

EARLY BYZANTINE CAPIDAVA: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

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More than 80 years of archaeological research at Capidava have proven its great strategic importance in the historical frame of the 6th century at the Lower Danube. While the first stage of the research set only the broad outlines of the Early Byzantine age¹, the excavations of the last quarter century concentrated mainly on this historical period. The research conducted in the southern half² of the fortress and in other important urban constructions, as the Ancient Docks³, the Horreum⁴ or the Basilica⁵ functioning during the late Roman period, yielded an important number of finds.

The interest for coin finds dates back to the middle of the last century⁶. Studies concerning the numismatic evidence of the 6th c. and the beginning of the next, provided by the archaeological excavations of the last decades, were published mainly as catalogues of recent finds⁷, notes in archaeological reports or studies⁸ and the recently published collection of the Constantza Museum⁹. Therefore, the coin sample dating from the period Anastasius – Heraclius is large enough, at the scale of 6th to 7th c. coin finds in Scythia, to permit a more ambitious attempt to follow the patterns of the coin circulation at Capidava during its last century under Roman rule.

A number of 20 specimens kept at the National History Museum of Romania are included in the present study, raising the total number of early Byzantine finds to 168 pieces. Although the coins do not raise any special problems, all being recorded types in standard catalogues¹⁰, their finding

¹ Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu and P. Diaconu, *Capidava I. Monografie arheologică*, Bucharest, 1958.

² I. Opreș, *Ceramica romană târzie și paleobizantină de la Capidava în contextul descoperirilor de la Dunărea de Jos (sec. IV-VI p. Chr)*, Bucharest, 2003, pp. 17-33; R. Florescu, *Des tremblements de terre et des invasions en Scythie Mineure pendant l'Antiquité tardive*, in *Pontica*, 33-34, 2000-2001, pp. 451-7; Idem and Z. Covacef, *Stratigrafia Capidavei romane timpurii și feudale timpurii*, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 197-247; Z. Covacef, *Capidava în secolul VI e.n. Câteva observații pe baza cercetărilor din sectorul V al cetății*, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 187-96; Eadem, *Cercetările din sectorul V al cetății