spineni 1978, 154 and the photo-copy of the map). There cannot be specified whether the medieval cartographers registered the toponym "Marisca" because they had information about the existence of some ancient ruins or they have just inferred it, taking into consideration the toponym "Transmarisca".

In AD 367, during the first fortaign of Emperor Valens against the Goths, the ford Transmarisca-Dafne was used by the Roman troops for crossing the Danube on a bridge of ships (Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII, 5, 2). This document could prove that at that time, the fortification had not been destroyed (D. Tudor asserted, without arguments, that during the expedition of Emperor Valens, *Dafne* was re-conquered from the Goths, cf Tudor 1978, 450). The issue with the legend *CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE* is still controversial, some researchers contesting any connection with the fortification (Diaconu 1971, 311-318; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 136-139). In the 6th century, *Dafne* was mentioned among the fortifications restored during this period (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 7).

The recording of the units of *Constantini Dafnenses* and *Ballistarii Dafnenses* as *legiones comitatenses* by NotDignOr (VIII, 45-46), without clearly mentioning the fortification *Dafne*, shows that this was no longer a "bridgehead" of the Roman Empire to the north of the Danube, in late 4th century, and some troops had been transferred earlier to the south of the Danube. On the origin and nature of these troops, an analysis has already been elaborated (Zahariade 1977, 391-402). Their names are however unusual for border units. The first mentioned unit, *Constantini Dafnenses*, could have been a part of *milites* troops set up and placed on the border by Constantine the Great, as their name indicates. This was an infantry unit.

Most of the indications are referring to the *Ballistarii Dafnenses* unit. This was an artillery regiment whose soldiers were equipped with *ballistae*, we have already discussed about (see above, the fortification of Dierna). M. Zahariade (Zahariade 1977, 398), considered the possibility that the weapon used by the regiment of *Ballistarii Dafnenses* could have been the famous *ballista fulminalis* described by the anonymous author of *de rebus bellicis* (XVIII: *Exposito ballistae fulminalis*), which could be handled by at least two or three people. Unlike the previous author, Vegetius (II, 25), recommended for a *ballista* to be handled by 11 soldiers which is obviously an exaggerated number. The conclusion that a *ballistarii* regiment

included as weaponry, in addition to the *ballistae*, a few *manuballistae* or other weapons as well, seems plausible from this point of view (Zahariade 1977, 401; Bondoc 2002, 644 no. 9).

33.1. Andolina, Ciocănești Village, Călărași County, Romania

In the territory of this locality no Roman fortification has been built, however, a fragmentary brick with the stamp *MAXEN(tius)* (Zahariade, Mușeteanu, Chiriac 1981, 255; Petolescu 1983, 4, 368 no. 118) was discovered here by chance (fig. 327.1).

Maxentius was a *magister figlinarius*, owner of several workshops that were manufacturing tegular material in the province of Pannonia Prima, during the time of Emperor Constantius II (analogies and discussions at Zahariade, Mușeteanu, Chiriac 1981, 256-259). Even if it is clear that finding a stamped brick in Andolina, Călărași County could be explained by the trade of tegular material along the Danube, the discovery could be considered as a new evidence of the Roman presence to the north of the Lower Danube in the Late Roman Period.

***. Pietroasele, Buzău County, Romania**

In the territory of this locality are the ruins of a Roman fort (fig. 442-444) having a rectangular shape (160 x 130m), and the walls built of stone. For the subject of this study, the fort from Pietroasele represents a controversy and we will see the reason why later on. It was raised at the eastern part of the great *vallum* called Brazda lui Novac, probably to close the access to the Danube from the Buzău Valley. The walls were 2.70-2.80 m thick and were made of stone, rubble, pounded brick and mortar layers.

The archaeological excavations of the fortification were initiated in 1866 by Al. Odobescu, who drew up the first plan of the fortification (fig. 443). From the plan, it can be noticed that the north-eastern corner tower was of a semicircular shape, protruded out of the enclosure (apud Odobescu 1976, IV 1065, fig. 2). The other towers could have been of the same shape and similarly projected out of the enclosure, which was a characteristic of the military architecture in the Late Roman Period. There have not been found any median towers, or defence works outside the enclosure. The fort has been dated in the Constantinian (Diaconu 1976, 1064) or Post-Constantinian Period (Dunăreanu-Vulpe 1967, 47-49). Another hypothesis is that in the time of Emperor Trajan a fort had been built here, which was restored in the 4th century (IDR II 235). Finally, more recently, C.C. Petolescu has stated, that the fort was raised in the time of Emperor Caracalla (Petolescu 2000, 207-208) based on the stamped bricks of legio XI Claudia, some of them bearing the epithet *ANT(oniniana)*.

The archaeological excavations started in 1973, under the supervision of Gheorghe Diaconu, were carried out in difficult conditions because of the modern buildings, which have superposed almost entirely the fortification. However, significant results were obtained, which confirmed Al. Odobescu's conclusions (Diaconu 1976; Diaconu 1977; Diaconu 1981). The walls of the foundation were 3 m wide while of the superstructure were of 2.70-2.80 m wide. The inner part (*emplecton*) of the walls was made of stones and mortar layers, with rubble, brick and coal in the composition. The two sides of the walls were made of stone blocks and mortar layers. The barracks built for quartering, along the southern, eastern and western sides of the fortification, were of a rectangular shape (3.50 /4 x 4/5m) with floors of yellow clay (Diaconu 1981, 37). During the excavations, there has been revealed a second

level of occupation, later than the barracks already mentioned. These were earthen housing hovels, of oval-elongated or rectangular shape (3 x 4m), all placed, without a specific order, at a distance of 7-10 m from the walls of the fortification. This last level together with the archaeological inventory found, prove the penetration and the settlement inside the fortification, of the Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture bearers. The findings in the two levels of habitation are completely different: the ones from the barracks are of Roman origin, and those of the earthen houses are of foreign origin (Diaconu 1981, 39). Moreover, the presence of the bearers of the Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture in the area where the modern locality Pietroasele lies today is attested by a series of findings: objects made of bone (a bracelet, combs), glass objects and tombs (Diaconu 1976, 1060-1063). The hypothesis asserting that the fortification dates from the 4th century has been confirmed (doubts at Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 107 note 57).

Closely connected to the Roman fort, in the same period, also functioned a thermal bath, lying 400 m east from the fortification (Tzony 1980; Tzony 1981). In the area of the *thermae*, there were found bricks with the stamp of legio XI Claudia from the 2nd - 3rd centuries, pottery of different shapes and types, as well as glazed pottery. Although the discovered material dates from the 2nd - 3rd century, the construction of the *thermae* has been placed in the 4th century, in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great. Archaeological excavations revealed only a phase of construction and functioning dating from the Roman Period (Tzony 1981, 45). The four necropoleis from the area (Diaconu 1977, 207-210), partially excavated, complete the picture of the archaeological ensemble from Pietroasele. Based on the archaeological evidence and on the funerary rites, the necropolis no. 2 was dated in the mid or late 4th century (Diaconu 1977, 208).

The geographical location, far from the Danube (practically in *Barbaricum*) confers a different status to this fortification. The discovered archaeological materials certify the presence of the bearers of Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture in the fort, and the discovery of the famous Treasure from Pietroasele (Dunăreanu-Vulpe 1967) attests to the presence of Germans near the fortification, at a certain point in time (pl. 125-126).

34. Piua-Petrii, Giurgeni Village, Ialomița County, Romania

A quadrilateral-shaped fortification (TIR, L 35, 58; Tudor 1973, 159 note 52; ISM V 148-149) which seems to have been built near the mouth of the Ialomița River (the fortification is presented as uncertain in Torbatov 2002, 376), across the fortification from Carsium (Hârșova) from Scythia. Because of its location (fig. 331), near the Danube, the fortification had been completely destroyed by the waters of the river. The only pieces of evidence we have are the Late Roman pottery and the coins dating from the 4th - 5th centuries found in the ruins of the fortification, before they were flooded. Additionally, an inscription from the times of the Roman Dacia (CIL III, 7943) and a Christian lamp of bronze (fig. 332) found in the area of the locality Luciu (Pârvan 1913, 67), lead us to the hypothesis of the existence of a north-Danubian “bridgehead” near the mouth of the Ialomița River (Mititelu 1957, 134). Moreover, near Piua Petrii at Gura Ialomiței (the mouth of Ialomița), a hoard of coins was found, issued in the time of Emperors Valentinian and Valens (Mititelu 1957, 136, no. 2; Deculescu 1981, 227-230; TIR, L 35, 44). There have not been recorded any archaeological and technical details, and no reliable reference point suggests any dating.

35. Barboși, Galați County, Romania

The Roman fortifications from this locality (fig. 333-338; TIR, L 35, 25; Ioniță 1982, 19-21; Gudea 2005, 455-457 no. III. 48) were recorded by several history studies and chronicles (Pârvan 1913, 106 sqq). Archaeological excavations took place especially in the first half of the nineteenth century (Săulescu 1837). In the former fort, lay a polygonal-shape *castellum* (heptagonal or rather, pentagonal). The last level of the *castellum* has been dated in the 4th century (Gostar 1962, 508; Gostar 1967, 107 and 112), most likely in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great. Despite the systematic excavations, there have not been given further technical and archaeological details of the *castellum*.

Placed near the mouth of the Siret River, where the river flows into the Danube, the fortification from Barboși was a north-Danubian "bridgehead" of the fortification Dinogetia (Garvăn) from Scythia Province (fig. 335). Its function was not particularly a defensive one, but it was rather an observation and signal post. The supervised territory was probably bordered by the Șerbești – Tulucești *vallum*.

A few decades ago, it was estimated that the Roman troops from Barboși would have withdrawn by mid 4th century (Gostar 1967, 107). But this assertion has not been supported by any arguments. It can be assumed that the turbulences created by the Goths after the usurpation of Procopius represent one of the causes. At this point, most likely due to the presence of the Goths nearby, the *castellum* from Barboși was abandoned, its duties being probably transferred to the fortification at Dinogetia.

The inhumation tomb of a Christian named Innocens (fig. 339) was discovered in the necropolis near the Roman city (Sanie 1981, 83 pl. 68); it could date from the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great (Opreanu 1995, 240 note 14).

Concerning the name of the ancient locality from Barboși many opinions have been expressed. The first opinion considers that both Barboși and Bisericuța-Garvăn would have been named *Dinogetia* (Ștefan 1958, 317-329). Another opinion places the enigmatical fortification *Turris* in Barboși (M. Comșa in IR 1960, 731 note 3; Madgearu 1992, 203-208). Finally, the identity Barboși-Piroboridava has been considered possible (Gostar 1965, 146-147) taking into account the Hunt Papyrus (FHDR I, 470).

There cannot be said too much about the military unit from Barboși, in the 4th century. Considering the proximity of the Danube, the garrison must have been formed at least partly of soldiers belonging to the Lower Danube fleet. The detachment might have been transferred from the garrison from Dinogetia, where NotDignOr (XXXIX, 24) registered the existence of a unit of *milites Scythici*. It is also possible for the fortification to have been defended by soldiers belonging to legio I Iovia and legio II Herculia (Gostar 1967, 112; Sanie 1993, 148-149), but so far has not been found solid evidence to support this source.

36. Aliobrix (Orlovka-Kartal), Ukraine

A marginal note on one of the manuscripts of the geographer Ptolemy (III, 10, 5) made sometime in the 4th century (Müller 1883, 468) allows the assumption that in the Late Roman Period, in Kartal-Orlovka, there was a fortified point (fig. 344-345), due to the re-establishment of the Roman domination to the north of the Danube (the fortification was recorded as uncertain in Torbatov 2002, 385).

The place in question appears to be the one called *Kamenaia Gora* (The Mountain of Rock or Cartalul's Rock) and lies approximately 1.5 km west of the Orlovka village on a hill of 40 m high, where it has a dominant position. The defence could have been easily done, considering that on the south-east and north-west sides, the hill was surrounded by the waters of the Danube and of the lakes Cartal and Cahul (Bondari 1971, 66-70; the plan of the region at Karyškovskij, Cojocar 1992, 101 fig. 1; for the latest presentation, see Popa 2001, 108-109); the accessible side was protected by a defence ditch (Gostar 1967, 990; Sarbu, Bârcă 2000, 30-43; Sanie 2001, 382-382). A Roman military point could have existed here for a long time (Năstase 1936, 148).

On the Kartal Hill, long before the Roman conquest, a Dacian fortification had been constructed, meant to monitor and protect the left bank of the Danube against any attack from the south of the river. A military point was also located here also in the Roman Period, a fact supported by the archaeological discoveries: traces of walls, stamped bricks (legion I Italica, legion V Macedonica, Classis Flavia Moesia), pottery, metal objects, coins (TIR, L 35, 22; Bondar, Bulatovic 2003, 323-335; Gudea 2005, 459-460 no. IV 51) and by the epigraphic discoveries (IOSPE I² 1; CIL III 780; 7519).

To diminish the effects of the surprise-attacks, about 3-3.5 km north-east of the fortification from Orlovka, an earthen *vallum* was built (Sârbu, Bârcă 2000, 45-46; Croitoru 2002, 117). In the easternmost and westernmost points of this *vallum*, there were the lakes Cahul and Cartal. In the Late Roman Period, the sector that could have been kept under observation stretched to the north to the *vallum* in southern Moldova, called *Vadul lui Isac - Bolgrad*.

The existence of a stone *castellum* in the Late Roman Period (Gostar 1967, 989) has not been archaeologically verified (Ioniță 1982, 31-32). I encountered in the available literature, the indication of a plan that presents a square-shaped fortification (*non vidi*, apud Zahariade, Gudea 1997, 81 no. 51), but the information could not be verified.

The first to identify the settlement from Orlovka (Kartal) with *Aliobrix*, was Paul Nicorescu (Nicorescu 1944, 507). Subsequently, this hypothesis was supported with arguments by N. Gostar (Gostar 1967a). *Aliobrix* is explicitly placed to the north of the river, across the fortification Noviodunum; both are toponyms of Celtic origin.

The Noviodunum-Aliobrix fortification was used by Emperor Valens in AD 369, when the Roman troops crossed the Danube to the north, in the second fortaign of the war conducted against the Goths (Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII, 5, 6; Themistios, *De pace*, 133-140). Ammianus Marcellinus, who narrated the events accurately, did not mention *Aliobrix*, suggesting that the fortification was not under Roman rule anymore. The surname of *City of the Goths* that was given to it can be explained either by the confusion Getae – Goths, commonly encountered at ancient authors, or by the fact that the Goths were ruling over the town, a part of a territory north of the Lower Danube, now called *Gotia* (Acta Sanctorum II, 2; Paulus Orosius VII, 22, 7; Isidor of Sevilla XIV, 3, 31; XIV, 4.3; Jordanes, *Getica*, XII, 74). The latter hypothesis seems more plausible, however is difficult to admit that the Goths had in the 4th century their own town, as long as there have not been identified any urban Gothic settlements in this part of Europe. The stone construction from Sobari (fig. 350), from the former Soviet province, Republic of Moldavia (Popa 1997), was built using a Roman technique, so it does not support the theory of the existence of Gothic urban settlements. A

very important fact to be added here is that neither in Orlovka nor in the surrounding there has been found any cultural traces of Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture, in which case the epithet *City of the Goths* is inadequate.

On the other hand, the idea of the Late Roman domination at *Aliobrix*, should be considered with caution because of the lack of Roman or Gothic archaeological material from the 4th century; this situation could be caused by the stage of the excavations (?) or by the fact that the whole Roman level of occupation has been damaged because of the theft of stone by the local people. However, a statistics of the Roman coins discovered in Orlovka (Bondar, Bulatovic 2003, 334) has registered, among other pieces, 4 Late Roman coins from the emperors: Constantine the Great, Constantinus II, Constant I and Valentinianus I.

In the Late Roman Period, the Danube crossing-point from Noviodunum-Aliobrix was secured by legio I Iovia and the Lower Danube fleet: at Noviodunum, were stationed *P(raefectura) C(lassis) R(ipae) S(cythicae)* (ISM V 285) and the effectives of legio I Iovia (NotDignOr, XXXIX, 32, 33, 25).

36.1. Reni-Novosel'skoe (New Village, Reni County, Odessa region, Ukraine)

Another possible Roman fortified point seems to have existed in the area between the Danube, Prut River and Cahul Lake, near Reni, in the village Novosel'skoe (Ioniță 1982, 33). The place, where probably was "at least a Roman guard tower" (Sârbu, Bârcă 2000, 44) lies at 2 km north of the Danube, in an area 7 m higher from the Danube terrace.

In this area, there have been discovered the remains of a Roman road, a fragmentary funerary inscription, Roman ceramics, 4th century *amphorae* (Popa 2001, 110). The Roman road could have been used by the troops of Emperor Valens in 369 when he was fighting against the Goths (?). But Ammianus Marcellinus mentioned nothing about a Late Roman fortification there, thus, in AD 369 it was already removed from service.

We also have to mention the remains of a *vallum* about 1 km long (Sarbu, Bârcă 2000, 43-44) that has been raised only to protect the military point of Reni-Novosel'skoe (fig. 340).

37. Tyras (Cetatea Albă), Ukraine

The ancient name of the locality was recorded by a number of literary sources: Strabo (VII 3, 16), Pomponius Mela (II 1, 7), Ptolemy (III 10, 8), Plinius Maior (IV, 82).

We mention in this catalogue a fortified point in the Late Roman period at Tyras although its existence is still hypothetical. This idea is based however, on a certain aspect: despite the fact that the Roman rule had been interrupted here for a while (under Gallienus most likely), in the first half of the 4th century, the construction of some stone buildings has continued, as it was proved by the researches of the Soviet archaeologists (Klejman 1976, 114-119; Klejman 1981, 73-84). The Roman withdrawal would normally have had as an effect a tendency to transform the area into a rural one (Madgearu 1994, 483 note 17) and not the continuity of urban constructions.

More recently, during the archaeological fortaign of 1996, there was discovered a construction in the shape of an apse (Rosohatskij, Cojocar, Opriș 1997, 71-72) whose utility has not been determined yet (*thermae?*, *basilica?*). Considering the important position from the economic and strategic viewpoints of Tyras (fig. 346), lying near the mouth of the

Dniester River, the invasions from the north of the Black Sea could have been monitored. It is improbable that the Roman authorities would have ignored this point in the 4th century.

This hypothesis is reinforced of some epigraphic and archaeological discoveries from Tyras. Since the time of the Tetrarchy, the Empire occupied several strategic points to the north of the Black Sea as proven by some inscriptions discovered in Chersonesus Taurica (Sarnowski 1988, 96-98); the inscriptions mention the presence in the area of some detachments of legio I Italica and legio II Herculia. In Tropaeum Traiani, it was discovered an inscription dedicated to *Iupiter Olbiopolitanus* (IGLR 169) that led to the hypothesis that there were Roman troops stationed in Olbia, in the Late Period, in the time of the Tetrarchy (Krapivina 1998, 187-193). Although there is no clear evidence of the existence of a late fortification at Olbia, the archaeological excavations have revealed a level of occupation dated in the 4th century (Zahariade, Gudea 1997, 84 no. 62).

A plan of Tyras published by Soviet scientists (Klejman 1981, 75; Kryzyckyj, Klejman 1979, 28 fig. 6; see Zahariade, Gudea 1997, fig. 66) shows an enclosure with a round-shaped tower protruded out of the enclosure (fig. 347-349); although categorized as Hellenistic, this type of architectural feature is characteristic to the Late Roman Period, when it was probably reused.

III.5. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

The above catalogue of the fortifications includes a number of fortified north-Danubian points (fig. 431), on the sector limited by the rivers Dniester and Tisza. There is no certain archaeological evidence to demonstrate that all of them were functional in the Late Roman Period. It is still uncertain whether the fortifications from Cenad, Tibiscum and Pietroasele were under the Roman authority in the Late Period (in the above catalogue, these fortifications were not numbered; they were marked with an asterisk).

The following fortifications were mentioned in literary sources: *Constantia* – *Constantiola* - *Contra Margum* - *Castra Augustaflaviensia* - *Flaviana*, *Contra Regina*, *Lucus*, *Dierna*, *Transdiana*, *Drobeta*, *Alba*, *Sucidava*, *Turris*, *Dafne*, *Aliobrix* and *Tyras*.

The following fortifications have been located and identified in the field during archaeological excavations and surveys: Sapaja Island, Pojejena, Gornea, Șvinița, Dubova, *Dierna*/Orșova, Mehadia, *Transdiana*/Insula Banului, *Drobeta*, Puținei, Hinova, Batoți-Tismana, Izvoru Frumos, Ostrovu Mare, Izvoarele, Desa, Bistret, *Sucidava*, Turnu-Magurele, Piuă-Petrii, Barboși, *Aliobrix*/Orlovka, *Tyras*.

Three fortifications were recorded only by maps drawn up in the Modern Age: Pančevo, Kuvin and Ada-Kaleh Island.

Four fortifications were briefly mentioned or their existence was inferred from literary sources (*Contra Regina*, *Alba*, *Lucus* and *Turris*); their positioning is just hypothetical.

In a few cases, old *castra* were reused (Pojejena, Mehadia, Drobeta, Desa), the rest being newly constructed.

Strategically, there can be noticed that most of the north-Danubian fortifications have corresponding fortifications on the southern bank of the river: Pančevo-Singidunum; *Contra Margum*-Margum; Banatska Palanka-Sapaja Island-Laederata; Pojejena-Pincum; Moldova Veche-Cuppae; Gornea-Novae; *Contra Regina*-Regina; Șvinița-Boljetin; Dubova-Hajdučka Vodenica; Dierna-Transdierna; Ada-Kaleh Island-Sip; Transdiana-Diana; Drobeta-

Transdrobeta; Izvorul Frumos-Egeta; Ostrovul Mare-Prahovo; Izvoarele-Aquae; Alba-Transalba; Lucus-Translucus; Desa-Ratiaria; Bistreț-Cebrus; Sucidava-Oescus; Turnu Măgurele-Asamum; Marisca/Dafne-Transmarisca; Piuă Petrii-Carsium; Barboși-Dinogetia; Aliobrix-Noviodunum. From this point of view, the term “bridgehead”, given to the north-Danubian fortifications is adequate. It is true that the north-Danubian fortifications, viewed as a whole, represent extensions in *Barbaricum* compared to the south-Danubian ones; the northern fortifications could not have existed without the southern ones.

Many of the fortifications were located near river mouths, where the rivers flow into the Danube: the river Timiș-Pancevo; Banatska Palanka, Stara Palanka and Sapaja Island - Nera and Caraș rivers; Pojejena - River Radimna, Moldova Nouă and Moldova Veche – River Boșneag; Gornea- Camenița river; Dubova - Morilor brook; Dierna - Cerna river, Drobeta - Topolnița river, Bistret - Desnățui river; Turnu Magurele - Olt river; Dafne - Argeș river; Piuă Petrii-Ialomita river, Barboși - Siret river, Tyras - the river Dniester. In this context it is clear that their purpose was also to prevent any invasion on river valleys.

A number of five fortifications were built on islands on the Danube (Ostrovo, Sapaja Island, Ada-Kaleh Island, Insula Banului and Ostrovu Mare Island). This reflects that the Roman authorities wanted to ensure the traffic safety on the river.

From the numerical point of view, the efforts of the Roman authorities in terms of constructions were directed to the northern border of provinces Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis, which is exactly the southern border of the former north-Danubian province of Dacia. It can be noticed that the fortifications corresponding to the Iron Gates sector of the Danube are more numerous than those from Oltenia and Muntenia. This situation was similar on both sides of the river. This could be explained by several elements: the stage of the archaeological research, the existence of some *foederati* (Goths) east of the Olt; the resistance of the defence system to the east of Dordicum and the security of the high traffic on this section of the Danube, in comparison with the more vulnerable one in the region of The Iron Gates; earthen *valla* from the vallies of the Danube and southern Moldavia. Banat is the region with the largest number of fortifications.

The following fortifications were located farther from the Danube: Vârșeț, Mehadia Puținei, illustrate very well the political and military situation, the Roman Empire ruled as "deep" as possible to the north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period. Two of these fortifications, Mehadia and Puținei, seem to have been the outposts of Dierna and Drobeta, that demonstrates the importance of the latter.

According to the latest research Late Roman fortifications have not been confirmed at Zăvalu, Pietroșani, Frumoasa, Dichiseni, as it has been previously stated⁶⁸.

A special discussion is necessary regarding the fortified points known in the northern Dobruđa. Their number is very small; either because of stage of research or because of other objective reasons. Recently, it has been revealed⁶⁹ that in the Ancient Period, the Danubian line suffered significant changes from a hydrological point of view. Between the Dacian-Hellenistic and Romano-Byzantine levels of occupation, it has been found an alluvial deposit, approximately 1 m thick. Consequently, a number of inhabited points on the valley of the

⁶⁸ IR 1960, 796.

⁶⁹ Liușnea 1999, 217-225.

Danube were destroyed by the flooding and river sedimentation, being probably totally lost for archaeological excavations. If these hydro-biologic changes had happened when the border of the Lower Danube was taken by assault by various migrating populations, especially during the Late Roman and late Pre-Byzantine Periods, then the Roman-Byzantine authorities from the 4th - 6th centuries must have faced a difficult situation, having to take into account two threats: on the one hand the hydrological changes and the barbarian attacks on the other. It is not sure whether the destruction of the fortifications from Noviodunum and Dinogetia in the 6th century was only because of these hydro-biological changes, but at that time this must have been a serious problem for the Roman authorities.

III.6. TYPOLOGY, FORMS AND CONSTRUCTION ELEMENTS OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

An exhaustive approach to the typology of the north-Danubian fortifications in the Late Roman Period is difficult to do, taking into account the stage of the archaeological excavations, because not all the plans of the fortifications are known. Some of the known ones come from drawings and old maps, particularly from Marsigli, and only a few have been drawn in an adequate scientific and technical manner.

The literary and epigraphic sources complicate this situation by using different terms: *castra*, *castellum*, *praesidium*, *burgus*, *monopyrgia*, *quadriburgia*, etc.⁷⁰. Notitia Dignitatum used especially the term *castellum*. The term *quadriburgia* has been adopted by modern historiography to refer to small fortifications and quadrilateral-shaped ones with the corner towers protruded out of the enclosure, built in the Late Roman and Pre-Byzantine Periods. Anyway, the transformations of the military architecture in the Late Roman Period are obvious, compared with the previous period. Some time ago was, it were elaborated a typology of the Late Roman fortifications on the southern bank of the Danube at the Iron Gates⁷¹. In the present paper we deal with a larger sector and with a wider variety of fortifications. Reviewing the existing information and taking into account the building particularities I think it could be taken into discussion the following typology:

Type I - the *castra* type fortifications. These forts are large and quadrilateral. This type includes the old *castra* from the 2nd - 3rd centuries, restored or modified, reused anyway in the 4th century: Pojejena, Mehadia, *Drobeta*, and Desa. Frequently, three of the four gates of the old *castra* from the 2nd - 3rd centuries were blocked. The large size, the strategic position and possibly the important effectives of the garrison could have made these fortifications serious resistance points.

Type II - the *quadriburgium* type of fortification. In this type, there can be included fortifications mentioned in literary sources with the terms *castella* and *burgi*. They were new constructions, rectangular-shaped, small in size, with square corner towers protruded out of the enclosure. The fortifications had only one entrance, a gate. The following fortifications are of *quadriburgia* type: Pančevo, Sapaja, Gornea, Dierna, Ada-Kaleh (?), Puținei, Hinova, and

⁷⁰ For the analysis of these terms, see Torbatov 2000, 1-40; Torbatov 2002, 71- 85.

⁷¹ Milošević 1996, 249-252.

probably Ostrovu Mare. We do not have enough information on the last fortification. Only the fortifications from Sapaja, Gornea, Dierna and Hinova have been systematically excavated.

For the northern *ripa* of the Danube, this type of fortification is characteristic to the 4th century; it is absolutely necessary to specify that the dating refers only to the fortifications from the north of the Lower Danube, because fortifications of the same type were built even earlier, but also later, in other areas of the Empire. Moreover, in Orient, this type of construction emerged since the times of Sever's Dynasty: for example, the *quadriburgium* type of fortification from Quasr el-Hallabat⁷² is called in the foundation inscription from 213/214 a *castrum novum*⁷³. In this context, naming the *quadriburgia* as *fortifications of Diocletian type* no longer makes sense⁷⁴.

Being of small size and defended by garrisons with reduced effectives, the *quadriburgium* fortifications appear to have been a kind of frontier posts. It was asserted⁷⁵ that they were not projected to resist in case of emergency. Perhaps Procopius of Caesarea was referring to them⁷⁶, when writing about the north-Danubian fortifications, he mentioned that *most defensive works consisted of one tower and it was therefore called a monopolygia. In this type of fortifications used to live a reduced number of people. In that time this was enough to scare barbarian tribes who avoided to attack the Romans.*

Type III – triangular-shaped fortifications. They were new constructions, and this shape was recommended by imperial specialized literature in the 6th century, at least this is what a Byzantine anonymous author wrote⁷⁷, confirmed by archaeological discoveries. This not so spread type includes the fortifications *Constantia-Contra Margum/Kuvin* and *Transdiana/Insula Banului*, both restored in the 6th century.

Type IV – large, irregular-polygonal-shaped fortifications, with corner and median towers protruded out of the enclosure. Only the fortification from Sucidava belongs to this type.

Type V – fortifications of very small sizes, with an observation and signalling role (*turres, speculae*), in fact watch towers⁷⁸. This type may include Pescari, Șvinița, Dubova, Turnu-Magurele, Barbosi and the enigmatical *Turris*. Except for the known ones, there might have been others, unknown until now. They were observation posts, to prevent attacks by surprise. None of the towers listed above have been published systematically.

From the typology established above we may conclude that the predominant shape of fortification was the quadrilateral one with corner or median towers, protruded outside of the enclosure. Median towers probably supported ballistic machines. Compared to the Principate Period, the architecture of the Late Roman north-Danubian fortifications registered fundamental changes. The connection with the old tradition of building a Roman *castra* obviously was forgotten.

In the 4th century, Vegetius (I, 23 III, 8) wrote that the fortifications could have any form (quadrilateral, circular, or polygonal); the typology established above confirms his

⁷² Lander 1984, 216 fig. 129.

⁷³ Apud Kennedy 2000, 93.

⁷⁴ Lander 1984, 6.

⁷⁵ Zahariade 1999, 5.

⁷⁶ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 1, 12.

⁷⁷ Anonymus Byzantinus, *non vidi*, apud Milošević 1996, 251.

⁷⁸ Gudea 2003, 177.

words. There was only one entrance to the fortification, a gate, usually flanked by two bastions protruded out of the enclosure. The theory of Vitruvius (II, 10, 20) was abandoned, who did not recommend square towers because they could be easily damaged by war machines; square-shaped towers were very numerous as there can be concluded from the description of the fortifications above. Moreover, round towers, semicircular, fan-shaped etc. can also be found. The inner walls were built of stone, brick and mortar layers, but other methods were used as well. The classical *castrum* with 4 gates and towers disposed symmetrically, from the period of the Principate was abandoned.

III.7. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE INTERIOR CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

The military reforms of the Late Roman Period determined fundamental changes in the structure of the Roman troops. These changes were passed on to the general architecture and the organization of the inner constructions of Roman fortifications.

Information about the interior constructions of the Late Roman north-Danubian fortifications is rather scarce. Therefore, an exact image is quite difficult to outline. Many archaeological sites have been systematically destroyed by the theft of building materials; others were superposed by medieval or modern buildings. Considering that the most resistant elements of a building – the walls of enclosure, have barely been preserved, the reconstruction of the architecture and organization of the constructions within the walls of the fortifications is almost impossible. The subsequent destructions and restorations proved by stratigraphy, is another impediment in determining what kind of buildings occupied the inner yard of a fortification. Each phase of reconstruction or repair brought changes in the inner structure.

Harsh construction materials were generally avoided, the "light" ones being preferred. Consequently, the use of construction materials such as wood, clay, adobe and straw led to less resistant buildings, which were extremely vulnerable, for example in case of fires. First is the case of the barracks-houses to quarter the soldiers; quartering the troops in good conditions was the first element taken into consideration when the inner space of a fortification was organized. The barracks could be made quite simply of wood or adobe, sometimes built on stone or bricks and clay foundations. In some cases, barracks-houses lay outside in a line, parallel to the walls of the fortifications (Sapaja, Gornea, Hinova, Sucidava).

For the complete reconstruction of the architectural organization of the inner space of the Late Roman fortifications, there has to be taken into account the fact that the soldiers were now allowed to marry and live together with their families⁷⁹. Inside or near the barracks, there were built heating, bread ovens, pits supplies, waste pits, and toilets. The floors were paved, at best, with mortar mixed with fragments of bricks. The floors of clay seem to have been more convenient. Certainly there were multiple storehouses, at least near the enclosure walls. This assertion is based mainly on the need to have an easy access to the battlements on the higher walls in case of danger. Besides barracks, there should have been other annex constructions as well, some of them found during excavations, others being inferred as absolutely necessary. These are: storerooms, stables for animals, barns; stores for clothing,

⁷⁹ Jones 1964, II, 630-631.

weapons and military equipment; inner staircases, floors for the watch guard, kilns, metal workshops, water reservoirs (tanks), etc.

In the case of large fortifications, inside, there were "streets", or at least one street leading to a gate, for the orderly passing of troops and staff. There was also the possibility of placing tents. Unlike the Principate age, in the Late Period, there were no beautiful buildings anymore and there were no constructions of the *basilica castrensis* type to be used by soldiers for training. Everything seems to fit with the life style of soldiers guarding the Empire borders.

Not least we have to mention that generally, inside the fortifications, there was a courtyard, unoccupied by buildings. This can be noticed at Pančevo, Sapaja, Gornea, and Hinova.

The case of the Drobeta fort is different from the above mentioned findings; in the Late Roman Period it was as important as it had been in the 2nd - 3rd centuries. Stone and mortar layers were used for the construction of the interior buildings and consequently, the remains have been preserved somewhat better (fig. 117-119). Thus, during the reign of Constantine the Great, the fortification had a Greek cross-shaped building (fig. 115) that spread on most of the inner yard⁸⁰. This layout of the inner constructions of the fortifications is unique in the Late Roman Empire. The "arms" of the cross-shaped building were delimited by two streets, disposed north-south and east-west (like *cardo* and *decumanus*). The width of the road in the middle of the cross was 6.45 m. To have an effective hygiene, there were underground drainage channels⁸¹. The main street going from east to west divided the inner space of the fortification in *praetentura*, north of the road and *raetentura*, south of it. On the outer ends of the cross-shaped edifice, there were built 78 square rooms for quartering (barracks), disposed along the two main streets. Each room had an exit to the street, 1.25 m wide, fitted with a stone threshold. In front of the rooms, there was a corridor – a covered portico, 3.62 m wide, similar to a porch. The corridor was supported by columns, 2.30 m distant one from another, united at the base in a frame-wall of 1 m high. A hypothetical reconstitution was made for these barracks-houses by Polonic⁸². The roof was made of tiles. The sizes of the living room were approximately 3.5 x 3.5 m and 4 x 4 m, and the wall width was 0.65 m. Each room could host six or eight people. That if the rooms were not equipped with bunk beds, the possibility of quartering being more or less double; the hypothesis cannot however be demonstrated⁸³. In the inner space of the fortification, between the cross-shaped building and the walls of the *castrum*, parallel to these, there were three rows of brick pillars, representing the structures of some construction whose we purpose we do not know: barracks, warehouses, stables, etc.

⁸⁰ Tudor 1978, 436 fig. 137.

⁸¹ Tudor 1978, 449.

⁸² Apud Tudor 1978, 437 fig. 138.

⁸³ Zahariade 1997, 172 note 8.

III.8. DEFENCE WORKS OUTSIDE THE ENCLOSURE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS (DITCHES AND *VALLA*)

There can be noticed that in the Late Roman Period, defence works were still widely spread. Thus, many fortifications were provided with the defensive works for a better defence, consisting of *valla* and defence ditches. In the case of the fortifications from the 2nd - 3rd centuries which had been reused in the 4th century, we cannot specify when the defence works were made. Some smaller fortifications of the *quadriburgium* type like Dierna and Gornea were not provided with defence ditch or a *vallum*. Such works can be seen at:

- Pojejena: a defence ditch of 9 m wide and 2.50 m deep⁸⁴;
- Mehadia: a defence ditch⁸⁵;
- Transdiana*/Insula Banului: two ditches, the eastern one 5.30 m deep, and respectively the western one⁸⁶; 4.90 m deep
- Drobeta: three *valla* with ditches on the eastern side⁸⁷;
- Puținei: defence ditch⁸⁸;
- Hinova: three defence ditches with width/depth of 4/1. 85 m, 3.50/1.70 and 4.70 m/2 m, placed at a distance of 4 m, 11.50 and respectively 23 m from the enclosure walls⁸⁹;
- Batoți-Tismana: defence ditch of 10 m wide⁹⁰;
- Izvorul Frumos: *vallum* and defence ditch⁹¹;
- Ostrovul Mare: defence ditch and *vallum*⁹²;
- Izvoarele: defence ditch and *vallum*⁹³;
- Desa: defence ditch of 1.50 m deep and 10 m wide⁹⁴;
- Bistreț: older excavations reported: two defence ditches of 15 m wide and 1 m deep, and a *vallum* of 8 m wide at the base with a remaining height of 1 m⁹⁵; more recent archaeological excavations have revealed only a defence ditch 10 m wide and 2.50 m deep⁹⁶;
- Sucidava: defence ditch of 19-30 m wide, 5-10 m deep, with a berm of 3.30-5 m wide⁹⁷.

III.9. CONSTRUCTION, RECONSTRUCTION OR REPAIR PHASES

In close connection with the fortifications in the south of the Danube, taking into account the archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic discoveries for the Late Roman fortifications on the left bank of the river there can be determined the following construction phases:

⁸⁴ Marsigli 1726, II tab. 5, fig. XV; Gudea, Uzum 1973, 87.

⁸⁵ Macrea, Gudea, Moțu 1993, 27.

⁸⁶ Davidescu 1989, 96.

⁸⁷ Tudor 1978, 448.

⁸⁸ Benea 1977, 43.

⁸⁹ Davidescu 1989, 23-24.

⁹⁰ Tudor 1978, 265.

⁹¹ Acc. to Gr Tocilescu and Polonic, apud Tudor 1978, 281.

⁹² Acc. to Al Bărcăcilă, apud Davidescu 1989, 113.

⁹³ Acc. to Gr Tocilescu and Polonic, apud Tudor 1978, 279.

⁹⁴ Acc. to Gr Tocilescu and Polonic, apud Tudor 1978, 274.

⁹⁵ Acc. to Polonic, apud Tudor 1978, 265.

⁹⁶ Vlădescu, Zahariade 1986, 30.

⁹⁷ Tudor 1978, 424.

1. The period between the reigns of Emperors Gallienus and Aurelian.

Paradoxically, none of the literary sources mentioned any restoration or construction of north-Danubian fortifications, in this period. It is well-known that during his reign, Emperor Gallienus had problems not only at the frontiers which were assaulted by barbarians, but also in the Empire, caused by numerous usurpers. Therefore, he was unable to give proper attention to the Lower Danube border. However, his activity in this region is documented by a series of historical records⁹⁸, as confirmed during archaeological excavations.

In Dobrudja, there is more information on construction works during this period: HA⁹⁹ recorded the measures taken by Gallienus, through his Generals Cleodamus and Athenaeus, to restore the cities on the western coast of the Black Sea while epigraphic sources indicate the repair of some roads in this period¹⁰⁰. Moreover, the constructive initiatives of Emperor Aurelian in Dobrudja are well-known¹⁰¹.

However, the construction works to the north of the Danube during the reigns of Gallienus and Aurelian are attested by several archaeological discoveries. Thus, at Sucidava the first military fortification¹⁰² was constructed and also in this period, it was restored the old *castrum* from Drobeta¹⁰³. An opinion on the constructive interventions during the time of Emperor Gallienus on these two fortifications has already been accepted in the Romanian historiography¹⁰⁴.

Because of the absolutely critical context in which the second part of the reign of Gallienus¹⁰⁵ took place and the politico-military issues that Emperor Aurelian faced (the liquidation of the secessions of Palmyra and the Western Empire, the repelling of the Germanic invasions, etc.), there could not have been found any resources or the time for more intense building activities to the north of the Danube at this point. It has been considered¹⁰⁶ that some of the fortifications to the west of Sucidava were not raised during the reign of Constantine the Great, but were only repaired by him; their building could have been done at a much earlier date.

At Comalău, Reci Village, in Covasna County of Romania, there is a fortification¹⁰⁷, which in terms of Roman architecture is quite unusual for the period of the Roman province of Dacia. It has a pentagonal shape (70 x 70 x 40 x 50 x 20 m) and the arrangement of the five rectangular towers (7 x 9 m) on the outside of the enclosure walls is actually typical for the Late Roman Period¹⁰⁸. This fortification could have been built during the reign of Gallienus¹⁰⁹. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence is scarce and we cannot say for sure if this was a Late Roman fortification, however, its existence cannot be totally excluded (fig. 351).

⁹⁸ Barbu 1973, 45-50.

⁹⁹ SHA, *Vita Gallieni*, 13.

¹⁰⁰ ISM V 100.

¹⁰¹ R. Vulpe, DID II, 272-276.

¹⁰² Barbu 1973, 42 sqq.

¹⁰³ Florescu 1965, 573 sqq.

¹⁰⁴ Toropu 1986, 46; Popilian 2001, 607.

¹⁰⁵ About utilities in this emperor's time, see Lander 1984, 248-260.

¹⁰⁶ Barbu 1973, 48-49.

¹⁰⁷ Szekely 1943; Gudea 1997, 64-65.

¹⁰⁸ A plan almost similar has the late Roman fortification from Ulmetum, acc to Pârvan 1912.

¹⁰⁹ Horedt 1974.

2. First Tetrarchy (Diocletian); this phase includes especially the *quadriburgium* type of fortifications built near the Danube¹¹⁰, inspired from an entirely new architecture with a rectangular plan and towers protruded out of the enclosure. This is the case of the fortifications from: Pančevo?, Gornea, Dierna, Hinova and maybe Sapaja Island. Only the fortifications from Gornea, Dierna, Sapaja and Hinova have been systematically excavated.

Also from the period of Emperor Diocletian could have belonged the following fortifications: Banatska-Palanka, *Transdiana/Insula Banului*, Batoți-Tismana and the fortifications from Sucidava and Drobeta have been also repaired¹¹¹. Considering the present stage of research the idea that some north-Danubian areas were under the domination of the Roman Empire again in the Late Period is just hypothetical. However, in this period, the Empire had a vast policy of fortifying the borders¹¹², considering the necessities of the time, but also the tradition of making urban public works¹¹³.

3. The reign of Emperor Constantine the Great and its successors; represents the climax of the process of fortifying the left bank of the Danube. Earlier built forts, from the 2nd - 3rd centuries, were reactivated, some of them rather distant from the river and new constructions have been raised of relatively large dimensions, as well as watch towers. A north-Danubian region was taken under Roman jurisdiction. In close connection to this situation stand both the construction of the stone bridge from Sucidava to Oescus, over the Danube, as well as the rehabilitation of the road from the Olt Valley. Both operations reflect aim to the instauration of an effective and long-lasting rule of the Roman Empire over the area.

This phase includes the following fortifications: *Constantia-Contra Margum/Kuvin*, Vârșeț, Moldova-Veche(?), Pojejena, Șvinița, *Lucus/Ogradena(?)*, Dubova, Mehadia, *Drobeta Puținei*, Izvoru Frumos, Izvoarele, Desa, Bistret, *Sucidava* (the outer wall of the enclosure and the gate with cataract), *Turris*, Turnu Măgurele, *Dafne*, Piuia Petrii, Barboși and maybe *Aliobrix* and *Tyras*.

Similar plans or works to the north of the Danube have not been discovered during the time of Emperor Julian the Apostate, although mentioned in literary sources¹¹⁴. This situation may also caused by his rather short reign.

4. The period of time between the reigns of the Emperors Valentinian I and Valens. This phase is characterized by the repairing of the older fortifications. Ammianus Marcellinus¹¹⁵ reported some new constructions, raised by the order of Valentinian, but they lay mainly to north of the Middle Danube. Closer to the studied in this paper are the construction works from the time of Emperor Valens¹¹⁶, especially those from the area of Dobrudja. Regarding the construction activity from the time of the two Emperors, we could mention here the order they gave to *Tautomedes, dux limitis Daciae Ripensis*, on the 14th of June, 365¹¹⁷; the order clearly requested the restoration of the border fortifications, ruined by time or damaged by barbarian invasions. In the present stage of the research, there have not been discovered any new fortifications north of the Lower Danube, dating from that period.

¹¹⁰ Zahariade 1999, 1-2.

¹¹¹ Toropu 1976, 15-19.

¹¹² Eumenius, XVIII, 4 ; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, 5, 1-2; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, II, 34.

¹¹³ Lactantius, VII, 8.

¹¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 7, 7.

¹¹⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIX, 6, 2.

¹¹⁶ Themistios, *De pace*.

¹¹⁷ CTh 15, 1, 13.

5. The reign of Emperor Theodosius I; this phase is characterized mainly by the restoration of the fortifications destroyed or damaged by the events that occurred after AD 378. The fortification from Hinova was restored and at Sucidava there were made some repair works. Because of the adverse military and political context in that period, raising new fortifications to the north of the Danube was out of the question.

For comparison reasons we resume here other opinions. A wider dating, from a chronological point of view, it has been elaborated for the fortifications from Scythia¹¹⁸. There were revealed five phases: 1. Diocletian-Valens 2. Teodosius I - Teodosius II. 3. The reign of Emperor Anastasius. 4. The reign of Emperor Justinian. 5. Justin II - Maurikios Tiberius.

The chronology of James Lander regarding the construction stages of the stone fortifications from the 1st - 4th centuries, on the territory of the Roman Empire includes, for the Late Roman Period¹¹⁹ the following phases: I - The period from Maximinus Thrax to Claudius II Gothicus (235-270); II – The period from Aurelian to the beginning of the reign of Diocletian (270-284); III – The period of Diocletian and the Tetrarchy; IV – The period of Emperor Constantine the Great; V - The period of Emperor Valentinian I (364-375).

III.10. THE MOMENT OF THE REMOVAL FROM FUNCTION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

In order to determine chronologically the removal from function of the fortifications, it is necessary to analyse the information provided by the literary sources, as well as the stratigraphy and archaeological evidence found in each of these fortifications. The geo-strategic position may also suggest logical arguments regarding the northern borders of the four provinces. The details about the interruption of the monetary circulation can be useful to some extent.

Despite the fact that the Sarmatian turbulences from AD 334 and AD 358 produced a moment of panic, it seems that the only effect they had was the burial of some hoards and did not affect the Late Roman fortifications in this region¹²⁰.

Regarding the removal from function of the fortifications, there are two main events that should be taken into consideration which had consequences on the entire defence line of the Lower Danube.

First of all, there were the attacks of the Goths after the disaster from Hadrianopolis AD 378, when the Roman Army was destroyed and Emperor Valens lost his life. In fact, the fortifications lying far from the Danube could not have resisted or have been maintained because of the Gothic attacks from AD 378-379. After this tragic event, they have been ravaged and robbed for several times, to the end of the 4th century. On this occasion, the Roman border in area of the Iron Gates was practically completely destroyed.

Some fortifications, damaged by these attacks, have been partially restored (e.g. the fortification from Hinova), continuing to exist up to the early the 5th century¹²¹.

¹¹⁸ Torbatov 2002, 412-433.

¹¹⁹ Lander 1984, chap. 4-5.

¹²⁰ Comşa 1974, 95.

¹²¹ For the fortifications in the The Iron Gate area, see Comori/Tresors 1978, 200.

Secondly, there were the Hunnic invasions from the first half of the 5th century, when the entire fortified line across the Lower Danube was destroyed. This event requires no further explanations.

Probably other events, apart from the ones mentioned above, led to the removal from function of some of these fortifications. Moreover, it is well-known that the Goths had poor knowledge in besieging the well defended fortifications being thus unable to conquer them. For example, they failed to conquer the fortification of Hadrianopolis both before and after the death of Emperor Valens¹²². The situation changed completely during of the Hunnic invasions; Procopius¹²³ wrote that Attila conquered easily the Danube fortifications. Still, the abilities of the Huns in this respect have to be taken cautiously. During the Hunnic invasion led by Uldes in AD 408-409, *Castra Martis* (Kula) was conquered only due to the betrayal of some of its defenders¹²⁴. Furthermore, Priscus Panites¹²⁵ recorded the fact that the Huns failed to conquer the small fortification of *Asamum* (Musalievo) from Moesia Secunda. Moreover, it is well-known that the Huns encountered difficulties while besieging the fortification Aquileia during their invasion of the West.

For a series of fortifications, it cannot be indicated the exact moment of their removal from function because there are no clear chronological marks. In the present state of the research, having some reserves justified by the lack of information, there can be enumerated the following moments when some of the fortifications were removed from function:

- After the mid 4th century to around AD 365: Reni-Novosel'skoe (?); *Aliobrix*/Orlovka and Barboși. There can be included here the fortifications or observation points that, because of their geographical location, were exposed to the barbarian (Goths) attacks, a case in which they might have been removed from service at an early stage. This chronological mark can be taken into account as a result of the Gothic turbulences favoured by the usurpation of Procopius¹²⁶. In fact, the Goths helped the usurper with troops¹²⁷. Although Valens eliminated quickly the usurper, the event must have had certain political and military consequences to north of the Danube.

Moreover, the fact that in Banat, the monetary circulation was less intense after AD 361¹²⁸ should not be ignored. Furthermore, if a hoard such as the one from Moldova Veche consisting of 4,121 bronze coins has the latest coins issued in around the same year 361¹²⁹, then we may be dealing with a specific political and military event. Additionally, in Oltenia, after AD 364, the number of discovered coins dating from this period decreased to half as compared to the previous period¹³⁰.

-AD 369: Piua Petrii, Turnu Măgurele and *Dafne*. These are the fortifications lying on the Muntenian sector of the Danube, east of the River Olt, probably removed from function as a result of the treaty from AD 369 concluded between Emperor Valens and Athanarich on a

¹²² Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 6, 3-4, 15.

¹²³ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 5, 1-8.

¹²⁴ Sozomenos IX, 5, 1-5.

¹²⁵ FHDR II, 289.

¹²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 6, 11 sqq.

¹²⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, 5, 1; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 7.

¹²⁸ Gudea, Ardevan, Toma 1997, 84 notes 13-14.

¹²⁹ Comori/Tresors 1978, 176.

¹³⁰ Toropu 1973, 50.

boat in the middle of the Danube¹³¹. Although there are no archaeological pieces of evidence concerning the removal from function of these fortifications, in the context of the above mentioned treaty which stipulated that the Danube was the border between the two parties, it became clear that the three fortifications had lost their purpose. The treaty may have had consequences only along the *ripa Gothica*; other regions like Oltenia or Banat had not been targeted by its stipulations.

-AD 378/379: Vârșeț, Puținei, Mehadia and maybe others. These fortifications were no longer used mainly because of the turbulences caused by the Goths after the dramatical events that took place in AD 378/379. In the context of an uncertain Roman rule of the in Balkan Peninsula, there was no use for keeping some fortifications in *Barbaricum* that were too far from the Danube. After this date, the Empire probably lost its control over the north-Danubian territories that had been re-conquered during the reign of Constantine the Great. The damage caused on the Danube line and the Balkan Peninsula cannot be estimated. Anyway, the level of destruction must have been considerable, a fact mentioned in most literary sources and even by some of the most zealous panegyrist of the Imperial Court¹³². If the Goths managed to reach the walls of Constantinople¹³³, we can only imagine what must have been the fate of the Danubian border and of the Balkan Peninsula. The new Emperor, Theodosius I, was unable to quickly improve the situation, being forced, in the end, to accept the Goths as *foederati* within the Empire, only in AD 382¹³⁴. A number of German contingents were incorporated in the Roman Army on this occasion¹³⁵. However, the situation appears to have been stabilized for a short period of time, and a series of attacks on the Danubian line were repelled¹³⁶.

-The end of the 4th century: Gornea, Șvinița, Dierna and maybe others. This moment could have been caused by several events: the attempt of the Ostrogoths, led by Odotheus, to cross the Danube¹³⁷, the Hunnic attacks from AD 395, the revolt of the Visigoths led by Alaric, the reaction against the Goths from Constantinople, the conflict between the Visigoth group led by Gainas, and the Huns led by Uldes¹³⁸. The monetary circulation was falling-off throughout the whole north-Danubian area¹³⁹.

Although we have no information about the removal from function of the fortifications from Bistreț and Desa; it is possible that they had been removed from function also in the late 4th century, mostly because around this date the Huns invaded Oltenia.

- Early 5th century: Pančevo, Kuvin, Sapaja, Banatska-Palanka, *Transdiana*, *Drobeta*, *Hinova*, *Sucidava*. The Huns must have attacked and destroyed these fortifications. The invasions of the Huns happened in AD 408/409, 422, 434, 440, 441, 442-443 and 447.

Similar events happened in AD 408-409, when the Hunnic chief Uldes broke the *foedus* concluded with the Romans and invaded the south of the Danube¹⁴⁰. It is possible that some

¹³¹ Themistios, *De pace*, 133-140; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, 5, 9.

¹³² Themistios, XIV-XVI.

¹³³ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 16, 4.

¹³⁴ Marcellinus Comes, in FHDR II, 359.

¹³⁵ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 30.

¹³⁶ Orosius, VII, 34, 5; Theodoretos of Cyros, V, 5, 2-4; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 34.

¹³⁷ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 38.

¹³⁸ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 22; Philostorgios, XI, 8.

¹³⁹ For Oltenia region to see Toropu 1973, 51.

¹⁴⁰ Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 5, 1.

north-Danubian fortifications from Oltenia have been destroyed on this occasion, as reflected also by the sudden decrease of the monetary circulation¹⁴¹. Another Hunnic attack occurred in 422¹⁴² and following the treaty concluded between the Romans and the Huns in AD 430, the Danube became the border between the two parties was. Consequently, around this year the north-Danubian Roman fortifications might have come to their end. The Hunnic invasions from AD 441-447 targeted the south of the Danube therefore the attacks from AD 408-409 and maybe the one from AD 422 caused the ending of the Late Roman domination over the northern *ripa* of the Lower Danube.

A diplomatic mission sent to the Huns by Emperor Theodosius II in AD 434 was received by the Kings Bleda and Attila on the left bank of the Danube, near the fortification *Constantia* (Kubin), being at that time under Hunnic rule¹⁴³. Therefore, in AD 434 when, most probably the diplomatic mission took place, the north-Danubian fortifications from Banat were out of use while the Huns had already arrived in Pannonia.

The chronology presented above is hypothetical to some extent, and maybe it will be completed at some point in the future, when new information will be available.

III.11. CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS AROUND OR NEAR THE FORTIFICATIONS

Around or near the Late Roman fortifications to the north of the Danube, several civilian settlements have been founded. Generally, this matter has not been studied very extensively. Theoretically, civilian settlements must have existed in the proximity of all the fortifications. However, archaeological excavations have not confirmed the existence of such settlements in all the cases. Anyway, no systematic archaeological excavations had been carried out for the revealing of such settlements. The existence of civilian settlements in the proximity of Late Roman north-Danubian fortifications has to be taken into account especially because of the legal status of the *limitanei* soldiers who were guarding the frontier. We are referring here to the dwelling space for their families, outbuildings, agricultural land, livestock stables, etc.

In the present stage of the research, here are the civilian settlements of the fortifications from the Late Roman Period we have information about (some were indirectly inferred), from the localities:

- Sucidava¹⁴⁴;
- Orlea¹⁴⁵;
- Piuia Petrii¹⁴⁶;
- Desa¹⁴⁷;
- Izvorul Frumos¹⁴⁸;
- Batoti¹⁴⁹;

¹⁴¹ Toropu 1973, 51.

¹⁴² Marcellinus Comes, AD 422, 3.

¹⁴³ Priscus Panites I, apud FHDR II, 247-249.

¹⁴⁴ Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 60 sqq.

¹⁴⁵ Toropu 1976, 214.

¹⁴⁶ Mititelu 1957.

¹⁴⁷ Bondoc 1999, 52-53.

¹⁴⁸ Tudor 1978, 281; Davidescu 1989, 106-107.

¹⁴⁹ Tudor 1978, 265.

- Izvoarele¹⁵⁰;
- Ostrovul Mare¹⁵¹;
- Drobeta¹⁵²;
- Insula Banului¹⁵³;
- Dierna¹⁵⁴;
- Moldova Nouă¹⁵⁵;
- Kuvin¹⁵⁶.

Some of these civilian settlements existed also in the 2nd - 3rd centuries. The best known and most important are those from Drobeta - pentagonal enclosure (fig. 112, 116) and Sucidava - trapezoidal enclosure (fig. 231-235). The southern sector of the civilian settlement from Sucidava was fortified during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great. All the other settlements were not fortified, probably having a rural character. The settlements from Insula Banului, Dierna, Drobeta and Sucidava had workshops for the production of bricks, glassware, pottery, objects of bone, lead etc. These discoveries lead us to believe that these settlements had also certain roles in economy, crafts and trade.

Even more difficult to establish is the moment when these civilian settlements were abandoned or destroyed. For most of them we do not have any clear information. All of them depended on the military fortifications. The general historical context should also be taken into account. Most likely, the existence of all these civilian settlements around or near the fortifications did not exceed the end of the 4th century.

¹⁵⁰ Tudor 1978, 279-281.

¹⁵¹ Davidescu 1989, 107 sqq.

¹⁵² Davidescu 1980, 216.

¹⁵³ Davidescu 1989, 98 sqq.

¹⁵⁴ Benea 1997, 89-94.

¹⁵⁵ Bozu, El Susi 1987.

¹⁵⁶ Đorđević 2007, 93.

IV REFORMS IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES OVER THE PROVINCES FROM THE LOWER DANUBE

IV.1. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS¹.

The reforms in Late Roman Period were meant mainly to optimize the efforts of the Roman emperors, beginning with the reign of Gallienus, to successfully manage the numerous barbarian attacks and internal usurpations. From this point of view, it is important to add that the administrative and military reforms began during the reign of Emperor Gallienus. That is why a serious study concerning the Late Roman Army began with the presentation of the major changes that occurred within the Roman military system, during the reign of this Emperor². Reforms such as the replacement of the Senators from the lead of the legions and of the imperial provinces with *equites*³, banning the Senate to issue coins, the issuing of the first Edict of tolerance towards the Christians in AD 260, represented measures which had major impact on army and administration and that were about to produce fundamental changes in the evolution of the Roman Empire.

The historical context considered below, is characterized by the major administrative and mostly military reforms in the Late Roman Period, initiated by Emperor Diocletian⁴, continued and improved by Emperor Constantine the Great. The institution of the Diarchy in AD 286 and then, of the Tetrarchy in AD 293 were followed by a general reorganization of the imperial provinces. The events were very well recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The Empire was divided into about 100 provinces⁵ grouped into 12 dioceses. The functions of the Senate were abolished with an intention of preventing any usurpation, Rome was no longer the capital city, and the privileges of Italy were annulled.

Consequently, the administrative map of the Roman provinces from the Lower Danube had been seriously modified as well. Other significant administrative changes in this region had been made even earlier. After the withdrawal of the Romans from Dacia, in the south of the Danube, a new province with the same name had been set up⁶. At some point, this new province was divided into *Dacia Ripensis* and *Dacia Mediterranea*, during the shared reign of Emperors Carus and Carinus (282 - 284). The event is attested by a bronze plate with an inscription, discovered in 1910 near Sofia, which certifies the setting of border landmarks "*inter duas Dacias*"⁷. This occurred during the shared reign of Carus and Carinus (282-284) and it was referred to, indirectly, by some literary sources⁸. Setting up the south-Danubian

¹ A general overview at Barnea, Iliescu, 1982.

² Grosse 1920.

³ Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 33, 34.

⁴ A brief, but excellent summary at Treadgold 2007, 25 sqq.

⁵ Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 16-17.

⁶ Eutropius, IX, 15, 1, SHA, *Aurelianus*, 3, 7, V.

⁷ AE 1912, 200.

⁸ Rufius Festus, VIII; Iordanes, *Romana*, 217.

province Dacia Ripensis, bordered to the west-east by the rivers Porečka and Vit (*Utus*), determined the territorial reducing of the provinces *Moesia Superior* and *Moesia Inferior*, which were subsequently renamed as *Moesia Prima* and *Moesia Secunda*. The eastern part of Moesia Inferior/Secunda was organized as a new province called *Scythia*, between the lakes Oltina - Mârleanu and the Black Sea. The provinces Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis were included into the diocese Moesia, *praefectura Illyricum* and Moesia Secunda and Scythia into the diocese Thrace, *praefectura Oriens*.

IV.2. MILITARY REFORMS⁹

The barbarian invasions from the mid 3rd century were more powerful and intense creating numerous problems to the Balkan provinces in particular, and to the entire Roman Empire in general. The frequent usurpations, many of them supported by large military units led to an unstable political climate. Reforming the Roman Army was inevitable. The first step was to exclude the Senators from the command of the legions, which occurred during the reign of Emperor Gallienus¹⁰. The former commander of the legion, *legatus legionis*, a high-ranking officer from a senatorial class was replaced by a professional military man, *praefectus castrorum legionis*, an *eques*¹¹.

Also during the reign of Emperor Gallienus there began the separation of the cavalry from the infantry: in *Mediolanum* (Milan), the Emperor called up a large unit of mobile troops of cavalry, whose goal was the rapid intervention in conflict situations in different points of the Empire. Among these troops of cavalry, the Dalmatae cavalry should be mentioned¹², that would be found later on the frontier of the Lower Danube. There was instituted a new high office, that of the supreme commander of the cavalry troops¹³. The importance of this position must have been considerable, since the emperors who followed Gallienus, Claudius II, Aurelianus and Probus, were all former commanders of the cavalry.

The measures taken by Gallienus regarding the Roman Army remained valid until the end of the 3rd century. At least during the first part of his reign, Emperor Diocletian was a protector of the old imperial Roman military traditions, from the 2nd - 3rd centuries, keeping unchanged the legions and the auxiliary units¹⁴. In general, the Emperor was preoccupied with fortifying the frontiers and increasing the number of the military effectives¹⁵. With the institution of the Diarchy and then of the Tetrarchy, the effectives of the Roman Army suffered a series of changes.

Regarding the administrative powers in the provinces, the civilian powers have been separated from the military ones. A civilian governor (*praeses*) had administrative powers and a commander (*dux*) had the military ones. This separation was meant to eliminate the possibility of usurping the imperial throne by the governors of the provinces. A *dux* of a province was originally at the orders of a *praefectus praetorii* and then, beginning with

⁹ An overview of the problem at Jones 1964, II, 607-686; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 61-64; Coello 1996, etc.; for Pannonia, see Kovács 2003, 31-36.

¹⁰ Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, XXXIII, 34.

¹¹ Grosse 1920, 4-5.

¹² SHA, *Vita Gallieni*, 14 and *Vita Claudii*, 11; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, I, 40, 2.

¹³ Grosse 1920, 18.

¹⁴ Eumenius, XVIII, 4.

¹⁵ Jones 1964, II, 608.

Constantine the Great, at the orders of a *magister militum*. To prevent any usurping attempt by a *magistrer militum*, along with the separation of the cavalry from the infantry, the army command was divided according to the two arms, creating two new ranks, *magister equitum* and *magister peditum*. The Supreme Commander of both troops -cavalry and infantry - was the Emperor himself.

The army was permanently divided into stationary troops placed on the frontier (*milites ripenses* or *limitanei*) and mobile troops within the borders (*milites comitatenses* or *palatinae*). These mobile troops were at the Emperor's disposal for quick interventions in various parts of the Empire¹⁶. The soldiers from the *comitatense* troops were superior in military training to the *limitanei*, so they were higher in rank and privileged. The troops quartered in the border area of the Lower Danube were named *ripenses/riparienses* because the guarded border was marked by the river bank (*ripa*). In CTh, *limitanei* were registered under the name of *burgarii*¹⁷ and *castellani*¹⁸. These soldiers - border guards were granted on lease land in the border area, which was exempted from taxes and duties. In return, they had to do their military service in the garrison nearby¹⁹. The status of *limitaneus* and the land could be inherited along with the obligations, if their successors enrolled also in the army: Emperor Constantine the Great issued a special regulation in this respect²⁰, and the stipulation providing that the heirs of soldiers could keep their privileges thus obtained was still in effect in the 6th century²¹. This would co-interest the *limitanei* soldiers to defend the land that they had received and, implicitly to defend the border. *Limitanei* were at the disposal of the military commander of the fortification in whose *territorium* they were in. The first mention of *limitanei* soldiers dates from the time of Emperor Alexander Severus²². The emergence of this new category of soldiers was also due to the fact that the recruitment of soldiers was done in the area where the military unit was stationed.

It seems that Diocletian paid a special attention to the systematic defence of the borders using the *limitanei* troops, but they were finally separated from *comitatenses* during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great, as mentioned in the Imperial Constitution from AD 325²³. Despite the fact that the method of using *limitanei* troops for defending the borders did not work properly all the time, it might have been the best solution in Late Roman Period. This military structure functioned until the 6th century; Codex Justinianus²⁴ clearly described the status of the *limitanei*. There is no reason to think the *limitanei* were wealthy; in the 6th century, Procopius²⁵ wrote about the lack of interest of the Byzantine authorities for these troops placed along the border between the Empire and the Persians. Probably, the soldiers on the border were forced to get most of the supply from the land near the fortification where

¹⁶ About the military reforms from the Late Roman Army, see Mommsen 1889, 195-279; Grosse 1920, Parker 1933, 175-189; Berchem 1952; Aricescu 1977, 107-109, etc.

¹⁷ CTh VII, 14, 1.

¹⁸ CTh VII, 15, 2.

¹⁹ Jones 1964, II, 649.

²⁰ CTh VII, 22, 1.

²¹ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 1, 7.

²² SHA, *Vita Sev. Alex.*, 58.

²³ Parker 1933, 175-189; Berchem 1952, 84 sqq.

²⁴ Codex Justinianus, I, 27, 2.

²⁵ Procopius, *Historia arcana*, XXIV, 12-14.

they were doing their service. At the beginning of 7th century, a study on war craft recommended a better supply for the Danubian troops from the north of the river²⁶.

In contrast with the *limitanei* troops placed at the borders, other regular troops were created, called *comitatenses*. These were mobile troops stationed beyond the frontier (*exercitus comitatensis*), which were supporting the *limitanei* where it was needed. The concentration of mobile troops had begun much earlier, since Emperor Gallienus²⁷ through the detachment of some legionary *vexillationes* where the situation required²⁸. The structure of the *comitatenses* troops was composite: infantry, cavalry, other arms and barbarian detachments. From the *comitatenses* troops, there were recruited the *legiones palatinae* as elite troops. The latter took the place of the Praetorian Guard, disbanded by Emperor Constantine the Great. In AD 325, in the Imperial Constitution, there were recorded the following categories of troops: *comitatenses*, *ripenses*, *alares et cohortales*²⁹. It is the first document that attests to the existence of *comitatense* troops. From this document, it results that at the time when it was elaborated (AD 325), *comitatenses* troops were definitely separated from those of *limitanei*. The cavalry was also mentioned as being separated from the infantry troops.

The practice of transferring sub-units (*vexillationes*) on various fronts, where the situation required, was continued. The sub-units were commanded by *praefecti* or *praepositi* as indicated in the literary sources³⁰ and confirmed by epigraphic evidence. There has been demonstrated that the term *praepositus* designated a strictly military position, not a rank³¹. In the case of *limitanei* or *riparienses* units, they were called *praepositi limitis* or *praepositi ripae*; only the terminology of *praepositi ripae* has been certified in the region of the Lower Danube and only by epigraphic sources³². Therefore it was not a rank, but a position, that could be held by any officer who received the command of a military detachment, independent of the unit he had belonged to. The fact that the *praepositi* were frequently mentioned in epigraphic and literary sources as well as the relatively large number of smaller fortifications reflects the repeated fractioning of large military units. In this context, the weight and importance of the *praepositus* increased considerably.

On the northern *ripa* of the Lower Danube, **there is no express attesting** in the literary or epigraphic sources, of troops that had been clearly registered with the term *limitanei*. However, this situation does not exclude the possibility of their existence.

Because of the numerous conflicts with the barbarians and of the struggle among the Tetrarchs, there was a permanent need for troops. Roman military administration probably had to recruit massively contingents of barbarians (Germans, Sarmatians, Alan, Saracens, Iberia, Armenians, Caucasian, etc.) from the border area, because of the small number of recruits and of lower quality. According to a treaty (*foedus*), they provided contingents of fighters, receiving subsidies in return (*annona*). *Foederati* were used particularly to defend the borders of the Empire, but they could be found among choice troops of the Roman

²⁶ Mauricius, *Strategikon*, XI, 31.

²⁷ For the case of military concentration, see Poetovio, IDRE II 266-270.

²⁸ For legio VII Claudia, see Benea 1983, 75.

²⁹ Berchem 1952, 84 sqq.

³⁰ NotDignOc, XXV, XXX, XXXI; Vegetius, II, 12.

³¹ Jones 1964, II, 640.

³² For *praepositus limitis*, see NotDignOc, XXV, XXX, XXXI.

Army³³. It was not necessary for the barbarians to fight in separate bodies of troops; historical records show that in the military units from the Late Roman Period, the soldiers were not only Romans but also barbarian *foederati*³⁴. Archaeological evidence of German and Hunnic origin from the Late Roman fortifications from Sucidava and Hinova, attest without a doubt to the presence of mercenary barbarians inside the Roman garrison of the two fortifications.

Although they successfully met the needs on short term, on the long run, the military reforms had as consequences, on one hand, the militarization of the border regions of the Empire and, on the other hand, the barbarization of the army. For the latter consequence, some information is eloquent. In AD 376 Emperor Valens allowed the Visigoths to settle on Roman soil, hoping that this way the Danube border would have been better protected³⁵.

Emperor Theodosius I recruited many German barbarians, which he incorporated into the Roman Army³⁶ to replace the soldiers that had disappeared in AD 378 in the battle from Hadrianopolis. The troops increased in number very much, but not necessarily in quality. Consequently, the military reforms from the Late Roman Period changed substantially the Roman military system.

The north-Danubian military units in the Late Roman Period are attested in literary sources (in particular NotDignOr) and epigraphic discoveries. Both categories of information are quite small numerically. The indications provided by the two sources do not always match with each other; there is always a specific time interval between them, shorter or longer. Concerning the epigraphic evidence, several considerations have to be made, especially on stamped bricks, made in various military *officinae* (*figlinae*). The value of the information provided by stamped brick is unquestionable. However, they should be taken into consideration cautiously because there are several possibilities regarding their origin: either they are the result of brick trade, or they mention some detachments sent to work in other places than their own garrison or in the best case scenario we are dealing with an effective military presence. The names of the military units can provide important information on the garrison, used weapons, war tactics, the moment when the unit was formed and last but not least on the place of recruitment. The fact that the legions were divided many times and new military units were formed led to the change of their nomenclature. Chronologically, it is very difficult to say whether a certain stamped brick comes from the Late Roman Period because of the unusual and different epigraphic abbreviations compared to those used in the Principate Period. However, there can be distinguished several stages.

Before Diocletian's first military reforms, the old units have been maintained. Thus, they left, imprinted on the bricks, their abbreviated name in the same way as in the times of Roman Dacia: *LEG(io) XIII GEM(ina)*; *L(egio) V M(acedonica)*.

Later on, as a consequence of the first military reforms of Emperor Diocletian, the legions were split into two *partes* (*superior-inferior* or *citerior-prior/ulterior*), along with the sector they had to guard. This was recorded on stamped bricks, where it was specified the division of the legion: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior)*; *LEG(io) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior)*, etc. Strangely, *pars inferior* has never been mentioned on any of the

³³ About foederati, Várady 1961, 348-357.

³⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, 8, 13.

³⁵ Socrates of Constantinople, IV, 34.

³⁶ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 30.

stamped bricks, its existence being inferred by an express indication of a *pars superior*. Sometimes even the name of the commander was mentioned: *S(ub) C(ura) HERMOGENI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(io) VII CL(audia) PART(is) CIT(erioris)*, etc. Same as above, besides the attesting of a *pars citerior*, there are no epigraphic sources specifying a *pars prior/ulterior*. This paradox can have another explanation, as it follows.

It is not always necessary to look for the express attesting of a *pars inferior* or a *pars superior* like the case of legio VII Claudia clearly proves. In the fortification of Sapaja Island, it was discovered a brick with the stamp *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior)*³⁷, while in Boljetin and Şviniţa, there were found bricks and tiles with the stamp *S(ub) C(ura) HERMOGENI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(ionis) VII CL(audiae) PART(is) CIT(erioris)*³⁸. The idea that that half of legio VII Claudia was appointed *pars superior*, and the other half *pars citerior* seems the most plausible so far.

Along with the process of dividing the old legions, new ones were created: legio I Iovia, legio II Herculia, etc.

From the time of the reforms of Emperor Constantine the Great to the mid 4th century, as a result of the transferring of legionary *vexillationes* on various fronts, the legions began to have even more reduced effectives. According to this reform, the *riparienses* legions had a greater mobility, the military units being transferred in the most important fortifications on the border. Consequently, appeared the need to add the name of the garrison near the name of the military unit: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) C(uppis)*; *L(egio) XIII G(emina) RAT(iaria)*; *L(egio) V M(acedonica) OES(co)*, etc. The specification was required in order to help distinguish between several military units bearing the name of their former legion which used to number around 5,600 or 6,000 men, who had, at that time, different places of garrison.

In time, because of several processes like the gradual decrease of the effectives, the disappearance of some units and the mixing of the remaining ones to bring the effectives up to full number, the names of the military units had lost their former importance and significance. Hence, on the bricks, there began to be stamped only the name of the fortification or settlement where the workshop that produced the construction material used to lay (Drvbeta, Vto, Almo, Diana, Dierna, etc.). This manner of nominalization could cover several military units that were part of the same garrison, but bore different names. In the same time, there was no possibility to confuse them with troops coming from other fortifications.

Because the practice of withdrawal and transferring troops continued³⁹ the effectives of the military units had been gradually reduced. Later on, probably as a result of another division of the military units (reform?), their effectives decreased even further. Detachments of *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* and *auxilium primorum Daciscorum* mentioned by NotDignOr⁴⁰ in Drobeta, were estimated to have had effectives of 250-300 people⁴¹. If this working hypothesis proves to be true (which I personally find very possible), then, in the time of Emperor Constantius II took place another splitting and reorganization of military effectives from the Lower Danube.

³⁷ IDR III/1 38.

³⁸ Gudea 1970, 555-557; Gudea 1974, 141-146; IGLR 423.

³⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, 4, 2; XXXI, 10, 13; XXXI, 11, 2.

⁴⁰ Not DignOr, LXIII, 16; LXIII, 24.

⁴¹ Zahariade 1997.

Moreover, the transferring of sub-units on various fronts, the human losses and the mixing of troops from different units resulted in the gradual abandonment of the old names. There was no point in stamping any longer the names of the military units on a lot of *tegulae*, so that the stamps from the province Dacia Ripensis included only the name of the province and sometimes that of the garrison as well (Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Ripensis Dierna, Dacia Ripensis Diana, Dacia Ripensis Aquis, etc.). They have been called anonymous military units. According to the archaeological material discovered in Sucidava, they can be dated in the second half of the 4th century, and maybe early 5th century. It is possible for the name of Dacia Ripensis to designate several military units of the province, proving the collaboration between the border units of the fortifications on the Lower Danube⁴². A dedication from Drobeta⁴³ made by the Tribune Lupus on behalf of all the centurions, although dated much earlier, could support this hypothesis. Anyway, stamps of the type *D(acia) R(i)P(ensis)* refer to the whole army of the province, *exercitus provinciae*⁴⁴.

Resuming the discussion regarding the nominalization of the troops from the Late Roman Period, it is certain that during this period, most military units lost their old names. That is why, in the Notitia Dignitatum, very few units were recorded by the names they have had at the end of the 3rd century.

⁴² Tudor 1978, 451.

⁴³ IGLR 402.

⁴⁴ Tudor 1960, 348.

V

MILITARY UNITS TO THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD

V.1. LEGIONES

Many opinions have been expressed on the effectives of the troops from the Late Roman Period. In the first part of his reign, Emperor Diocletian kept unchanged the number and the structure of the Roman legions¹; Eumenius' speech from AD 298², indicated quite clearly the existence, in this period, of the old Roman auxiliary troops from the previous period of the Principate, *alae* and *cohortes*. Although he did not refer explicitly to the legions, Eumenius left us to believe that their old form and structure were also kept. It was a common practice for *vexillationes* of the legions to be transferred for military operations on other fronts.

A substantial change in the number of the legions was probably determined by the first military reforms initiated by Emperor Diocletian. Because of the need to create an internal army to quickly intervene in conflict areas, Diocletian called for many withdrawals and *vexillationes* from the border legions. In order to repress Achilleus' usurpation in Egypt³, Diocletian organized in AD 295 an expeditionary body containing also *vexillationes* and legions from the Lower Danube⁴. The detachments of legio XIII Gemina, legio V Macedonica that participated at this war, did not return to the Danube, being stationed permanently on the banks of the Nile in Memphis and Babel⁵.

To the end of the 3rd century (probably around AD 295), detachments of legio III Flavia, legio VII Claudia, legio I Italica and legio XI Claudia are attested in Arabia, where they took part in the construction of the road that connected Bostra with Dymata⁶. After Egypt had been pacified, in AD 297 hostilities began in Mauretania⁷ and Mesopotamia⁸, so other border detachments needed to be transferred there. The practice of transferring *vexillationes* on other fronts was not quite new, other emperors had used it before Diocletian. However, as a result of these scale large military operations, the effectives of the legions had been reduced or even halved. To officialise this situation, the large military units were split.

As the Notitia Dignitatum quite clearly recorded, in this period took place the official and final division of the legions into two *partes / pedaturae*, a process that led to the doubling of the number of legions, but with less troops. This is how a legion started to have about 3,000 soldiers instead of 5,600/6,000 which represented its traditional effective. This was merely the first result of the military reforms that changed substantially the Roman Army, in the Late Period. The exact moment when the legions were split cannot be indicated, although

¹ Jones 1964, II, 680.

² Eumenius XVII, 4.

³ Eutropius IX, 22-23; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, XXXIX, 23, 38.

⁴ Zahariade 1988, 69.

⁵ NotDignOr, XXVIII, 14-15.

⁶ Kennedy 2000, 55-56.

⁷ Eutropius, IX, 22.

⁸ Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, XXXIX, 33.

most likely, this happened to the end of the Diocletian's reign⁹. The diminishing of the effectives of the legions had as an effect a greater responsibility on those who guarded each segment of *ripa*; this was also divided into two different sectors named differently; for the Lower Danube border, the terms of *pars / pedatura superior* and respectively, *pedatura inferior* were used.

legio VII Claudia represents a special example; a stamped brick discovered in Viminacium¹⁰, recorded legio VII Claudia *renovata*, probably pointing to the reorganization of the unit during the period of Emperor Diocletian¹¹. In the fortification from Sapaja Island, a brick has been discovered, bearing the stamp *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior)*¹², and in Boljetin and Şvinița there were found bricks and tiles with the stamp *S(ub) C(ura) HERMOGENI P(Rae)P(ositi) LEG(io) VII CL(audia) PART(is) CIT(erioris)*¹³. All these indicate that the first half of the legio VII Claudia was called *pars superior* and the other half *pars citerior*.

A.H.M. Jones considered that the new Diocletianic legion numbered 3,000 recruits, organized into six cohorts, each of 500 soldiers¹⁴. The *vexillationes* of the *riparienses* legions were distributed in the border fortifications. The division of a legion into six cohorts does not seem to have been a rule. The idea that the new Diocletianic legion was organized into ten cohorts, each of 300 recruits¹⁵ is highly probable; in NotDignOr, the legions of the provinces Moesia Superior and Scythia Minor were recorded as being divided into two tactical units (*pedaturae*), each of five cohorts. If each cohort had had 300 recruits, then a *pars/pedatura* could have been of 1,500 men, that is half of the Diocletianic legion.

The splitting of the military units had two main purposes: on the one hand to avoid the often mutinies of the large units and on the other, a greater mobility of the troops, in case of war.

Another reformation of the Roman Army occurred in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great. A reorganization of the Army was required after the many civil wars during the Tetrarchy that had caused considerable human losses. For example, in the battle from AD 312, between Constantine and Maxentius, there participated 98,000 men on the side of the first and, 188,000 men for the latter¹⁶. Furthermore, in AD 394, in the fight between Constantine the Great and Licinius, in Chrysopolis, large military forces were involved. The forces engaged in the battle had been estimated at 165,000 soldiers for Licinius and 130,000 soldiers on Constantine's side, both sides having fleets of 200 ships and respectively of 350 ships¹⁷. Even if Zosimos had exaggerated regarding the effectives engaged in the battle, the figures still demonstrate the great human effort involved in such events. In this conflict, *vexillationes* of the legions from the Lower Danube were called to fight in the confrontation between the two Emperors (Constantine and Licinius) and consequently, the defence of the

⁹ For another opinion, see A. Aricescu, who has placed the division of the legio II Herculiana and legio I Iovia in the time of Emperors Constantine the Great and respectively, Constantius II, cf. Aricescu 1977, 112-114.

¹⁰ CIL III 8275.

¹¹ Benea 1983, 124.

¹² IDR III/1 38.

¹³ Gudea 1970, 555-557; Gudea 1974, 141-146; IGLR 423.

¹⁴ Jones 1964, II, 680-682; III, 380 Appendix 2; Petolescu 2000, 326 note 4.

¹⁵ Várady 1961, 368-369; Petolescu 2000, 326.

¹⁶ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, II, 15, 1.

¹⁷ Zosimos, *Historia novae*, II, 22, 1; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 44.

Roman Empire's border on this sector was considerably weakened, which favoured an invasion of the Goths¹⁸. Following the confrontation between the two rivals, a series of military units have suffered different consequences and changes (transfers, disappearances, the effectives were brought up to full number, mixing up). A general reorganization of the military effectives was absolutely necessary, so new military reforms were introduced. The effectives of a *legio* were reduced to 1,000 men, i.e. the exact size of the bodies transferred some time ago by Diocletian, to fight on other fronts¹⁹. Most probably, Constantine the Great set the effectives of a legion to 1,000 recruits²⁰, after AD 324, when Licinius was expelled from the political scene. This seems to have been the size of a legion, if we consider that in case of emergency, for special operations, from a legion, there could be detached bodies of 500 recruits²¹. The new unit continued to bear the name of *legio*. Thus the number of the legions increased but with reduced military effectives. As shown²², at a certain moment the legio V Macedonica had several prefectures, during the reign of Constantine the Great.

Constantine the Great kept the field operative army (*sacer comitatus*), calling further for unit detachments, withdrawals, etc., along with the establishing of new units. The auxiliary troops of infantry and cavalry were also reorganized, reaching effectives of about 500 recruits²³ or 300 recruits²⁴. In AD 325, the reforms of Constantine the Great were completed: the Imperial Constitution issued in that year, officially recorded the following categories of troops: *comitatenses, ripenses, alares et cohortales*²⁵.

Other military reforms of the Lower Danube troops could have taken place at the end of Constantine's reign. Ioannes Lydus mentioned this on two occasions²⁶. An interesting fact is that Ioannes Lydus placed this moment²⁷, after Rome had *been left in the drift of Fate*, i.e. after the capital of the Roman Empire had been moved to Constantinople in AD 330. Information given by Ioannes Lydos indicates the fact that after AD 330, the Roman troops from the Lower Danube underwent new military reforms (unless he was referring to temporary transfers of troops).

The reorganization of the military effectives and implicitly of the legions must have continued after the reign of Constantine the Great. Thus, in the time of Emperor Constantius II, new troops of *milites* and *cunei equitum* appeared, bearing the epithet of *Constantiani*; this moment was accurately recorded in NotDignOr. Some archaeologists have considered that these new troops were formed to meet the need for units on the border, where the forces had been reduced because of previous withdrawals and detachments during Constantine's reign²⁸. In support of this hypothesis we can mention the inscription from Carcaliu, dated between AD 337 and 340²⁹. Probably, after the death of Emperor Constantine the Great in AD 337, some

¹⁸ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, V, 21.

¹⁹ Discussions and references at Zahariade 1988, 72.

²⁰ I. Barnea, DID, II, 382; Aricescu 1977, 128.

²¹ Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI, 10, 13.

²² Tudor 1960, 355-356.

²³ Aricescu 1977, 108.

²⁴ Hodgson 1999, 547.

²⁵ Berchem 1952, 84 sqq.

²⁶ FHDR II, 495.

²⁷ Ioannes Lydus, II, 10.

²⁸ Zahariade 1988, 76.

²⁹ IGLR 238.

movements of the Goths took place to the north of the Danube and consequently, the military units were detached in the threatened sectors. We cannot exclude the possibility that the new units could have come from the military detachments of the old *riparienses* legions. The new troops that bore the epithet of *Constantiani* could have been the result of this reorganization being distributed along the borders for a closer supervision of the frontier. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that during the reign of Constantius II, the military units might have been again divided, this being the case of the auxiliary troops (see below). The wars against the Persians in the East, the removal of the usurper Magnentius, the battles against the Sarmatians in Banat and those from the frontier of the Rhine required more and more troops for interventions.

The presence of legionary troops on the border of the Lower Danube is documented by literary (NotDignOr), epigraphic and tegular evidence. For a more accurate picture of the troops that had been detached from the south to the north of the Danube, we must present briefly the military effectives of the four provinces on the sector of the Lower Danube, following the first military reforms undertaken by Diocletian. The most important information can be found in Notitia Dignitatum.

In the province of Moesia Prima, bordered to the east-west by the rivers Sava and Porecka, the following legions were quartered: legio III Flavia at Singidunum³⁰, legio VII Claudia at Viminacium and Cuppae³¹ as well as other auxiliary troops. Detachments of these legions were subsequently sent to other fortifications on the line of the Danube (eg. Gornea, Novae, etc.). Furthermore, two units of the Danubian fleet were indicated: *praefectus classis Histricae, Viminacio*³² and *praefectus classis Stradensis et Germensis, Margo*³³.

Dacia Ripensis lay between the rivers Porecka and Utus. After Aurelian's withdrawal from Dacia, legio XIII Gemina was transferred from Apulum to Ratiaria and legio V Macedonica was transferred from Potaissa to Oescus. The duties of guarding the borders of the Danube as well as controlling the north-Danubian region, on the sector corresponding to Dacia Ripensis, were split between the two legions. Starting from Ratiaria and Oescus the two legions detached troops to other points on the Danube, that is, to the bridgehead northern-Danubian fortifications. Notitia Dignitatum did not clearly indicate where the other two headquarters of the Dacian legions were (only the ones from Ratiaria and Oescus are known) after Diocletian's reforms. Their existence can be inferred by the fact that the two units were divided. There are indications about the existence of a *pars superior* of legio XIII Gemina³⁴, the other tactical unit - *pars inferior* – has not been documented in any way. At Sucidava, a *praefectura* of legio V Macedonica³⁵ was established, most probably in AD 324. We cannot indicate the date until this *praefectura* could have been maintained, but hypothetically we can suppose it was until the abandonment of the fortification. Besides the two legions, in Dacia Ripensis, there were also stationed auxiliary and fleet effectives: *praefectus classis Histricae, Aegetae* and *praefectus classis Ratiarensis*³⁶.

³⁰ NotDignOr, XLI, 30.

³¹ NotDignOr, XLI, 31-32.

³² NotDignOr, XLI, 38.

³³ NotDignOr, XLI, 39.

³⁴ IGLR 403.

³⁵ NotDignOr, XLII, 39.

³⁶ NotDignOr, XLII, 42 and 43.

The province Moesia Secunda was bounded by the river Utus to the east and Altinum-Ekrene to the west. The province was defended by legio I Italica and legio XI Claudia. Legio I Italica was quartered at Novae: *praefectus legionis primae Italicae* and *praefectus ripae legionis primae Italicae cohortis quintae pedaturae superioris*³⁷ and Sexaginta Prista: *praefectus ripae legionis primae Italicae cohortis quintae pedaturae inferioris*³⁸.

The detachment of legio XI Claudia has generated a controversy³⁹. Most likely the headquarters of the legion were set at Durostorum along with the first half of the unit, *praefectus ripae legionis undecimae Claudiae*⁴⁰ and at Transmarisca the other half: *praefectus ripae legionis undecimae Claudiae cohortium quintae pedaturae superioris*⁴¹. The two legions were led by a *praefectus legionis*, assisted by two commanders (*praefecti ripae*), one for each *pedatura*. The legionary effectives of Moesia were substituted by auxiliary troops and by the fleet: *milites tertii nauclarii, Appiaria; milites nauclarii Altinenses, Altino; praefectus navium amnicarum et militum ibidem deputatorum*⁴².

The easternmost province from the Lower Danube, Scythia, was lying between the Altinum-Ekrene and the Black Sea. Its capital was Tomis. As there was mentioned in NotDignOr⁴³, the province was guarded and defended by legio I Iovia from Noviodunum⁴⁴ and Aegyssus⁴⁵, and by legio Herculia II quartered at Troesmis⁴⁶ and Axiopolis⁴⁷. Each legion was commanded by a *praefectus legionis*, assisted by two commanders (*praefecti ripae*), one for each *pedatura*. *Itinerarium Antonini*⁴⁸ recorded a completely different detachment plan: legio I Iovia at Troesmis and legio II Herculia at Noviodunum. This situation has been considered (Gh. Ștefan, M. Zahariade, C.C. Petolescu et alii) either an error, or sometime in late 3rd century, when *Itinerarium* is dated, a change of headquarters between the two units took place, around AD 290⁴⁹. For the latter hypothesis, the exchange of the garrison headquarters between the two legions was not recorded in Notitia Dignitatum, given the later date of its writing/revising. The epigraphic evidence supports the information provided by NotDignOr as it follows. Legio I Iovia is clearly attested on the northern border of Scythia Minor Province, at Noviodunum⁵⁰, Niculițel⁵¹, Dinogetia⁵², Aegyssus⁵³, Salsovia⁵⁴, but also at Carsium⁵⁵.

³⁷ NotDignOr, XL, 30 and 31.

³⁸ NotDignOr, XL, 32.

³⁹ Zahariade 1988, 58-59; Petolescu 1989, 165.

⁴⁰ NotDignOr, XL, 33.

⁴¹ NotDignOr, XL, 34.

⁴² NotDignOr, XL, 22, 28, 36.

⁴³ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 29-35.

⁴⁴ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 32-33.

⁴⁵ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 34.

⁴⁶ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 29 and 31.

⁴⁷ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 30.

⁴⁸ *Itinerarium Antonini*, 225, 2; 226, 1.

⁴⁹ Aricescu 1977, 111.

⁵⁰ IGLR 266.

⁵¹ IGLR 268.

⁵² IGLR 241.

⁵³ IGLR 270.

⁵⁴ IGLR 271.

⁵⁵ Petolescu, Popovici 1989, 3, 241-247.

The other Scythian legion, legio II Herculia was present on the western border of the province, as the epigraphic monuments from Troesmis⁵⁶ and Sacidava⁵⁷ lead us to believe. The Scythian legions were backed up by auxiliary units as well as by units of the river fleet. In the latter case we are referring to *milites nauclarii Flauiana, praefectus ripae legionis primae Iouiae cohortis ... et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum and classis, Inplateypegiis*⁵⁸ and also to *P(raefectura) C(lassis) R(ipae) Σ(cythicae)*⁵⁹, the latter quartered at Noviodunum. The *Scythica* epithet was borne also by legio I Iovia⁶⁰, because of its duty of defending the line of the Lower Danube down to its "Scythian" sector.

The military effectives appointed to defend Scythia in the time of the Tetrarchy were estimated at 10,000-12,000 recruits⁶¹, so that in the time of Constantine the Great to reach approximately 8,000 recruits⁶² and later on, during Emperor Constantius II, about 10,500 soldiers⁶³.

There can be observed that two legions were appointed to defend each province, to which the auxiliary troops and naval effectives were added. To what extent the military authorities of the four provinces were able to defend the Danubian line with the military troops sent to the north, we will see later on from the catalogue that reviews all the information related to this issue.

The frequent transfers of the legionary *vexillationes* and their use as separate detachments led to their evolution into autonomous units⁶⁴. Throughout this process, the character of each detachment was taken into account: infantry, cavalry, artillery, etc., a gradual tendency of being formed entirely different auxiliary troops appeared. It is worth noting that the reducing of the military effectives of the legions should have been followed by an increase of the auxiliary troops, cavalry or infantry, detached on the border of the Lower Danube. In this context, the importance of the legions was in decline. This was the consequence of a new military policy, through which the large military units were being reduced in favour of other smaller ones, more numerous and more mobile. Throughout the Late Roman Period, regardless of their effectives, the legions remained troops of infantry. Reviewing the available information on the detaching process of the legionary *vexillationes* to the north of the Danube, we were able to elaborate the following scheme.

Legio III Flavia is attested to the north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period at:

- Pančevo⁶⁵;
- Kuvin⁶⁶;
- Dierna: *LEG(io) III FL(avia) (D)IER(na) (?)*⁶⁷.

⁵⁶ IGLR 236.

⁵⁷ IGLR 189.

⁵⁸ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 20, 35.

⁵⁹ ISM V 285.

⁶⁰ Itinerarium Antonini, 225, 3.

⁶¹ *Milites ripenses or limitanei*, acc. to Aricescu 1977, 129.

⁶² Aricescu 1977, 130.

⁶³ Aricescu 1977, 131.

⁶⁴ Zahariade 1988, 69.

⁶⁵ Đorđević 1996, 126.

⁶⁶ CIL III 1653=8143; IDR III/1 1.

⁶⁷ CIL II 8276, 2; IDR III/1 75.

Legio VII Claudia is attested to the north of the Danube in the following places:

- Banatska-Palanka⁶⁸;
- Stara Palanka: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) ADVENTINI P(rae)F(ecti)*⁶⁹;
- Sapaja Island: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior)*⁷⁰; [*LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) EVF(emi) P(raefecti) F(ecit) BESSIO*⁷¹]; (*LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) AVR(elii)*)⁷².
- Vršac: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) (IDR III/1, p. 126-127); LEG(io) VII CLAVDI(a)E S(ub) C(ura) MCVATR(a)E PR(ae)P(ositi)*⁷³;
- Pojejena: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia)*⁷⁴; *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) C(uppis)*⁷⁵;
- Gornea: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia); S(ub) C(ura) BVBALI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(ionis) VII CL(audiae) MVIT*⁷⁶;
- Şviniţa: *S(ub) C(ura) HERMOGENI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(io) VII CL(audia) PART(is) CIT(erioris)*⁷⁷;
- Sucidava: *L(egio) VII (Claudia) S(ub) C(ura) VRSA[ci F(lavi) AR]GVTI OF(ficina)*⁷⁸.

legio XIII Gemina

- Dierna: (*legio) XIII (Gemina)*⁷⁹; *LEG(io) XIII R(atiaria)*⁸⁰; *LEG(io) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior)*⁸¹;
- Mehadia: *LEG(io) XIII GEM(ina)*⁸²; *LEG(io) XIII G(emina)*⁸³;
- Băile Herculane: (*legio) XIII (Gemina)*⁸⁴;
- Drobeta: *L(egio) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior)*⁸⁵;
- Desa: *L(egio) XIII G(emina) RAT(iaria)*⁸⁶;
- Sucidava: *LE(egio) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior)*⁸⁷.

⁶⁸ IDR III/1 36-39.

⁶⁹ IDR III/1 8.

⁷⁰ IDR III/1 38.

⁷¹ CIL III 8275, 5 = IDR III/1 9.

⁷² Benea 1996, 73.

⁷³ IDR III/1 127.

⁷⁴ CIL III 807, f-g, 14496, 2; IDR III/1 49.

⁷⁵ CIL III 14496, 2 = 8071, f; IGLR 427; IDR III/1 22.

⁷⁶ Gudea 1977a, 88.

⁷⁷ Gudea 1970, 555-557; Gudea 1974, 141-146; IGLR 423.

⁷⁸ Toropu 1988-1989, 35.

⁷⁹ IGLR 414; IDR III/1 51.

⁸⁰ AE 1972, 493 a; IGLR 415; IDR III/1 47.

⁸¹ Benea 1996, 88.

⁸² CIL III 8074, 1; IDR III/1 119.

⁸³ IGLR 421; IDR III/1 101.

⁸⁴ IGLR 420; IDR III/1 98.

⁸⁵ IGLR 403.

⁸⁶ Tudor 1936, 187; IGLR 401.

⁸⁷ IGLR 287.

legio V Macedonica

- Mehadia: *LEG(io) V M(acedonica)*⁸⁸;
- Dierna: *L(egio) V M(acedonica)*⁸⁹;
- Drobeta: *L(egio) V M(acedonica)*⁹⁰;
- Hinova: *L(egio) V M(acedonica)*⁹¹;
- Orlea: *L(egio) V M(acedonica) CO(hors) II[I] or II[III]; L(egio) V M(acedonica) OES(co); L(egio) V M(acedonica) VA[R](inia)*⁹²;
- Sucidava: *L(egio) V M(acedonica)*⁹³; *L(egionis) V M(acedonicae) CO(ho)RS III*⁹⁴; *CO(ho)RS III*⁹⁵; *[L(egionis) V] M(acedonicae) P(rae)P(ositus) C(ohortis) III*⁹⁶; *L(egionis) V M(acedonicae) C(ohors) IIII or LEG(ionis) V M(acedonicae) C(ohors) IIII*⁹⁷; *L(egio) V M(acedonica) OES(co)*⁹⁸; *L(egio) V M(acedonica) VAR(inia)*⁹⁹; *[L(e)]G(io) V M(acedonica) S(sub) C(ura) ROM(uli)*¹⁰⁰; *[P(raefectus) L(egionis) V M(acedonicae)] VAL(eriana)*¹⁰¹.

There can be noticed that only the legions of the provinces Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis sent detachments to the north of the Danube. The region they were detached to corresponds geographically to current Banat and Oltenia areas, which corresponds exactly to the Danubian sector belonging to the former Trajan's Dacia Province. This fact is relevant for the size of the area under the rule of the Late Roman Empire to the north of the Danube.

The following legions: legio I Italica, legio XI Claudia, legio I Iovia and legio II Herculia have not been yet attested as being present in the north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period. However, it has been assumed, that they participated in the campaigns conducted by the Roman Emperors (Constantine the Great, Valens) to the north of Danube. Perhaps, due to several advantages like the fact that the Danubian sector east of the river Olt was less vulnerable and more resistant to attacks, the existence of Goth *foederati*, the construction of the earthen *valla* system in southern Moldavia and the safety of river traffic, it was not necessary to transfer *vexillationes* belonging to these military units to the north of the Danube. However, we should note the capacity of legio I Italica and legio II Herculia to send *vexillationes*, in the time of the Tetrarchy, to the north of the Black Sea in the Crimean Peninsula, where the politico-military environment required their presence¹⁰².

⁸⁸ CIL III 1630, k; IDR III/1 119.

⁸⁹ IDR III/1 74.

⁹⁰ Benea 1977a, 176.

⁹¹ Davidescu 1989, 33.

⁹² Toropu 1976, 214.

⁹³ CIL III 8066, b; IGLR 279.

⁹⁴ Tudor 1941, 377; AE 1939, 95; IGLR 280.

⁹⁵ AE 1939, 263; IGLR 281.

⁹⁶ Tudor 1960, 337, nr.5; IGLR 282.

⁹⁷ Tudor 1953, 706; IGLR 283.

⁹⁸ Tocilescu 1902-1908, 335; CIL III 8068, a-b = 6241; IGLR 284.

⁹⁹ Tudor 1935-1936, 413; AE 1939, 91; IGLR 286.

¹⁰⁰ Tudor 1935-1936, 414; AE 1939, 262; IGLR 285.

¹⁰¹ Toropu, Gherghe, Bâciu 1996, 12.

¹⁰² Sarnowski 1988, 96-98.

V.2. EQUITES, CUNEI EQUITUM

The Roman cavalry was developed as a separate arm because of the numerous conflicts that arose in different points of the Empire that, consequently, led to the need of quick military intervention where necessary. In time, the cavalry became more important, considering the growing conflicts with the barbarians from the north of the Danube and from other borders, who fought very efficiently in horse-riders formations. The final separation of cavalry from infantry seems to have happened during the reign of Constantine the Great: when the imperial constitution from the year 325 has recorded two kinds of troops, *alares et cohortales*¹⁰³. The terms of *alae* and *cohortes* are specific to the time of the Principate; probably in the Imperial Constitution, the term of *alae* designated the cavalry troops, and that of *cohortes* the infantry troops of the Empire.

On the border of the Lower Danube, the cavalry troops were presented as *equites* and *cunei equitum* in literary sources. A special discussion is necessary on the forming process of these military bodies in the Late Roman Period. Although they were basically cavalry troops, the two kinds of units should not be and cannot be mistaken. The distinction between them has been already made by Theodor Mommsen. He considered that a *cuneus* unit was created as a squadron after the barbarian model, while a unit of *equites* was organized after the Roman model¹⁰⁴. It is obvious that, originally, the cavalry troops had been formed either through the detachment of horse-riders from the former legions, or through the reorganizing the old *alae*. In time, however, the bringing up to full number of the cavalry effectives was done through the widespread enrolment of barbarian mercenaries in the Late Roman Army. In addition to the *equites* and *cunei equitum*, the epigraphic sources indicate troops of *numeri* and *vexillationes equitum*.

Equites. The emergence of cavalry bodies separate from the Roman legions had occurred starting with the second half of 3rd century. They had been originally formed through the detachment of the old cavalry contingents from the legions, being eventually transformed into separate army bodies. Their first mentioning in the literary sources dates back to the time of Emperor Gallienus, when the large body of Dalmatae cavalry was formed¹⁰⁵. The Tabula from Brigetio from AD 311 recorded distinctively the *equites* troops¹⁰⁶. Two inscriptions from Capidava¹⁰⁷, indicating a unit of *equites* were dated in the period from the end of the 3rd century to the beginning of the 4th century, during the reign of Diocletian. Even more eloquent in this respect are the troops of *equites* from Gornea¹⁰⁸.

All the pieces of evidence mentioned above lead us to believe that the troops of *equites* were formed anterior to those of *cunei equitum*. Once the *cunei* were formed, the troops of *equites* had gradually lost their importance¹⁰⁹. On the border of the Lower Danube, the number of *equites* troops was small (according to archaeological evidence!) as compared with their very large number from the Middle Danube area. With few exceptions (see below the catalogue of the tegular stamps), the archaeological excavations have not revealed any

¹⁰³ Berchem 1952, 84 sqq.

¹⁰⁴ Mommsen 1889, 218; Zahariade 1988, 77.

¹⁰⁵ SHA, *Vita Galieni*, 14 and *Vita Claudii*, 11; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, I, 40, 2.

¹⁰⁶ AE 1961, 240.

¹⁰⁷ IGLR 220-221.

¹⁰⁸ Gudea 1977, 64-65.

¹⁰⁹ Berchem 1952, 94.

stamped tegular evidence belonging to units of *equites* type; it is possible that no brick-manufacturers existed among these troops as they were used strictly for tactical missions and for combat.

Regarding the effectives of the *equites* troops, Ammianus Marcellinus¹¹⁰ noted that in the time of Constantius II, a small field body made up of two such units, sent from Illyricum on the front from the border with Persia, numbered 700 riders; therefore by the mid 4th century, a unit of *equites* was made up of approx. 350 men.

Cuneus equitum was a new type of body in the Roman Army from the Late Roman Period that arose, as generally accepted in the specialized historiography, following the military reforms carried by Emperor Constantine the Great. From an etymological point of view, the terms *cuneus equitum* designated a military cavalry formation, arranged in the shape of a *cuneus* (a nail or a wedge), in angle with the tip forward. *Cunei equitum* were part of the new auxiliary military units, resulted from Emperor Constantine's reforms. They seem to have emerged either from the large cavalry squads created by Emperor Gallienus during the politico-military crisis from the second half of the 3rd century, later on dispersed on the borders by Diocletian, or perhaps from the imperial guard troops, probably dissolved by Diocletian or by Constantine the Great.

NotDignOr recorded a rather large number of *cunei equitum* on the boarder of Lower Danube, each being endowed with an attribute, according to their origin or specific: *Promotorum*, *Sagittariorum*, *Dalmatarum*, *Dalmatarum Divitensium*, *Scutariorum*, *Solensium*, *Arcadum*, etc. Some attributes are much older, a proof of the fact that they originated from the former legionary cavalry squads. The *cunei equitum* have been permanently considered elite troops, because in AD 347 their rank was considered equal to that of the legions and of the *vexillationes comitatenses*¹¹¹. Initially, their number must have been quite high¹¹², but later on they also underwent a process of fractioning, as will be shown below.

For tracking the evolution and dispersal of the *cunei* on the border of the Lower Danube¹¹³, the main source of information is Notitia Dignitatum. Chronologically, this process can be tracked only during the 4th century and possibly early 5th century, after which the information on this subject disappears altogether.

Another interesting issue would be to determine the period in which these military units functioned. With few exceptions, the majority of the *cunei* from the border of the Danube are documented by NotDignOr that indicated a *de facto* situation from the period of Emperor Constantine the Great and his successor, Constantius II. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the Oriental part of the Notitia was reviewed not long after AD 395¹¹⁴. The last intervention in its content can be noticed at Talamonium-Salmorus-Halmyris (Murighiol), where Notitia Dignitatum recorded a *cuneus equitum Arcadum*¹¹⁵. These bodies originated in the province of Arcadia from the diocese of Egypt¹¹⁶, a province established at some point

¹¹⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, XVIII, 8, 2.

¹¹¹ CTh V, 4, 1.

¹¹² Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 45, 1-2; Várady 1961, 369-371.

¹¹³ Bondoc 2004, 40-46.

¹¹⁴ Jones 1964, II, 347 – 358.

¹¹⁵ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 18.

¹¹⁶ Aricescu 1977, 116.

between AD 386 and 392¹¹⁷. This event, combined with the fact that the *Notitia Dignitatum* was reviewed around 395, leads us to the conclusion that by late 4th century, *cuneus equitum* troops were clearly present on the border of the Lower Danube.

An ancient source confirms the existence of the *cunei* also in the first half of the 5th century. Zosimos¹¹⁸ mentioned that in AD 409, in the context of the Visigoth invasion led by Alaric in Italy, a number of five *cunei Dalmatarum* amounting to 6,000 recruits were sent in battle. Aside from the figure exaggerated by Zosimos (five *cunei equitum* totalling 6,000 recruits, would mean that such a unit had 1,200 recruits!), the information is valuable because it attests to the existence of such units in early 5th century. However, the transfer of units from the Lower Danube to Italy remains unclear in the context of the Hunnic attacks that occurred in the same period; but it is another matter.

Regarding the effectives of the cavalry units from the Late Roman Period, several opinions have been expressed, out of which we will mention here only a few. F. Lot considered that the number of soldiers from the *equites* and *cunei* units amounted to 100-150¹¹⁹ men. Given the size of the inhabited area of the fortification from Gornea, where a unit of *equites sagittarii* is documented, the effective of the garrison was estimated at approx. 100-150 soldiers¹²⁰. The figures above are still quite small as compared to the importance of the Late Roman cavalry troops. Other suggested figures are: 500 recruits¹²¹, 300 recruits¹²².

More information on this issue can be extracted from the historical and archaeological evidence found in Drobeta. The effective of the *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* unit from Drobeta¹²³, has been tackled recently, during the analysis of a cross-shaped edifice inside the fortification from the 4th century¹²⁴. By comparing the size of the dwelling area with the military units mentioned in *Notitia Dignitatum* in the Drobeta fortification, M. Zahariade has concluded that the *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* could not have exceeded 290/300 recruits. The figure is acceptable if you take into account that this situation is probably contemporary with Emperor Constantius II, when the Roman military units underwent a new process of reorganization and fractioning. However, *NotDignOr* mentioned another *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* at Dorticum¹²⁵ and most likely we are dealing with a larger unit by this name from the time of Constantine the Great, which was at some point divided, maybe during the reign of Constantius II. We reach thus a figure of around 500/600 recruits, which seems acceptable for a *cuneus* from the reign of Constantine the Great¹²⁶, so that from the second half of the 4th century, to amount to approx. 300 recruits. Through this information, *Notitia Dignitatum* recorded a very important process related to the military auxiliary units from the Late Roman Period which seems to have been subjected to the same gradual splitting and reorganization, as the legions.

¹¹⁷ Zahariade 1988, 82-83.

¹¹⁸ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 45, 1-2; VI, 7, 2.

¹¹⁹ Lot 1935, 42.

¹²⁰ Gudea 1977, 74.

¹²¹ Grosse 1920, 53, Jones 1964, II, 681.

¹²² Várady 1961, 371; Hodgson 1999, 547.

¹²³ *NotDignOr*, LXIII, 16.

¹²⁴ Zahariade 1997, 167-182.

¹²⁵ *NotDignOr*, LXV, 14.

¹²⁶ Aricescu 1977, 108; Grosse 1920, 53.

The size of the vexillationes detached from cavalry troops to be sent on other fronts seems to have been of around 300 recruits¹²⁷. Very likely, this kind of units was tactically divided into operational groups of 6 recruits, ordered by an *exarchus*¹²⁸.

There cannot be indicated an exact date for the moment when the *cunei* troops disappeared. The *Cunei equitum* are mentioned by the literary sources from the 4th century¹²⁹ and from early 5th century¹³⁰. The Hunnic attacks from the first half of the 5th century claimed many victims in the Roman Army and it is very likely that following these events some military units have been destroyed and the remaining ones have been mixed up together. The border on the Lower Danube had been abandoned for a period of time and it is possible that as a result of these events the *cuneus equitum* troops have been disbanded. From this point on we cease to have any other information related to them. Moreover, from this point on, the overall dynamics of the Roman troops is difficult to reconstitute.

The large number of *cunei* troops detached on the border of the Lower Danube¹³¹ naturally leads us to conclude that in the Late Roman Period, the role of cavalry grew continuously. It can be noticed that the units of the *cunei equitum* type from the Lower Danube were mentioned as having been of an overwhelming size only by the literary sources, in this case by Notitia Dignitatum. With the exception of a few stamped bricks, there is no other tegular information on the *cunei equitum* troops from the line of the Lower Danube. This fact should not surprise us, since it is logical that in a period of major political and military events, the cavalry troops were less preoccupied, or not at all, with the production of building material, in this case of bricks. According to the archaeological evidence, the exceptions noted in Sucidava¹³² and Histria¹³³ confirm this rule. With the decreasing effectiveness¹³⁴, the frequent detachments, the mixing and the losses suffered on the battlefield, the direct brick stamping of a unit had no longer served its purpose.

We have very little information on the cavalry troops transferred by the Roman authorities in the north of the Lower Danube in the Late Roman Period. This fact contrasts with the large number of cavalry troops detached in the fortifications from the southern *ripa* of the Danube¹³⁵. Probably the intention was to protect these troops in order to use them in strategic and tactical operations:

- Kuvin: *Cuneus equitum promotorum Flaviana*¹³⁶;
- Gornea: *EQ(uites) SAGI(ttarii) S(ub) C(ura) ITALICI [P(rae)P(ositi) R(ipae)]*¹³⁷;
- Drobeta: *Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium*¹³⁸;

¹²⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, 4, 2-3; XXXI, 11, 2.

¹²⁸ Grosse 1920, 109-110; Lambrino 1940; Zahariade 1997, 172.

¹²⁹ NotDignOr.

¹³⁰ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 45, 1.

¹³¹ Bondoc 2004, 40-46.

¹³² IGLR 296.

¹³³ Aricescu 1977, 122 no. 3.

¹³⁴ See the case of the *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* detachment from Drobeta, acc. to Zahariade 1997.

¹³⁵ For the *cuneus* troops, see Bondoc 2004, 40-46.

¹³⁶ NotDignOr, XLI, 13.

¹³⁷ IGLR 424.

¹³⁸ NotDignOr, XLII, 16.

-Sucidava: *E(quites) N(umeri) C(onstantianorum)*¹³⁹; *C(uneus) A(equitum) D(almatarum)*¹⁴⁰; *DAL(matae) VARI(niae)* or *VARI(niae) DAL(matae)*¹⁴¹. Also, a brick bearing the stamp *VTO* along with the representation of three horses¹⁴² can be attributed to a cavalry unit.

V.3. AUXILIA, MILITES

The Imperial Constitution of AD 325 recorded distinctively the infantry troops of the Empire, naming them cohorts¹⁴³. The terms used in NotDignOr to designate the infantry troops on the border of the Lower Danube, in the Late Roman Period, are different from one Danubian province to another. In the provinces of Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis the infantry troops were mentioned in Notitia Dignitatum generally by the term of *auxilia* and bore various epithets, mostly related to the place of the garrison: *Tricornienses, Aureomontanum, Margenses, Cuppensis* etc. On the same sector there are several notes on the *milites* troops; the Notitia Dignitatum clearly noted that they were ordered by *praefecti*, an unusual practice for the border of the provinces Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor. These differences as well as others could emerge from the fact that the four provinces belonged to different dioceses.

On the borders of the provinces Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor, the names of the *milites* troops were followed by various epithets, deriving either from the place of the garrison, the place of origin or from the emperor that founded them: *Dacisci, Constantini* (from Constantine the Great) *Constantiani* (from Constantius II) *Gratianenses* (from Emperor Gratianus), *Moesiaci, Cimbriani*, etc. On the sector of the last two provinces, there have not been indicated any *auxilia* units. The usage of the two terms, *auxilia* and *milites* denotes that they reflected two different types of troops, belonging however to the same arm – the infantry. The distinction is absolutely necessary if we take into account the similar situation in the case of the cavalry troops, called *equites* and *cunei equitum*. This could reflect different stages of organization and detachment of these troops as a result of the military reforms in Late Roman Period. In the same direction, of the chronological stages of organization and distribution should be interpreted the epithets coming from various Roman emperors: *Constantini, Constantiani, Gratianenses*, suggesting at least three such stages corresponding to Emperors Constantine the Great, Constantius II and Gratianus. The new infantry troops from the Late Roman Period could have emerged from the detachments of the border legions, or from the structural transformation of the old cohorts from the 2nd -3rd centuries.

Estimating the number of infantry troops is a difficult operation. In the absence of clear indications, we can use the archaeological evidence. Same as above, for the troops of *cunei equitum*, the Drobeta example is again revealing. Notitia Dignitatum mentioned here an *auxilium primorum Daciscorum*¹⁴⁴. The size of the unit was probably determined by comparing the effectives of such a unit with the size of the Roman fortification¹⁴⁵. The 36

¹³⁹ IGLR 288 A.

¹⁴⁰ Tudor 1941, 379; IGLR 296.

¹⁴¹ Tudor 1935-1936, 413-413; IGLR 289 A.

¹⁴² Tudor 1960, 340-341 nr. 19.

¹⁴³ Berchem 1952, 84.

¹⁴⁴ NotDignOr, XLII, 24.

¹⁴⁵ Zahariade 1997, 167 sqq.

rooms of *retentura* were probably inhabited by the infantry of the *auxilium primorum Daciscorum*, in the second half of the 4th century, if not even earlier. The size of this *auxilium* quartered at Dorbeta was estimated at about 240/250 men. The figure is still small for an *auxilium* from the time of Constantine the Great, and thus appears to refer rather to the size of a *vexillatio* transferred on other fronts¹⁴⁶. This can be explained as it follows. The numeral *primorum*, borne by this *auxilium*, could indicate that this *auxilium* was initially part of a larger base-unit divided at some point¹⁴⁷. Given the existence, in the same time, of an *auxilium secundorum Daciscorum* at Burgo Zono¹⁴⁸, it is very likely that during the reign of Constantine the Great there was a single *auxilium Daciscorum*. Later on, during the reign of Constantius II, this *auxilium* was divided into two squads. Thus, Notitia Dignitatum recorded a *de facto* situation, namely, a detachment of infantry divided at some point. Probably in the time of Constantine the Great, the size of an *auxilium* amounted to about 500 men¹⁴⁹, which seems to be an acceptable figure¹⁵⁰, so that in the second half of the 4th century its effectives to have halved¹⁵¹. The situation must have been similar for the *milites* troops.

The infantry troops are attested to the north of Danube, in the following places:

- Kuvin: *praefectus militum*...¹⁵²;
- Contra Regina: *auxiliares reginenses*¹⁵³;
- Drobeta: *auxilium primorum Daciscorum*¹⁵⁴;
- Dafne: *Constantini Dafnenses*¹⁵⁵.

V.4. BALLISTARII

The artillery troops had certain importance in Late Roman Army. It is difficult to estimate the exact moment when the special artillery units emerged. It seems that the detachment of the artillery from legions occurred during Emperor Constantine the Great¹⁵⁶. We will point out in the following pages only the archaeological sites where the presence of Roman artillery machines is documented. The number of Late Roman fortifications to the north of Danube, that provides information on the existence of artillery troops, is rather small¹⁵⁷.

Ballistae are archaeologically or literary attested to the north of the Danube in the following fortifications:

- Gornea¹⁵⁸;
- Dierna¹⁵⁹;

¹⁴⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, 4, 2-3; XXXI, 11, 2.

¹⁴⁷ Zahariade 1988, 86.

¹⁴⁸ NotDignOr, XLII, 28.

¹⁴⁹ Grosse 1920, 42.

¹⁵⁰ Aricescu 1977, 108.

¹⁵¹ Várady 1961, 378 still remains at the opinion that the figure was of 300 recruits.

¹⁵² NotDignOr, XLI, 33.

¹⁵³ NotDignOr, XL, 21.

¹⁵⁴ NotDignOr, XLII, 24.

¹⁵⁵ NotDignOr, VIII, 45.

¹⁵⁶ Marsden 1969, 195-196.

¹⁵⁷ On the *ballistae* from Gornea and Orșova, see Gudea, Baatz 1974, 50-72; for an overview, see Bondoc 2002, 641-648.

¹⁵⁸ Gudea 1977, 47-60; Gudea 1977a, 82-83; Gudea 1978, 69-75.

¹⁵⁹ Gudea 1977, 47-60; Gudea 1978, 69-75.

- Dafne: *Ballistarii Dafnenses*¹⁶⁰.

The findings from the fortifications of Gornea and Dierna were dated in the period between Emperors Valentinian I/ Valens - Theodosius I. From the second half of the 4th century, the war machines seem to have been widely used¹⁶¹. The regiment from Dafne dates from the period of Emperor Constantine the Great.

Stone projectiles have been found at:

- Drobeta¹⁶²;
- Hinova¹⁶³;
- Ostrovu Mare (?)¹⁶⁴;
- Bistret¹⁶⁵;
- Sucidava¹⁶⁶.

The artillery regiments seem to have been widely used, especially in the 4th century. In the battle from AD 323 against Rausimodus, the troops led by Constantine the Great used *ballistae*¹⁶⁷. Also, in the period of Constantine the Great and at his request, the city of Chersones intervened in Scythia with troops including *ballistarii*¹⁶⁸. The intervention took place probably to repress the rebellion¹⁶⁹. The same types of troops were mentioned in an inscription from AD 488, found in Chersones¹⁷⁰.

Ammianus Marcellinus recorded the destructive effects of using an *onager* when the Goths, who were besieging the city of Adrianople, were repelled in AD 378¹⁷¹. Taking into account all these indications, it is highly probable that future research will increase the number of such discoveries.

V.5. CLASSIS

During the 2nd - 3rd centuries, the sector of the Lower Danube corresponding to the Roman province of Dacia did not benefit from the presence of fleet units (*classis*). Moesia Superior did not have a river fleet. *Classis Flavia Pannonia* was supervising from Taurunum, the Danubian border of Pannonia Inferior while *Classis Flavia Moesica* was guarding from Noviodunum, the Danubian border of Moesia Inferior. Taking advantage of the absence of a Roman fleet at the Dacian Danube, the Iazyges Sarmatians were navigating freely on the river, with their own ships. This situation could have become dangerous both for the river islands and for the adjacent Roman provinces. The ban imposed to the Iazyges by Emperor Marcus Aurelius, referring to their navigation on the Danube¹⁷², was from this point of view justified.

¹⁶⁰ NotDignOr, VIII, 45-46.

¹⁶¹ Themistios, *De pace*.

¹⁶² Vlădescu 1974-1975, 53-54; Davidescu 1980, 134.

¹⁶³ Davidescu 1989, 67, without photographs or drawings.

¹⁶⁴ Davidescu 1989, 116, without photographs or drawings, we are not sure whether these are really projectiles; the pieces were interpreted by the author as weights for the fishing net.

¹⁶⁵ Vlădescu, Zahariade 1986, 29-40.

¹⁶⁶ Bondoc 2007a, 247-256.

¹⁶⁷ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, II, 21.

¹⁶⁸ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, LII, 2-123.

¹⁶⁹ Discussion at Madgearu 1996, 137-142.

¹⁷⁰ Nadel 1977, 90.

¹⁷¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 15, 12.

¹⁷² Cassius Dio, LXXI, 19.

With the withdrawal of the Late Army from Dacia, the Lower Danube became again the border of the Roman Empire. The new context required the establishment of fleet units that had to secure the river on this sector. The administrative reorganization of the provinces in the late 3rd century rushed this process. Here are the main resorts of the Danubian fleet in the 4th century, as recorded by Notitia Dignitatum:

Margum: *classis stradensis et germensis*¹⁷³;
Viminacium: *praefectus classis Histricae*¹⁷⁴;
Egeta: *praefectus classis Histricae*¹⁷⁵;
Ratiaria: *praefectus classis Ratiarensis*¹⁷⁶;
Appiaria: *milites tertii nauclarii*¹⁷⁷;
Altinum: *milites nauclarii Altinenses*¹⁷⁸;
Durostorum: *praefectus navium amnicarum*¹⁷⁹;
Flaviana: *milites nauclarii*¹⁸⁰;
Plateypegiae: *praefectus musculorum Scythicorum et classis*¹⁸¹.

Moreover, the tegular inscriptions from Noviodunum indicate here a *P(raefectura) C(lassis) R(ipae) S(cythicae)*¹⁸². For better exploiting and securing the naval traffic, the Danubian fleet had port facilities also in the north-Danubian "bridgehead" fortifications, as we will show below. They could have been used either for military purposes or for commercial and civilian ones.

V.5.1. HARBOURS AND NAVIGATION CONTROL FACILITIES ON THE DANUBE, IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD, ON THE RIVER ISLANDS AND THE NORTHERN BANK

Along with the provision of economic and strategic roads, of paramount importance for the Late Roman rule to the north of the Lower Danube was also the presence on the river of the Roman military and commercial fleet. A series of port and navigation control facilities were reused or built during this period. There can be assumed that all the fortifications in the area of the Danube, and especially those on the river islands, have had port constructions, otherwise, they would have not been able to communicate between the two sides of the river. Archaeological research has not revealed enough evidence to fully support this statement. We will present here briefly, in a geographical order from west to east, the points where such construction and repair works have been found.

¹⁷³ NotDignOr, XLI, 24, 39.

¹⁷⁴ NotDignOr, XLI, 16, 38.

¹⁷⁵ NotDignOr, XLII, 42.

¹⁷⁶ NotDignOr, XLII, 43.

¹⁷⁷ NotDignOr, LX, 16.

¹⁷⁸ NotDignOr, XLI, 28.

¹⁷⁹ NotDignOr, XLI, 36.

¹⁸⁰ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 20.

¹⁸¹ NotDignOr, XXXIX, 35.

¹⁸² ISM V 285.

-*Dubova*; the watchtower alleged to have existed in this place¹⁸³ might have also performed the function of signalling and shipping control in the sector of the Iron Gates. The plan drew up by Count Marsigli¹⁸⁴ indicated, near the western corner of the southern side of the fortifications, a wall noted with the letter **c**, that went down to the Danube and that probably represented a port facility. In the space between the walls built at the request of the Austrian General Veterani, archaeological excavations have revealed a platform made of bricks, 1.30 m wide¹⁸⁵, which could have served for the same purpose.

-*Dierna-Orșova*; on the southern side of the fortification, there have been noticed¹⁸⁶ some extensions. They could have belonged to an annex harbour facility. The indication from Tabula Peutingeriana¹⁸⁷ proves the existence of a military and commercial route that linked the region from the north of the Danube to the south, where Dierna was clearly mentioned as a bridgehead.

-*Ada-Kaleh Island*; from the middle of the eastern side of the fortification, indicated on the military map elaborated by the Military Topographic Direction of the Defence Ministry of RPR in 1962, started a road towards the easternmost point of the island. In this point, the map indicated a circular construction that might have represented the ruins of a watchtower¹⁸⁸.

-*Transdiana/Insula Banului*; the construction plan drew up by Marsigli indicates, in the easternmost point of the island, a circular-shaped building, noted with the letter **g**. This has been recently interpreted as a watchtower¹⁸⁹.

-*Drobeta*; a port construction dated in Late Roman Period was reported by Caesar Bolliac¹⁹⁰. This is a circular-shaped tower (currently more than half under the waters of the Danube), connected by a wall to the eastern enclosure of the Drobeta fortification. The function of the construction has been interpreted differently as the docks of the river port¹⁹¹, a defence and refuge point of the ships in case of emergency¹⁹² or watchtower¹⁹³. An almost identical facility has been discovered at the Hajdučka Vodenica¹⁹⁴.

-*Ostrovu Mare*; a port construction from the Late Roman Period¹⁹⁵ was discovered during the construction work of the hydro-electric plant, the Iron Gates II. The fragments of walls show the fact that the enclosure of the building was made of stone, brick and lime mortar with brick, a technique specific to the Late Roman Period. There were also detected traces of a dock for the anchoring of ships, made of pillars and wooden beams¹⁹⁶. The pillars were stuck in gravel, and above them, there were placed beams of elm wood. The author of the discovery had assumed that the port from Ostrovu Mare was built and used in the 2nd – 3rd

¹⁸³ TIR, L 34, 56; IGLR 364.

¹⁸⁴ Marsigli 1726, II, tab. 6, fig. XXIII.

¹⁸⁵ Benea 1976, 205.

¹⁸⁶ Benea 1996, 83.

¹⁸⁷ Tabula Peutingeriana, VII, 3.

¹⁸⁸ Timoc 2001, 99.

¹⁸⁹ Timoc 2001, 98.

¹⁹⁰ Apud Stângă 1996, 47.

¹⁹¹ Davidescu 1980, 78.

¹⁹² Stângă 1996, 47-48.

¹⁹³ Timoc 2001, 98.

¹⁹⁴ Jovanović 1982-1983, 329-331; Vasić, Kondić 1983, 550.

¹⁹⁵ Davidescu 1989, 108-113.

¹⁹⁶ Davidescu 1989, 110.

centuries, being restored later on in the time of the Tetrarchy and used again until the 6th century.

-Bistreț; a construction resembling a foot bridge (the construction was noted on the plan drawn by Polonic with the letter **A**) that has been interpreted as being a ruin from the dock of a Roman military port¹⁹⁷. Presently it is completely destroyed. Until it had been destroyed by the waters of the Danube, from the building, there was still preserved a masonry support (4.40 x 4.60 m). Out of the construction, two walls probably headed westwards and respectively eastwards. The first wall, of 1 m thick, initially directed westwards, turned in a right angle to the north after 6.50 m, continuing in this direction on a distance of 11.50 m. Then it returned in a right angle eastwards for a distance of 0.80 m, after which it climbed in an arched route north-easterly. From here on, the wall had been destroyed. The other wall used to be directed eastwards and was slightly thinner (0.50 m?). From the sketch presented by D. Tudor¹⁹⁸ it results that, after heading for 0.80 m eastwards, the wall broke in a right angle to the north, on a distance of 0.75 m. From here on, it was bent towards north, after which its traces were completely destroyed. Probably the dock was of a semicircular shape.

-*Sucidava*; under the coast of the fortifications, lay a military port¹⁹⁹. The link between the port and the Danube was done through an arm of the river, currently clogged. P. Polonic's research revealed one foot of masonry (8 x 2.5 m) from the port facility, 50 m south of the northern portal of Constantine's Bridge.

V. 6. ANONYMOUS MILITARY UNITS²⁰⁰

This kind of troops was widely spread in the north of the Lower Danube in the Late Roman Period. They have been presented in this paper separately from the other troops, because their specificity is unknown. We could well be talking about joint military units, dating from the time when on the tegular material used to be stamped only the name of the fortification or of the province. However, as suggested (M. Zahariade), in the Late Roman Period, numerous transformations of the military units had taken place (divisions, transfers, the reduction of effectives, mixing up, the disappearance of some units and the emergence of new ones). In this context, the old structures did no longer correspond to the new realities both because of their effectives and their identity. Therefore, the old identity was no longer up to date and the name of the province or of the place of the garrison was most frequently stamped. In connection to these anonymous military units, to the north of the Lower Danube, the following tegular stamps have been discovered (all those listed below belong to the border troops):

- Cenad: *SISC(ia)*²⁰¹;
- Vârșeț: *III VIMINACE*²⁰²;
- Gornea: *DA(ciae) R(i)P(ensis)*²⁰³;
- Drencova: *DA(ciae) R(i)P(ensis)*²⁰⁴;

¹⁹⁷ Tudor 1978, 265.

¹⁹⁸ Tudor 1978, 268, fig. 69.

¹⁹⁹ Tudor 1978, 198 fig. 55; 445-446.

²⁰⁰ Phrasing suggested by O. Toropu.

²⁰¹ Borza 1945, 552-553; IGLR 428 A.

²⁰² IDR III/1 127.

²⁰³ CIL III 8075, 48 b; IDR III/1 60.

²⁰⁴ CIL III 8075 b, Tudor 1960, 341-342, no. 20; Protase 2000, 221.

- Şvinița: *D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA*²⁰⁵;
- Dubova: [*D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) DIERN[a]*]²⁰⁶;
- Dierna: *DIERTRA*²⁰⁷; *D(acia) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA*²⁰⁸; *DA(cia) R(ipensis) DIANA*²⁰⁹;
- Drobeta: *DRVBETA*²¹⁰; *DA(cia) R(ipensis) DIANA*²¹¹; *D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) AQUIS*²¹²; [*D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) DIERN(a)*]²¹³;
- Hinova: *DRVBETA*²¹⁴; *DIANA*²¹⁵; *Da(ciae) R(ipensis) DIANA*²¹⁶;
- Ostrovu Mare: *DIANA*; *AQUI[s]*; *DA(cia) RIP(ensis)*²¹⁷;
- Orlea: *VARINIA*; *VARI(niae) DAL(mati)*; *VTO*; *DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis)*²¹⁸;
- Sucidava: *VARINIA*²¹⁹; *VAR(inia) VAR(inia)*²²⁰; *VTO* and *OTV*²²¹; *ALM(o)*²²²; *DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis)*²²³.

*

Based on the current archaeological and literary evidence, certain characteristics of the north-Danubian troops in the Late Roman Period, can be indicated: repeated fragmentation of the military units, the emergence of several new troops with low effectives, the separation of the cavalry from infantry, the gradual disappearance of the *cohors* and *ala* units, the increased importance of cavalry over infantry, the abandonment of heavy arms in favour of lighter ones, the de-professionalising of the military border units, the permanent institution of the campaign army, the emergence of artillery as a distinct arm for distance combat. All these reflect the profound changes occurring in the Late Army as a result of military reforms from the Late Roman Period.

²⁰⁵ IGLR 423 A; IDR III/1 62.

²⁰⁶ IGLR 422; IDR III/1 63.

²⁰⁷ IGLR 417; IDR III/1 45.

²⁰⁸ IGLR 413; IDR III/1 44.

²⁰⁹ AE 1972, 493; IGLR 416; IDR III/1 46.

²¹⁰ CIL III, 14215; IGLR 406.

²¹¹ CIL III, 14216, 32; IGLR 404.

²¹² IGLR 405.

²¹³ Pârvan 1913a, 50-51; IGLR 407.

²¹⁴ Davidescu 1989, 36.

²¹⁵ Davidescu 1989, 35.

²¹⁶ Davidescu 1989, 36.

²¹⁷ Bondoc 2007, 490-499.

²¹⁸ Toropu 1976, 214.

²¹⁹ Tocilescu 1902-1908, 32; Tudor 1935-1936, 413; IGLR 289.

²²⁰ IGLR 291 with bibliography.

²²¹ Tudor 1935-1936, 416; IGLR 293.

²²² Tudor 1941, 379; IGLR 294.

²²³ Tudor 1935-1936, 416; IGLR 295.

VI

ROMANS, GOTHs AND SARMATIANS AT THE LOWER DANUBE

VI.1. POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS

The Goths and the Gothic-Roman relations occupy an important chapter in the history of Late Roman Empire. During the *bellum Scythicum*¹, for three decades the Goths initiated and led devastating invasions, thus creating numerous problems for the Roman authorities. The most important victory obtained by the Romans against them occurred in AD 269, at Naissus². The victory brought Emperor Claudius II the title of *Gothicus Maximus*. After that date, the Goths were listed in the literary sources as Visigoths-Tervingi and Ostrogoths-Greuthungi³. This shows a clear separation of the two Gothic populations. Although in the period that followed, relations between the Visigoths and Ostrogoths continued to exist, their history evolved separately. Probably the Dniester was, in the 4th century, the line of demarcation between the territories belonging to the sphere of influence of the two Gothic peoples.

Despite the fact that after the defeat of Naissus, the Goths invaded the Balkan provinces of the Empire, their attacks did not have their former force, this proves that after the battle of Naissus the Gothic danger was removed for a long period of time. Another victory obtained over the Goths by Emperor Aurelian⁴ established the Roman political and military supremacy in the Lower Danube area. In AD 318-319, Constantine the Great was bearing the epithet *Gothicus Maximus*, obtained as a result of several victories against them.

In the region between the Danube and Tisza, in the 4th century the Sarmatians took part in some of the political and military events that occurred in that area. The literary sources⁵ place the Sarmatians in the Tisza Plain and in Banat. The old names of Iazyges and Rhoxolani were no longer known in the Roman world. Instead, they used two other terms: *Sarmates argaragantes* and *Sarmates limigantes*. If the *argaragantes* were in fact the Rhoxolani, and the *limigantes*, the Iazyges, it remains to be seen. In AD 322, Constantine repelled a Sarmatian invasion that occurred between the rivers Danube and Tisza, crushing the Sarmatians and then pursuing them beyond the Danube⁶. Afterwards, in AD 323, the Goths and eastern Sarmatians invaded Thrace and Moesia⁷, on which occasion Constantine rejected and pursued them in the north of the Danube. In the battle that followed, the Goths were defeated. On this occasion, the Sarmatian King, Rausimodus, was killed.

Jordanes⁸ wrote that after the elimination of Licinius in AD 324, the Goths, led by Geberich, stopped the forwarding south of the Vandals, in a battle that took place on the Marisia River (Mureş). Their action could have been a consequence of a treaty (*foedus*) concluded earlier with the Roman Empire. Also, it cannot be ignored the clear intention of the

¹ SHA, *Maximus et Balbinus*, 16.

² Eutropius IX, 11.

³ SHA, *Claudius*, 6.

⁴ SHA, *Aurelianus*, 22.

⁵ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, 5, 31; Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 12.

⁶ Madgearu 2008, 33.

⁷ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, 5, 21; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, II, 21.

⁸ Jordanes, *Getica*, XXII, 114.

Goths to keep away some dangerous rivals, like the Vandals. Following an agreement (*foedus*) with Constantine, the Vandals were temporarily colonized in Pannonia⁹. There can be noticed the intention of the Roman authorities not to allow the settlement of barbarians in the territory of former Dacia, and the ability of the Roman diplomacy to protect the interests of the state, using the vicinity of some of the barbarians.

Towards the end of Constantine's reign, most likely without his consent, the Goths and the Taifals tried to move west, towards the Sarmatians. The invasion of the Germans alerted the Roman authorities. Moreover, being attacked by the Goths and the Taifals in AD 332, the *Sarmates argaragantes* asked the Empire for help¹⁰, enlisting their subjects the *Sarmates limigantes*. The penetration of the two German nations in the Tisza Plain would have brought considerable damage both to the Sarmatians and the Roman authorities. For the Roman Empire, the Gothic presence on the Middle Danube would have represented a permanent danger to the safety of the provinces in this sector. These considerations may explain the concern caused by the invasions of the Goths to the west, and the reaction of the Sarmatians and Roman authorities¹¹. The intervention of the Romans in AD 332 was disastrous for the Goths¹². Defeated categorically by Constantius II, the Goths had given up on their intentions for a while.

However, after this date, some dissensions appeared in the Sarmatian world: in AD 334, the *Sarmates limigantes* rebelled against the *Sarmates argaragantes*, banishing them¹³. The conflict was partially settled by Emperor Constantine the Great, who colonized many of the *argaragantes* in the Roman Empire¹⁴. This could explain the massive presence of the Sarmatian vestiges in Banat and south of the Danube. A new Sarmatian-Roman conflict broke out in AD 356, when the Sarmatians invaded Pannonia Secunda and Moesia Prima. Their defeat was followed by a new Sarmatian colonization on Roman soil¹⁵. The military force of the *Sarmates limigantes* was destroyed in AD 358 by Constantius II¹⁶. Those who survived requested permission to settle again inside the Empire in AD 359. During the negotiations held at Aquincum a melee took place that resulted in their extermination¹⁷. Even after this moment, the Sarmatians continued to make problems to the Roman authorities: some time in AD 361-362, Emperor Julian the Apostate received the epithet of *Sarmaticus Maximus*¹⁸, as a result of some victorious battles. When the Huns entered Europe, the Sarmatians were already north of the Lower Danube, as Ambrosius¹⁹ mentioned. The enumeration of the populations affected by the Hunnic invasion could indicate their geographical location and arrangement. Looking for shelter from the Hunnic attacks, the Visigoth king Athanarich retired in a hard-to-reach land, called CaucaLand²⁰, where had been located originally the Sarmatians. The

⁹ Jordanes Get. XXII, 115.

¹⁰ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 31.

¹¹ I. Ioniță in *IR*, II, 2001, 676-677.

¹² Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 8, 8.

¹³ Eusebius, XIII.

¹⁴ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 32.

¹⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 13, 21-23.

¹⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 13, XIX, 11.

¹⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, XIX, 11.

¹⁸ Beševliev 1964, 2.

¹⁹ Ambrosius, X, 10: *Chuni in Halanos, Halani in Gothos, Gothi in Taifalos et Sarmatas insurrexerunt.*

²⁰ *Locus CaucaLandensis*, acc. to Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 4, 13.

latter were banished from Caucaland. This shows that the Sarmatian military potential was much weaker than that of the Goths.

After being defeated in AD 332 by Constantius II²¹, a new *foedus* was imposed to the Visigoths and the Taifals through which they were bound to defend the Danube frontier of the Empire and to provide troops of warriors in exchange for annual food subsidies and money (*annonae foedereticae*). To guarantee the compliance with the treaty, the Goths sent to Constantinople hostages of noble birth. The Roman monetary emissions in this time bear the legend *GOTHIA*²², the Muntenian sector of the Danube was called *ripa Gothica*²³, and Aliobrix was named at a certain time "City of the Goths"²⁴. Both terms emerged due to the presence of the Goths in this region, which then became *Gothia*²⁵.

The Roman-Gothic *foedus* from AD 332 was broadly respected until AD 366. During this time, the relations between the Romans and the Goths were generally good. Among the Goths began the spreading of Arian Christianity. Ulfila, the Apostle of the Goths, who would later translate the Bible for the first time in Gothic language, was baptized in the Arian rite by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Ulfila preached Christianity north of the Danube²⁶. Very important to mention is that Ulfila preached Christianity in Greek, Latin and Gothic languages. It seems that the Visigoths remained largely reluctant to the new religion: at some point, because of the Visigothic persecution, Ulfila had to flee in AD 348, along with his followers, to the south of the Danube, near Nicopolis ad Istrum. This measure represents the first Christian persecution initiated by Athanarich²⁷. The Gothic king's gesture was interpreted by the Visigoth as a first violation of the *foedus* from AD 332²⁸. There can be inferred, however, that the Christian teachings had begun to spread among the Goths. This may suggest that among the Visigoths the authority of King Athanaric began to weaken, even though he was officially appointed by the Romans as *iudex potentissimus*²⁹. Moreover, the differences between the two Gothic groups led by Fritigern and Athanarich are well known and as well as the interference of the Roman authorities within the ruling elite of the Visigoths; we are referring to the military support granted by Emperor Valens to Fritigern against Athanarich³⁰.

After two decades, the efforts of the Christian preacher Sava ended tragically: during the second Christian persecution ordered by Athanaric. He was drowned in the river *Museos*³¹ in AD 372 by the Visigothic authorities. As it has been suggested, both persecutions had as a motivation, King Athanaric's intention to eliminate the Roman influence from the Visigothic society³².

²¹ Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 8, 8; Consularia Constantinopolitana, a. 332; Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 31; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronica*, 233, in FHDR II, 11.

²² RIC VII 1967, 215, no. 531, 534.

²³ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 35.

²⁴ Müller 1883, 468.

²⁵ Acta Sanctorum, ASS, April II, 2 (= 962) in FHDR, II, 711; Paulus Orosius, I, 2, 53, Isidore of Seville, XIV, 4, 3; Iordanes, *Getica*, XII, 74.

²⁶ Auxentius of Durostorum, *Epistula de fide, vita et obitu Ulfilae* = FHDR II, 113; Socrates, IV, 33, 7.

²⁷ Socrates, IV, 33, 7.

²⁸ L. Bârzu in *IR* 1995, 301.

²⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, 5, 6.

³⁰ Socrates, IV, 33, 1-5.

³¹ Acta Sanctorum, III, 1-3; FHDR II, 711.

³² Harhoiu 1976, 1031.

The support given to the usurper Procopius, in AD 366, compromised completely the Gothic-Roman relations³³. The march of Procopius towards Constantinople was repelled, the usurper being caught and beheaded³⁴. The Gothic prisoners were colonized in the Empire³⁵. Following these events, in AD 367-369, Emperor Valens initiated a punitive expedition against the Goths from the north of the Danube³⁶. From Marcianopolis, where Valens had his headquarters, the Roman Army crossed the Danube in 367, on a bridge made of ships, installed near Dafne³⁷. The campaign from that year did not have the expected success, whereas the Goths withdrew into the *montes Serrorum* (Buzău Mountains?), where they could not be followed. In year 368 there could not be taken any actions because the water of the Danube flooded the surrounding area, which did not allow the crossing of the river by the Roman armies. In AD 369, Valens and his troops crossed the Danube to the north, again on a bridge made of ships, through the Noviodunum-Aliobrix ford. Ammianus Marcellinus recorded that the Roman armies achieved several victories, some of them against the Ostrogoths³⁸. In this context, the Visigoths led by Athanarich had to seek peace. The peace was sealed on a ship in the middle of the Danube. The river became the official boundary between the two sides. The Goths lost the status of *foederati*, the annual subsidies and any access to the Roman Empire was denied. The trade would be conducted only in two points of the border³⁹. Basically, the *foedus* from AD 332 was cancelled.

The campaign of Valens from 369 is the last military incursion of the Empire to the north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period. Until the actions of Chilbudios to the north of the Danube in AD 530-534, the literary sources or archaeological excavations have not revealed any Roman offensive in this space. That was partially because of the lack of interest towards a region located outside the natural border of the Empire, represented by the Danube.

The situation was complicated by the Hunnic invasion from the east, which really confused the ethnic situation encountered in their path⁴⁰. The Alans and the Ostrogoths were defeated and dragged to the west. The desperate attempts of the Visigoths to restrain the Hunnic attack on the Dniester River⁴¹ were broken by the Huns in a single night. The Visigoth detachment situated on the left bank of the Dniester River, under the command of Munderich was avoided by the Huns, who freely crossed the river and then attacked the main core of the army represented by Athanarich's army. Although it was not a disastrous defeat, the Huns caused panic among the Visigoths, who withdrew to the south-west. On this occasion Ammianus Marcellinus mentioned a defence construction belonging to the Ostrogoths, the *vallum Greuthungorum*⁴². This could have been the *vallum* from Leova-Palanca. The theory of such an Ostrogothic construction work is quite difficult to accept⁴³. It may have had something to do with an old Roman earthen *vallum*, which was reused on this

³³ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 10, 3; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 7.

³⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 9, 9.

³⁵ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 10.

³⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, 5; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 11.

³⁷ An analysis of the events at Zahariade 1983, 57-70.

³⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, 5, 6.

³⁹ Themistios, *De pace*.

⁴⁰ Ambrosius, X, 10.

⁴¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3.

⁴² Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 5.

⁴³ Ioniță 1982, 48.

occasion. Despite the swift Hunnic strike, the Visigoths tried one last act of resistance against the Hunnic invasion. Retreating to the Siret River, where it seems that the region was ruled by the Taifals⁴⁴, Athanarich ordered the construction of several fortifications (*muris altius erigebat*). The surprise attack of the Huns shattered any defensive initiative.

Most of the Visigoths led by Fritigern and Alaviv abandoned Athanarich permanently with the clear intention to move to the south of the Danube⁴⁵. In AD 376, the two Gothic leaders arrived on the left bank of the Danube with a large number of Visigoths, asking permission to the Roman authorities to move to the south of the river⁴⁶. With the permission of Emperor Valens, they were received into the Empire, as *foederati*. The Visigoths who remained loyal to Athanarich escaped to *Caucalandensis locus*⁴⁷. Taking advantage of the destruction of the Roman border, a group of Ostrogoths led by Alatheus, Saphrax and Farnobius managed to pass unnoticed into the Empire. Subsequently, they had been also allowed into the Empire by the Roman authorities as *foederati*. The problem of supplying for such a large number of new comers as well as the abuse of the officials in the province of Moesia Secunda, are the reasons why in AD 377 broke out great Visigothic uprising. Their numbers were considerably enhanced by contingents of Alans, Huns⁴⁸ and Taifals⁴⁹. They were joined also by the Ostrogoths led by Alatheus, Saphrax, and Farnobius. The Roman armies were crushed at Hadrianopolis (on 9th of August 378) and Emperor Valens lost his life. The devastation of the Danubian provinces followed and a series of fortifications on the Danube were destroyed. The Roman authorities managed very poorly this situation, and the Roman troops suffered irreparable losses.

Meanwhile, the Hunnic pressure from the north of the Danube was growing so that Athanarich had to seek asylum into the Empire. In AD 381, the Visigoths led by Athanarich were officially received into the Empire by Emperor Theodosius I⁵⁰; shortly afterwards, Athanarich died at Constantinople⁵¹. From here on, the Visigoths have no longer been mentioned to the north of the Danube.

Only in AD 382, Emperor Theodosius managed to temporarily reassure the Visigoths from the Balkan Peninsula⁵². A new *foedus* was concluded, according to which the Visigoths were settled in Thrace and were to receive annual stipends. Instead, they had to defend the border of the Lower Danube and to provide military contingents to the Roman Army⁵³. The presence of the Goths at the Danubian border of the Empire is demonstrated by epigraphic and literary evidence. Thus, a Visigoth *foederatus* chief named Gaione is documented at Tomis⁵⁴ and from Axiopolis comes an inscription with the name of a Gothic military officer, Gibastes⁵⁵. The *foedus* from AD 382 had pacified for a while but not indefinitely the Gothic

⁴⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 7.

⁴⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 8.

⁴⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 4, 1.

⁴⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 4, 13.

⁴⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 16, 3.

⁴⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 9.

⁵⁰ Consularia Constantinopolitana, 243.

⁵¹ Marcellinus Comes, AD 381, 2 = FHDR II, 359.

⁵² Marcellinus Comes, AD 382, 2 = FHDR II, 359.

⁵³ Themistios, XIV.

⁵⁴ IGLR 30.

⁵⁵ IGLR 195.

disorders. In AD 386 Gerontius, the military commander of Tomis, intervened against some turbulence caused by the *foederati* Goths⁵⁶.

After the death of Theodosius I, on the 17th of January 395, the Roman Empire was divided between his two sons. Arcadius took charge of the Eastern part (*pars Orientis*) and his brother Honorius, of the Western one (*pars Occidentis*). That was the definitive division of the Roman Empire. After that date, the fate of each of the two empires evolved separately, with their own emperor, administration and army. Despite the numerous agreements concluded with the Romans, the Visigoths were still a problem for the Eastern Empire. In Constantinople, an anti-Germanic reaction followed, in AD 400. Therefore, a group of Visigoths, led by Gainas, tried to cross the Danube to the north⁵⁷. Here they were intercepted by a Hunnic chief under the service of the Empire, Uldes, who defeated them⁵⁸. Uldes beheaded Gainas and sent his head to Constantinople. The episode demonstrates the actual presence of the Huns near the Danube.

Both the passing of the Visigoths to the south of the Danube and the Hunnic migration favoured the penetration in the north-Danubian space of another Germanic population, the Ostrogoths. Initially, they were contiguous to the west of the Dniester with their relatives, the Visigoths. However, the river border between the Visigoths and Ostrogoths seemed to have been stated only temporarily. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in AD 369, during Emperor Valens' last campaign to the north of the Danube, the Roman armies confronted the Ostrogoths⁵⁹. The Ostrogoths have not penetrated to the north of the Danube before the invasion of the Huns and the transition of the Visigoths into the Empire. After correctly assessing the gravity of a confrontation with the Huns, a part of the Ostrogoths, led by princes Saphrax and Alatheus, withdrew to the east to seek asylum into the Empire. Later on, they took part in the battle of Hadrianopolis, where they fought alongside the Visigoths. In AD 380, to weaken the force of the Germanic rebels from the Balkan Peninsula, Gratian allowed the Ostrogoths to settle as *foederati* in Pannonia⁶⁰. Subsequently, they had been subjected by the Huns and integrated into the Hunnic Confederation. Among the Ostrogoths who had not left with Alatheus and Saphrax, some managed to flee before the Huns arrived. Thus, in AD 386, a group of Ostrogoths led by Odotheus tried to cross the Danube into the Empire. Zosimos considered them *a Scythian tribe, unknown to all the shepherds there; the local barbarians called them greutung*⁶¹. Their attempt was thwarted by Flavius Promotus, *magister militum per Thracias*, who destroyed them. The prisoners were colonized in Asia Minor. Therefore, at this time, the Lower Danube still retained its status as a secure border of the Roman Empire.

In AD 406, an Ostrogothic expedition, led by Radagais, attacked the West Roman Empire; at Fiesole, Radagais was defeated and repelled by the Roman general Stilicho. With the way to the west blocked, the Ostrogoths had to enter the Confederation of populations subjected by the Huns. They retained the right to have their own kings, but had to participate with contingents of warriors to the ongoing Hunnic campaigns against the Empire. In the

⁵⁶ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 40.

⁵⁷ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 21, 9.

⁵⁸ Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 5, 1; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 22.

⁵⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 5, 6.

⁶⁰ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 34.

⁶¹ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 38.

battle from AD 441 from the Catalaunian Fields, the Ostrogoths played an extremely important role as allies of the Huns. It is possible that during the Hunnic rule, the Ostrogoths had controlled the north-Danubian area. After the battle from Nedao, the Hunnic Confederation fell apart. The Ostrogoths regrouped and had been placed by the Roman authorities in Pannonia in AD 455⁶². Others passed into the Balkan Peninsula, under the command of Theodoric Strabo, where they often troubled the Empire, especially when their subsidies were stopped (AD 459). In AD 461 the Ostrogoths rebelled again against the Romans, as a consequence to the cession of the payment of subsidies by the Romans⁶³. In 469 they defeated, on the River Bolia, a Germanic coalition directed against them⁶⁴, thus consolidating their position. The Ostrogoths from Pannonia led by Theodore "descended" in AD 470, in the Balkan Peninsula, where they fought against those led by Theodoric Strabo. After the death of the latter in AD 481, the two groups of Ostrogoths had merged. In AD 483, they were mentioned as *foederati*, dominating a part of the provinces of Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Secunda⁶⁵. Hence, at the repeated request of Emperor Zenon, the Ostrogoths left to Italy (AD 488). The Eastern Roman Empire escaped the German threat once and for all. The well-known Treasure from Pietroasa⁶⁶ was dated a few decades ago in the first half of the 5th century and attributed to the Ostrogoths⁶⁷. It is possible that some princely treasures from the first half of 5th century, which were considered to have belonged to the Gepids, to actually have belonged to some chiefs of the Ostrogoths. Not all the Ostrogoths of the Balkan Peninsula left for Italy, whereas Ostrogoth chiefs and isolated groups continued to be attested here even at a later period⁶⁸.

VI.2. THE SÂNTANA DE MUREȘ-CERNEAHOV CULTURE

The temporary settlement of the Germanic populations to the north of the Lower Danube was clearly mentioned by the literary sources. Phrases like *ripa Gothica*⁶⁹, *Aliobrix*, *City of the Goths*⁷⁰ and *Gothia*⁷¹ were determined by the presence of the Goths in this region. Eutropius⁷² mentioned that at the time he was writing his work, Dacia was dominated by *Taifals, Victofals and Tervingi*. The Germanic presence in the north of the Lower Danube has been archaeologically proven through the discoveries pertaining to the culture known by the name of Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov⁷³. In general, its geographical boundaries were theoretically placed between the river Don, Volhinia and Galicia, on to Transylvania and the Lower Danubian line⁷⁴. The origin of the Sântana de Mureș- Cerneahov Culture represents a

⁶² Iordanes, *Getica*, LIV (268).

⁶³ Priscus Panites, *Fragmenta*, IX; FHDR II, 285.

⁶⁴ Iordanes, *Getica*, LIV (277-279).

⁶⁵ Marcellinus Comes, AD 483.

⁶⁶ Dunăreanu-Vulpe 1967.

⁶⁷ Horedt 1969, 549-552; Harhoiu 1976, 1034.

⁶⁸ Procopius, *De bellis*, I, 8, 3.

⁶⁹ Anonimus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 35.

⁷⁰ Müller 1883, 468.

⁷¹ Acta Sanctorum, ASS, April II, 2 (= 962) in FHDR II, 711; Paulus Orosius in FHDR II, 190; Isidor of Sevilla, XIV, 3, 31; XIV, 4, 3; Iordanes, *Getica*, XII (74).

⁷² Eutropius, VIII, 2, 1.

⁷³ Kovács 1912, 250-367, Kovács 1915, 278-324.

⁷⁴ Diaconu 1965, 5.

complicated matter⁷⁵. Many ethnic and cultural components contributed to the formation of this great cultural horizon. The main contributions came from the Roman Culture and the Pșevorsk Culture, which is of German origin, overlapped by Dacian elements (Lipița Culture), and perhaps Sarmatian elements and others. The poly-ethnic character of the Sântana de Mureș- Cerneahov Culture is absolutely clear; it is a representative culture for the Goths, Taifals, Sarmatians or Dacian-Romans, even though these ethnic groups might have preserved their cultural characteristics. Strangely enough, the weapons that are normally present in the Germanic graves are missing from almost all of the Cerneahovian graves from Muntenia.

The inventory found in the construction of Sobari consists of both Roman artefacts and pottery characteristic to the Sântana de Mureș- Cerneahov Culture⁷⁶. In the area of Militari - Câmpul Boja, there has been discovered together with Dacian, Gothic and Sarmatian ceramics⁷⁷. North of the Lower Danube, most of the Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture necropolises are located in the eastern part (fig. 374, 383) of current Romania⁷⁸. Probably the literary sources had referred to this area when they mentioned the name of *Gothia* and the phrasing *ripa gothica*. In Muntenia, the penetration of the Sântana de Mureș- Cerneahov Culture occurred only in the eastern part and rarely exceeding the former Roman fortified *Limes Transalutanus* (fig. 374); however, this process is not datable before the 4th century⁷⁹.

In Romania, there have been discovered 1,915 points belonging to this culture⁸⁰. Several isolated necropolises and graves are situated also to the south of the Muntenian sector of Brazda lui Novac *vallum*. This could reflect the fact that the Visigoths and the Taifals were allowed the access to the south of the Brazda lui Novac, as *foederati*, possibly after the *foedus* from AD 332. The numerous discoveries of this kind in eastern Muntenia could explain the relatively small number of north-Danubian Late Roman fortifications, in the Danubian sector corresponding to the province of Moesia Secunda, unlike the ones founded across the provinces Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis.

The Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov necropolises are dated during the 3rd - 4th centuries, especially in 4th century⁸¹. None of them exceeds the end of this century, which represents an important argument to indicate the end of this culture. The only reason that could contribute to its disappearance could be the massive migration of the Visigoths to the south of the Danube, in AD 376 and 381. The event was caused by the Hunnic invasion. In the present state of research there is no evidence to indicate the presence of the Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture west of the River Olt⁸². This situation could be explained by the Late Roman rule in Oltenia and Banat. The few Germanic findings from Oltenia⁸³ show, however, a penetration of the Sântana de Mureș- Cerneahov Culture bearers through the Danubian line: Sucidava, Orlea, Potelu, Lișteava Drobeta (*fibulae* with semi-disk head and rhomboidal leg).

⁷⁵ Mitrea, Preda 1966, 148-152.

⁷⁶ Popa 1997, 126.

⁷⁷ Negru, Schuster, Moise 2000, 200.

⁷⁸ Latest mapping of the Cerneahovian discoveries at I. Ioniță, in *IR*, II, 2001, 618; see Petrescu 2002.

⁷⁹ Negru, Schuster, Moise 2000, 131.

⁸⁰ Petrescu 2002, 10.

⁸¹ Mitrea, Preda 1966, 145-148.

⁸² Petrescu 2002, maps I-III.

⁸³ Toropu 1976, 113-115.

The pieces belonged probably to Gothic mercenaries who served the Empire and fought in the Roman units distributed along Oltenia on the Danube. But there were other sporadic Gothic infiltrations in the line between Olt and the former *transalutanus* border. Thus, at Draganesti-Olt, there has been discovered a small necropolis belonging to Sântana de Mureş- Cerneahov Culture⁸⁴. There have been excavated 13 inhumation graves, oriented north-south (head to the north), buried at 1.50 –1.80 m deep. Of a special significance is a grave from Băbeni-Olteţ⁸⁵. Its presence here was probably because of a Gothic expedition connected to the west of the Olt River.

The problem of the Late Roman domination to the north of the Danube cannot be judged without taking into account the presence of the Goths in this region. The victories of Constantine the Great made possible the annexation of a territory on the left side of the river. The Roman intervention from AD 332 was conducted to keep away the Goths who had begun to infiltrate into a region that was under the Roman rule.

The large number of archaeological discoveries belonging to Sântana de Mureş- Cerneahov Culture (fig. 383) illustrate that Gothic dominance must have meant, even if for a short while, a period of relative peace and economic development to the north of the Lower Danube.

⁸⁴ Trohani, Zorzoliu 1983, 209-225.

⁸⁵ I. Nestor, in *IR* 1960, 688.

VII ROMAN BRIDGES OVER THE DANUBE IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD

Of great relevance for the Roman policy to the north of Danube are also the bridges that were built over the river. In the Late Roman Period, literary sources mentioned a stone bridge at Sucidava-Oescus and two bridges made of ships at Transmarisca-Dafne and Noviodunum-Aliobrix; the last two were built during the war waged by Emperor Valens against the Goths. There is, however, no issue, in determining the functionality of more such structures as indicated by archaeological evidence.

VII.1. THE BRIDGE FROM SUCIDAVA-OESCUS

The bridge was inaugurated in July, AD 328, in the presence of Emperor Constantine the Great, who was at that moment in Oescus¹. Amounting to a total length of 2,437m, the bridge provided a direct connection between the roads from Isker Valley and Olt Valley. A significant detail in this respect is that the bridge was located on the direction of the Roman road from the Olt Valley². The accidental discovery of a brass clamp³, which was used to link the blocks of stone or wooden beams, arose the legend that this was a *bronze bridge*.

The bridge has been the subject of several studies and research⁴. The ruins of its northern portal (fig. 276) are located 132 m west from the military fortification. It was built on a foundation of stone of irregular shape, in the *opus incertum* technique. The construction of the bridge left quite an impression in the literary sources of the time⁵. The last literary indication (Theophanes Confessor) is in connection with the ongoing military struggles of Constantine the Great to the north of Danube and implicitly, with the return of the Roman rule in this region, in the 4th century: *In this year the pious Constantine, after crossing the Danube, built a stone bridge over it and subdued the Scythians*. The bridge was recorded on the map elaborated by the High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino (fig. 271), printed in Padua in 1700. On a Venetian reproduction of the map made in 1718, by Anton Maria del Chiaro, the bridge was mentioned as an accomplishment of Emperor Trajan; along with the bridge, the map also recorded the Roman road from the Olt Valley with its two ramifications towards Islaz and Sucidava.

An interesting issue to discuss is the reason why Emperor Constantine the Great ordered the construction of a new bridge, taking into account the existence of similar structures at Pontes-Drobeta and Vadin-Grojdibod⁶. The geographical location of the crossing point Sucidava-Oescus, about halfway down the Danube (680 km from Baziaș, where the Danube

¹ CTh VI, 35.

² Tocilescu 1902-1908, 241.

³ Al. Popovici, apud Tocilescu 1902-1908, 241.

⁴ Al. Popovici, Caesar Bolliac, Gr.G. Tocilescu; monographic presentation at Tudor 1971, 155-182, with bibliography and Tudor 1978, 416-422; the reconstruction of the northern portal at Toropu 1972.

⁵ Aurelius Victor, *Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum*, 41, 13, idem, *De Caesaribus*, 41, 18; Chronicon Paschale, I, 526, 16-17; Theophanes Confessor, XLI.

⁶ See below no. VII.2 and VII.3.

enters the Romanian territory and 634,750 kilometres of the mouth where the river flows into the Black Sea), cannot be a satisfactory answer, as for example the Vadin - Grojdibod ford, is just a few kilometres west of Sucidava. In addition to some strategic considerations, among which there cannot be ignored the need of securing the Sucidava-Oescus fortification, which was at this time guarded by legio V Macedonica, it is not difficult to notice also the propagandistic motivation⁷. The intention of Constantine the Great to be at least equal to Emperor Trajan, the conqueror of Dacia, could not have been fulfilled without such an initiative: the building of a bridge over the Danube. Only after the annexation of Dacia (or part of it!) and after the construction of a stone bridge over the river, Constantine the Great could have been considered the equal of Trajan. The similarity between the two constructions is striking⁸, although they are chronologically separated by over two centuries. However, the bridge from Sucidava-Oescus reflected the fact that at the time of its construction the region from the north of the Danube was under the rule of the Empire. Without a lasting security, no work could have taken place in good conditions, and the new construction could have been exposed to a barbarian attack. Furthermore, if the region from the north of the Danube had not been dominated by the Empire, a barbarian invasion could have occurred at any time, through the newly constructed bridge.

After the model of Emperor Trajan, who had issued a coin on the inauguration of the bridge from Drobeta-Pontes⁹, Constantine the Great issued a medallion, which is known only from late replicas¹⁰. The medallion had, on its reverse side, the image of a stone bridge with three arched vaults and a tower to the northern end. On the bridge, Emperor Constantine was rendered, fully equipped and armed, when crossing the river to the north. He was preceded by the goddess Victory with a trophy, which appeared to lead him to victory. To the northern end of the bridge, there was a barbarian kneeling with the hands on his chest in sign of submission. Leaving aside the propagandistic purpose of the representation, the scene also renders real events like the building of the bridge and the pacification of the Goths and Sarmatians by Constantine the Great. However, unlike Emperor Trajan, with whom he wanted to compete, Constantine never re-conquered Dacia. Another coin rendering the image of the bridge was published by Marsigli (fig. 273), but it is sketchier¹¹.

In the absence of inscriptions or of more accurate literary information, it is impossible to indicate how much time it took for the construction of the bridge and when it began. We know only that its inauguration took place in AD 328. Trajan's Bridge from Drobeta was built in two years. It is possible that in the case of the one from Sucidava the construction works to have lasted just as much, more or less. I. Barnea has suggested that they lasted for 4 years, between AD 324 and 328¹².

During the archaeological excavations from 1968, that had the purpose of the preserving and uncovering the northern portal of the bridge, a few coins were found from the time of Constantine's sons, and one from the time of Emperor Julian the Apostate¹³. This would allow

⁷ Julian the Apostate, XXIV.

⁸ Tudor 1971, 170-171.

⁹ Tudor 1971, 64 note 34 with bibliography.

¹⁰ Alföldi 1926, 161-166 pl. XI, 1; Tudor 1971, 175-176; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 135.

¹¹ Marsigli 1726 fig. 7.

¹² Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 111.

¹³ Toropu 1972, 27.

the assumption that during the domination of the latter (between AD 361 and 363), the bridge was still functional. We have no indications about the moment when the bridge was removed from function. In the war against the Goths from AD 367-369, Emperor Valens crossed the Danube on a bridge of ships through the Transmarisca-Dafne and Noviodunum-Aliobrix fords¹⁴. Very likely, the geo-climatic conditions led to the ruin of the bridge¹⁵, as the literary sources do not mention anything about a violent destruction. A paradoxical aspect is that the bridge was not recorded by the historian Procopius, who left us valuable information about the existing Roman buildings on the Danube line, including Trajan's Bridge at Drobeta.

VII.2. THE BRIDGE FROM GROJDIBOD-VADIN

It was first recorded by Marsigli (fig. 222), who described the construction and drew up with the only draft still preserved¹⁶. The famous humanist thought that in this location used to lay the bridge built by Emperor Constantine the Great. The one who studied for the first time the monument from a scientific point of view was D. Tudor, who erroneously believed that the northern head of this bridge was at Orlea¹⁷. The learned scholar, based on the information from Jordanes¹⁸, dated the construction in the time of the unfortunate expedition of the General Cornelius Fuscus against the Dacians in AD 87, after this event the bridge would have been dismantled¹⁹.

It is not our intention, nor is the subject of this paper to break up the theory formulated by D. Tudor, but the dating of the Grojdibod-Vadin bridge in the times of the campaign of General Fuscus, has no documentary or archaeological basis. Moreover, it is more likely that the Romans used at that time a bridge made of ships, and the passing of Fuscus through the Grojdibod-Vadin ford, remains a hypothesis yet to be demonstrated.

There is no doubt that in Grojdibod-Vadin there is a Roman bridge (fig. 223-229). During the existence of the Roman province of Dacia, this bridge would have been very useful for ensuring the communication and the transport between Dacia and the regions south of the Danube.

Even though we do not have clear archaeological evidence to support this hypothesis, the bridge could have been used as well in the Late Roman Period. Although D. Tudor admitted that in the period between Diocletian - Constantine the Great, the Vadin ford was still an important crossing point over the Danube, he rejected the idea that a bridge could have existed in that period in Grojdibod-Vadin, because its function would have been taken over by the bridge from Sucidava-Oescus²⁰. And yet nothing could stand against the assertion that the bridge from Grojdibod-Vadin could have been still used during this period. The bridge from Sucidava-Oescus was inaugurated in AD 328 and until that time the structures from Grojdibod-Vadin could have been used without any problems by the Romans for crossing the Danube. Moreover, this was possible even after the inauguration of the bridge from Sucidava-Oescus.

¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII.

¹⁵ Tudor 1971, 192.

¹⁶ Marsigli 1726, tom II tab. 16 fig. XXXVIII.

¹⁷ Tudor 1961, 501-509; Tudor 1971, 17-31.

¹⁸ Jordanes, *Getica*, XIII (77).

¹⁹ Tudor 1971, 30 -31.

²⁰ Tudor 1971, 26.

Marsigli's drawing shows, on the southern bank of the Danube, in the left of the bridge, a construction (a wall or a fragment from the tower) built out of stone alternating with horizontal layers of bricks, a technique characteristic for the Late Roman Period; this fact was noticed also by D. Tudor²¹.

A last observation refers to the materials used for the construction. Although Marsigli wrote that the bridge was made out of wood, from his draught it can be noticed that it was not necessarily so. A few of the bridge's feet from the middle of the river appear to have been built out of stone. However, at its southernmost point from Vadin, was built out of stone (fig. 227-229).

VII.3. THE BRIDGE FROM DROBETA-PONTES

The reusing in the Late Roman Period of stone structures from Emperor Trajan's Bridge could be a hypothesis worthy to be taken into consideration. Dio Cassius described this construction as one of the most admirable achievements of Roman architecture from its time²², and the scenes on Trajan's Column confirms his words. Even we admit that Emperor Hadrian had disabled the top of the bridge because of the political and military events from the border of the Lower Danube²³, there is no doubt that after the establishment of peace in the region, the bridge was reinstated into service²⁴. It is hard to believe that the Roman authorities would not have been able to secure the bridge. Historia Augusta mentioned a rehabilitation of the bridge in the time of Emperor Alexander Severus²⁵. There is, therefore, every reason to believe the theory that the bridge had been used throughout the Roman rule in Dacia.

The Drobeta-Pontes ford could have been used for crossing the Danube even after the Roman withdrawal from Dacia. Stone structures of Trajan's Bridge must have been still of good use; if in 1909, when two pillars of the bridge were dismantled, they seemed to be in a good state of preservation²⁶, we could imagine that in the Late Roman Period the bridge was still functional.

The Roman camps from Pontes and Drobeta, constructed at the order of Trajan near the ends of the bridge, were turned, in the Late Roman Period, into strong fortifications. In Pontes, there was established the *praefectura* of Legio XIII Gemina²⁷, and in Drobeta, in the cruciform edifice there were quartered a *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium* and a *auxilium primorum Daciscorum*²⁸. These measures indicate a greater care for the guarding of Drobeta-Pontes ford, motivated by its use for the crossing of the Danube. Moreover, in Puținei locality, situated 7 km north of Drobeta, there was built another Late Roman fortification²⁹.

²¹ Tudor 1971, 24.

²² Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 13, 1-5.

²³ Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 13, 6.

²⁴ Tudor 1971, 150.

²⁵ SHA, *Vita Sev. Alex.*, 26.

²⁶ Tudor 1971, 112-113.

²⁷ NotDignOr, XLII, 35.

²⁸ NotDignOr, XLII, 16; XLII, 24.

²⁹ See above the fortifications catalogue, no. 21.

In the 6th century, the bridge was mentioned by Procopius who wrote that because of its ruins, the river navigation was seriously affected³⁰. The bridge was mentioned also in the 10th century by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus³¹.

The theory of the restoration of the bridge from Drobeta in the time of Emperor Constantine the Great is not new³². After studying the construction of the bridge pillars, there was registered the presence of some holes-recess of 0.625 m deep that were entering horizontally in the vertical walls and in the pillars platforms, as pointed out by F. Deuster's report on the 6th of March 1858³³. The holes were placed at 1.50-1.70 m distance from one another and judging by the oak remains found in them, they must have been used to hold some beams. This was considered by F. Kanitz the evidence that the bridge had been restored in the time of Constantine the Great³⁴. Also, other holes of 0.72-0.80 m long, with a diameter of 0.10-0.12 m, were drilled vertically in the stone³⁵.

Last but not least, there can be mentioned the port facilities discovered in Drobeta³⁶, at least one of them being built in the 4th century³⁷. They show an intense commercial traffic.

The entire summary above supports the possibility that Trajan's Bridge structures have been reused in the Late Roman Period, when they were still in a good condition.

³⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 16.

³¹ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XL, 30-34.

³² Ashbach 1858, 219 note 3.

³³ Duperrex 1907; Tudor 1971, 203.

³⁴ Kanitz 1909, 484.

³⁵ Tudor 1971, 109.

³⁶ Stângă 1998, 45-48.

³⁷ Stângă 1998, 47-48.

VIII

COMMUNICATION ROUTES TO THE NORTH OF THE DANUBE IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD

In the Late Roman Period, to the north of the Lower Danube, there were generally still used the old roads from the 2nd - 3rd centuries, which were still in good condition. Some of them were restored in the 4th century. However, given the political and military conditions one can assume that their importance declined, the main emphasis being placed at that point on the fleet of the Danube. The strategic road, which in fact constituted the basic component of any *limes*, was located on the *ripa* from the south of the river: from *Singidunum* towards *Viminacium*, *Laederata*, *Egeta*, *Ratiaria*, *Oescus*, *Novae*, *Transmarisca*, *Durostorum*, *Troesmis*, *Noviodunum*, *Ad Stoma*, *Histria*, *Tomis*, *Dionysopolis*, *Apollonia*, and then on to *Constantinopolis*. The route is documented by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and *Itinerarium Antonini*. As compared to this road, it is clear that the roads north of the Danube were of secondary importance. It is difficult to differentiate between the strategic and the economical roles of the land roads north of the Danube in the Late Roman Period. If the road was a safe one, then it could have been used for both military and economic purposes.

It seems that today's Banat region benefited from the most complex network of roads¹, having in this regard, a special status. Some of the roads in Banat were mentioned also by Priscus Panites.

A Roman road has been identified by aerial photographs on the route Pančevo -Kuin - Banatska Palanka². Its protection and maintenance were provided by the military garrisons from the localities mentioned above. There is a logical assumption that this major road could have continued until Dierna, but its traces have never been found on the field, probably they were destroyed by the modern road constructions³.

Other routes can also be mentioned here: Lederata - Tibiscum, Dierna-Tibiscum, Slatina Nera-Prigor⁴. Other possible routes are: Palanca - Slatina Nera, Varadi - Cioclova Română – Slatina Nera, Prigor - Plugova, Vărădia–Docnecea - Bocșa Română, Surduc-Doclin - Bocșa Română - Berzovia, Palanca - Dierna⁵. Being dated in the 2nd -3rd centuries, they could have been still used in Late Roman Period⁶ as well.

A clearer picture of the Roman roads from north of the Danube, was recorded in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Given the late review date (Theodosius II) of this cartographic document, the presence of Dacia on this map is at least curious. Either we are dealing with an error of the ancient cartographers and then of the medieval copyists, who rendered also Dacia out of mistake or ignorance, or this was the real situation at that time. For the latter case it has been raised the hypothesis that the ancient roads of Dacia were still being used in the Late Roman

¹ Ferenczi 1974, 111-127; Răuț, Bozu, Petrovszky 1977.

² Dorđević 1996, 127 sqq.

³ Răuț, Bozu, Petrovszky 1977, 149.

⁴ Răuț, Bozu, Petrovszky 1977, 141.

⁵ Răuț, Bozu, Petrovszky 1977, 141.

⁶ Răuț, Bozu, Petrovszky 1977, 155.

Period⁷. The presence of Dacia on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* could suggest that at that time it was not occupied by barbarians, its territory being in the Roman sphere of influence. Among the roads from Dacia mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, there were probably still being used the ones closest to the Danubian line.

*Lederata - Apus flumen - Arcidava - Centum putea – Bersovia – Aizisis - Caput Bubali - Tivisco*⁸ is an old Roman route used since the time when Dacia was conquered⁹. The road could have been at least partially used in Late Roman Period; during an archaeological excavation, the road from Bocșa Română¹⁰ had been sectioned, with interesting results. There has been revealed that the middle of the road had two rows of stone slabs; the second row could be the result of subsequent rehabilitation works dating maybe in the Late Roman Period.

Another route is *Faliata (Taliata) - Tierna (Dierna) – Ad Mediam – Praetorio - Ad Pannonios – Gaganis – Masclianis - Tivisco (Tibiscum) – Agnavie - Ponte Augusti – Sarmategte - Ad Aquas*¹¹. For the road sector from *Taliata - Tibiscum* the hypothesis that it could have been used in the Late Roman Period is acceptable. The road from *Tibiscum - Ad Aquas* must have existed, but its inclusion in a Late Roman military map is a strange fact as long as the region was outside the Roman domination. It is interesting that *Tabula Peutingeriana* indicated that in order to reach Dierna, the Danube was crossed from Taliata and not from Transdierna as it would have been natural. Possibly we are dealing with an error as further on the map indicates Egeta-Drobeta as the river crossing point¹².

Between Drobeta and Puținei, in the 4th century, there was an old terrestrial communication road¹³. Another road used to follow the northern bank of the Danube on the border of Dacia Ripensis province: Orșova – Drobeta – Hinova - Ostrovu Mare – Izvoarele – Desa – Bistret – Bechet – Dăbuleni – Ianca - Gura Padinei – Grojdibod – Orlea – Sucidava - Islaz¹⁴; this communication route was accompanied by the possibility of navigation on the Danube. Eloquent in this respect are numerous indications, in NotDignOr, about the stations of the Danube fleet, but also the archaeological discoveries that revealed several port facilities.

More familiar from the archaeological point of view is the *Olt road* (Trajan's Road), which connected Transylvania to the Balkan provinces. In the times of Roman Dacia, this route connected Sucidava to Apulum. Between Romula and the Danube, the road had two arteries: the first one followed the right bank of Olt to Islaz, the other went in a straight line until Sucidava. The latter, dating from the 2nd century, was partially rehabilitated in the 4th century, during the reign of Constantine the Great, as a mile stone, discovered in 1913, to the north of Celei, indicates¹⁵.

⁷ Benea 2001, 135-148.

⁸ *Tabula Peutingeriana*, VII, 2.

⁹ Traianus, *Dacica*, I, apud Priscianus, VI, 13.

¹⁰ Răuț, Bozu, Petrovsky 1977, 152-153.

¹¹ *Tabula Peutingeriana*, VII, 3.

¹² *Tabula Peutingeriana*, VII, 4.

¹³ Tudor 1978, 56.

¹⁴ Tudor 1978, 56.

¹⁵ Tudor 1938, 19 sqq.; IGLR 278.

The inscription found on the mile stone: *IMP (eratori) [D(omino)] n(ostro) [Fl(avio) Val(erio) Con]stant[ino Aug(usto) et] C(a)es(ari)b(us) no[stris] (duobus) M(ille) p(assuum) I* (fig. 279-280), mentions the name of Constantine the Great, and of two *Caesares*, who are Constantine II and Constantius II, as well as the distance of 1,000 Roman feet. The place of its discovery is exactly at a distance of 1,000 Roman feet from northern portal of the bridge from Sucidava - Oescus. Constantius II received the title of Caesar in AD 324 so the milestone could not be placed before that date.

It seems that the road was rehabilitated, only on the sector between Sucidava and Brazda lui Novac; as noted¹⁶ north of the Brazda lui Novac the 4th century Roman vestiges are insignificant. The road was noted and published at the beginning of the 18th century, by Count Marsigli¹⁷ and Friederich Schwantz¹⁸. The route of the road was reconstituted as follows¹⁹: Celei (*Sucidava*) – Vișina Veche – Crușov – Grădinile – Frășinet – Devesel – Caracal - Reșca (*Romula*). The road was 6 m wide and it was curved in the middle, being 0.50 m thick²⁰. Its existence was linked directly to the fortification from Sucidava and the bridge from Sucidava-Oescus. This road ensured the connection between the Balkan Peninsula through the Isker Valley and the territories from the north of the Danube, across Dacia Ripensis and Moesiae Secunda. The reason for the rehabilitation of the road has not yet been elucidated. The interest of the Roman authorities in a road leading north into a region located outside of the Empire is still no very clear. The moment of the rehabilitation of the road has been dated in AD 328²¹. In close connection to the *Olt road*, there is the possibility that the Olt River could have been used for navigation.

From Barboși, there was a road t eastwards until Aliobrix and Tyras. The Barboși-Tyras road had in the 2nd-3rd centuries, a great strategic and economic importance²². A short statement of Ammiannus Marcellinus²³ about a *miliarium* with the number 20 (*vicensimus lapis*), proves the existence of a terrestrial road on the Dniester valley in the 2nd-3rd centuries, which could have been used in the 4th century as well²⁴.

As we have already mentioned, a very common communication route was represented by the Danube. Special emphasis was put in this time, on the Danube fleet. Eloquent in this respect, are the fleet stations and units mentioned in NotDignOr, as well as the port facilities and for directing the naval traffic.

¹⁶ Tudor 1978, 422.

¹⁷ Marsigli 1726, I sec. XVII tab. 19.

¹⁸ The map *Tabula Valachiae Cisalutanae per Friedericum Schwantzius Regiminis Heisteriani Capitaneum*.

¹⁹ Tudor 1978, 49.

²⁰ Tudor 1978, 48.

²¹ Tudor 1978, 422.

²² Ioniță 1982, 43-44.

²³ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 5.

²⁴ Gostar 1964, 63; Ioniță 1982, 48-49; C.C. Petolescu asserted that Ammianus Marcellinus does not refer to a Roman road along the Dniester River, marked by mile stones, but it could be a mere figure of speech.

IX

EARTHEN *VALLA* FROM THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE

An issue of Romanian historiography has been represented by the earthen *valla* from north of the Danube (fig. 359, 361). They were built east of the Lower Danube and Tisza, in Oltenia, Muntenia and southern Moldavia¹. A work like this was made up of a *vallum* (a long and continuous mound of earth), with a *fossa* (ditch) towards the side of the enemy (fig. 363).

Being made out of earth they have been preserved in a precarious state, their size being reduced throughout time by the action of natural factors or of agricultural works. Normally on their route there should have been located watchtowers, while behind them, there should have existed fortifications with military garrisons, two conditions that have not been fully met.

Despite the numerous excavations and studies, for most such constructions, the purpose they were raised for, remains unclear. It has been considered that the role of such works was to link several observation posts². From their placement in the field, it can be observed that the *valla* from the north of the Danube were laid where there was no natural barrier (mountains or rivers). From this point of view, it can be assumed that they marked the border or the sphere of influence of a military power.

There cannot be neglected also their role of diminishing the effects of surprise attacks, giving time for the necessary concentration of the repel forces. The ditches followed by earthen *valla* could have slowed down or prevented for a while the penetration of the vehicles and the enemy cavalry. One such remarkable work is found in North Africa, built in support of the border and the related fortifications: *terrarum spatia, quae gentilibus propter curam munitionemque limitis atque fossati*³).

In the north of the Danube, there are several earthen *valla* grouped into three geographical regions, as follows: Crişana - Banat, Oltenia - Muntenia and Moldavia. The layout, orientation, and the manner of execution could suggest either a uniform system or different origins and dating. The dating of the *valla* is very difficult because of the extremely low volume of information available. Consequently, the opinions about their origin are numerous and very diverse, generating a rich bibliography. They have been attributed either to various barbaric populations, or to the Romans. A pre-Roman dating of the earthen *valla* from north of the Lower Danube is quite unlikely. The large sizes of these structures require the involvement of huge work force, a condition which seems to have been difficult to accomplish before the arrival of the Romans in this region.

These *valla* on the territory of today's Romania were recorded by some late literary sources, but also medieval and modern ones. Two such constructions, on the territory of Moldavia, were mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus⁴. Those in Crişana and Banat areas

¹ A map of them at Horedt 1974, 208 fig. 1.

² Lander 1984, 89.

³ CTh VII, 15, 1, 409; see also Baradez 1949.

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 5-7.

have been mentioned in the Frankish chronicles⁵, in connection with the battles between the Franks and the Avars, from late 8th century-early 9th century.

Miron Costin (1633-1691), in AD 1675 ended his chronicle, called *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei dela Aron vodă încoace de unde este părăsit de Ureche, vornicul din Țara de Gios*. In this paper, he indicated several earthen *valla* which existed in southern Moldavia: *Witness is Troianul (the Trojan), the ditch, in our country / And Turnul Săverinul (Săverinul Tower), Valachs, in your country*⁶.

Furthermore, the Romanian scholar Dimitrie Cantemir, in *Descriptio Moldaviae*, mentioned the earthen *valla* from Crișana, The Romanian Plain and the south of Moldavia, which he considered as a single work, lying between the river Don and Petrovaradin: *This wall, which I've seen with my own eyes begins at Petrovaradin in Hungary, it descends from the Demarkapu Mountains (at the Iron Gates) and then passes like a single groove throughout Muntenia and Moldavia, it cuts the river Prut near the village called Trojan, the river Botna near the village Căușani, and goes throughout all of Tartaria and then stops at the river Tanais*. The assertion that this was only one *vallum* which started from Petrovaradin and went eastwards was made because of the confusion with the *valla* from Banat⁷.

These gigantic constructions could not have escaped the attention of L.F. Marsigli. Unlike recent historiography, which has attributes the origin of these massive fortification works to the various peoples, Marsigli categorized them, from the beginning, as being Roman⁸, maybe taking into the account their popular names, "Trojans". The map drawn up by Marsigli shows the route followed by these *valla*, together with their measurements and even with a sketched profile. Curiously, the great *vallum* from Oltenia and Muntenia known as *Brazda lui Novac*, does not appear in his notes; probably its absence is caused either by a lack of knowledge or an accidental omission. Instead, on the map, drawn up at the beginning of his work, *Theatrum Antiquitatum Romanorum in Hungaria: sive mappa geographica Regionum Danubio circumjacentium, Pannoniarum, Daciarum, Mysiarum: etc.* certain *valla* were recorded in southern Moldavia and Bessarabia, where Marsigli had never been. Perhaps their presence on the map is probably because of the information received from the High Stewart Constantin Cantacuzino, whom Marsigli had regular correspondence with⁹.

A Dutch map from AD 1791, drawn up by T.G. Roeder, A. Loosjes and G. Baarfel called *Nieuwe Kaart van De Sterkte van Ismail in Bessarabien Verders van Wallachijen Bulgarien en Romanien*, mentions by the name of *Fossa Traiani, Brazda lui Novac vallum* and the earthen *valla* from southern Moldavia¹⁰. Interesting is that the *valla* are presented as one, lying between Drobeta and Bolgrad which is of course a confusion. A serious research was done in late 19th century by C. Scuchhardt who also drew up some sketchy profiles¹¹. In the following pages we will summarize the information known about the north-Danubian *valla*, which could have been used in Late Roman Period.

⁵ Apud Horedt 1965, with bibliography.

⁶ Miron Costin, *Opere alese*, Bucharest 1967 edition, 57.

⁷ Schuchhardt 1885, 210.

⁸ *Die Römer-Schantz*, acc. Marsigli 1726, II, 7-8.

⁹ Toșa-Turdeanu 1975, 10.

¹⁰ Apud Lepșa 1937, 92-95.

¹¹ Scuchhardt 1885.

IX.1. EARTHEN *VALLA* AND DITCHES FROM BANAT AND CRIȘANA

They were mapped for the first time in the 18th century, by the Count Marsigli. Other indications were made by J.J. Ehrler, F. Grisellini (a more accurate mapping) and later other topographic maps¹². This was a defensive system consisting of three rows of earthen *valla* and ditches¹³, which descended from Crișana, south of Mureș River in Banat, by a distance of several hundred kilometres (fig. 362). In Romania they are oriented north-south and their route follows the line of demarcation between the plain and hills (fig. 354). The first and most eastern of the *valla* is passing behind the locality of Vrșac, stopping nearby of Kajtasovo and Palanka. A second *vallum* descends south to Kuvin¹⁴.

The front-ditch of the *valla* is directed eastwards. Within each line of earthen *valla* the westernmost one is the highest, having a wider and deeper ditch than the others. These aspects as well as the arrangement of the *valla* to the north-south, suggest that they were raised to defend the Tisza Plain, in order to prevent attacks that could have occurred from the east. Another controversy is related to the various peoples that supposedly constructed the *valla*¹⁵. Marsigli attributed them from the beginning a Roman origin¹⁶. Referring only at two of them (the one from the middle and the one from the east), J.J. Ehrler considered them to be a Roman defence alignment (*Das Banat vom Ursprung bis jetzo, nebst der Nationalisten, Sitten, Gebrauche, Religion, Kinderzucht, Hauswirtschaft, Vermogen, Nahrungs- und Handelsstandes Gebrechen, Obliegenheit der Beamten, des Landes Merkwürdigkeiten, dessen Grosse im Grunde, in Stadten, Dorfern, Pradien, Menschen und Vieh, mit dem Anhang der verbesserten Marsch-Route*. F. Grisellini issued another opinion, attributing them an Avaric origin¹⁷.

The Roman origin of these huge constructions has therefore not always been accepted¹⁸. Another important observation is that by their arrangement, the earthen *valla* from western Romania cannot be connected with the borders of Roman Dacia, from the 2nd and 3rd centuries; this fact became clear after it was found that on the Hungarian sector, the *valla* were overlapping some Sarmatian vestiges from the 2nd and 3rd centuries¹⁹. The first literary information about these *valla* originates from the time of the Frankish-Avar conflicts; the Frankish Annals mentioned the existence in the lands of the Avars of some massive fortifications made of earth²⁰. The information from the Frankish chronicles documented the existence of some earthen *valla* at that time, not that they had been built by the Avars. Furthermore, a range of Avarian vestiges exceeds by far the area delimited by *valla*. The conclusion that the *vallum* from western Romania should be dated in the period between the 4th and the 8th centuries seems to be the most probable one²¹.

¹² Short bibliography on the problem at Dörner, Boroneaț 1968, 8 note 5.

¹³ Dumitrașcu 1969, 483 no. 1, for its bibliography.

¹⁴ For the route of the *valla* see Grisellini 1780, I, 1, 9.

¹⁵ Horedt 1965, 725-730; Dumitrașcu 1993, 146-148.

¹⁶ Marsigli 1726, II, 7-8.

¹⁷ Grisellini 1780, I, 1, 9.

¹⁸ Daicovicu 1939, 107, note 19, has issued the hypothesis that they could be just embankment works from the Middle Ages, to protect land against overflow.

¹⁹ Apud Horedt 1965, 727; a contrary opinion, at Răuț, Bozu, Petrovszky 1977, 158.

²⁰ Apud Grisellini 1780, I, 1, 9, and Horedt 1965, 729.

²¹ Horedt 1965, 727.

The fact that the earth *valla* were attributed to the Roman Empire in the 4th century, during the time of Emperor Constantine the Great²² has been challenged²³, considering that the *valla* have no natural link to the ones in the south of Moldavia and to *Brazda lui Novac*. In a synthesis of the history of the western region of Dacia, S. Dumitrașcu has avoided prudently to indicate the origin of the earthen *valla*²⁴.

Some of the chronological reference points can be indicated according to the archaeological discoveries. An important discovery has been made in the south-west of the locality of Dumbrăvița (Timișoara, Timiș County). *Fragments of Neolithic ceramics, atypical, Dacian (?), also atypical, along with some material belonging to the 6th – 8th centuries*, overlap the route of one of the earthen *valla*²⁵.

Out of the three lines of ditches and *valla* in western Romania, the best preserved is the second line. The first archaeological sections were made in 1939, at the Jădani (Cornești, com. Orțișoara, Timiș County), by I. Miloia and M. Moga²⁶. The profile drawn as the surface measurements from Sâmbăteni (fig. 364) indicates quite clearly the existence of three earthen *valla*, interpolated by two ditches²⁷.

In 1966, in Covăsiņ, Arad County, the point of *Pusta lui Desanu*, there was carried out an archaeological excavation that intersected these ditches. Through the section drawn over a distance of 52 m, there were revealed five consecutive ditches (noted in what follows from I to V, from east to west) with a width ranging between 5 m and 6.20 m. The distances between the ditches are as follows: I-II = 5.20 m, II-III = 4 m, III-IV = 2.60 m, IV-V = 12.60 m²⁸. The current depths of the ditches are the following: 2m, 1.70m, 1.70m, 2.60m and 2.80m. A ceramic complex which was discovered between the ditches IV and V, 0.35-0.50 m in depth, is dated in the 1st century AD and can be considered as belonging to the Dacians. In the filling of the I-IV ditches, there were found ceramic fragments made by hand and by wheel, which were dated in the 3rd and 4th centuries²⁹. The latter aspect can attest to the ditches belonging to Late Roman Period. If the five ditches from Covăsiņ belonged to a unitary system, remains to be seen; probably they did not. There has been issued the hypothesis³⁰ that there could have been two works from different periods, one containing the three inner ditches (ditches II-IV) and the other the outer ditches (I and V). The existence of at least two phases of construction of the ditches and earthen *valla* in western Romania is proved by the fact that at Sîmbăteni, there have been found three earthen *valla* which frame two ditches, while at Covăsiņ, there have been revealed 5 ditches without any sign of an earthen *vallum*.

The dating of the ditches and earthen *valla* in the Banat and Crișana is an extremely complicated problem. Also, their role is not fully justified. On the bank behind them there were not detected any watch towers or fortifications, or any traces of strategic roads. Therefore, we cannot assume that the earthen *valla* could have been components of a Roman

²² Soproni 1978, 116.

²³ Gudea 1981, 126.

²⁴ Dumitrașcu 1993, 146-149.

²⁵ Medeleteș, Bugilian 1974, 87-88.

²⁶ Daicoviciu 1939, 107 note 19.

²⁷ Dörner, Boroneaņ 1968, 11 fig. 5.

²⁸ Dörner, Boroneaņ 1968, 12.

²⁹ Dörner, Boroneaņ 1968, 14-15.

³⁰ Dörner, Boroneaņ 1968, 16.

border. Yet in the view of their huge dimensions, they must have represented an important objective in the period in which they had been raised. Judging by their arrangement, number and size, there can be hypothetically suggested two main functionalities. The first one could be the fact that they served as a defensive barrier; the existence of several earthen *valla* and ditches could diminish the effects of surprise attacks from the east. The second functionality could be the demarcation in the field of the territory of a major politico-military power.

The ceramics from the 3rd and 4th centuries found in the filling of the I-IV ditches from Covășinț could be an indicator that we are dealing with the fortification works of Late Roman Period. Being works of great sizes, they may have been built over a longer period of time, maybe the one during the reigns of Emperors Constantine the Great, Constantius II and Valentinian I³¹. Another chronological landmark could be the date when it began the refortification of the Pannonia *limes* by Valentinian I: in AD 366-368³². Also, a very important observation is that Roman gold coins scattered in the Sarmatian area, to the west of Dacia, had not exceed the easterly line of these *valla*³³.

IX.2. THE NORTHERN "BRAZDA LUI NOVAC" VALLUM

This is the most significant earthen *vallum* built in the north of the Lower Danube (fig. 357, 431). Its route constantly follows the demarcation line between the hills and the plain, in the region from the south of the Carpathian Mountains. In oral tradition, but also in the medieval and modern documents it was named in various ways: *Brazda lui Novac* (North Novac's Furrow), *Brazda lui Traian*, *Troian*, *Brazda*, *Șanțul lui Iorgovan*. Its huge sizes have inspired various legends in people's collective memory³⁴. It has been researched several times by C. Schuchardt, Gr. Tocilescu, P. Polonic, C.S. Nicolaescu-Plopșor, C.M. Vlădescu, etc³⁵. The first who investigated it "step by step" throughout its length was P. Polonic, in 1898. It was long thought, according to Gr.G. Tocilescu's notes that the earthen *vallum* started from Hinova and ended in Braila³⁶. Later its extreme points have been revisited, the eastern one would be at Mizil, near Pietroasele³⁷, and western limit has been established subsequently by M. Davidescu at Drobeta³⁸.

After nearly a century, Cr .M. Vlădescu resumed the discussion about the great earthen *vallum*: between 1976 and 1981, Vlădescu investigated *Brazda lui Novac* on foot, as P. Polonic had once done. On this occasion, the route of the earthen *vallum* was corrected and completed with topographical and geographical details³⁹. Its ancient sizes cannot be indicated, given that throughout time it has been flattened by natural factors and agricultural works. For example, in the villages Cleanov-Carpen, Dolj County, only the toponyms of the place still reminds us of it, the *vallum* being almost totally destroyed (personal survey). Anyway, it must

³¹ Soproni 1969a, 117-123, see however Gudea 1982, 104, and more recently, Garam et alii 2003, 60-64.

³² Soproni 1969, 73.

³³ Butnariu 1987, 124.

³⁴ Croitoru 2004, 18-20.

³⁵ Tudor 1978, 244-249, 349-351; Zahariade 1988, 37-38.

³⁶ Tudor 1942, 203 sqq.; Pippidi 1958, 163; Tudor 1958, 201.

³⁷ Tudor 1968, 251; Tudor 1978, 244.

³⁸ Davidescu 1980, 184-186.

³⁹ Vlădescu 1977; Vlădescu 1978; Vlădescu 1979.

have been a giant one. On the Cinghir Hill located east of the village of Terpezița, Dolj County, the *vallum* is 16 m wide, and 4-4.50 m tall and the ditch is 10m wide⁴⁰.

We will not insist on its route, which is already well known. The earthen *vallum* crosses Oltenia and Muntenia, from Drobeta up to Pietroasele, for a distance of over 300 km. The placement to the north of the defence ditch shows that the *vallum* was built by a political and a military power coming from the south that ruled the northern bank of the Lower Danube. Its role seems to have been more a symbolic one, aiming to mark a boundary or limit of a territory in the sphere of influence of a political-military force to south of the Danube. Its current sizes vary depending on the state of its preservation. East of the Olt River, the earthen *vallum* is in a worse state and with interruptions. In many places, the earthen *vallum* and the ditch have disappeared, being destroyed by agricultural works. Brazda lui Novac was archaeologically excavated in 1976, at Bălăcița, Mehedinti County, there, the *vallum* is of 9.60 m wide and of 4 m high (it seems more flattened). The ditch in front of the wall is of 10.80 m wide.

Behind the earthen *valla*, any forts or traces of strategic roads have not been revealed so far. The surface research conducted along its length helped identify several possible watch towers positioned behind the earthen *valla*; if they will be evidenced by archaeological excavations, then from such points the whole region to the north of Brazda lui Novac could have been supervised for possible barbarian attacks.

Thus, 2 km southeast of Hinova, near *Măgura lui Cârloțea*, there could have been an observation tower, with the sizes of 16.30 x 16.40 x 10.50 x 15m. The point is a dominant height, from there, the area between Hinova and Drobeta⁴¹ could have been monitored; it has not been indicated yet whether this is a construction or a natural position. Recent research has identified several ditches around *Măgura lui Cârloțea*, which could indicate the remains of a tower with dismantled foundations⁴². It remains to be seen if it is a tower from the Late Roman Period.

Referring to the *Dicționarul Geografic al României* (The Geographical Dictionary of Romania), T. Antonescu inferred the existence of such towers at Vela, Bucovăț and Coșovenii de Sus, in the Dolj County, Olt-Crâmpoiaia, Negrași-Argeș, Licuriciu-Teleorman, Greci-Dâmbovița, Crivina, Ciuperceni and Mănești, Prahova County, along with other places in the Ialomița County⁴³.

It seems that on the hill above the Terpezița Village, in Dolj County, there had been an observation square-shaped post⁴⁴. It is worth mentioning that the engineer Alfred Vincenz has identified, in the Dolj County, two such towers⁴⁵: the first on the Bucovăț Hill, west of Craiova, the second near the locality of Sărbătoarea. Between the two positions, there is a distance of 5-6 km. There was considered that the foundation of these towers was built out of stone walls, although further research has not identified the two posts⁴⁶. Another possible

⁴⁰ Vlădescu 1978, 156-158.

⁴¹ Vlădescu 1977, 81.

⁴² Stângă 1998, 34.

⁴³ Antonescu 1910, 114-115, note 5.

⁴⁴ Vlădescu 1978, 158 note 5.

⁴⁵ Tudor 1978, 249.

⁴⁶ Vlădescu 1978, 159.

tower could have been placed on a small hill situated about 4 km north-west of the Broșteni Village, in Dâmbovița County⁴⁷.

It can be seen from the above that all the watch towers assigned to *Brazda lui Novac* are mainly inferred than clearly proven⁴⁸.

The dating of *Brazda lui Novac* has arisen and still arises many discussions. At the end of the 19th century, C. Schuchardt considered it a construction of the Visigoth chief Athanarich against the Hunnic invasion⁴⁹. Later on, it was placed in the time of the military incursions from the mid 1st century AD, taken by the Roman armies under the leadership of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus⁵⁰. One of the actions of Aelianus is the colonization of Moesia with 100,000 trans-Danubian people⁵¹. On this occasion, Plautius Aelianus could have constructed the gigantic *vallum*, to delimitate of the territory that was under Roman rule, from the Barbaric-Dacian one⁵². The "safety area" policy practiced by the Romans at their borders, in the times of the Participate, seems to support this hypothesis⁵³. In this respect, there has been presented another opinion belonging to engineer Al. Popovici, in the second half of the 19th century⁵⁴; according to his observations, in the Greci Village, Osica de Sus Commune, Olt County, the *vallum* Brazda lui Novac is crossed by the Roman road in the Olt Valley and consequently the road is posterior to the *vallum*. Considering this aspect, Brazda lui Novac could have been built in the times of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus. However, against this opinion, there has been argued that south of the *vallum*, there have not been discovered any Roman materials from the times of Plautius Aelianus⁵⁵.

Also, it cannot be explained the construction of a giant earthen *vallum* and a ditch, near a Dacian state, powerful and hostile, with the centre in the Oraștie Mountains. The freedom of movement of the latter would have been seriously limited and it is difficult to accept that the Romans could have raised such a fortification work, without being attacked by the Dacians and their allies.

Other arguments were gathered here that support the dating of the northern Brazda lui Novac *vallum* in the 4th century⁵⁶. The construction of the fortification line required undoubtedly a great human and material effort. In the third decade of the 4th century, after the removal of Licinius (year 324), Constantine the Great controlled all the human and financial resources of the Empire. There is a high possibility that he was the one who ordered the construction of this earthen *vallum*. And in this case the "safety area theory" could be validated. However, this dating has not been accepted entirely by Romanian historiography⁵⁷.

Following the discovery of some Roman graves from the 2nd – 3rd centuries⁵⁸ in the Drobeta-Hinova *vallum* segment, on the area of the former IAS No. 8 farm land, Dealul

⁴⁷ Vlădescu 1979, 157 note 17.

⁴⁸ Toropu 1976, 28, note 85.

⁴⁹ Schuchardt 1885, 223.

⁵⁰ Pârvan 1926, 128-129.

⁵¹ CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986 = IDRE I 113.

⁵² Pârvan 1926, 128-129; Florescu 1931, 3.

⁵³ Petolescu 1984, 187-188.

⁵⁴ Apud Petolescu 1984, 188.

⁵⁵ Tudor 1978, 250.

⁵⁶ Pippidi 1958, 163-164; Tudor 1978, 244-249; Zahariade 1988, 38; Barnea 1997, 162.

⁵⁷ I. Nestor, in *IR* 1970, 96; Petolescu 1984, 187-188, etc.

⁵⁸ Crăciunescu 1994, 1-2.

Viilor, the dating of the *vallum* in the 4th century has again been questioned⁵⁹, at least on this sector. The discovery may lead us to conclude that the *vallum* had been built before the 2nd-3rd century graves. However, it is not clear the connection between *Brazda lui Novac* and the discovered graves; the place of the discovery of the grave is located by the editor *near the ridge of the vallum*⁶⁰ or on its base⁶¹. In this case, the dating in the Late Roman Period of the *Brazda lui Novac* cannot be totally ignored. The earthen *vallum* could have been raised in the 4th century, over the graves from the 2nd -3rd centuries, meaning that the graves were actually covered by the earth used for raising the fortification line. M. Davidescu also referred to one of these graves indicating as its place of discovery the base of *Brazda lui Novac*⁶²; on the contrary this author believes that the grave dates from the 4th – 5th centuries.

For dating *Brazda lui Novac* in the 4th century, there can be brought into the discussion several arguments.

a) The western boundary of the *vallum* is delimited by fortifications used in Late Roman Period: Drobeta and Hinova.

b) The rehabilitation of the Sucidava-Romula road during the reign of Constantine the Great, a restoration bounded to the north by *Brazda lui Novac vallum*⁶³.

c) The construction of the stone bridge from Oescus-Sucidava⁶⁴ in AD 328, at the initiative of Emperor Constantine.

d) Also, if *Brazda* intersects with the *transalutanus* fortified line at Urluieni⁶⁵, its dating in a Late Period is certain. The fact that at Urluieni, there can be seen the intersection of the *Transalutanus* line with *Brazda lui Novac* has, however, been questioned⁶⁶.

e) Late currency circulation in the south of the earthen *vallum* is significant⁶⁷.

f) The placement of the Sântana de Mureș - Cerneahov Culture necropolises⁶⁸ shows that its area is diminishing to the easternmost point of *Brazda lui Novac*, only rarely exceeding the *Transalutanus* fortified line. The fact proves that in the 4th century, the *Brazda lui Novac vallum* and the former *Transalutanus* fortified line were bordering a territory governed by the Romans or in their sphere of influence.

g) In Lazu Village, Dolj County, the *vallum* was sectioned, in 1958 by Dr. Gh Popilian (fig. 365), without any relevant results. However, to the south and north of the *vallum*, there have been discovered ceramic fragments dating from the 4th century⁶⁹.

The possibility that in the 9th – 10th centuries, *Brazda lui Novac vallum* could have been used as the northern border of the first Bulgarian Empire⁷⁰ cannot be excluded considering that some Byzantine literary sources from the 10th century (Simeon Magister, Leo Gramaticus) mentioned *a Bulgaria beyond the Danube*. That does not mean that the earthen *valla* were constructed in those times.

⁵⁹ Stângă 1994, 4-5.

⁶⁰ Crăciunescu 1994, 1.

⁶¹ Stângă 1994, 4.

⁶² Davidescu 1989, 92.

⁶³ Tudor 1978, 422.

⁶⁴ Tudor 1971, 155-192.

⁶⁵ Tudor 1978, 248; Vlădescu 1979, 155.

⁶⁶ Vulpe 1972, 272; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 84-85.

⁶⁷ Preda 1975, 457-485; Toropu 1976, 205-217; Tudor 1978, 423.

⁶⁸ Mitrea, Preda 1966, 157 sqq.

⁶⁹ Vlădescu 1978, 158, note 5.

⁷⁰ Krandjalov 1945, 33-66; Fiedler 1992, 1, 35, 353.

A precise dating of the Brazda lui Novac *vallum* is difficult to make in the current state of research. The lack of clear archaeological evidence has given the possibility of a diversity of opinions. It has been considered that the sector limited by Hinova and the Transalutanus at west and east of the border, a carefully constructed sector, could have been built by the Empire through its own means, unlike the section east of the *limes Transalutanus*, which would have been raised on the initiative of the Empire, but with the help of *foederati* barbarians⁷¹. It is also strange that to the east of Olt, Brazda lui Novac has been poorly preserved and it shows many interruptions. D. Tudor thought that on the sector east of the Olt, its consolidation⁷² had not been finalized.

It's positioning, near the Late Roman fortifications from Drobeta and Hinova, had a crucial impact in dating the discussed *vallum* in the Late Period. Even if it is recognized that Brazda lui Novac *vallum* or certain segments of it had been raised earlier, its rehabilitation and its reuse in the 4th century cannot be excluded.

The most appropriate expression regarding the dating of the earthen *valla* from the north of the Lower Danube belongs to K. Horedt; according to him the dating of the earthen *valla* should not be sought in the 1st century or in the 4th century, but at the same time in the 1st century *and* the 4th century⁷³.

IX.3. THE *VALLA* AND DITCHES IN SOUTHERN MOLDAVIA

Out of the *valla* on the territory of Moldavia⁷⁴ (fig. 360), we will point out only some of them, the ones which could have had significance in the Late Roman Period. Thus there will be reviewed here, the *valla* from Șerbești-Tuluțești, Vadul lui Isac-Tatarbunar and the less known *vallum* from Lake Cahul – Lake Cartal, whose Roman origin are supported by most of the opinions⁷⁵. Also, little is known yet about the earthen *vallum* which protected the observation point of Reni-Novosel'skoe⁷⁶.

IX.3.1. THE ȘERBEȘTI-TULUCEȘTI *VALLUM* (TRAIAN-TULUCEȘTI *VALLUM*) (THE *VALLUM* FROM GALAȚI)

With a length of 23 km, this defensive work was built to protect Barboși-Dinogetia ford, closing the access to the sector of Siret and Prut rivers (fig. 338). Its extremities are in the close proximity of the two rivers. It has the shape of a semicircle outside the fortification from Barboși (fig. 338). The preserved height varies from 0.50 m to 3 m. The ditch is heading to the north; C. Scuchhardt's measurements from late 1800's, indicated a ditch of 2 m deep⁷⁷.

This *vallum* has been dated in late 3rd century⁷⁸ or the second half of the 2nd century⁷⁹. In support of the latter dating, there was found on the *vallum*, in 1931, a coin from Marcus Aurelius dating from AD 168. Recently, there has been suggested that the *vallum* could have

⁷¹ Toropu 1976, 28-85.

⁷² Tudor 1978, 249.

⁷³ Horedt 1974a, 214.

⁷⁴ The map of the valla from Moldavia at Ioniță 1982, fig. 3.

⁷⁵ Croitoru 2002, 107-120; Croitoru 2004, 79-114.

⁷⁶ Sârbu, Bărcă 2000, 43-44.

⁷⁷ Scuchhardt 1885, 217.

⁷⁸ Vulpe 1972, 275-276.

⁷⁹ Ioniță 1982, 20.

been raised in the time of Emperor Hadrian⁸⁰. All these considerations do not exclude the possibility that the *valla* was used in the 4th century⁸¹ after it had been rehabilitated in late 3rd century⁸². This idea is supported by the existence of two phases of construction⁸³. The territory delimited by the *vallum* was under the supervision and defence of the fortification from Barboși.

IX.3.2. VADUL LUI ISAC-TATARBUNAR *VALLUM* (THE INFERIOR *VALLUM* OF BASARABIA)

This *vallum* is 124 km long and it was raised in the vicinity of the section between Bugeac Plain and the plateau of southern Basarabia (fig. 352). On its length, there have not been identified watchtowers or other fortifications. Its *fossa* is directed towards north and it has three different sectors: Vadul lui Isac-Bolgrad, Bolgrad- Cătlăbug Lake and Cătlăbug Lake-Tatarbunar⁸⁴.

On the first sector (Vadul lui Isac-Bolgrad, between Prut and Ialpug rivers), the *vallum* was built more carefully in comparison with the other two sectors. Its berm is 3 m wide. According to the measurements recorded by C. Scuchhardt at Trojanski Val in late 19th century, the preserved height of the *vallum* was of 1.7 m, and its ditch was 1.5 m deep⁸⁵. The dating of this *vallum*, in late 3rd century or during the 4th century⁸⁶ has been contested⁸⁷.

The second sector (Bolgrad- Cătlăbug Lake) was built carelessly (without a berm). This fact could suggest either a later dating, or it being of a secondary importance, in comparison with the sector Vadul lui Isac-Bolgrad. In the filling of its ditch, there has been discovered a little hoard of 6 coins issued by Constantine the Great, 2 coins from the time of Constans and 1 piece from Constantine Gallus; the content of the hoard proves that the *vallum* was raised before the mid 4th century⁸⁸.

The third sector of this *vallum* lies between Cătlăbug and Sasîc/Conduc Lakes. Its easternmost point is near Tatarbunar locality. It was built without a berm, carelessly, and its sizes are small. It was meant to close the access to the Danube, from the north.

The differences between the three sectors of the Vadul lui Isac-Tatarbunar *vallum* could suggest many phases of construction. Even if this *vallum* had been built in the 2nd century, the fact that it could have been re-using during the 4th century⁸⁹ cannot be excluded. Another important aspect is that by its location north of Cahul, Ialpug, Catalabug, Chitai and Sasâc Lakes, the *vallum* protected all these natural sources of water⁹⁰.

⁸⁰ Sanie 2001, 382.

⁸¹ Pârvan 1913, 117; Ioniță 1982, 32.

⁸² Al. Suceveanu, A. Rădulescu, in *IR*, II, 2001, 304.

⁸³ Brudiu 1995, 229-231; Croitoru 2002, 108.

⁸⁴ Vulpe 1972, 274-276.

⁸⁵ Scuchhardt 1885, 218.

⁸⁶ Vulpe 1972, 276; Al. Suceveanu, A. Rădulescu, in *IR*, II, 2001, 304.

⁸⁷ Ioniță 1982, 32.

⁸⁸ Ioniță 1982, 35.

⁸⁹ Sârbu, Bărcă 2000, 45.

⁹⁰ Brudiu 1995, 233.

IX.3.3. THE CAHUL LAKE-CARTAL LAKE *VALLUM*

It was raised 3-3.5km north-east of the fortification Orlovka⁹¹. It is in the shape of a semicircle, and it was laid out in front of the fortification. The furthestmost points of the *vallum* are bordered by Cahul and Cartal Lakes. The preserved height varies from 0.45 to 1.50/1.60m. The locals call it "*Valul lui Traian*", like all earthen *valla* from the territory of Romania. On its surface and in its vicinity, there have been discovered fragments of Roman pottery, and this fact could indicate its Roman origin. If we agree with a Late Roman rule over the fortification *Aliobrix*/Orlovka-Kartal, the *vallum* must have been used also at that time.

IX.3.4. THE *VALLUM* OF RENI-NOVOSEL'SKOE

Because the Russian bibliography concerning this *vallum* has not been accessible yet for me, I will try to use the latest studies published in Romanian⁹². The *vallum* closed the access between Cartal and Cugurlui Lakes. In late 1960's, its traces were still visible in the field. Different modern works have destroyed it. If we believe what some locals say, in many places, the *vallum* was 5-6 m high and 8.5-9.5 m wide. If we can talk about a Late Roman rule over Novosel'skoe, then the *vallum* must have been functional in that period.

*

With some reserves because of the few elements of dating, there has been asserted that the earthen *valla* and the ditches to the north of the Danube belonged only to a single system of defense⁹³. Perhaps because of this, D. Cantemir and the Dutch map from 1791⁹⁴ rendered Brazda lui Novac and the earthen *valla* from the south of Moldavia, like a single work. It seems that it was meant to defend the Middle and Lower Danubian line, against the attacks from the north-east, as the arrangement of the ditches preceding them suggests.

Two similar earthen *valla* from Moldavia were mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, when the Huns attacked the Visigoths; the first was called *vallum Greuthungorum*⁹⁵; the other was raised, by the order of Athanarich, between the river *Gerasus* (Siret?) and Danube⁹⁶. This situation proves that, in Late Antiquity, earthen *valla* were usual defensive works. In this case it can be supported also their Late Roman origin.

The earthen *valla* from the north of the Danube have been considered as parts of the same defensive system⁹⁷, with the purpose of marking the north-Danubian border of the Late Empire⁹⁸. It has been asserted that because of the lack of natural frontiers (mountains, rivers), the earthen *valla* had a defensive purpose as well as a bordering one⁹⁹. Building these *valla*, there was created a "safety space", where the Roman authority had to be respected. Its giant sizes suggested the existence, at that time, of important human and material resources. Even if it is possible for some *valla* or some of their sectors to be dated in an earlier period, we cannot

⁹¹ Năstase 1936, 138,148; Sârbu, Bârcă 2000, 45-46.

⁹² Sârbu, Bârcă 2000, 43-44.

⁹³ Vulpe 1972; Horedt 1974a, 207-214.

⁹⁴ Apud Lepși 1937, 92-95.

⁹⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 5.

⁹⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 7: *murus altius erigebat*.

⁹⁷ Vulpe 1972, 274-275.

⁹⁸ Ioniță 1982, 48.

⁹⁹ Sârbu, Bârcă 2000, 46.

exclude the hypothesis that they might have been used as *finēs*, in the Late Roman Period. If the line of the Danube is considered a *limes*, the relation between *limes* and *finēs* must be pointed out¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁰ Barnea 1997, 163.

X

THE LATE ROMAN RULE TO THE NORTH OF THE DANUBE. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Trying to identify even within a wide range, the limits in time and space of the Late Roman domination to the north of the Danube is a difficult operation. This is mainly because of the scarce information available. By the phrase of Late Roman rule to the north of the Danube, we understand the annexation and actual rule over the territories of this geopolitical space.

The evidence gathered in the pages of this paper certainly shows that in the Late Roman Period, the domination of the Empire surpassed the northern border line established on the Danube. The historical and archaeological evidence in support of this theory are as follows: the intensity of the monetary circulation recorded in the region as compared to other periods; the earthen *valla* from the north of the Lower Danube; the building in this area of fortifications, either "bridgeheads" or at a greater distance from the line of the river; the presence of Roman military units in the north-Danubian fortifications; the concerns of the Roman emperors to control or even to master areas from the north of the Danube once conquered by Emperor Trajan; the unlimited possibility of the Roman authorities to interfere with the internal matters of the barbarian populations and to carry out military expeditions against them; the victories achieved against these populations and their transformation into *foederati* followed by colonization or even movements of populations; the raising of the bridge from Sucidava-Oescus inaugurated in AD 328; the rehabilitation of the road from the Olt Valley in the 4th century.

All these events demonstrate the actual and durable domination of the Late Roman Empire to the north of the Danube. The epigraphic and the scarce literary evidence confirm this reality. In the present state of research, the theory supporting the Roman rule to the north of the Danube in the Late Period is an indisputable fact. The purpose of this paper is also to briefly outline some chronological and territorial landmarks of this situation.

The construction and maintenance policy of "bridgehead" fortifications in the north of the Danube signifies primarily the intention of the Roman authorities to assure a better surveillance and security on the Danube border. These fortifications allowed the following operations: monitoring the movements of barbarian populations, allies or enemies, extending of the Roman influence over these populations; controlling the traffic and security of the Danubian fords; the levying of taxes for the corresponding territory; the maintenance of commercial relations or of other nature with the allied barbarian populations from the north of the Danube, the protection of the fluvial traffic on the Danube river and of the existing port facilities; the signalling of any possible invasions, and eventually, holding a minimum resistance until the arrival of reinforcements. The necessity of guarding the Danube *on both sides* appears to have been a strategic and military requirement of the time¹.

¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 7.

Therefore the existence of north-Danubian fortifications situated in the proximity of the river does not imply necessarily the Roman rule over the territories of former Roman Dacia, but only the control over the left bank of the Danube. An effective rule over the north-Danubian region involves the annexation of a territory, the raising (restoration) of fortifications in this area, the maintenance of permanent garrisons in the fortifications as well as the control of the strategic and commercial roads. The purpose was to dominate the space beyond the Danube and to create a buffer zone along the border, in order to keep the barbaric populations at a significant distance. This fact implies that the balance of power between the Roman Empire and barbarian populations was inclined in favour of the first one.

The moment when the Empire resumed its domination over the region from the north of the Lower Danube generates certain discussions. The mentioning of a *Dacia restituta*² from the time of the Tetrarchy, probably on the 1st of March 297³, does not necessarily refer to the resumption of the Roman rule over north-Danubian Dacia, but rather to a reorganization of the two south-Danubian Dacian provinces. At the time when this panegyric was elaborated, there is no question of a possible resumption of the Roman domination over the former province of Dacia. No matter how much we would like to discuss about the resumption of the Roman rule over the former province of Dacia from the north of the Danube (also as a possible argument in support for the continuity of the Latin element in the north of the river!), this process has never been repeated. There is no clear archaeological evidence to support the idea that after the withdrawal from Dacia, the Roman domination would have ever been restored within the old borders. *Dacia restituta* was merely a simple expression of propaganda. However, the northern *ripa* of the river was controlled by the Romans for a long time, through the previously built fortifications⁴.

In support of an actual Roman rule to the north of the Danube in the time of the Tetrarchy there is no clear evidence, in the current state of the research, although efforts are still being made. Very likely, the numerous wars waged by the Tetrarchs on various fronts of the Empire did not leave enough time to for an actual restoration of a *Dacia restituta*.

The date on which the Roman Empire restored its rule over a specific territory from the north of the Danube could not have been placed before the reign of Constantine the Great. Only beginning with this period the conditions required for such an event had been fulfilled. Other details can be pointed out according to various events. Constantine the Great could not have intervened legitimately and formally to the north of the Danube as long as he had been sharing his power with Licinius, who managed the diocese of Thrace also after AD 316. Therefore, we cannot talk about this event before AD 324, when Licinius was finally removed from the lead of the Empire.

In close connection with the annexation of a north-Danubian region to the Empire are to be taken into consideration both the raising of the bridge from Sucidava-Oescus as well as the rehabilitation of the older Roman road from the Olt Valley. The two initiatives demonstrate the resumption of the Roman rule to the north of the Danube, but within certain limits. The inscription on the milestone discovered at Sucidava mentions besides Emperor Constantine's name also other two *Caesares*; most likely these emperors are Constantinus II and

² *Incerti panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus*, III, 3.

³ Zawadski 1973, 65.

⁴ See above, the chapter on the stages of construction of the north-Danubian fortifications.

Constantius II. The first received the title of *Caesar* in AD 317, while the second received it in AD 324. Therefore, the rehabilitation of the road from the Olt Valley could not have started before AD 324.

In AD 328, Constantine the Great left from Nicomedia towards the Danube⁵, at Oescus⁶, where he inaugurated the bridge of Sucidava-Oescus⁷. There cannot be indicated the exact moment when this new construction was raised. *Chronicon Paschale*⁸ recorded that its inauguration took place in AD 328. Trajan's Bridge from Drobeta was built in two years. It is possible that also in the case of Sucidava the construction works to have lasted more or less, just as much. I. Barnea assumed that the construction works had lasted for 4 years, between AD 324-328⁹. It is clear that the moment when the building of the bridge began, along with the rehabilitation of the road from the Olt Valley, the region left of the Danube was actually under the rule of the Roman Empire. Securing the left bank of the river by pacifying the barbarian populations from the area on the long term was a prerequisite for building such a bridge. This condition could have been fulfilled only after one or more clear victories gained against the barbarians and the durable annexation of a significant portion of the north-Danubian area.

When were these conditions met? In AD 322 Constantine repelled a Sarmatian invasion between the rivers Danube and Tisza, whom he defeated and pushed beyond the Danube¹⁰.

Later on, in AD 323, the Goths and the eastern Sarmatians invaded Thrace and Moesia¹¹, on which occasion, Constantine's army repelled them and pursued them to the north of Danube. In the battle which took place afterwards the Goths were defeated. During the battle, Rausimodus, the Sarmatian king, was killed.

The following year, AD 324 after the victory from Chrysopolis, Constantine finally removed his rival, Licinius. After nearly four decades the Empire was ruled again by one Emperor. In honour of the memorable victory against Licinius, Emperor Constantine the Great issued coins with the legend *CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE*¹². These are military and political events that allowed the annexation of the area north of the Danube.

Remaining the sole master of the entire Roman Empire after his victory against Licinius in AD 324, Constantine the Great must have enjoyed great power and prestige, similar to those of the Roman emperors in the time of the Principate. As a result of these considerations, but also out of more practical necessities, the administration and Late Army were reformed again. Through the favourable attitude towards the Christian Church and the tolerance of pagan religions, Constantine the Great gained a broad support of the masses. The Goths and the Sarmatians from the north of the Danube had been pacified for a good period of time and rivals to the throne of the Empire no longer existed. Most likely, beginning with AD 324 the annexation of the southern part of the former province of Dacia took place. Only now, could have been started the operations for the building or reactivation in some areas, of the earthen

⁵ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, III, 50.

⁶ CTh VI, 35.

⁷ Tudor 1971, 162 -164.

⁸ *Chronicon Paschale*, I, 526, 16-17.

⁹ Barnea, Iliescu 1982 111.

¹⁰ Madgearu 2008, 33.

¹¹ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, V, 21.

¹² Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 139.

valla from the north of the Danube. Also, the old Roman road from the Olt Valley was rehabilitated and it was initiated the construction of the Sucidava-Oescus bridge. Several north-Danubian fortifications were restored or raised *a fundamentis*. In honour of Constantine's victories, one of these fortifications was named *Dafne* (Victory). The monetary circulation recorded a revival throughout the territory of the former Roman Dacia, especially in Banat and Oltenia region, south of Brazda lui Novac¹³. For a sustainable domination, there were built or restored fortifications situated at a greater distance from the line of the Danube: Vârșeț, Mehadia, Puținei. Their advanced positioning represents an important argument for determining the northern limit of the Roman rule.

Related to this problem, we cannot ignore the earthen *valla* in Banat and Crișana for the western region of Romania. Also, for the area of the south-Carpathian plain (Oltenia and Muntenia), the earthen *vallum* of Brazda lui Novac in north and the fortified line on the Olt Valley could represent the northern and eastern demarcations of the territory under Roman rule. The Roman intervention from AD 332 against the Goths that resulted in a disastrous defeat of the latter¹⁴ was probably caused by the intrusion of the Goths inside the borders of the Roman Empire¹⁵. Through the *foedus* concluded between the two sides, the Goths became allies of the Empire, bound to ensure the security of the border. There is no evidence related to possible consistent penetration of the Sântana de Mureș - Cerneahov Culture bearers west of the former *Transalutanus* border and south of Brazda lui Novac by AD 332. This reinforces the idea that Oltenia remained under the Roman rule. On the basis of some literary sources, there might be suggested (rather indirectly) a specific influence of Constantine the Great over the Goths¹⁶. The Roman victory from AD 332 marked another very important process: the stopping, for a few decades, of the Gothic advancement towards west.

After only two years, in 334, Emperor Constantine the Great intervened in the internal conflict between *Sarmates argaragantes* and *Sarmates limigantes*¹⁷ and colonising a great part of the *argaragantes* to the south of the Danube¹⁸. As a result of these successes and in a highly favourable political and military context, the Roman authority from the north of the river had been restored for more than three decades. The literary sources¹⁹ confirm the pacification on the long term of the Goths and Sarmatians. Constantine the Great was entitled to consider himself as he wanted, Emperor Trajan's equal²⁰.

Special discussions have been arisen by the idea of Roman "in depth" domination to the north of Danube, meaning at a greater distance from the river line.

The Late Roman rule from southern Moldavia, if it had existed, could have been divided territorially by the earthen *valla* mentioned above. However, for this area except for some "bridgehead" fortifications and the earthen *valla* from the south of Moldavia, there is no certain archaeological evidence attesting to an actual Roman rule in Late Period. The

¹³ Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974; Butnariu 1987; Butnariu 1988; Butnariu 1991; Preda 1975.

¹⁴ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 31.

¹⁵ Zahariade 1988, 39.

¹⁶ Philostorgios, II, 5.

¹⁷ Eusebius, *Chronica*, XIII.

¹⁸ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 32.

¹⁹ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, IV, 5, 1.

²⁰ Julian the Apostate, XXIV.

construction and rehabilitation of the earthen *valla* from this area²¹ could have represented the delimitation of the territory in which the Roman Empire had imposed restriction for the barbarians. Even so, the Late Roman rule in this area is difficult to support; the north-Danubian fortifications known in this region are very small, and their existence, except for that in Barboși, is rather inferred than clearly demonstrated. The lack of Late Roman evidence, unless this is a deficiency of the research, and the vicinity of the Goths²² represent arguments for accrediting the theory that the Roman domination in the region was not an effective one. At the current stage of the research, we find it a more correct approach to consider this area under the supervision of the Roman Empire rather under its rule.

Quite uncertain remains also the theory of the Late Roman domination in Muntenia. In this region, there have been were found bearers of the Sântana de Mureș – Cerneahov Culture²³. It has been considered²⁴ that the defence of the north-Danubian territory was left to the Goths, who became *foederati* of the Empire after AD 332. Historical evidence could support this assessment for the territory corresponding today to south-eastern Romania, namely in Muntenia and southern Moldavia. The Danubian line was called in this area *ripa Gotica*²⁵, and the region had become for a while *Gothia*²⁶. Also, beside a fragment of a stamped brick from Andolina, Ciocănești Commune, Călărași County, in this area, there has not been recorded any archaeological military evidence from the Late Roman Empire.

Some arguments, however, require certain differentiations. We cannot ignore the existence in this region, along the Danube of "bridgehead" fortifications (Turnu Măgurele, Dafne, Piuă Petrii) and also the presence of the earthen *vallum* called Brazda lui Novac. We also have to take into account some strategic considerations like the rehabilitation of the road from the Olt Valley and the building of the bridge Sucidava-Oescus over the Danube, both carried out during the reign of Constantine the Great²⁷. As these were large construction works, it was necessary to protect them by securing the territory east of the Olt River. The arrangement of the necropolises of Sântana de Mureș - Cerneahov type shows that the bearers of this culture, with few exceptions, did not cross towards west the fortified *transalutanus* line. All these considerations demonstrate the fact that in the Late Roman Period, the western side of Muntenia represented a "safety space" in which the Roman authorities must have imposed certain restrictions to the barbarian populations such as the Goths, Sarmatians and Taifals, as in the 2nd - 3rd centuries²⁸. For the attentive supervision of the barbarians from eastern Muntenia special measures were taken, through the construction of the Dafne and Piuă Petrii fortifications.

The only regions where the Empire re-established its rule with certainty in the Late Period are Banat and Oltenia. In these regions, there were built several fortifications and a durable Roman military presence in the Late Period was clearly proven. Moreover, the large

²¹ Al. Suceveanu, A. Rădulescu, in *IR*, II, 2001, 304.

²² Aliobrix was qualified as the city of the Goths, cf. Müller 1883, 468.

²³ Mitrea, Preda 1966.

²⁴ Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 119; Popilian 2001, 611.

²⁵ Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 35.

²⁶ Acta Sanctorum, ASS, April II, 2 (= 962) in FHDR II, 711; Paulus Orosius in FHDR II, 190; Isidore of Seville, XIV, 3, 31; XIV, 4, 3; Iordanes, *Getica*, XII (74).

²⁷ Tudor 1938, 19-25; Tudor 1971, 155 sqq.

²⁸ Bogdan-Cătănciu 1974, 55; Cassius Dio, LXXII, 3, 2.

number of discoveries from the Late Roman Period is very eloquent, like pottery, ruins of buildings, inscriptions and brick stamps, coins and isolated hoards. The latest catalogue elaborated on this matter, is made up of 220 such items discovered in Banat²⁹ and 165 in Oltenia³⁰.

The re-annexing of the current Oltenia region to the Roman Empire is a fact attested by some pieces of evidence: the construction of several fortifications, the epigraphic attestation of military units, the building of the Oescus-Sucidava bridge, the rehabilitation of the Roman road from the Olt Valley, the existence of the Northern Brazda lui Novac earthen *vallum*. The absence of discoveries belonging to the Sântana de Mureș – Cerneahov Culture in Oltenia, represents a decisive argument in support of the theory of an actual and long lasting rule in the Late Roman Period, in the region. Along with the archaeological and epigraphic arguments briefly raised above, very important evidence is represented by the circulation of bronze coins in the 4th century³¹.

Regarding the Banat region, the situation seems to be even clearer³². There has been noted that in the period between AD 275 and 324, 15 legionary detachments and 9 *equites* units were stationed in Banat. For the same area, during the period within AD 324-378, there were mentioned only 6 legionary detachments, 12 *cunei*, 4 *equites* units, 10 *auxilia* and 6 *milites* units. Other arguments have been offered by numismatic discoveries³³, indicating a monetary circulation similar to those in the provinces of the Roman Empire. The literary sources indicated numerous military interventions against the Sarmatians, followed by colonization or displacing of populations³⁴.

The large amount of Late Roman fortifications in Oltenia and Banat demonstrate a great human and constructive effort, which could have been justified only in the context of an effective and lasting rule. The north-Danubian territories annexed by the Roman Empire in the Late Period did not have the status of provinces but rather of *regiones translimitanae* which were controlled only from a military point of view. For such cases, when we have both a border established on the line of the Danube as and conquered territories beyond the river, to its north, there can be used the distinction *limes - fines*³⁵. So far, however, the term *fines* has not been attested by any evidence in the Late Roman period to the north of the Danube, so that the phrase of "safety space" seems to be more reliable³⁶.

Leaving aside the military and strategic reasons and taking into account the little evidence kept, we cannot ignore the propagandistic considerations of Emperor Constantine's policy, in the Lower Danube. It is a known fact that Constantine wanted to be compared to Trajan, a desire which he recognized in one of his speeches³⁷: *Constantinus was allowed to speak next. ... In the following respects I am superior to these others; ... As for Trajan, I should naturally rank higher on account of those same glorious exploits against the tyrants, while it would be only fair to regard me as his equal*

²⁹ Protase 2000, 208-256.

³⁰ Protase 2000, 257-296.

³¹ Moisil 2003, 88-89.

³² N. Gudea, the summary of the doctoral thesis, Cluj-Napoca 1978, 8.

³³ Chirilă, Gudea, Stratan 1974, 66-75; Benea 1996, 301-302.

³⁴ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, IV, 6, 1; Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 12; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, II, 21.

³⁵ Barnea 1997, 163.

³⁶ Observation Al. Suceveanu.

³⁷ Julian the Apostate, *De Caesaribus*, XXIV.

on the score of that territory which he added to the empire and I recovered; if indeed it be not more glorious to regain than to gain³⁸.

Emperor Trajan remained in the collective memory as a true conqueror, but out of his achievements, only two have been preserved in the consciousness of the posterity: the conquest of Dacia and the bridge of Drobeta. In order to be Trajan's equal, Constantine the Great had to accomplish similar things. Thus, the north-Danubian region from the former Dacia province was re-conquered and a bridge was built over the Danube at Sucidava-Oescus. The medallion issued on for the inauguration of the bridge, rendered Emperor Constantine victoriously crossing the Danube and in the northernmost point of the bridge, lay a half kneed barbarian³⁹. Another interesting fact is that by following the arrangement of the Late Roman fortifications from the north of the Danube it can be noticed that the territories re-annexed in the 4th century correspond broadly to the southern limits of Roman Dacia, founded by Trajan.

On the other hand, the fact that Emperor Constantine the Great having all the necessary means and benefiting from an extremely favourable context, did not proceed to the re-annexation of the whole territory of the former Roman Dacia is surprising. Certainly, in the 4th century, all the fortifications of the former province Roman Dacia were still "standing", the roads built in Dacia were certainly functional, the prestige and military power of the Roman Empire were undeniable and the neighbouring barbarians had been clearly defeated for several times, without the possibility to react in a short-term. However, Constantine the Great was not concerned with re-creating an actual *Dacia restituta*; this was a simple propagandistic phrase. The only explanation is the lack of interest in a region situated beyond the Danube, therefore outside the natural borders of the Empire.

The cessation of the Roman rule to the north of the Lower Danube happened gradually, depending on various political and military events. The information regarding certain Gothic disorders on the northern border of Scythia, in AD 337-340⁴⁰, seems to refer to isolated events occurred after the death of Constantine the Great. There are no reasons to believe that the Gothic-Roman *foedus* was broken in this period. The number of coins discovered in Oltenia coming from the period after AD 364 is visibly reduced, almost halved compared to the discoveries from the previous period⁴¹. This shows a considerable decrease in trade and could be explained by the Gothic turbulences following Procopius' usurpation⁴². The expedition of Valens against the Goths in AD 367 was not as successful as the one from AD 332, during the reign of Constantine the Great. The Goths avoided a direct confrontation, which led to the prolongation of the hostilities, so that the expedition of Emperor Valens turned into a real war. Therefore, it is certain that at this date (AD 367), the Goths were close to the Lower Danube and represented a threat for the Empire. It is very likely that north-Danubian fortifications in the south of Moldavia and Muntenia had been already out of service. However, the Late Roman fortifications to the east of the Olt River were too scarce to have been part of an effective system of defence. It was considered that the end of the Late Roman

³⁸ *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. II, translated by W. Cave Right, vol. II, Loeb Classical Library, London-New York, 1913, 396-399

³⁹ Tudor 1971, 175-176; Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 135.

⁴⁰ IGLR 238; Zahariade 1988, 76-77.

⁴¹ Toropu 1973, 50.

⁴² Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 7.

rule in southern Moldavia (if it existed, n.n.) happened during the reign of Emperor Valens⁴³. During the second north-Danubian campaign of the Emperor, in AD 369, there were recorded clashes with the Greuthungi (Ostrogoths).

A document of special significance for the subject of this paper was the treaty concluded in AD 369 between Emperor Valens and the Gothic king Athanaric⁴⁴. The treaty was concluded on a ship in the middle of the Danube, as none of the parties wanted to move to a foreign land. Basically, the Danube was considered the official border between the Goths and the Romans. The stipends offered until this date to the Goths were suppressed. The trade between the Goths and the Romans was drastically reduced, being allowed only through two border points that could be represented by two border fortifications⁴⁵.

The Gothic-Roman Treaty from AD 369 stipulated the fact that the Roman authorities officially gave up starting with this date, the north- Danubian territory from the Gothic *ripa*. Since there has been recorded no evidence of Gothic penetration in Oltenia coming from the period that followed the concluding of the treaty, its stipulations were applicable only to the "Gothic" sector of the Danube⁴⁶, where literary sources clearly mentioned the Goths, and where the region was called Gotia⁴⁷.

After this event, the "bridgehead" fortifications from Banat and Oltenia, continued to function, some of them until the late 4th century or beginning 5th century. The Roman authority could have still existed to the north of the river. However, it is remarkable that after AD 369, the literary sources did not record any other Roman military expedition to the north of the Danube. After the events of AD 378, when the Roman rule in Balkan Peninsula was questioned, it is clear that the northern territories of the Danube were totally out of the range of the Empire.

□ Ioniță 1982, 99.

⁴⁴ Themistios, *De pace*, 133-140; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, 5, 9.

⁴⁵ Themistios, *De pace*.

⁴⁶ *Ripa Gothica* cf. Anonymus Valesianus, *Origo Constantini imperatoris*, VI, 35.

⁴⁷ Acta Sanctorum, ASS, April II, 2 (= 962) in FHDR II, 711; Paulus Orosius in FHDR II, 190; Isidore of Seville, XIV, 3, 31; XIV, 4, 3; Iordanes, *Getica*, XII (74).

XI

CHRISTIAN DISCOVERIES IN THE LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATIONS FROM THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE

A particular aspect, but not less important, refers to the religious cults and beliefs from the Late Roman fortifications to the north of the Lower Danube. The studied period corresponds with the gradual abandonment of the pagan religions in favour of the new Christian faith. The 3rd century was a period in which, throughout the Roman Empire, took place a wide diffusion of the oriental religions¹. Therefore, in Dacia we are dealing with a similar situation². It seems that the old Greco-Roman religions, without being totally abandoned, no longer met the spiritual needs of the Romans.

An idea about this problem can be created through the analysis of the archaeological inventory found in the north-Danubian fortifications, built or restored in the Late Roman Period. As true "bridgeheads", the Late Roman fortifications to the north of the Danube would have been, after AD 313, real points for the spreading of Christianity or at least points of traffic for Christian products. Theoretically, within or near these fortifications, normally we should be witnessing many Christian discoveries. Paradoxically, things are quite different. In what follows we will review the main Christian artefacts found in the perimeter of the fortifications.

In Banatska-Palanka, there has been found a ceramic lamp, decorated on the disk with a fish³.

A cross made of white metal (?) with a hole for suspension, was discovered in Vršac (Vârșeț)⁴.

The archaeological excavations carried out in the Late Roman fortification from Gornea have revealed two discoveries that could be interpreted as Christian: an inscription with cursive writing on the surface of a brick⁵, as well as a rod which had at one end a dove⁶. Regarding the significance of the latter, there has been suggested that such pieces are actually distaffs⁷. But more significant is a Roman lamp found in the settlement at Gornea, located approx. 3 km away from the Late Roman fortification; on the bottom of the lamp, there was scratched a cross⁸.

From the cave no. 1 in Gura Ponicevei (Climente II) in the vicinity of Dubova, there comes a coin from Diocletian, holed and worn later as a pendant⁹; on the reverse, it had an incised cross¹⁰.

From Mehadia comes a vessel lid marked with a *chrismon*¹¹.

¹ An overview of the phenomenon at Cumont 1929; Turcan 1992.

² Berciu, Petolescu 1976; Sanie 1981.

³ Protase 2000, 209 no. 304.

⁴ Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 176 no. 5, with bibliography.

⁵ Gudea 1983, 91-109; IGLR 425; IDR III/1 30, Piso 1981, 263-271.

⁶ Bozu 1993, 206; Benea 1999, 212.

⁷ Bozu 1993, 206-213.

⁸ Gudea 1977, fig. 14/3, or *chrismon* apud Protase 2000, 226 fig. 6.

⁹ Boroneanț 1979, 177.

¹⁰ Information from V. Boroneanț.

¹¹ Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 192.

A ceramic lamp with a cruciform handle was discovered in the Late Roman fortification from Insula Banului¹².

In Drobeta two ceramic lamps both with cruciform handles could be related to the subject in question¹³. The altar with the inscription dedicated to *Iupiter cohortalis: Ara(m) Iovi co(ho)rtali p(ro) (centurionibus) o(mnium) o(rdinum) Lupus tribunus*¹⁴ shows the garrison attachment to the pagan cults.

In the perimeter of the fortification from Hinova, curiously, there has not been found any Christian vestiges. Two representations of the god Pan, two of the goddess Venus and one of the god Mithras¹⁵ have been discovered. It seems that here the resistance of the pagan religion was more powerful, unless it is a deficiency of the archaeological research. A pot with a cross scratched after burning, has nevertheless been included in the catalogue of Christian objects¹⁶, despite the author's caution¹⁷.

Recently, there has been reported a *basilica* in the area of the locality of Izvoarele¹⁸, belonging probably to the fortification from Ostrovu Mare Island.

Sucidava is indisputably the greatest centre of Christianity in the north of the Lower Danube. The number of discoveries is very high and therefore we will not comment them too much as they are already well known¹⁹. None of them can be dated before the 4th century. Moreover the inscription dating from the mid 3rd century or at the beginning of the 4th century: *[D]eae Nemesi, pro salute Aug(ustorum duorum), curial(es) territ(orii) Suc(idavensis) [te]mplum a solo restituerunt*²⁰ shows that at this time the garrison and the civilian leadership from Sucidava were still quite closely related to the pagan cults. Many discoveries date from the 6th century, when the situation, from this point of view, was very different. Only at this moment, the existence of a numerous Christian community could have been possible. The presence of a Christian basilica from the 6th century²¹ clearly supports this statement.

This is the situation of Christian discoveries from the Late Roman fortifications to the north of the Danube. For other north-Danubian fortifications not mentioned here, there is no information in this regard. It can be noted that despite the expectations we are not dealing with a very encouraging picture of the spreading of Christianity in the „bridgehead” fortifications from the Late Roman Period to the north of the Danube, at least not at the end of the 3rd century and the 4th century. That was the situation here, although in the south of the Danube, near the river line, there were a number of Episcopal centres²². Moreover, the epigraphic pieces of evidence from Drobeta and Sucidava mentioned above reflect a pagan attachment and a reserve towards the new religion. Countless heathen reminiscence have been

¹² Davidescu 1969, 74.

¹³ Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 202-203.

¹⁴ Bărcăcilă 1934, 82-84; IGLR, 402.

¹⁵ Davidescu 1989, 82-86.

¹⁶ Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 203.

¹⁷ Davidescu 1980, 226.

¹⁸ Stângă 2007.

¹⁹ Tudor 1968, SE; IGLR 301-398; Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 204-206; more recently Toropu, Gherghe 1997, 13-23.

²⁰ Pârvan 1913, 61; AE 1914, 122; IGLR 277; IDR II 190.

²¹ Tudor 1948.

²² Barnea 1990, 94.

found almost everywhere in Scythia Minor²³, where the first military Christian inscriptions date only from the 6th century²⁴.

Also the banishment of Ulfila south of the Danube, after 7 years of north-Danubian Missionary²⁵, and the martyrdom of Sava the Goth²⁶, demonstrated hostility of the Goths towards the new faith. The two events occurred as a result of the persecution initiated by the anti-Christian Visigoth kings, Aorich in AD 348 and Athanarich in AD 372. The persecutions seem to have been aimed primarily to eliminate the Roman influence over the Goths²⁷.

Starting from the second half of the 5th century, arising from the disintegration of the Hunnic confederation and the re-establishing of the Roman domination to the Danube line, the spread of the Christian religion experienced a strong come-back. For the approached geographical space, the construction of the Christian basilica from Sucidava is a landmark worthy to be taken into consideration. The established in AD 535²⁸, of the archiepiscopate Justiniana Prima (Caricin Grad), had beneficial consequences for the spread of the Christian religion²⁹. Since the Byzantine domination in the north of the Danube was limited only at a few "bridgeheads", the jurisdiction of *Iustiniana Prima* could not have penetrated in depth the area to the north of the Danube beside that in the immediate vicinity of the river. The combined information provided by *Novella XI* with the work of Procopius³⁰ could attest to the fact that the north-Danubian fortifications were under the spiritual guidance of the archiepiscopate *Iustiniana Prima*. Thus the *Novella XI* issued in AD 535 stated the dependence of the fortifications, *Viminacium*, *Recidiva* and *Litterata* (the last two are specifically mentioned in the north of the Danube) to the archiepiscopate *Iustiniana Prima* (Carcin Grad). Generally, the wide spreading of Christianity to the north of the Danube can only be explained through the instatement of the jurisdiction of the south-Danubian episcopates over this area. Considering the amount of Christian discoveries from the north of the Danube in the 6th century³¹, Sucidava holds the lead.

Until now, it has not been discussed the role of the episcopates and the other church institutions. They had under their jurisdiction a well-defined territory with a Latin speaking population. On the position of the bishops, there are to be made several considerations. They must have been individuals with a certain personality, education and training. They dealt with the religious activities of the episcopate, and solved current problems of social, urban, political and even military type. These facts were reported indirectly by some literary sources, as presented below.

Threatened by the prospect of being given away to the Huns by the Roman authorities, the Bishop of Margus handed the city to the Huns. Therefore, the Hunnic invasion from AD 441 started with this event which occurred because of the failure of the Roman diplomacy³². This shows the political power that a bishop had in the Late Roman Period.

²³ IGLR 29-30.

²⁴ Aricescu 1977, 185.

²⁵ Auxentius of Durostorum, LIX, in FHDR II, 113.

²⁶ Acta Sanctorum III, 1-3, in FHDR II, 711.

²⁷ Epiphanius LXX, 15, 5.

²⁸ Iustinianus, *Novella*, XI.

²⁹ Ștefan 1974, 65-70.

³⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV.

³¹ Zugravu 1997, 413-416.

³² Priscus Panites in FHDR II, 287.

In *Novella XI*, issued under Emperor Justinian, it was written: ...[t]he Bishop of Aquis shall have that city with all its castles, territory, and churches under his jurisdiction, so that he can banish the heresy of the Bonosians from that city and country, and bring them into the orthodox faith³³.

Another example, that although it does not refer to the Lower Danube area, is extremely eloquent, is that in AD 452 Rome was saved from the imminent Hunnic devastation, by the Bishop of Rome, who welcomed Attila with rich gifts, convincing him to turn back.

The above are only a few indications from which it can be seen that the importance of the Episcopal function increased considerably, and sometimes the bishop was performing the role of *defensor civitatis*³⁴.

³³ S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law*, XVI, Cincinnati, 1932

- http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/Anglica/N11_Scott.htm.

³⁴ Al. Barnea in *IR*, II, 2001, 486; Curta 2001, 48-49.

XII

THE HUNNIC ATTACKS AND THE REMOVAL FROM FUNCTION OF THE LOWER DANUBE BORDER

The forced crossing of the river Don by the Huns had a strong echo in that period, causing distress and large movements of populations¹. The Alans and the Ostrogoths were pushed by the Hunnic force onto the north of the Danube, and the Visigoths, after the first impact with the Huns had withdrawn south, being forced to seek their salvation in the Roman Empire. Some monetary hoards buried in this time, illustrate the existence of a state of uncertainty even in Oltenia².

The temporary stationing of Huns in the vicinity of the Danube resulted in either a hostile attitude towards the Empire, or the collaboration between the two sides. Some Hunnic groups had infiltrated from an early stage to north of Danube. Thus, in AD 381, a multi-ethnic invasion occurred to the south of the Danube, to which took part the Huns along with the Scirs, Carpo-Dacians and other peoples³. Perhaps not incidentally, this year the Visigoth king Athanarich took refuge in the Empire. The term Carpo-Dacians reflects ethnic mixing, caused by the Hunnic invasion.

For decades, the Huns have not crossed the border of the Roman Empire, although the Roman rule had been shaken by endless internal fighting, especially in the Western Roman Empire. Some Hunnic chiefs entered in the service of the Empire. It is unknown the case of the Hunnic chief Uldes who obtained from the Romans the status of *foederatus*. It was estimated that the penetration of the Hunnic group led by Uldes in Oltenia took place after AD 383⁴. In AD 400, Uldes caught and beheaded the Gothic chief Gainas. The latter had tried to take refuge to the north of Danube, following the anti-Germanic reaction from Constantinople. The Gainas' head was sent to Emperor Arcadius, who concluded a *foedus* with Uldes⁵.

Later, in AD 405-406, Uldes granted military support to General Stilichon. In AD 408-409, Uldes broke the *foedus* with the Roman Empire and invaded the south of the Danube⁶. At this point it is possible for some of the fortifications on the Lower Danube to have been damaged. *Castra Martis* (Kula) was conquered by treachery; which shows that at this moment the Huns did not know well enough the techniques of besieging and conquering a fortification. The Hunnic invasion led by Uldes was repelled without many problems⁷, after some Hunnic chiefs had been bought by the Romans.

The discovery of Hunnic cauldrons or fragments of these pieces at Desa, Hotărani⁸, Sucidava⁹ and Hinova¹⁰, demonstrates the presence of the Huns on the territory of Oltenia¹¹

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 1; Ambrosius, X, 10.

² Popilian 1975, 231; Toropu 1976, 117.

³ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, IV, 34.

⁴ Toropu 1976, 117.

⁵ Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 22.

⁶ Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 5, 1.

⁷ Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 5, 1-5.

⁸ Nestor, Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1937, 3, 178-182.

⁹ Tudor 1941, 375.

¹⁰ Davidescu 1989, fig. XV/e.

¹¹ Toropu 1976, 116.

(fig. 387). Regarding the Hunnic cauldrons from Oltenia there has to be made a differentiation. Namely, those found in the fortifications from Hinova and Sucidava can be attributed to some mercenaries enrolled in the garrison, while the cauldrons from Hotărani and Desa would have belonged to some “external” Huns¹².

It appears that at least until AD 412, the centre of the Hunnic power was located north of the mouths of the Danube¹³. From there, it moved westwards around AD 420¹⁴. Regarding the route followed by the Huns to the Pannonia Plain, it is possible to have passed to the north of the Carpathian Mountains, or to their south, or in both directions. The examination of the archaeological and historical evidence shows that the latter is more probable. The Hunnic grave of Concești suggests as a possible movement direction of the Huns to the west, the route from the north of the Carpathians. On the other hand, the presence in the vicinity of the Danube of the Hunnic group led by Uldes¹⁵ shows the Hunnic infiltration in the Romanian Plain. So there is no problem in asserting that the penetration of the Huns in Pannonia was done both to the north and to the south of the Carpathians (fig. 386). The well-known mobility of the Asian riders and their predilection to venture in the large plains and to reunite again later, pleads in favour of this idea. It has been raised the theory that the Huns, in their way to Pannonia could have followed yet another route, through Transylvania¹⁶; but in this region there have not been found any Hunnic cauldrons.

After settling in the Pannonia Plain, the Huns conducted a series of attacks with catastrophic consequences for the Balkan provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire. Marcellinus Comes recorded such invasions in AD 422, 441, 442 and 447, highlighting their devastating effect. After Thrace was devastated in AD 422¹⁷, the Huns concluded in AD 425 a treaty with the Western Roman Empire¹⁸.

By AD 430, Emperor Theodosius II concluded a new treaty with the Huns. On this occasion, the Danube became the boundary between the two parties and the Empire was forced to pay the Huns a great tribute in gold and not to receive runaway Huns. In exchange for this amount, the Huns were bound not to attack the Romans.

In AD 433, Ruas ordered the punishment of the Amilzurs, Itimari, Tonosurs and the Boisci (?), who were allies of the Romans. They were probably Hunnic rebel tribes, sheltered in the south of the Danube. It can be noticed the permanent intention of the Hunnic kings, to bring under submission those who inhabited the lands under their possession.

In the treaty concluded in AD 430, Ruas sent a mission to Constantinople. Theodosius II sent in response, a diplomatic mission for negotiations. Meanwhile Ruas had died and the mission was received by Bleda and Attila. The meeting took place near the fortification Constantia (Kuvin), being at that time in the possession of the Huns¹⁹. So, in AD 434 when the mission exchange took place, the fortifications to the north of the Danube, on the Banat sector of the river, were removed from service. The Huns imposed their point of view. The

¹² Toropu 1976, 116.

¹³ Várady 1969, 235.

¹⁴ Harhoiu 1976, 1034.

¹⁵ Sozomenos, *Hist. eccl.*, IX, 5, 1; Zosimos, *Historia nova*, V, 22.

¹⁶ Comşa 1977, 227.

¹⁷ Marcellinus Comes, AD 422, 3.

¹⁸ Várady 1969, 260.

¹⁹ Priscus Panites I.

Hunnic deserters and the Roman prisoners were to be returned. The possibility for the Romans to hire Huns as mercenaries was virtually suppressed. It can be seen the Hunnic intention, to concentrate the full combat capacity of their people. The Empire could not conclude alliances with populations that were in conflict with the Huns. The border fairs were to be made in equal conditions for both the Romans and Huns. The tribute was increased as compared to the one during the reign of King Ruas. The impressive amount of money was obtained by Attila peacefully, thus having the option to preserve the military force of his people. The event shows that on one hand, the force of the Huns became a feared one, and on the other hand, the fact that the Eastern Roman Empire would rather pay than had a direct confrontation with the Huns.

The year 441 was crucial for the relations between the Huns and the Empire. Under the pretext of a disagreement with the Bishop of Margus, Attila crossed his troops in the south of the Danube and conquered Viminacium and Margus. After these events, the Hunnic hordes ravaged the Danube border and the Roman territory to the Balkans. The fortifications from the bank of the Danube to Ratiaria were destroyed²⁰. The Late Roman Army was defeated. The new treaty concluded afterwards, stipulated the increase of the tribute, the ransom of the Roman hostages and prisoners and the return of the Hunnic runaways. It seems however that the treaty was not respected, whereas the following year there was a new Hunnic attack which devastated Thrace and Illyricum²¹.

In AD 445 Attila remained the only leader of the Huns, after Bleda had been assassinated at his orders. In his time the Huns reached their peak of power. Of the many subjected populations, a special place was held by the Gepids and the Ostrogoths, both peoples being able to provide him, if needed, with detachments of valuable warriors.

In AD 447 Attila invaded the Balkan provinces of the Empire. A Roman army was defeated on the river Utus. Another Roman army was defeated under the walls of the Marcianopolis fortress. The Roman provinces from the south of the Lower Danube were devastated²². The Roman armies had suffered a disaster and Arnegisclus, the military commander of Dacia Ripensis, had been killed. More than 70 Roman fortifications on the Danubian line and inside the territory had been destroyed, and the Huns advanced up to Thermopile and the walls of Constantinople²³. In any case, the psychological effect produced by the invasion from AD 447, was enormous. Attila imposed to the imperial authorities in Constantinople, to evacuate the south-Danubian territory between Pannonia and the town of Novae in Thrace, on a line parallel to the Danube up to Naissus. In this town, there was to be hosted the fair from this part of the border. All conditions imposed by King of the Huns, although they were very tough, had been accepted by the Romans without reservation. The tribute was considerably increased, and the Roman authorities were forced to bear also the war costs of the Huns. For this payment the population of the Empire was subject to a special taxation. The Hunnic deserters were returned, and those who refused to return were killed. The Danube border corresponding to the provinces of Moesia Prima, Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Secunda was abandoned.

²⁰ Marcellinus Comes, AD 441, 3 = FHDR II, 361.

²¹ Marcellinus Comes, AD 442, 2.

²² Iordanes, *Romana*, 321.

²³ Marcellinus Comes, AD 447, 4-5 = FHDR II, 361.

We do not have any evidence about the northern border of the province Scythia Minor. Probably in this sector there was a similar situation. In this respect, there are a number of historical indications. The Bishop of Tomis, Theotimos I, preached the Christian faith among the Huns²⁴. The treaty concluded with the Empire in AD 434 had mentioned the fortification from Carsium (Hârşova)²⁵ as being under the Hunnic rule. In the same time, Hunnic hoards led by Roilas plundered Thrace²⁶. There has to be mentioned here the rebellion of Valips, a *foederatus* Hun, who was besieged by the Romans at Noviodunum²⁷.

Following the tragic events of the first half of 5th century, the Roman domination over the Danube line had stopped for a long while. After the military disasters suffered by the Roman armies, for the defence of the Balkan provinces, the Roman authorities began to make massive barbarian enrolments and colonization. For the restoration of the imperial power to the line of the Danube it had to pass almost half a century.

During the period that followed, several diplomatic negotiations were held between the Huns and the imperial authorities. It is important to mention here the mission led by Maximin in AD 448, to which attended also the scribe Priscus of Panion. Upon his return, Priscus recorded what he had seen during the mission. Much of his information reflects very well the relations between the newcomers and the native population to the north of the Danube. Priscus found that in the Hunnic lands, three languages were spoken. The first one was the Hunnic language, necessary for the communication with the rulers of this area. The second language was German, since the Hunnic Empire contained several Germanic tribes, the Gepids, the Ostrogoths and others. The third spoken language was the language of Ausones (Latin language), spoken by *those who had to deal with the Romans*. This was confirmed to Priscus in a banquet given by Attila, where the Roman mission was also invited. Of those reported by Priscus there can be noticed certain aspects of the relations between the foreigners Huns or Germans and the native populations. The general appearance of the region was a rural one: the mission passed only through villages. Urban life in the territory of Dacia had ended long before.

The invasions of the Huns from the first half of 5th century had an extremely negative effect on the habitation of the region. After the invasion from AD 447, Attila imposed to the imperial authorities in Constantinople, the evacuation of a south-Danubian area on a width of 5 days of walking²⁸. This area was lying between the city of Singidunum and Novae in Thrace. The imperial mission from AD 448-449 passed through the town of Naissus, the point up to where the area had to be evacuated by the Romans. After the accounts of Priscus Panites the city was destroyed and depopulated. This information can help us form an idea about the harmful consequences of the Hunnic invasions. Soon this state of things would affect even the Huns, because of the lack of labour force. Eloquent in this regard is the insistence of Attila during the negotiations with the Romans, for the returning of the refugees and the prisoners.

²⁴ Sozomenos, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 26, 6.

²⁵ Priscus, *Fragmenta*.

²⁶ Theodoretos of Cyros V, 37, 4.

²⁷ Priscus, *Fragmenta*.

²⁸ D. Tudor, in *IR* 1960, 660.

XIII

THE REGION FROM THE NORTH OF THE LOWER DANUBE IN THE PRE-BYZANTINE PERIOD

XIII.1. SHORT CONSIDERATIONS ON THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE LOWER DANUBE AREA IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN MID 5TH CENTURY AND THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN

The Hunnic campaigns in the first half of the 5th century led to the removal from service of the Lower Danube border. After this moment the Huns focused on the Western Roman Empire.

Following the death of Theodosius II, the new Emperor from Constantinople, Marcian, refused to pay tribute to the Huns. Concerned with the western invasion, Attila sent against Marcian a small number of troops, which were repelled. During his Western campaign, the battle of the Catalaunian Fields (*Campus Mauriacus*) took place, one of the bloodiest battles of the whole Antiquity. Even though it seems that the result of the battle was uncertain, Attila ordered the withdrawal. From this point of view, one can assert that the Huns had been defeated. In AD 453, Attila died. After his disappearance the Hunnic power began to fray leading the way for the inevitable struggles for power. In this context, the Gepids led by Ardaric along with other subjected populations began to rebel against the Huns. In the battle from Nedao¹, in AD 454, the Huns were defeated and Ellac, the elder son of Attila was killed. Jordanes noted that 30,000 Huns and their allies had been killed on the battlefield². Attila's death in AD 453 and subsequently the defeat from Nedao in AD 454³ led to the collapse of Hunnic power.

In the period immediately afterwards, rivalries arose between Attila's sons, leading to the considerable weakening of their political and military power. As a result of this state of things, the Huns withdrew towards east, to the north of the Black Sea⁴. Some offered their services to the Roman Empire. Others began incursions in the south of the Danube. The Scirii, Sadagarii and the Alans led by Candac were placed by the Roman authorities in Scythia and Moesia Secunda. Hernac, the youngest of Attila's sons, was sent in the *extrema minoris Scythiae*⁵. The Hunnic chiefs Emnedzar and Uzindur were received in Dacia Ripensis at Utus, Oescus and Almus⁶. Among the Hunnic tribes settled here we mention the Sacromonti and Fosati⁷. Procopius⁸ mentioned a stronghold *of the Huns*, in this region, restored by Justinian.

The request of the Huns led by Attila's sons, Dengizik and Irnach, for organizing a fair to the Danube was rejected. In reply, Dengizik invaded Thrace, in AD 469. Then the Roman armies completely defeated the Huns. Dengizik was beheaded by Anagastes, the *magister*

¹ Unidentified place, cf. Iordanes, *Getica*, L (260).

² Iordanes, *Getica*, L (262).

³ Iordanes, *Getica*, L (259-262).

⁴ Iordanes, *Getica*, L (263).

⁵ Iordanes, *Getica*, L (266).

⁶ Iordanes, *Getica*, L (266).

⁷ Iordanes, *Getica*, L (266).

⁸ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 33.

*militum per Thracias*⁹. At Tomis, there has been discovered an epigraphic monument with the names of two Huns, Atala and Tzeiuk, from a unit of archers¹⁰. In the 6th century, various Hunnic tribes still ruled the lands from the north of the Black Sea. In AD 528, under the command of Baduarius, *magister militum* and *dux* of Scythia, a Byzantine terrestrial army along with a fleet conducted an expedition to the cities of Bosphorus and Chersones to resume the Roman rule in this area¹¹. The author mentioned that the Sabirii Huns led by Queen Boa, were in good relations with Justinian. In the rebellion led by Vitalianus in AD 513-518, there were involved also groups of Huns¹².

The defeat of the Huns in AD 454 at Nedao consecrated the new masters of the political and military scene in northern Danube: the Gepids. Their infiltrations had been reported earlier: in AD 282 when Emperor Probus displaced in Thrace 100,000 Bastarnae; among them, there were also Gepids, who subsequently rebelled and were defeated¹³. The departure of the Vandals towards west, allowed the Gepids to settle in Pannonia. The Gepids were subordinate to the Huns and were included in their vast dominion. The battle of Nedao, resulting in the defeat of the Huns had propelled them as an important politico-military force in the region. The Gepids became *foederati* of the Eastern Empire, settling in Middle and Lower Tisza¹⁴. They also arrived in Transylvania, after the departure of the Ostrogoths to the Balkan Peninsula (in AD 470-471) and then to Italy. The city of Sirmium (Sremska Mitroviča) was occupied by the Gepids and transformed into a residence¹⁵. They used the coinage from this city, and issued their own currencies¹⁶. The territory of former Dacia was named for a while *Gepidia: This Gotia, which the old ones named Dacia, but which now is called Gepidia*¹⁷. On a ring found in Apahida there is engraved the name of the prince Omharus¹⁸. If he was a Gepid, then he might have ruled over the whole area of Transylvania.

The disintegration of the Hunnic coalition after Attila's death (in AD 453) and after the battle of Nedao (year 454), brought a state of relative peace in the Lower Danube. The Gepids were the primary beneficiaries of this new situation, but their force was not comparable to that of the Huns. Subsequently, the Ostrogoths were colonized in the Balkan Peninsula, with the title of *foederati*; in AD 488 they departed to Italy. Germanic vestiges of the 5th century have been found in the fortification of Sapaja Island¹⁹.

On the long term, the new political and military situation established after the collapse of the Hunnic power had its positive effects for the Roman Empire, which in the period from the end of the 5th century to the turn of the 6th century returned slowly on the line of the Danube²⁰. The re-establishment of the imperial rule over the Lower Danube began with the reign of Anastasius I (491-518). To supplement the lack of military effectives and financial

⁹ Priscus, *Fragmenta*; Marcellinus Comes, AD 469, 1.

¹⁰ IGLR 41.

¹¹ Ioannes Malalas, XVIII, 413-433.

¹² John of Antioch, 214.

¹³ SHA, *Probus*, 18, 1.

¹⁴ Iordanes, *Getica*, I (264).

¹⁵ Ennodius, XII, 60.

¹⁶ L. Bârză in *IR*, II, 2001, 709.

¹⁷ Iordanes, *Getica*, XII (74).

¹⁸ IGLR 437.

¹⁹ Dimitrijević 1984, 50.

²⁰ Barnea 1991, 47-57; Comori/Tresors 1978, 201.

means during the second half of the 5th century, the imperial authorities colonized in this region several groups of Huns, Ostrogoths, Scirians etc., with the duty to defend the Balkan provinces. The Danube became the border of the Empire, being again fortified, even if the restoration works would not have reached the previous magnitude. These measures must have been rushed in order to stop the numerous Hunnic-Bulgarian invasions²¹. Perhaps the situation could have been differently if Emperor Anastasius did not have to cope with several internal problems like the uprising of the *Isaurians* and rebellion led by Vitalianus in AD 513-518.

The inscription found in the capital of Dacia Ripensis from Ratiaria: *+ANASTASIANA RATIARIA SEMPER FLOREAT*²² suggests that in this province, during the reign of Emperor Anastasius, the Roman rule on the Danube had been re-established. The brick stamps from Histria²³ and Dinogetia²⁴, show the fact that the return of the Empire on the Danubian border of Scythia happened in the time of Emperor Anastasius (491-518)²⁵. An inscription dated in this period, from Tomis²⁶ mentions *the restored fortification*. A similar situation could have happened in the province of Moesia Secunda, although much earlier, where Anagastes was mentioned by Priscus Panites to have been guarding the Thracian border²⁷.

The province of Moesia Prima was not in a similar situation. Here, for various politico-military reasons, the restoring of the Danubian frontier could not have taken place before the reign of Emperor Justinian²⁸. The presence of barbarian populations (Gepids, Ostrogoths, Slavs, etc.) is one of the causes for this situation²⁹. At the beginning of the 6th century a series of military confrontations took place in the region, between the Ostrogoths, Gepids and the imperial troops, the latter being defeated³⁰. The data provided by the literary sources³¹ and archaeological discoveries³² cannot support the theory of the re-establishment of the imperial rule in Moesia Prima before the reign of Emperor Justinian.

The policy of fortifying the Lower Danube border was continued with great magnitude in the time of Emperor Justinian. Vitalianus, the rebel from the time of Emperor Anastasius, was called by Justin I to Constantinople and appointed *magister militum praesentalis*, after which he was killed in AD 520³³. The imperial authorities got rid of a very uncomfortable adversary. Appointed *magister militum per Illyricum*, the Gepide Mundus "cleared up" the Balkan Peninsula of the Slavic and Bulgarian invaders³⁴. The imperial authorities began the reconstruction of several fortifications from the northern Danube. This process was initiated when the Roman Empire had no longer the necessary strength and territorial interest to re-annex a region of the former Dacia. In contrast with imperial propaganda that accredited the

²¹ Marcellinus Comes, AD 493, 499, 502 = FHDR II, 363.

²² Velkov 1984, 2-3, 92-94; Ivanov 1996, 171 note 33.

²³ IGLR 112-113.

²⁴ IGLR 246.

²⁵ I. Barnea, DID II, 1968, 409-411.

²⁶ IGLR 7.

²⁷ FHDR II, 297.

²⁸ Vasić 1994-1995, 41-53.

²⁹ Comşa 1974, 88 sqq.

³⁰ Iordanes, *Getica*, LVIII (300).

³¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6; Iustinianus, *Novella XI*.

³² Vasić, Kondić 1983, 555; Vasić 1994-1995, 41 sqq.

³³ Marcellinus Comes, AD 520.

³⁴ Marcellinus Comes, AD 530.

idea of the reestablishment of the Roman rule in the north-Danubian areas³⁵, the archaeological excavations indicate that we are dealing only with supervision of the northern bank of the Danube, exerted through some restored fortifications. Only a few of these fortifications are known (see below the catalogue of the fortifications).

XIII.2. THE UNITS FROM THE LOWER DANUBE AFTER THE DESINTEGRATION OF THE HUNNIC EMPIRE

In regard of this subject, the available information is extremely scarce. This situation is not specific only to the border of the Lower Danube, the lack of documentation on the Late Army from the 5th -6th centuries, represents an issue for the history of the entire Empire³⁶. The military disasters caused by the confrontations with the Huns and the reorganisations that followed led to the disappearance of the old military units. The concept of Roman Army lost its significance, the imperial authorities using from this moment on mainly *foederati* like Huns, Germans and other ethnic groups, colonized in the Lower Danube region. They began to have a predominant role in the army and military headquarters of the Empire. The command of the *foederati* bodies was entrusted to a *comes foedoratorum*. The number of Germanic *foederati* dropped, with the departure westwards of the Visigoths and afterwards of the Ostrogoths. From among the locals were recruited troops of *stratiotai*. In general, however, the effectives of the Late Army seem to have been substantially reduced³⁷ also as a result of the financial difficulties faced by imperial authorities.

After the resumption of the Roman rule over the Danube line, along with the *foederati*, the border was defended also by troops of *limitanei*. The existence of such military units continued until the 6th century³⁸, with the preservation of their old privileges for themselves and for their descendants³⁹. The Byzantine authorities showed obviously a lack of interest for the *limitanei*, a fact illustrated either through the delay of their remuneration⁴⁰ or by the reduction of the food allocations⁴¹. During the war against the Avars, at some point in AD 595, the army fighting on the Danube mutinied as a result of the Emperor's decision to distribute the payment, partly in clothes and weapons, and partly in money⁴².

Additional information can be found in the epigraphic sources discovered south of the Danube, in Dobrudja by a few troops of *comitatenses*, occasionally settled in this region.

An inscription from Tomis recorded someone by the name of Terentius, the son of Gaione⁴³. Gaione must have been a Goth *foederatus* who fought in the Late Roman Army. His son, Terentius, dead at age of 25, had served in a body of *sagittarii iuniores*. The inscription attests to the existence of such bodies in the period after the disintegration of the Hunnic Empire. The lack of the *ethnicon* could indicate that this was a mixed military unit. The units of *iuniores* seem to have emerged after AD 364, through the division of *seniores*; in

³⁵ Ioannes Lydus II, 28.

³⁶ Jones 1964 II, 654-655.

³⁷ John of Antioch, 218; on the contrary Agathias V, 13.

³⁸ Codex Iustinianus, I, 27, 2.

³⁹ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 1, 7.

⁴⁰ Procopius, *Historia arcana*, XXIV, 12-14.

⁴¹ Teophylact Simocatta, III, 1, 2.

⁴² Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 1.

⁴³ IGLR 30.

this year, Emperors Valentinian and Valens divided the Empire between themselves along with the military responsibilities and the armies⁴⁴.

Another epigraphic discovery coming from Tomis⁴⁵, dedicated to Atala, the son of Tzeiuk, dead at 25 years old, attests to the existence of a *sagittarii* unit, maybe the same one as above. This shows the importance of the barbarians, especially the archers, within the Late Roman Army from the Lower Danube, during the 5th – 6th centuries.

At Ulmetum, there were transferred in the 6th century *lanciarrii iuniores*⁴⁶. There is no indication on the ethnicity of this unit. The inscription recorded it because of its participation in the restoration of the fortification. The lancer troops had been organized since the reign of Diocletian and in AD 364 they were divided into *lanciarrii seniores* and *lanciarrii iuniores*⁴⁷. It appears that at least partially, the military reforms from the Late Roman Period remained valid until the 6th century. There is no evidence that these units would have been active also to the north of Danube.

Apart from the few exceptions listed above, there is no other information on the military units from the Lower Danube, in the Pre-Byzantine Period. Their names, origins and specificity remain entirely unknown. Also, the commanders who assured the security of the military objectives remain anonymous. Very often, the role of *defensor civitatis* was held by the bishop⁴⁸. For the 6th century, we do not have any evidence attesting to the name and the specific of the military units stationed in the fortifications from the north of the Danube.

XIII.3. THE CATALOGUE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS FROM THE NORTH OF THE DANUBE AND THE DANUBE ISLANDS IN THE PRE-BYZANTINE PERIOD (LATE 5TH CENTURY – THE 6TH CENTURY)

1. *Constantiola* (Kuin)

Under this name, the old Roman fortification of Kuin (*Constantia*) was mentioned on two occasions by Teophilactus Simocattes⁴⁹, during the confrontations between Baian, the leader of the Avars, and the Byzantine general Priscus in late 6th century. Without any archaeological evidence, we do not know whether the fortification was functional or not during this period, but very likely, it could have been restored in the time of Emperor Justinian. Its triangular shape⁵⁰ (fig. 7) is specific to the 6th century⁵¹. A belt buckle (fig. 10) from the 6th century⁵² with analogies in the Gepidae world⁵³, indicates the presence of allogeous elements in the area.

⁴⁴ Philostorgios, VIII, 8.

⁴⁵ IGLR 42.

⁴⁶ IGLR 211.

⁴⁷ IGLR 225-226.

⁴⁸ Beševliev 1964, 3, Al. Barnea in *IR*, II, 2001, 486; Curta 2001, 48-49.

⁴⁹ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 10, 3; VIII, 5, 7.

⁵⁰ Marsigli 1726, II, tab. 5 fig. XII.

⁵¹ Anonymus Byzantinus, *non vidi*, apud Milošević 1996, 251.

⁵² Rusu 1959, 522 fig. 12.

⁵³ Germanen, Hunen and Awaren 1988, 212, Taf. 28.

2. Ostrovo

While reporting about the ongoing battles of the Byzantines against the Avars in the last decade of the 6th century, Teophylact Simocatta⁵⁴ mentioned the Ostrovo Island under the name of *Viminacium* (!). Although he did not clearly report a fortification on the island, Teofilactus Simocattes implied its existence, stating that here was stationed a Late Army led by Generals Priscus and Comentiolus engaged in war with the Avars.

3. Sapaja Island

Following the significant presence of barbarians like the Slavs and the Gepids⁵⁵ the re-establishing of the imperial rule to the northern border of the province of Moesia Prima was not possible until the 6th century, during the reign of Emperor Justinian. Only in this period, a military garrison was reinstalled on Sapaja Island, very likely between AD 530 and 535⁵⁶. The reconstructed fortification kept its old sizes (fig. 16), with the exception of the corner towers which took a circular shape (fig. 17). The foundations of the Late Roman Period were used for the new construction. The monetary circulation begins with issues from Emperor Anastasias, continuing under Justin I, Justinian I, Justin II, ending with coins from Emperor Mauricius Tiberius⁵⁷. The destruction of the fortification occurred towards the end of 6th century, as was the case of most of the fortifications from Moesia Prima. This theory is supported by the monetary circulation; the last coin is dated in the time of Emperor Maurikios Tiberios as it was previously mentioned.

Inside the fortification, there have been discovered artefacts belonging to some allogens who were considered to be an Ostrogothic group⁵⁸. A belt buckle (fig. 23) could originate from a Gepide context⁵⁹. We cannot exclude that these objects could have belonged to some German mercenaries that were part of the garrison of the fortification from the Sapaja Island.

4. *Litterata*

Its identification with ancient *Laederata* is still a controversy and we will see why. Its existence is only attested by literary sources for it has not been clearly identified with in the field yet. Tabula Peutingeriana and NotDignOr (XLI, 17 and 36) mentioned it, but without a certain location; in this case, this is probably the fortification of Ram from the south of the Danube.

However, according to *Novella XI*, *Litterata* was located somewhere north of the Danube, without further details. Instead, Procopius⁶⁰ placed it across Novae (Čezava), on the north bank of the river; he also supported the *Litterata* = *Laederata* identity, adding that this was an old fortification which had been recently restored. The problem is that the only fortification to the north of the Danube situated across the locality of Novae is Gornea, where the archaeological excavations have not revealed a level of occupation or any findings from the 6th century.

⁵⁴ Teophylact Simocatta, VIII, 2.

⁵⁵ Comşa 1974, 88 sqq.

⁵⁶ Vasić 1994-1995, 41-53.

⁵⁷ Dimitrijević 1984, 58.

⁵⁸ Dimitrijević 1984, 50.

⁵⁹ For analogies see Germanen, Hunen und Awaren 1988, 221 fig. V.

⁶⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 3-5.

We have mentioned above⁶¹, the attempt to locate the enigmatic fortification of Sapaja Island⁶², which is a hypothesis that cannot be neglected. If ancient *Laederata* fortification is identified with the fortification of Ram, then there is a contradiction between the literary sources and the archaeological discoveries (the sizes of the fortification are too small). In his attempt to solve this dilemma, Al. Jovanović has assumed that there were several towns by this name: *Laederata* = Ram, *Nova Laederata* = Sapaja island, *Translaederata* = Banatska Palanka⁶³ (fig. 21). However one thing is sure, that the literary sources from the 6th century (Novella XI and Procopius), in fact the only ones which placed it clearly to the north of Danube, used the name of *Litterata*, unlike the earliest sources (Tabula Peutingeriana and Notitia Dignitatum) which had used names like *Laederata*, *Laedenata*, *Laedemata*. This entitles the assumption that there were at least two fortifications with this name, one from the 1st- 4th centuries in the south of the Danube, the other in the 6th century, lying north of the river or on Sapaja Island.

5. *Recidiva*

This fortification from the 6th century has not yet been identified in the field. Its existence is documented by the Novella XI, which placed it to the north the Danube along with *Litterata*. Both fortifications are located in Viminacium sector.

Recidiva has been identified first with *Arcidava*-Vărădia⁶⁴ and then with the *Sucidava*-Celei⁶⁵. There is no evidence for any of the assumptions above. The identity *Recidiva*-*Arcidava* is impossible for two reasons, first of all, there are the literary sources⁶⁶ which mentioned *Arcidava* under this name and not under the *Recidiva*, and secondly, the archaeological excavations from Vărădia which have not made any discovery belonging to the 6th century.

On the other hand to identify *Recidiva* with *Sucidava* it would be also a forced parallel and very liable to criticism. Being too well known, *Sucidava* could not have been mistaken with *Recidiva*⁶⁷.

As its title indicates, *Recidiva* was an older fortification from the 2nd – 3rd centuries or the 4th century, which was restored in the 6th century.

6. *Transdiana*

This fortification from Insula Banului⁶⁸ was rebuilt in the 6th century, according to Procopius⁶⁹. The restoration has been established also through archaeological research⁷⁰. The area was wider, its triangular shape (fig. 103) being recommended by the specialists of the time⁷¹. Built out of stone and brick, the Roman-Byzantine fortification embedded in its

⁶¹ See the catalogue of the fortifications from the Late Roman Period.

⁶² Dimitrijević 1984, 59-62.

⁶³ Jovanović 1996, 69-72.

⁶⁴ Pârvan 1911, 183-189.

⁶⁵ Tudor 1978, 466.

⁶⁶ Ptolemy, III, 8, 31; Tabula Peutingeriana; The Geographer of Ravenna, IV, 14.

⁶⁷ Ștefan 1974, 67-68.

⁶⁸ Kondić 1992-1993, 49-52.

⁶⁹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 4.

⁷⁰ Davidescu 1989, 94-103.

⁷¹ Anonymus Byzantinus, apud Milošević 1996, 251.

perimeter the 4th century structures, as indicated by the plans drawn by Al. Bărcăcilă in 1931⁷² and M. Davidescu who published the first clear information about the fortification⁷³.

Having a triangular shape, of 108 m (the base of the triangle) and 98 m (the height of the triangle), the fortification had corner-towers in a horseshoe shape, protruded out of the enclosure. The towers of this kind are characteristic for the 6th century. The triangular shape of the fortification might be explained by the necessity to adapt the construction to the configuration of the land, which is why it became less exposed to the large flows of the Danube. The walls were built out of river stone with alternating layers of bricks for levelling and have a foundation of 1.50-1.65 m thick. M. Davidescu has noticed the existence of counter forts to support the enclosure walls and a double defence ditch (5.30 m and respectively, 4.90 m depth), on the southern side. On the northern, western and eastern sides, the fortification was defended by abrupt banks⁷⁴. Better preserved is the northern wall of the enclosure⁷⁵. The pottery found here is characteristic to the 6th century; eloquent in this regard are amphora fragments with "ribs". Outside the fortification, there have been excavated two kilns used to burn brick. There has to be mentioned the discovery of three fragmentary ceramic lamps, one of the having a cruciform handle⁷⁶. The nearest analogy for the triangular form of the fortification is at Bosman (*Ad Scrofulas*).

The moment of the destruction of *Transdiana* fortification on Insula Banului can be dated to the end of 6th century; there was found a coin here issued during the reign of Tiberius II Constantine (574-578)⁷⁷.

7. Drobeta (*Theodora*?)

Gr. G. Tocilescu and his colleagues, who conducted extensive research within the fort in late 19th century, concluded that the circular, south-western corner tower of the *castrum*, the enclosure walls and a shed of burnt wheat⁷⁸ belong to the time of Justinian; but the archaeological excavations from 1958 showed that the small polygonal fortification from the south-west of the fort, dates from the 13th century⁷⁹.

In fact, the entire fortification was rebuilt during the reign of Justinian⁸⁰. The building material was the stone taken from earlier buildings and walls. During this period, in Drobeta, used to a workshop for metal processing⁸¹ and the discovery of two digitated fibulae⁸² confirm this theory. Also noteworthy is a belt buckle of Sucidava type (fig. 135) discovered in his excavations by Gr. Tocilescu⁸³. The dating of this fortification in the 6th century is certain, but it cannot be excluded the possibility that restoration of the fortification could have occurred in the time of Emperor Anastasius. Despite numerous archaeological excavations, the published information about Drobeta from the 5th – 6th centuries is extremely scarce.

⁷² apud Davidescu 1980, 207; Davidescu 1989, 97 fig. 30.

⁷³ Davidescu 1977, 37-42.

⁷⁴ Tudor 1978, 279.

⁷⁵ Davidescu 1980, 210.

⁷⁶ Davidescu 1989, 100.

⁷⁷ Davidescu 1969, 34.

⁷⁸ apud Davidescu 1969, 14.

⁷⁹ Davidescu 1970, 16-19.

⁸⁰ Tudor 1978, 459.

⁸¹ Bejan 1976, 257-278.

⁸² Davidescu 1980, 218, Teodor 1992, 146 fig. 5/7, 148 fig. 7/5.

⁸³ Tudor 1976, 126 pl. VII/3.

It has been claimed the identity Drobeta-*Theodora*, the latter mentioned by Procopius⁸⁴. However, the Byzantine historian wrote that in the 6th century, *Theodora* was not rebuilt. Procopius based his statement on the fact that it was too exposed and always threatened by barbarians. If the identity Drobeta-*Theodora* were correct, the information of the Byzantine author would be contradicted by the archaeological research that has revealed that during Emperor Justinian, the fortification was rebuilt. In this context, the identity Drobeta-*Theodora* is at least questionable; the latter toponym may need to be searched at another point⁸⁵. Very strange, however, is that Procopius did not mention the well-known Drobeta in the list of the fortification that Justinian restored. It cannot be excluded the possibility that the name of *Theodora* was attributed to a peripheral sector of Drobeta⁸⁶.

The monetary circulation from Drobeta was resumed after an interruption of almost half a century, with the coins issued under Anastasius, until Mauricius Tiberius⁸⁷. From Drobeta come many coins issued in the period of Emperors Justin I (35 pieces), Justinian (12 pieces) and Justin II (20 pieces). The last three discovered coins were issued under Mauricius Tiberius⁸⁸, leaving us to understand that the removal from service of the fortification occurred during the reign of this emperor.

8. Ostrovu Mare

A part of the enclosure unveiled by M. Davidescu (fig. 169-170) shows the existence of a fortification dated in the 6th century, after some opinions⁸⁹, or the 4th century and restored in the 6th century as previously indicated⁹⁰. During the period between the Emperors Anastasius-Justinian, with the return of the imperial rule on the Danube, had taken place the restoration of the fortification; probably in this moment the old gate was blocked and the enclosure was strengthened with a pentagonal-shaped tower; the closest analogy for this type of tower was found at Hajdučka Vodenica, where such a construction has been dated to the reign of Justinian⁹¹. Another analogy is at Sucidava: there are the towers I and J⁹², both dated in the 6th century⁹³.

Approximately 100 m west of the fortification, a necropolis was discovered⁹⁴, where a coin from Mauricius Tiberius, dated in AD 596-597, appeared⁹⁵.

In the perimeter of the Izvoarele locality, Mehedinți County, on the bank of the Danube, at a distance of approx. 1500 m from the fortification from Ostrovu Mare Island, there have been discovered the ruins of a Christian basilica⁹⁶ (pl. 436/2), and in its vicinity, there were found our digited fibulae⁹⁷. The existence of a basilica in this point of the Danube is not

⁸⁴ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 17-18.

⁸⁵ Petolescu 1997, 19-22.

⁸⁶ Mirković 1968, 114; Garašanin 1994-1995, 38.

⁸⁷ Toropu 1976, Annexes 14-16.

⁸⁸ Stângă 1998, 207.

⁸⁹ Davidescu 1989, 113-117.

⁹⁰ Bondoc 2007, 490-499.

⁹¹ Jovanović 1982-1983, 331.

⁹² Tudor 1978, 424 fig. 127.

⁹³ Tudor 1978, 430.

⁹⁴ Davidescu 1989, 117.

⁹⁵ Bărcăcilă 1957, 421.

⁹⁶ Stângă 2007, 178-189.

⁹⁷ Davidescu 1980, 217 fig. B; Bondoc 2007, 499 fig. 16; Stângă 2007, fig. 4/4.

surprising, given the vicinity of the Aquae episcopate, documented with certainty by the *Corpus iuris civilis*.

9. Sykibida/Sucidava

Literary sources⁹⁸ and the archaeological research⁹⁹ have confirmed the restoration of the Celei fortification, sometime during the period between Anastasius and Justinian. For the restoration of the enclosure wall, which has been now much thickened (on some section the thickness reaches 3-3.40 m), there were reused the old foundations from the 4th century¹⁰⁰. The route of the enclosure is the one from the previous period, respecting the configuration of the land. The discovery of a coin issued under Emperor Anastasius could indicate an early restoration of Sucidava. The walls had their face made of limestone rocks with an *emplecton* of stones bound with mortar and fragments of bricks. The enclosure was visibly thickened. The interior towers served as granary or warehouse¹⁰¹. The soldiers from the garrison of the fortification were quartered in barracks in the vicinity of the wall.

Monetary circulation began with the issues of Emperor Anastasius and ended with the reign of Emperor Mauricius Tiberius¹⁰². In the perimeter of the fortification, there have been found a Christian basilica¹⁰³ (fig. 262-263) and a large fountain, the so-called "secret fountain"¹⁰⁴ (fig. 268-270), both dated in the 6th century. The latest coins from the perimeter of the two buildings date from the reign of Maurikios Tiberios.

The discovery of a glass *deneral*¹⁰⁵, designed for the checking of gold coins, proves the existence of intense economic exchanges between the two geographical areas bounded by the Danube. The *deneral* bears the effigy of the Prefect of Constantinople, Flavius Gerontius and it dated in the mid 6th century. There must be also noted here the large number of ceramic fragments bearing some painted inscriptions (*dipinti*), most of them being Christian¹⁰⁶. A fragment of an amphora bears an inscription drawn with brown paint from the 6th century, which mentions Luconochos, Lykatiος's son¹⁰⁷. The inscription could refer to a local priest or a bishop (fig. 264).

Inside the Christian basilica, under its floor, a few decades ago, there were discovered six graves¹⁰⁸ (fig. 262) dating from the second half of the 6th century¹⁰⁹. The deceased were either clergy or influential laity¹¹⁰.

Regarding the ethnicity of the garrison from Sucidava, a very interesting hypothesis is provided by one of these graves, found in the foundation of the 6th century Christian basilica that lay in the perimeter of the fortification¹¹¹. An osteologic analysis on bones of the

⁹⁸ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 34-35.

⁹⁹ Tudor 1978, 459-466.

¹⁰⁰ Barbu 1973, 36.

¹⁰¹ Tudor 1978, 426.

¹⁰² Toropu 1976, 35 annexes 14-17; Tudor 1978, 438.

¹⁰³ Tudor 1948; Tudor 1974, 134-137.

¹⁰⁴ Tudor 1974, 137-143; Tudor 1978, 461-463.

¹⁰⁵ IGLR 302.

¹⁰⁶ IGLR 307-398.

¹⁰⁷ IGLR 316.

¹⁰⁸ Tudor 1948, 9.

¹⁰⁹ Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 95-96.

¹¹⁰ Tudor 1948, 10.

¹¹¹ Tudor, Toropu, Tătulea, Nica 1980, 357-363.

skeleton¹¹² (fig. 266-267), conducted by biologist G. Vasile, clearly revealed that the deceased was an individual of the Nordic type¹¹³. The conclusion that he was German is most probable at this moment. The only Nordic populations that passed through the north of the Lower Danube in the Late Roman Period were the Germans. Being buried in a grave below the foundation of the Christian basilica indicates the person buried there must have been an important one. It could have been a priest of the church or even the commander of the garrison, two assumptions that still lack actual archaeological evidence.

The moment the fortification was removed from function could be indicated with certain reservations. In the arson strata that marked the final destruction of the fortification, there have been found arrows with three edges of Avar type¹¹⁴ (fig. 320-321). The latest coins discovered in the fortification date from AD 596-597¹¹⁵.

10. *Dafne*

Procopius¹¹⁶ mentioned the rebuilding *a fundamentis* of the Constantine's fortification during the reign of Justinian. *Dafne* is the last fortification from the 6th century to the north of the Lower Danube included in this catalogue, its restoration being probably motivated by the its strategic importance.

XIII.4. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

The catalogue above contains only 10 fortifications from the north of the Danube or the river islands (fig. 432), datable within the time span corresponding to the end of the 5th – 6th century, although the literary sources (*Novella XI*, Procopius) mention the existence of more fortifications, that remained anonymous. It has been suggested¹¹⁷ that it was unlikely that Emperor Justinian had rebuilt many fortifications to north of the Danube, as Procopius wrote¹¹⁸. The report of the ancient historian that an important military point -*Theodora*, located near the bridge from Drobeta - was neglected in the rehabilitation operations of the fortified Danube border¹¹⁹ demonstrates that the sources contain some literary exaggerations. Also Justinian's intention to cede the fortification of *Turris* to the Slavs, along with its corresponding territory¹²⁰, proves that the work of rehabilitation of the Lower Danube border has not been very extensive to the north of the river.

Out of the ten fortifications in the catalogue above, four are located on the islands of the Danube; these are *Ostrovo*, *Sapaja Island*, *Transdiana/Insula Banului* and *Ostrovu Mare*. From these, *Sapaja Island*, *Banului Island* and *Ostrovu Mare Island* have been identified through systematic archaeological excavations, while *Ostrovo* is documented indirectly by *Teophylact Simocatta*.

¹¹² Vasile 2006, 437-450.

¹¹³ Vasile 2006, 441.

¹¹⁴ Tudor 1953, 734; Tudor 1974, 145.

¹¹⁵ Tudor 1948, 13; Tudor 1974, 145; Toropu 1976, 37.

¹¹⁶ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 7, 7-8.

¹¹⁷ Kondić 1992-1993.

¹¹⁸ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 5.

¹¹⁹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 17-18.

¹²⁰ Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 32-33.

Six fortifications were functional in the 6th century on the north bank of the river, in its immediate vicinity: *Constantiola*, *Litterata*, *Recidiva*, *Drobeta*, *Sykibida* / *Sucidava* and *Dafne*. Of these, *Litterata* and *Recidiva* had not been identified on the ground, and *Dafne* was located with some probability at the mouth of the River Argeş where it flows into the Danube. Systematic archaeological excavations have been carried out only in Drobeta and Sucidava.

In the present state of the research, the imperial rule in the 6th century is not confirmed at Hinova, Desa, Bistret, Zăvalu, Pietroşani, Frumoasa, Dichiseni, Gura Ialomitei and Barboşi, as previously noticed¹²¹.

The small number of fortifications allows the assertion that unlike in the 4th century, the northern Danube *ripa* was somewhat neglected in the 6th century. The massive presence of the barbarians (Gepids, Slavs, Avars), the lack of interest from the imperial authority to a region located beyond a natural border (the Danube), the wars waged on other fronts (Italy, Persia), are just a few of the causes for the situation in the Lower Danube in the 6th century. Moreover it has been rightfully noted that unlike the times of Constantine the Great, when the Banat bank of the Danube had been actually ruled by the Empire, during the time of Emperor Justinian it was only supervised¹²². There can be mentioned, however, some points where the military camps were concentrated: at Constantiola - Ostrovo Island- Sapaja Island on the one hand, and Banului Island - Drobeta – Ostrovu Mare on the other. Otherwise, the fortifications are placed at great distances one from another. The absence of effective military control on some of the sectors facilitated the invasion of the Slavs in AD 551: *since the Gepaedes, having engaged their services, took them (the Slavs) under their protection and ferried them across, receiving large payment for their labour. For the payment was at the rate of one gold stater per head*¹²³.

There is no literary information or archaeological discoveries to prove the raising of new buildings. They mention only old fortifications restored in this age. In general, the fortifications were restored after their initial sizes. The construction technique of the 4th century continued to be used with the observation that the brick was the predominant construction material. The corner towers and the median ones remained on their initial place, with the front projected outside the enclosure, sometimes altered in form (Sapaja). The emergence of churches and graves within the fortifications had been attested for now only at Sucidava, while the basilica related to the Ostrovu Mare fortification was built on the northern bank of the Danube.

In comparison with the 4th century, we may find that the imperial authorities did not make the same construction effort. The military expeditions led by Generals Germanus and Chilbudios¹²⁴ against the Slavs were aimed only at keeping them at a distance from the line of the Danube. Emperor Justinian himself made an agreement with the Slavs in AD 546, giving them the Turris fortification in exchange for maintaining the peace on the Danube border¹²⁵. The event shows that at this time, Slavs arrived with their raids near the Danubian border of the Empire.

¹²¹ IR 1960, 796.

¹²² Comşa 1974, 95.

¹²³ Procopius, *De bellis*, VIII, 25, 5; *Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing*, vol. IV, *History of the Wars Book VII (continued) and VIII*, London-Cambridge, 1962, 317.

¹²⁴ Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 1.

¹²⁵ Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 32-33.

Several north-Danubian fortifications were reintegrated into the Danubian defensive system¹²⁶. On this occasion, the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese Iustiniana Prima was extended also over the Christian north-Danubian communities. The reactivation of the bridge head policy did not have the same magnitude as in the 4th century. Same as then, the covered geographical regions were Oltenia and especially Banat. Regarding the latter, the Novel XI made a specific reference to this effect, while General Priscus considered it a "Roman land"¹²⁷. Probably the information from the Edict XIII refers also to Banat (cap. XXI).

An anonymous Byzantine author recommended in the 6th century¹²⁸ the building of fortifications near water sources and construction materials (wood, stone). He also stated that the adequate shape of a fortification is the triangle. Thus, two fortifications (*Constantiola/Kuvin* and *Transdiana/ Banului Island*) meet the requirement concerning the triangular shape.

As earlier in the 4th century, fortifications were placed especially in the points where the Danube could be easily crossed. A similar attitude had the Avars to counter the Roman troops entering in Banat, in the Byzantine-Avar battles at the end of the 6th century; at one time, Hagan Baian sent four of his sons accompanied by troops to guard the crossing points over the Danube¹²⁹.

Despite this evidence, the theory according to which a north-Danubian region was annexed by the Empire in the 6th century is questionable or at least debateable. In the Edict XIII (cap. XXI) dated in the period of September 538 - August 539¹³⁰, there was mentioned that the Lower Danube frontier was guarded on the northern shore as well. His edict was addressed to Ioannes, the eparch of the Military Commandments of the East. He was warned that the military unit will not support the levying of taxes will be displaced to the north of the Danube, "to stand guard at the borders there". This stipulation of the *Edict*, although very important, however, suggests also that its implementation would have meant a significant penalty for the military unit, which reinforces the theory that the region had a border status.

Therefore in the current state of the research we cannot confirm the annexation by the Empire of a strip of land from the north of the Danube situated along the river in the 6th century. At least for the moment we lack evidence supporting this theory. For example, the absence of any fortified points on the sector Ostrovu Mare - Sucidava and east of Dafne (see fig. 432), makes it impossible to accept the theory of the Empire rule to the north of the river. Moreover, in its reports regarding the refortification of the Danube line by Justinian, Procopius mentioned explicitly the presence of the barbarians *who were living beyond the river Istros*¹³¹.

Based on the information provided by Procopius¹³², according to which a fortification called Zernes was rebuilt in the 6th century, and accepting the identity Zernes-Dierna, it has been suggested that the military point at *Dierna* (Orșova) was rehabilitated at this time. This hypothesis, however, raises serious doubts. The archaeological excavations from Orșova have

¹²⁶ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6,3; 6, 5; 6, 34; 7, 7-8; Novella XI, 2.

¹²⁷ Theophylact Simocatt, VII, 7.

¹²⁸ Anonymus Byzantinus, non vidi, apud Milošević 1996, 251.

¹²⁹ Theophylact Simocatta, VIII, 2, 4.

¹³⁰ *Corpus iuris civilis*, 785, in FHDR II, 387; Ștefan 1974, 68-69.

¹³¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 1, 14.

¹³² Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 5.

not revealed a level of occupation dating from this period¹³³ and there have not been identified new fortifications from this period, but instead, there have been found barbarian items in this region¹³⁴, belonging to Slavs and Gepids. The belt-buckles or the appliqués of Sucidava type¹³⁵ (fig. 425/3), a ceramic lamp¹³⁶ (fig. 427/1) and a canteen¹³⁷ (fig. 429/1) both Christian, do not demonstrate necessarily a military presence, as the pieces could have reached Orșova also through trade. Moreover, there is no clear mention of the place where these artefacts had been found as they come from private collections. A total of 10 fibulae from the 6th century¹³⁸ have been published, also without having the discovery conditions and place¹³⁹. Procopius mentioned the Zernes fortification at south of the Danube. For all these reasons, Dierna (Orșova) may not be included in the catalogue of pre-Byzantine north-Danubian fortifications and the identity Zernes-Dierna does not have yet any historical or archaeological support¹⁴⁰.

The Dafne fortification has not yet been identified in the field by archaeological research, and its locations suggested by some researchers at Curcani, Oltenița, Spanțov-Pârjoaia or Izvoarele, are still assumptions. Note however that the fortification should be searched for at the flow of the river Argeș with the Danube.

The literary sources did not record anything about the existence of some fortifications on the east-Danubian and north-Danubian sectors of Scythia, not even the archaeological investigations were able to reveal the military points north of the Danube, near Dobrudja, during this period. The presence of the barbarians in this sector, very vulnerable because of its geographical position, constituted a permanent threat, in which context the building or restoration of the Roman-Byzantine fortifications in the North Dobrudja became an unsafe operation. The surrendering of the Turrus fortification to the Slavs by Emperor Justinian¹⁴¹, illustrates the perspective of the authorities from Constantinople about the border of the Lower Danube. It cannot be ignored that all historical and archaeological evidence shows a clear disregard in relation to this issue.

Unfortunately, the imperial authorities could not have maintained for long their politico-military influence in the north of the Lower Danube, which was based rather on diplomatic measures than military ones. The wars waged during the reign of Justinian affecting the numbers and quality of the Imperial military garrisons. Although aimed mainly at Scythia, the Kutrigurs invasion of AD 558-559 led by Zabergan had negative effects over the entire line of the Lower Danube. Significant in this regard is the destruction of the Dinogeția fortification, and others¹⁴². In fact, the Kutrigurs had never met in their way any serious resistance¹⁴³. The invaders were repelled only at Constantinople by the famous General Belisarius. Instead of a suitable military reaction, Justinian preferred to instigate other barbarian populations against

¹³³ Bujor 1974, 63; Toropu 1976, 36, note 143.

¹³⁴ Comșa 1974, 88-94.

¹³⁵ Comori/Tresors 1978, 162 no. 399, 400, 401.

¹³⁶ Paleocreștinism și creștinism, 2000, 55, no. 51.

¹³⁷ Benea 1986, 43-44.

¹³⁸ Bejan 1976, 266.

¹³⁹ Bejan 1976, 266 note 27.

¹⁴⁰ Bujor 1972, 197; Toropu 1976, 36.

¹⁴¹ Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 32-33.

¹⁴² Al. Barnea in *IR*, II, 2001, 494.

¹⁴³ Agathias, V, 11, 6; John of Antioch, 218 = FHDR II, 357.

the Kutrigurs. The intervention triggered a conflict between the Utigurs and Kutrigurs who slaughtered each other¹⁴⁴. Moreover, Justinian had had the same approach sometime before with the Slavs¹⁴⁵. It is clear that, for some time, defence of the Danube border no longer held a central place on the agenda of Constantinople. It has been rightfully noted¹⁴⁶ that in the period after the death of Chilbudios in AD 534¹⁴⁷ and until the beginning of the Byzantine-Avar-Slavic war in AD 592, led by Emperor Mauricios, the Empire did not have any political or military initiative in the north of Danube. However, it is a significant fact that the authorities from Constantinople could still afford to interfere into the domestic affairs of the populations from the north of Danube and the Black Sea.

In the context of eliminating the Gepids from the political scene of the region, the infiltration of the Slavs to the line of the Danube and the formation of the Avar Khaganat, the Empire lost all political and military initiative in the region. A turning point was the conquest in 582, of Sirmium fortification by the Avars, which represented a serious threat to the entire region of the Lower Danube. Only in AD 592, after concluding the peace with the Persians in the Orient, the imperial authorities had started to pay serious attention to the situation on the border of the Lower Danube. But it was too late. In the winter of AD 594-595, the Imperial Army led by General Priscus was ordered to spend the winter in the north of Danube. The order was received with hostility by the soldiers, who rebelled. Priscus hardly managed to calm the disorder¹⁴⁸. The event demonstrates that the territory north of the Lower Danube was unsafe to host an Imperial Army. This is because of the difficulties encountered for supply and the presence of large numbers of barbarian Slavs; Generals Priscus and Petrus had carried many battles against them. Moreover, it has been considered that no later than AD 592, the Lower Danube lost the status of secure border¹⁴⁹. In the summer of AD 602, under the leadership of General Guduis, the Byzantines began their last military campaign in the north of the Danube¹⁵⁰. The victory obtained on this occasion, like others, was compromised by the revolt of the army from AD 602.

The moment the fortifications from the north of the Danube were removed from function should be placed, anyhow, before AD 602, especially if we consider that those from the south of the Danube, in the Iron Gates area, had been disbanded within the last decade of the 6th century¹⁵¹. The barbarian ancient discoveries coming from the 6th century in southern Banat¹⁵² highlight the penetration of the Slavs and other ethnics in this region. Despite the dissolution of the border in several stages until AD 614-619/626¹⁵³, it is impossible to accept the idea that the north-Danubian fortifications continued to exist in the context of the Avar-Slavic attacks, and especially after the rebellion of the army from the Danube, led by Phokas. Very likely, the fortifications had been removed from function much earlier. More details can

¹⁴⁴ Agathias, V, 25.

¹⁴⁵ In AD 546 Justinian offered to Slavs, the Turrus fortifications in exchange for an alliance, acc. to Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 32-33.

¹⁴⁶ Curta 2001, 66.

¹⁴⁷ About Chilbudios, Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 1 = FHDR II, 439.

¹⁴⁸ Teophylact Simocatta, VI, 10, 1-3.

¹⁴⁹ Fiedler 1992, 1, 15, 353.

¹⁵⁰ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 5, 12.

¹⁵¹ Vasić, Kondić 1983, 558.

¹⁵² Comşa 1974, 88-94.

¹⁵³ Madgearu 1998, 138-143.

be obtained by comparing the archaeological evidence with information offered by the literary sources.

The latest coins found at Sucidava date back to AD 596-597¹⁵⁴, and in the last level of destruction of the fortification have been discovered arrows with three edges, of an Avar type¹⁵⁵. Teophylact Simocatta¹⁵⁶ wrote that following the treaty of peace between the two sides, concluded in the summer of 598¹⁵⁷, the Danube was recognized as the boundary line between the Avars and the Empire. In this context, to the north of the river, there could not have been any fortifications under the imperial domination. Therefore, there is no issue in considering that by AD 598, all the fortifications from the north of the Danube had been already disbanded or destroyed, unless this took place even earlier.

There is no evidence on any civilian settlements in the proximity of the fortifications. Some old roads were used during this period, although the transport on the Danube should have been much more convenient and more secure. The Danubian fleet was present in the moment of the Avar expedition against the *sclavini* from the north of the Lower Danube. In AD 578, Byzantine war vessels helped the Avars cross the Danube to Dacia Ripensis and then from Scythia to the north of the Danube¹⁵⁸. There is no evidence on the route followed by the Avars when returning to Pannonia Plain; probably they used the same route.

Mauricius¹⁵⁹ recorded in the 6th century the existence of several roads used to this date. Even taking into account the information provided by Mauricius, it cannot prove an interest or even a minimum interest from the imperial authorities towards the commercial or military roads to the north of the Danube.

A completely different situation is that of the great earthen *valla* which became useless at this point. At least no evidence has been revealed in this respect. However, the lack of arguments in this direction does not exclude the possibility of their functionality in this period. The Franc Annals¹⁶⁰ mentioned the existence of the earthen *vallum* in western Romania during the Franco-Avar conflicts (late 700's-early 800's). About the construction of bridges over the Danube there is no literary information or archaeological evidence. The Byzantine campaigns to the north of the river must have used the existing structures from the earlier times or more probably bridges made of ships.

The time interval between late 5th century, corresponding to the reign of Emperor Anastasius, and early 7th century, corresponding to the reign of Heraclius, can be called the Pre-Byzantine Age. The term has already been used in the specialized literature¹⁶¹.

XIII.5. THE REMOVAL FROM FUNCTION OF THE LOWER DANUBE BORDER

The policy of restoring the fortifications from the line of the Danube, initiated by Anastasius and continued by Emperor Justinian¹⁶², was effective only during one part of the

¹⁵⁴ Tudor 1948, 13; Tudor 1974, 145; Toropu 1976, 37.

¹⁵⁵ Tudor 1953, 734; Tudor 1974, 145.

¹⁵⁶ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 15, 14.

¹⁵⁷ The chronology of events at Madgearu 1998, 179-180.

¹⁵⁸ Menander Protector, frg. 48.

¹⁵⁹ Mauricius, *Strategikon*, XI, 31.

¹⁶⁰ Apud Horedt 1965, with bibliography.

¹⁶¹ Vasić, Kondić 1983; Toropu 1986.

¹⁶² Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 1, 33; IV, 5, 1-8.

6th century. The Empire regained somewhat its political and military primacy as compared to the barbarian populations. In parallel, there took place an extensive operation to re-conquer the former territories: North Africa, Italy and Visigothic Spain. The huge financial efforts made on these occasions impoverished the treasury of the Empire. Perhaps also from this reason, the military effectives from the Orient had been reduced, as some of the literary sources lead us to believe¹⁶³. The repeated mobilizations and movements of troops left the border of the Lower Danube without a proper defence. The invasion of the Kutrigurs from AD 559 proved this reality¹⁶⁴; despite the fact that the invaders were not very numerous, they did not meet any armed resistance until Constantinople¹⁶⁵. The great constructive effort led by Justinian was quickly compromised.

In AD 526, in Pannonia the Longobards settled next to the Gepids. Probably, the arrival of the Longobards was not totally unrelated to the authorities from Constantinople, who could never accept losing the city of Sirmium to the Gepids. The relations between the two Germanic populations turned into a conflict. In AD 566, the Byzantines supported the Gepids in the war against the Longobards¹⁶⁶ whom they had defeated. Following these events, the Longobards led by their king Alboin made an alliance with the Avars. Since the King of the Gepids, Cunimund, had not returned the city of Sirmium to the Byzantines, the Roman Emperor Justin II withdrew his support from the conflict against the Longobards and the Avars. The Gepide King Cunimund divided his army into two parts to counter-attack the two allies. Both army bodies were crushed so that in AD of 567 the Gepide military force was destroyed¹⁶⁷. Taking advantage of this situation, the Byzantines regained the city of Sirmium. Fearing the threatening vicinity of the Avars, the Longobards left the following year to Italy. It is possible that on their migration they had been accompanied by Gepide contingents. The Avars remained the only masters of Pannonia and the defeated Gepids had been dispersed to other territories. It is possible, that this was the moment when they settled in Transylvania¹⁶⁸. Some of the Gepids took refuge in the Empire: an Avar mission sent to Constantinople asked also for the Gepide Usdibad¹⁶⁹ in addition to new subsidies. In the campaigns of the Avars against the Byzantine Empire took part also troops of Gepids. Teophylact Simocatta¹⁷⁰ mentioned that in the campaign of 599 led by General Priscus against the Avars, the Roman troops had encountered three villages of the Gepids, where they had killed 30,000 men; an exaggerated figure without a doubt. The last literary indication of the Gepids is in AD 626, during the siege of Constantinople, as subjects or allies of the Avars.

In an attempt to become *foederati*, in AD 558 the Avars sent a first mission to Constantinople offering military services to the Empire¹⁷¹. Their proposals were temporary rejected by Emperor Justinian. The invasion of the Kutrigurs from AD 559, resulting in great human and material losses, determined Justinian to change his attitude towards the Avars. The

¹⁶³ John of Antioch, 218.

¹⁶⁴ Agathias, V, 11, 6.

¹⁶⁵ John of Antioch, 218.

¹⁶⁶ Teophylact Simocatta, VI, 10, 10.

¹⁶⁷ Diaconus Paulus, *Historia Longobardorum*, I, 27.

¹⁶⁸ L. Birzu in *IR*, II, 2001, 710-711.

¹⁶⁹ Menander Protector, frg. 28.

¹⁷⁰ Teophylact Simocatta, VIII, 3, 11-12.

¹⁷¹ Teophanes Confessor, 6-13; Menander Protector, frg. 6.

Emperor promised to grant them the status of *foederati*, asking them in return to subdue the north - Danubian populations that had been attacking the Empire. Under the command of the Khagan Baian, the Avars defeated the Kutrigurs, Utigurs, Antes, Sclavines. In AD 562 or 563 they sent another mission to Constantinople¹⁷², asking for the permission to settle in the Empire, more specifically in Scythia. Justinian offered them subsidies and territories in Pannonia Secunda, where also the Gepids and Longobards had settled. The dangerous proximity of the two Germanic populations made the Avars hesitate for a moment. At the request of the Empire, in AD 562 the Avars conducted an expedition against the Franks which they lost. After Justinian's death, the new Emperor, Justin II, renounced to the services of the Avars¹⁷³, refusing to give them any more subsidies. In these circumstances, the Khaganul Baian carried out in AD 566, a new campaign to the west, against the Franks. Unlike the first one, this campaign ended with better results. In the same year, the Avars made an alliance with the Longobards, against the Gepids. The main beneficiaries of the alliance were the Avars, who in case they had eliminated the Gepids, would have received their territories along with the city of Sirmium, half of the spoils and the tenth part of the herds of the Longobards¹⁷⁴. The conditions in which the alliance was made are at least bizarre. It is difficult to explain the acceptance of the Longobards to lease to the Avars the tenth part of their animals. Perhaps it is an exaggeration of the literary sources.

In AD 567, the coalition between the Avars and Longobards permanently eliminated the Gepids from the politico-military scene of the region¹⁷⁵. Afterwards followed the moving of the Longobards to Italy (in AD 568), an event which left the Avars as the single masters over Pannonia. They set their power centre in the field of the River Tisza. From here they conducted a series of incursions into the Empire.

The destruction of the Gepids, the forming of the Avar Khaganat and the infiltration of the Slavs towards the line of the Danube, decreased the influence of the Byzantine Empire to the north of the river. The political and military initiative in the region belonged to the Avars. Meanwhile, the Byzantines re-conquered the city of Sirmium, defeating the Avars when they tried to regain it in AD 568. To pacify for a while the belligerent tendencies of the Avars, the Empire concluded a treaty with them in AD 573 through which they agreed to pay annual subsidies. Under the commandment of the Khagan Baian the power of the Avars grew becoming an increasing danger to the imperial Danubian provinces. The Avar way of fighting adapted to the realities implied by the confrontations with the Byzantines. A man called Bussas born in Appiaria, taught the Avars the technique of building the necessary war machines for the conquest of the heavily fortified Roman fortifications¹⁷⁶.

The Avar migration westwards detached a large part of the Slavic tribes. In time the Slavs came closer to the Danubian border of the Empire. Jordanes¹⁷⁷ noticed in the 6th century that north of the springs of Vistula there was a numerous Slavic population, which he named *venezi*, made up of two large ethnic groups: the Sclavines and the Antes. The *Sclavines* were located between the river Nistru, the Mursian Lake, the Noviotunensis fortification and the

¹⁷² Menander Protector, frg. 9.

¹⁷³ Menander Protector, frg. 14, 24.

¹⁷⁴ Menander Protector, frg. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Diaconus Paulus, *Historia Longobardorum*, I, 24.

¹⁷⁶ Teophylact Simocatta, II, 16, 1.

¹⁷⁷ Jordanes, *Getica*, V (34-35).

river Vistula, while the Antes occupied the space between the Dniester and Nipru rivers. Procopius¹⁷⁸ mentioned the *Sclavines* and Antes among the Hunnic tribes, north of the Danube, *not far from the shore*. All information indicates that in the mid 6th century the Slavic tribes were near the Lower Danube. The presence of the Avars to the north of the Black Sea and the mouths of the Danube did not allow however a consistent penetration of the Slavs. Only after moving of the Avars westwards this process became possible. Moreover, the first clear information on the actual presence of the Slavs to the north of Danube dates from AD 578, during the Avar expedition against the *Sclavines* led by Dauritas¹⁷⁹. The Slavs conducted however incursions into the Empire, during the last years of Emperor Anastasius' reign¹⁸⁰.

Because of the danger they represented, the Empire had to organize several expeditions against them, significant are those under the command of the generals Germanus and Chilbudios, who achieved some victories. In AD 531, Justinian appointed Chilbudios *magister militum per Thracias*, making him responsible of guarding the Danubian border¹⁸¹. He fought also in the north of the Danube and had acquitted honourably his duty until AD 534, when the Imperial Army was defeated to the north of the river by the Slavs and Chilbudios himself was killed on the battlefield¹⁸². Slave contingents participated to the invasion of the Kutrigurs led by Zabergan from AD 558-559. The Treaty of warcraft elaborated by Maricius at the beginning of the 7th century contained a chapter on how the Slavs fought and recommended some tactics for the imperial army¹⁸³. The situation of the army from the Danube was not very good; knowing the supply difficulties, the same author suggested the possibility of procuring the necessary food for the army from the lands north of the river¹⁸⁴. Moreover, Theophylact Simocatta mentioned that the military mutiny of the Danubian army from AD 602 was because of the discontent of the soldiers regarding the supply opportunities to the north of the Danube¹⁸⁵.

The negative effects of the Slavic invasions from AD 570-579 have already been highlighted by archaeological discoveries. Several monetary hoards were buried in this period: Veliko Orasje, Veliko Gradiste-Pincum, Boljetin-Smorna, Tekija-Transdierna, Slatinska, Kopriveţ, Galata, Baniska, Biala Reka, Goliama Kutlovitza, Halmyris¹⁸⁶. The Slavs became a dangerous opponent for both the Byzantines and the Avars. In this context an alliance was concluded between the Byzantines and the Avars. At the request of Emperor Mauricius Tiberius in AD 578, an army of 60,000 Avar warriors (the figure seems exaggerated) conducted a punitive expedition against the *Sclavines*, which were subdued (Menander Protector, frg. 48). The armies of the Avars were crossed by the Byzantines to the south of the Danube. From here they passed through Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda and Scythia, to be crossed again by the Byzantine fleet to the north of Danube. The victories against the Slavs consecrated the Avar supremacy in the region. The penetration of the Slavs

¹⁷⁸ Procopius, *De bellis*, I, 27, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Menander Protector, frg. 48.

¹⁸⁰ Marcellinus Comes, AD 517.

¹⁸¹ Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 1.

¹⁸² Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 2-4.

¹⁸³ Mauricius, *Strategikon*, XI, 4.

¹⁸⁴ Mauricius, *Strategikon*, XI, 31.

¹⁸⁵ Theophylact Simocatta, VIII, 6, 2.

¹⁸⁶ apud Madgearu 1998, 18.

south of the Danube had been limited for a while by the Avars as a result of this event. Subsequently, in the context of the deteriorating relations between the Avars and the Byzantines, the Slaves, subordinated to the Avar tribes, were more involved in this area.

Meanwhile, the Avars formulated several requests to receive higher subsidies. The repeated refusals of the Byzantine emperors were followed by new invasions. In AD 582, the Avars conquered the city of Sirmium. The treaty concluded after this event stipulated the payment of 80,000 *nomisma* as tribute to the Avars (one *nomisma* = 4.48g gold). The peace had been respected by the Avars only for two years. The Avar-Slavic forces besieged in AD 584 and 586, the city of Thessaloniki. The invasion from 584 led to the defeat of cities Singidunum, Viminacium, Augusta and Anchialos¹⁸⁷. In AD 586 other important fortified points were conquered: Aquae, Bononia, Ratiaria, Durostorum, Zaldapa, Marcianopolis and Tropaeum Traiani¹⁸⁸. During the withdrawal from the last campaign because of an unforeseen event, we have a record of an expression close to the Romanian language: *retorna, retorna*¹⁸⁹ or *torna, torna, fratre*¹⁹⁰.

The victories of the Avars can be explained through the negligence of the Byzantine authorities towards the fortifications on the border. The fall of Singidunum did not come as a surprise because it had not been properly defended by military garrisons¹⁹¹. It was assumed that beginning with AD 592, the Danube lost its status of secure border¹⁹². In the time of Emperors Tiberius Constantine (578-582) and Mauricius Tiberius (582-602), the Slavic-Avar-Byzantine conflicts were intensified, culminating with the war from AD 592-602. Generals Priscus and Petrus led several battles against the Slavs in northern Danube. In AD 596, the Imperial Army led by Priscus resumed the offensive against the Avars. Singidunum and a few other points were re-conquered¹⁹³. After 18 months of peace in the winter of 597-598, the Avars besieged Tomis. Following the armistice agreement around the Easter of 598, the Avars raised the siege of Tomis, but the Imperial troops ordered by Comentiolus were rejected. The peace concluded on this occasion set the border between the two belligerent forces on the Danube. However, the Imperial troops could have crossed the river, if they had declared war to the *Sclavines*¹⁹⁴.

Resuming the anti-Avar offensive, Priscus started in AD 599 from Singidunum and defeated the Khagan Baian. The Avars were followed to the north of the Danube and defeated on several occasions¹⁹⁵, then repelled over the river Tisza. Some Avar factions betrayed the Khagan, and turned to fight on the side of the Empire¹⁹⁶. The replacement of Priscus with Petrus and the mutiny of the Danubian army led by Centurion Phocas compromised the Byzantine military efforts in the war against the Avars. The rebellion of the imperial army from the Danube, in AD 602, left the Danubian border without defence. Another invasion of the Avars took place in AD 604 after which the new Emperor Phocas was forced to

¹⁸⁷ Teophylact Simocatta, I, 4, 1-7.

¹⁸⁸ Teophylact Simocatta, I, 8, 10-11.

¹⁸⁹ Teophylact Simocatta, II, 12.

¹⁹⁰ Teophanes Confessor, 257, 11-30.

¹⁹¹ Teophylact Simocatta, I, 4, 1.

¹⁹² Fiedler 1992, 1, 15, 353.

¹⁹³ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 11-12.

¹⁹⁴ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 15, 14.

¹⁹⁵ Teophylact Simocatta, VIII, 2-3.

¹⁹⁶ Teophylact Simocatta, VIII, 6, 1.

renegotiate the treaty with the Avars. The tribute was increased from 120,000 to 140,000 *solidi*¹⁹⁷. The treaty was apparently respected throughout the reign of Phocas as the literary sources have not mentioned otherwise.

The attacks of the Avars were begun with an unusual violence in AD 614. In alliance with the Slavs, the Avars systematically devastated the Balkan provinces of the Empire. Only after this date took place the dissolution of the Lower Danube border. The fortifications from the Lower Danube and many other Balkan cities were completely destroyed on this occasion. The imperial authorities preoccupied by the Persian wars did not have the necessary strength for a proper intervention. It is possible for the Danubian provinces to have passed from the rule of the Byzantine Empire, under Avar domination. After this moment, there has been attested a massive settlement of Slavic tribes to the south of the Danube¹⁹⁸. In AD 614, the city of Salona – the centre of the Byzantine administration in Dalmatia - was conquered by the Slavs. The majority of the Slavs from the north of the Danube have settled south of the river, causing considerable demographic and ethnic changes. Important Slave contingents took part along with the Avars in the failed siege of Constantinople in 626. The decrease of the Avar power and the lack of a proper reaction of the imperial authorities had allowed the Slavs to settle massively in the Balkan Peninsula. The Slavs did not have, however, the strength or ability required to establish their own state. It is possible that after AD 626, when the political and military force of the Avar decreased, some Slavic tribes have become *foederati* of the Empire¹⁹⁹.

The Slavic and Avar invasions had negative demographic consequences for the Lower Danube region. This has been shown by archaeological research, but it is also documented by some literary sources. Information in this regard comes from Procopius²⁰⁰: *[t]he rule of Goths, before this war, had extended from the land of the Gauls to the boundaries of Dacia, where the city of Sirmium is. The Germans held Cisalpine Gaul and most of the land of the Venetians, when the Roman army arrived in Italy. Sirmium and the neighbouring country was in the hands of the Gepidae. All of these he utterly depopulated. For those who did not die in the battle perished of disease and famine, which as usual followed in the train of war. Illyria and all of Thrace, that is, from the Ionian Gulf to the suburbs of Constantinople, including Greece and Chersonese, were overrun by the Huns, Slavs and Antes, almost every year, from the time when Justinian took over the Roman Empire; and intolerable things they did to the inhabitants. For in each of these incursions, I should say, more than two hundred thousands Romans were slain or enslaved, so that all this country became a desert like that of Scythia*²⁰¹. No matter how exaggerated this information may seem, there is however, no doubt that the region was depopulated²⁰².

The fact that the Avar-Slavic invasions had dramatic consequences on the density of the population from this area, is also emphasized in the work of Constantine the Porphyrogenet²⁰³, who indicated the existence of *deserted lands because of the Avars*. The examination of

¹⁹⁷ Teophanes Confessor, I, 292.

¹⁹⁸ Madgearu 1998, 173.

¹⁹⁹ Madgearu 1998, 145.

²⁰⁰ Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, 18.

²⁰¹ Procopius, *Secret History*, translated by R. Atwater, Chicago, 1927 (reprinted Ann Arbor, 1961), 52.

²⁰² Madgearu 1998, 131 sqq.

²⁰³ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XXIX, 12-19.

archaeological evidence shows that in the 6th century the area of The Iron Gates was relatively scarcely inhabited²⁰⁴. For these reasons, the bringing of the population to the north of the Danube was necessary and even the Avars did so, in early 6th century. Thus, Teofilact Simocattes wrote about the intention of the Avars led by Khagan Baian to move the population of the Singidunum *in their land*, meaning to the north of Danube²⁰⁵.

Moreover, Acta S. Demetrii²⁰⁶ recorded the detachment of the population from the south of the river *across the Danube*, therefore to the north of the river, *in the region situated towards sirmic Pannonia. There the Khagan of the Avars placed all the prisoners considering them his subjects*²⁰⁷. But all these aspects, otherwise very interesting, are part of another theme of the continuity or discontinuity that does not represent the subject of this paper.

²⁰⁴ Comşa 1974, 97.

²⁰⁵ Teophylact Simocatta, VII, 10, 1.

²⁰⁶ Acta S. Demetrii, *Miracula*, II, c.195-196.

²⁰⁷ Apud Onciul 1968, 266; see Madgearu 1998, 132.

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APPENDIX I

Literary evidence for the Roman rule at the North of the Danube in the Late Roman Period

Eumenius, *Pro restaurandis scholis oratio*, XVIII, 4 (spring of 298)

Nam quid ego alarum et cohortium castra percenseam toto Rheni et Histri et Eufratae limite restituta? (But why should I enumerate the number of the restored fortifications of the alae and the cohorts from the entire Rhine, Danube and Euphrates border?)

Emperor Julian (361-363), *De Caesaribus*, 24.

Constantinus was allowed to speak next. ... In the following respects I am superior to these others; ... As for Trajan, I should naturally rank higher on account of those same glorious exploits against the tyrants, while it would be only fair to regard me as his equal on the score of that territory which he added to the empire and I recovered; if indeed it be not more glorious to regain than to gain.

The Works of the Emperor Julian, vol. II, translated by W. Cave Right, vol. II, Loeb Classical Library, London-New York, 1913, 396-399.

Sextus Aurelius Victor (saec. IV), *Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum*, 41.

Hic (scil. Constantinus) pontem in Danubio fecit. (He constructed a bridge over the Danube).

Idem, *De Caesaribus*, 41, 18.

Pons per Danuvium ductus; castra castellaque pluribus locis commode posita. (A bridge was constructed over the Danube; forts and fortlets were properly established in various places).

Theophanes Confessor (752-818), *Chronographia*, 5820 (AD 328)

In this year the pious Constantine, after crossing the Danube, built a stone bridge over it and subdued the Scythians.

The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813, translated with Introduction and Commentary by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex, Clarendon Press – Oxford, 1997, 45.

Ammianus Marcellinus (cca. 330-400), *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXVII, 5, 2-6.

2. When Victor reported this allegation of theirs, Valens disregarding it as a frivolous excuse, marched against them, they having already got information of his approach. And at the beginning of spring he assembled his army in a great body, and pitched his camp near a fortress named Daphne, where having made a bridge of boats he crossed the Danube without meeting any resistance.

3. And being now full of elation and confidence, as while traversing the country in every direction he met with no enemy to be either defeated or even alarmed by his advance...

6. With similar perseverance he again invaded the land of the barbarians a third year, having crossed the river by a bridge of boats at Noviodunum...

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*. London: Bohn (1862) Book 27. 435-466, 445-446 (translated by C. D. Yonge)

http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ammianus_27_book27.htm

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXXI, 3, 5.

At last he pitched his camp at a distance in a very favourable spot near the banks of the Dniester and the valleys of the Gruthungi, and sent Munderich, who afterwards became Duke of the Arabian frontier, with Langarimanus and others of the nobles, with orders to advance for twenty miles, to reconnoitre the approach of the enemy; while in the mean time he himself, without delay, marshalled his troops in line of battle.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*. London: Bohn (1862) Book 31. 575-623, 584 (translated by C. D. Yonge)

http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ammianus_31_book31.htm

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXIX, 6, 2.

2. For Valentinian, who from the beginning of his reign had been full of a resolution to fortify his frontier, which was a glorious decision, but one carried too far in this case, ordered a fortress capable of containing a strong garrison to be constructed on the south side of the river Danube, in the very territories of the Quadi. as if they were subject to the Roman authority.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*. London: Bohn (1862) Book 29. 503-543, p. 538 (translated by C. D. Yonge).
http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ammianus_29_book29.htm

Notitia dignitatum, pars Orientis

VIII. *Sub dispositione viri illustris magistri militum per Thracias:*

45. *Constantini Dafnenses;*

46. *Ballistarii Dafnenses;*

XLI, 11. *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Moesiae Primae:*

13. *Cuneus equitum promotorum, Flaviana;*

21. *Auxiliares reginenses, contra Reginam;*

33. *Praefectus militum....., contra Margum in castris Augustoflavianensibus;*

XLII, 12. *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Daciae ripensis:*

16. *Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium, Drobeta;*

23. *Auxilium Miliarensium, Transalba;*

24. *Auxilium primorum Daciscorum, Drobeta;*

27. *Auxilium claustrinorum, Translucus;*

39. *Praefectus legionis quintae, Sucidava.*

Notitia dignitatum et administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium, O. Seeck ed., Berlin 1876.

The enactments of Justinian. The Novels. XI

De privilegiis archiepiscopi Primae Iustinianae - Concerning the privileges of the first Justinianian Archbishop

The Emperor Justinian to A. Catellianus, Most Blessed Archbishop of the First Justinianian.

We, being desirous of conferring many and various benefits upon the province in which God first permitted Us to see the light, do hereby establish there the center of sacerdotal authority; intending that the temporal head of the first Justinianian shall be not only a metropolitan, but also an archbishop; and that his jurisdiction shall include other provinces,

that is to say Dacia Mediteranea, as well as Dacia Ripensis, Second Mysia, Dardania, the province of Praevalitana, Second Macedonia, and that part of Second Pannonia in which is the City of Bacensis. After the establishment of the Prefecture of Sirmium, all the authorities of Illyria, civil as well as ecclesiastical, resided in that city; but after the time of Attila, when this country was laid waste, the Praetorian Prefect Apraemius fled from Sirmium, and took refuge in Thessalonica, where the bishop followed him; from which date the said city became the seat of the prefecture as well as of the episcopal authority. The bishop of Thessalonica, however, did not thereby obtain any prerogatives over the other bishops merely through the exercise of his own authority, but acquired supremacy by being in the shadow of the Prefecture. Now, as by the aid of God, the public territory is increased, and both banks of the Danube are occupied by towns subject to Our Empire, and Viminacium, Recidiua, and Litterata, situated on the other side of the Danube, are subjected to Our dominion, We have deemed it necessary to establish in the province of Our birth the glorious prefecture formerly situated in Pannonia, for the reason that it is not far distant from Dacia Mediterranea, and Second Pannonia; and, moreover, while Our subjects were occupied with the hardships of war, the public welfare suffered because of the great distance which separated Macedonia from the seat of the Prefecture, it appeared to Us necessary to bring this seat nearer to the upper provinces, in order that they might obtain the advantages incident to its proximity. Hence Your Holiness, and all the prelates of the first Justinianian diocese, shall have the rank of archbishop and enjoy the superior privileges, power, and authority that this title confers over other ecclesiastics, and it will be your duty to ordain them; and you will enjoy the first sacerdotal dignity in all the aforesaid provinces, and the highest honors of the priesthood will attach to your See; the provinces will have no other archbishop; and you will, in no way, be subject to the Bishopric of Thessalonica. When any dispute arises between the judges and other magistrates, you and your successors must decide and finally dispose of it, without recourse being had to anyone else; and all the provinces above mentioned, while recognizing you as the head of the Church, shall obey your orders, whether they are issued by you personally and of your own authority, or whether this is done by members of the clergy whom you may designate for that purpose; for you are invested with supreme power, unlimited sacerdotal supervision and the right of appointment. We desire Your Highness to select a bishop for the City of Aquae, situated in the province of Dacia Ripensis, so that the said city may no longer be subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Southern Thrace, as We desire that his authority shall only be exerted in the South, and, under no circumstances, at Aquis. The Bishop of Aquis shall have that city with all its castles, territory, and churches under his jurisdiction, so that he can banish the heresy of the Bonosians from that city and country, and bring them into the orthodox faith. We communicate this law to your venerated See, in order that Your Holiness may become acquainted with these provisions, and that the church of Our country may forever preserve the remembrance of a benefit which We have bestowed upon it for the glory of Omnipotent God. When anyone who happens to occupy your See shall have departed from life, We order that his successor shall be ordained by the Venerated Council of Metropolitans; and, as it is proper for the archbishop to be honored by all the churches of his jurisdiction, the archbishop of Thessalonica shall not be allowed to participate in the proceedings of the said Council.

Your Holiness will not delay to see that this law is carried into execution.

Given on 16th of April, during the Consulate of Belisarius (535).

S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law*, XVI, Cincinnati, 1932.

http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/Anglica/N11_Scott.htm

Procopius, *De bellis*, VII, 14, 32.

...meantime the Emperor Justinian had sent some envoys to these very barbarians, through whom he expressed the desire that they should all settle in an ancient city, Turris by name, situated to the north of the river Ister. This city had been built by the Roman emperor Trajan in earlier times, but for a long time now it had remained unoccupied, after it had been plundered by the barbarians of that region. 33. It was this city and the lands about it that Emperor Justinian agreed to give them, asserting that it belonged to the Romans originally; and he further agreed to give them all the assistance within his power while they were establishing themselves, and to pay them great sums of money, on condition that they should remain at peace with him thereafter and constantly block the way against the Huns, when these wished to overrun the Roman domain.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. IV, *History of the Wars Book VI (continued) and VII*, London-Cambridge, 1962, 272-275.

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 1, 12-14, 33.

12. And the River Ister, flowing higher up, and opposite the sea, makes the land of Europe an island, as it were. 13. In that region this Emperor built many noteworthy buildings. 14. Indeed he fortified the whole of Europe so safely that he rendered it inaccessible to the barbarians who live beyond the Ister River. ...33. And wishing, as he did, to make the Ister River the strongest possible line of first defence before them and before the whole of Europe, he distributed numerous forts along the bank of the river, as I shall soon describe, and he placed garrisons of troops everywhere along the shore, in order to put the most rigid check upon the crossing of the barbarians there.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. VII, 1940, 224, 229.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/4A*.html

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 5, 1-8.

1. Thus did the Emperor Justinian fortify the whole interior of Illyricum. I shall also explain in what manner he fortified the bank of the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, by means of strongholds and garrisons of troops. 2. The Roman Emperors of former times, by way of preventing the crossing of the Danube by the barbarians who live on the other side, occupied the entire bank of this river with strongholds, and not the right bank of the stream alone, for in some parts of it they built towns and fortresses on its other bank. 3. However, they did not so build these strongholds that they were impossible to attack, if anyone should come against them, but they only provided that the bank of the river was not left destitute of men, since the barbarians there had no knowledge of storming walls. 4. In fact the majority of these strongholds consisted only of a single tower, and they were called appropriately "lone towers," and very few men were stationed in them. 5. At that time this alone was quite sufficient to frighten off the barbarian clans, so that they would not undertake to attack the Romans. 6. But at a later time Attila invaded with a great army, and with no difficulty razed the fortresses; then, with no one standing against him, he plundered the greater part of the Roman Empire. 7. But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt the defences which had been torn down, not simply as they had been before, but so as to give the fortifications the greatest possible strength; and he added many more which he built himself. 8. In this way he completely restored the safety of the Roman Empire, which by then had been lost. And I shall explain how all this was accomplished.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. VII, 1940, 267.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/4B*.html

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 3-5.

3. And opposite Novae in the mainland on the other side of the river, had stood from ancient times a neglected tower, by name Literata; the men of former times used to call this Lederata. 4. This the present Emperor transformed into a great fortress of exceptional strength. 5 After Novae are the forts of Cantabaza, Smornês, Campsês, Tanata, Zernês, and Ducepratum. And on the opposite side he built a number of other forts from their lowest foundations.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. VII, 1940, 271
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/4B*.html

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 15-18.

15. At the same time Trajan built two forts, one on either side of the river; the one on the opposite bank they named Theodora, while the one in Dacia was called Pontes from the work — 16. for the Romans call a bridge pontem in the Latin tongue. But when boats reached that point, the river was no longer navigable, since the ruins and the foundations of the bridge lay in the way; and it is for this reason that they compel the river to change its course and to

go about in a detour, so that they may keep it navigable even beyond that point. 17. Both these forts had suffered so much from the passage of time, and more still from the assaults of the barbarians, that they had come to be utterly destroyed. 18. And the Emperor Justinian restored Pontes, which is on the right of the river, providing it with new and thorough impregnable defences, and thus re-established the safety of Illyricum. However, the fort on the other side of the river, the one which they call Theodora, he considered in no way worthy of his attention, exposed as it was to the barbarians there. But the strongholds which now stand beyond Pontes he himself built new; these are named Mareburgou and Susiana, Harmata and Timena, and Theodoropolis, Stiliburgou and Halicaniburgou.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. VII, 1940, 273-275.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/4B*.html

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 34-35, 37.

34. There is a certain place not far removed from this fort of Hunnôn where there are two fortresses, one on either side of the Ister River, the one in Illyricum named Palatiolum, and one on the other side, Sycibida. 35. These, which had been ruined by time, the Emperor Justinian restored and thereby checked the incursions of the barbarians of that region; and beyond them he built a fort at an ancient stronghold which was named Utôs. ... 37. These then were the works executed by the Emperor Justinian in Illyricum. Yet it was not with buildings alone that he fortified this land, but he also established very considerable garrisons of troops in all the strongholds and thereby warded off the assaults of the barbarians.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. VII, 1940, 279

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/4B*.html

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 7, 7-8.

7. And he built the fort of Cynthôn which had not existed before. Beyond this is the stronghold Trasmarscas. Just opposite this, on the other bank of the river, Constantine, Emperor of the Romans, once built with no small care a fort, Daphnê by name, thinking it not inexpedient that the river should be guarded on both sides at this point. 8. As time went on, the barbarians destroyed this entirely; but the Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, beginning at the foundations.

Procopius with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. VII, 1940, 281

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/4C*.html

Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.*, VII, 7, 1-5

At the beginning of spring, Priscus left Byzantium; ...3. Then, after making a total of fifteen camps and crossing the river Ister, on the fourth day the general reached the Upper Novae. On learnig of this, the Chagan dispatched ambassadors to Priscus and sought to discover the reason for the Roman arrival. 4. The general said that the regions were naturally suited for hunting, being good for riding and extremely well watered. But the Chagan made plain that the Romans were entering foreign territory, that Priscus had broken the treaty, and the peace was being covertly disrupted by him. 5. Then Priscus said that the soil was Roman, but the barbarian that the Romans had lost possession of this by arms and the law of war.

Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.*, VII, 10, 1-4

1. On the tenth day (for we will return to the affairs of Priscus) messengers came to the general's tent. Then Priscus heard that the barbarian was razing the wall of Singidunum, and was forcing the population to abandon their home and to make settlements in enemy land. 2. Therefore, with no concession to delay, Priscus sailed along the river and berthed at the island Singan, which is situated in the Ister's stream thirty miles distant from the city of Singidunum. 3. And so Priscus disposed his forces about the island, brought up swift-sailing vessels, which the multitude is accustomed to call *dromons*, and came to Constantiola. It was in this area that he encountered the Chagan, and the general held a discussion with the barbarian about Singidunum. 4. Now the barbarian sat on the river bank and gave answers, while Priscus conducted the conversation from his station on the vessel.

Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.*, VIII, 2, 2-6.

2. Then, since the peace had been publicly broken, the Romans came to Viminacium, which is an island located in the streams of Ister. On this island Comentiolus appeared to fall sick. 3. While the Romans were crossing from the island to the mainland, the Chagan learned of the movements of the Roman camp. And so the barbarian gathered forces and ravaged Roman land, while to the four sons which he possessed he entrusted forces and instructed them to guard the crossings of the Ister. 4. And so the barbarian's sons attempted to guard the crossings of the Ister in accordance with the command, but the Romans fabricated rafts, as they are called, and with one accord traversed the river. Then, in a battle which took place on the river banks, the Romans overcame the opposing forces. ...6. Then, although the Romans had been ferried across the Ister and constructed the camp, Priscus did not leave island, for he was reluctant to join battle without Comentiolus; but, since the Roman force was lacking a leader, the barbarians made raids on their camp.

Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.*, VIII, 5, 5-7.

5. Now indeed the general Peter collected his forces, moved to the Ister, and arrived at Palastolon; he made a camp and thus passed the summer season. At the start of autumn, the general took up position in the Dardanian province, for he had heard that the Avar hordes

were assembled at the place called Cataracts, and that Apsich was encamped here. 6. Then, after the Romans had arrived there, the general Peter exchanged discourse with Apsich, the second-in-command of the Avar force. Apsich was attempting to win control from the Romans of the place called Cataracts. 7. After the general had angrily refused to kindle the spark of peace on such terms, the two forces separated. The Chagan moved to the place Constantiola, while the Romans returned to their stations in Thrace.

Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.*, VIII, 6, 2-3.

2. Then, when the autumn season was present, the emperor Maurice insisted to Peter that the Roman forces should pass the period of winter in the territory of the Sclavenes; but the Romans were troubled by the emperor's purpose, both because of the booty itself, and because of the exhaustion of the horses, and in addition because hordes of barbarians were surging around the land on the opposite bank of the Ister. When the general confirmed the royal command, a serious mutiny arose among the soldiers. 3. And so with frequent missives Maurice instructed Peter that the Romans should do this, whereas the Romans resisted with an intensified refusal. Wherefore they crossed the river on their march; when this had happened, they reached Palastolon with their spirits intoxicated by extreme rage.

The History of Theophylact Simocatta. An English translation with Introduction and Notes, Michael and Mary Whitby, Oxford University Press, 1986.

Teophanes Confessor (752-818), *Chronographia*, (Year 6094 (AD 602)).

Accordingly, when the season of autumn arrived, and the emperor Maurice had ordered Peter to make the army winter in the territory of the Sklavini, the Romans objected and refused to do it because of the exhaustion of their horses, the great amount of booty that they were holding, and the mass of barbarians scattered about the country side, and so they plotted for a rebellion. The general, furiously indignant of the army, drove them to folly. Then heavy rain fell on the army and it was bitterly cold. Peter stayed about twenty miles from the army. Maurice disturbed Peter by writing with orders to cross the Ister and to obtain the winter supplies for the army from the land of the Sklavini, so that he would not be forced to provide public food supplies for the Romans. The general summoned Goudoues and said, 'The emperor's orders that the Romans should winter in foreign territory are excessively difficult for me. For it is wrong to disobey and worse to obey. Avarice gives birth to nothing good, but is the mother of all evils to the Romans. Since the emperor is sick with avarice, he is the cause of the greatest evils to the Romans.' Having summoned the commanders of the army, he revealed to them the emperor's will. They said that the troops would not accept this. When the troops heard about it, they rebelled. The higher officers fled from them and came to the general. The troops congregated and put up the centurion Phokas as their leader, and

having raised him on shield, they acclaimed him as leader. When Peter heard this, he turned to flight and revealed the whole story to the emperor.

The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813, translated with Introduction and Commentary by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex, Clarendon Press – Oxford, 1997, 411-412.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XXIX, 14-46.

The aforesaid Slavs took the *Romans* arms and standards and the rest of their military insignia and crossed the river and came to the frontier pass, and when the Romani who were there saw them and beheld the standards and accoutrements of their own men they thought they were their own men, and so, the aforesaid Slavs reached the pass, they let them through. Once through, they instantly expelled the Romani and took possession of the aforesaid city of Salona

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsyk; English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington DC, 1967, 125.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XXXII, 12-19.

And since what is now Serbia and Paganian and so-called country of Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of the Kanalites were under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and since these countries had been made desolate by Avars (for they have expelled from those parts the Romani who now lived in Dalmatia and Dyrrachium), therefore the emperor settled these same Serbs in these countries, and they were subject to the emperor of the Romans; and the emperor brought elders from Rome and baptized them and taught them fairly to perform the works of piety and expounded to them the faith of the Christians.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsyk; English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington DC, 1967, 153-155.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XL, 30-34.

In this place are various landmarks of the olden days: first, there is a bridge of the emperor Trajan, where Turkey begins; then, a three days journey from the same bridge, there is Belgrade, in which is the tower of the holy and great Constantine, the emperor.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsyk; English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington DC, 1967, 177.

APPENDIX II

Epigraphic evidence for the Roman rule at the north of the Danube in the Late Roman period

Cenad; brick stamp: *SISC(ia)* (IGLR 428 A; IDR III/1 277)

Pančevo; stamped bricks of the IIII Flavia (IDR III/1, p. 30) and VII Claudia (Đorđević 1996, p. 126) legions.

Kuvin; brick stamps: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia)* (IDR III/1, p. 32).

Sapaja Insland; brick stamps of the VII Claudia legion:

LEG(io) VII CL(audia) P(ars) S(uperior) (IDR III/1, p. 38);

[LEG(io)] VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) EVF(emi) P(raefecti) F(ecit) BESSIO (CIL III 8275, 5; IDR III/1 9);

LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) AVR(elii); (Dimitrijević 1984, p. 54, note 66.4)

Stara Palanka; brick stamp: *LEG(io) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura) ADVENTINI P(rae)F(ecti)* (IDR III/1 8)

Vârșeț; brick stamps:

LEG(io) VII CL(audia) (IDR III/1, p. 126);

LEG(io) VII CLAVDI(a)E S(ub) C(ura) MVCATR(a)E PR(ae)P(ositi) (IDR III/1, p. 127);

III VIMINACE (IDR III/1, p. 127, fig. 85)

Vatin: inscribed bracerlet on interior (a- lat.) and on exterior (b- graec.):

a. *D(omino) N(ostro) CONSTANTI*;

b. *MATGOG(os)*

(CIL III 14496, 4; IDR III/1 108)

Pojejena; brick stamps:

LEG(io) VII CL(audia) (CIL III 8071, f-g and 14496, 2; IDR III/1, p. 49);

LEG(io) VII CL(audia) C(uppis) (IGLR 427; IDR III/1 22)

Gornea; brick stamps (see Gudea 1977a, p. 88-89; IDR III/1, p. 59-60; IGLR 424-426):

Leg(io) VII CL(audia) (IDR III/1, p. 59, fig. 25, a-c);

S(ub) C(ura) BVBALI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(ionis) VII CL(audiae) MVIT (IDR III/1 31);

EQ(uites) SAGI(ttarii) S(ub) C(ura) ITALICI [P(rae)P(ositi) R(ipae)] (IGLR 424; IDR III/1 32);

DA(ciae) R(i)P(ensis) (CIL III 8075, 48, b; IDR III/1, p. 60);

Brick with inscription: *ROGO ET PETO PRIMICERE TVNC PUELLAM*

BARIAM TERETRVM PERDIS EGO STERIV[s] MODO RVD(i) CVNSCIO ME REDDERE BES[sam] EX SIVM VISV PETO ET ROGO PRIMICERE REDDAS MIHI TERETRVM (tu)M VENNET BESSA VOLANDO (Fla)CCVS ALIAM VLAM EMET ET TOLLET MIHI COR P(a)T(er) [Fla]CCVS (IGLR 425; IDR III/1 30)

Drencova; brick stamps: *DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis)* (CIL III 8075, 48 b; Tudor 1960, 341-342, no. 20; Protase 2000, 221)

Şviniţa; brick stamps:

S(sub) C(ura) HERMOGENI P(rae)P(ositi) LEG(io) VII CL(audia) PART(is) CIT(erioris) (IGLR 423; IDR III/1 33);
D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA (IGLR 423 A; IDR III/1, p. 62)

Dubova; brick stamps: *[D(aciae) R(i)]P(ensis) DIERN[a]* (IGLR 422; IDR III/1, p. 63, fig. 30)

Orşova; brick stamps:

(Legio) XIII (Gemina) (IGLR 414; IDR III/1 51, fig. 45);
LEG(io) XIII R(atiaria) (AE 1972, 493 a; IGLR 415; IDR III/1 47);
L(egio) V M(acedonica) (IDR III/1, p. 74, fig. 46);
LEG(io) III FL(avia) (D)IER(na) (?) (CIL III 8276, 2; IDR III/1, p. 75);
LEG(io) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior) (Benea 1996, p. 88);
DIERTRA (IGLR 417; IDR III/1 45);
D(acia) R(i)P(ensis) DIERNA (CIL III 8277, 2, a-b; IGLR 413; IDR III/1 44);
DA(cia) R(ipensis) DIANA (AE 1972, 493; IGLR 416; IDR III/1 46)

Mehadia; brick stamps:

LEG(io) V M(acedonica) (CIL III 1630, k; IDR III/1, p. 119);
LEG(io) XIII GEM(ina) (CIL III 8074, 1; IDR III/1, p. 119);
LEG(io) XIII G(emina) (IGLR 421; IDR III/1 101)

Băile Herculane; brick stamp: *(Legio) XIII (Gemina)* (IGLR 420; IDR III/1, p. 98, fig. 59)

Drobeta; inscription: *ARA(m) IOVI CO(ho)RTALI P(ro) (centurionibus) O(mnium) O(rdinum) LVPVS TRIBVNVS* (AE 1959, 313; IGLR 402; IDR II 190)

brick stamps:

L(egio) V M(acedonica) (Benea 1977a, p. 176; IDR II 99);
L(egio) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior) (Tudor 1960, 346, no. 47; IGLR 403);
DRVBETA (CIL III 14215, 13; IGLR 406);
DA(cia) R(ipensis) DIANA (CIL III 14216, 32; IGLR 404);
D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis) AQUIS (IGLR 405);
[D(aciae) R(i)P(ensis)] DIERN(a) (Pârvan 1913a, 50-51; IGLR 407);

Hinova; brick stamps:

L(egio) V M(acedonica) (Davidescu 1989, 33; ILD 83/a-c);
DRVBETA (Davidescu 1989, 36; ILD 83/f-g);
DIANA (Davidescu 1989, 35; ILD 85);

Da(ciae) Rip(ensis) DIANA (Davidescu 1989, 36; ILD 83/e)

Ostrovu Mare; brick stamps:

DIANA (Bondoc 2007, 492);

AQUI[s] (Bondoc 2007, 493);

DA(cia) Rip(ensis) (Bondoc 2007, 493)

Desa; brick stamp: *L(egio) XIII G(emina) RAT(iaria)* (Tudor 1936, 187; AE 1959, 334; IGLR 401)

Orlea; brick stamps:

L(egio) VM(acedonica) CO(hors) II[I] or II[II] (Toropu 1976, 214);

L(egio) VM(acedonica) OES(co) (Toropu 1976, 214);

L(egio) VM(acedonica) VA[R](inia) (Toropu 1976, 214);

VARINIA (Toropu 1976, 214);

VARI(niae) DAL(mati) (Toropu 1976, 214);

VTO (Toropu 1976, 214);

DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis) (Toropu 1976, 214)

Sucidava; inscription: *[D]EAE NEMESI, PRO SALVTE AVG(ustorum duorum), CVRIAL(es) TERRIT(orii) ΣVC(idavensis) [te]MPLVM A SOLO RESTITVERVNT* (Pârvan 1913a, 61; AE 1914, 122; IGLR 277; IDR II 190)

brick stamps: *L(egio) VM(acedonica)* (CIL III 8066, b; IGLR 279);

L(egionis) VM(acedonicae) CO(ho)RS III (AE 1939, 95; IGLR 280; ILD 117);

CO(ho)RS III (AE 1939, 95; IGLR 281; ILD 117);

[L(egionis) V] M(acedonicae) P(rae)P(ositus) C(ohortis) III (Tudor 1960, 337, no.5; IGLR 282; ILD 117);

L(egionis) VM(acedonicae) C(ohors) IIII or *LEG(ionis) VM(acedonicae)*;

C(ohors) IIII (Tudor 1953, 706; IGLR 283);

[L(e)]G(io) VM(acedonica) S(ub) C(ura) ROM(uli) (Tudor 1935-1936, 414; AE 1939, 94; IGLR 285);

ROM(ulus) P(rae)P(ositus) C(ohortis) IIII (Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 103, fig. 24/4; ILD, 118);

L(egio) VM(acedonica) OES(co) (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 335; CIL III 8068, a-b = 6241; IGLR 284);

L(egio) VM(acedonica) VAR(inia) (Tudor 1935-1936, 413; AE 1939, 91; IGLR 286);

P(rae)P(ositus) RIP(ae) VAR(iniae) (Tudor 1960, 339; IGLR 290);

LE(egio) XIII G(emina) P(ars) S(uperior) (IGLR 287);

L(egio) VII CL(audia) S(ub) C(ura)... (IGLR 288);

[LEG(io)] VII S(ub) C(ura) UR(saci) (ILD 122);

L(egio) VII (Claudia) S(ub) C(ura) VRSA[ci F(lavi) AR]GVTI OF(ficina) (Toropu 1988-1989, 35; ILD 120);

NV(merianus ?) P(rae)P(ositus) R(ipae) (IGLR 292);

E(quites) N(umeri) C(onstantianorum) (IGLR 288 A);

DAL(matae) VARI(niae) and *VARI(niae) DAL(matae)* (Tudor 1935-1936, 413-

413; AE 1939, 93; IGLR 289 A);
C(uneus) A(equitum) D(almatarum) (Tudor 1941, 379; IGLR 296);
[P(raefectus) L(egionis) V M(acedonicae)] VAL(eriana) (Toropu, Gherghe, Bâciu
1996, 12);
VARINIA (Tocilescu 1902-1908, 32; AE 1939, 92; IGLR 289);
VAR(inia) VAR(inia) (IGLR 291);
VTO and *OTV* (Tudor 1935-1936, 416; IGLR 293);
ALM(o) (Tudor 1941, 379; IGLR 294);
DA(cia) R(i)P(ensis) (CIL III 1633, 22=8075, 48 a; Tudor 1935-1936, 416;
IGLR 295)

Milliarium: *IMP(eratori) [D(omino)] N(ostro) [FL(avio) VAL(erio)
CON-JSTANT[INO AVG(vsto) ET] C[A]ES(ari)B(vs) NO[STRIS] (dvobvs) M(ille)
P(assvum) I* (Tudor 1938, 19-20; AE 1939, 19; IGLR 278)

Andolina: brick stamp: *MAXEN(tius)* (Zahariade, Mușețeanu, Chiriac
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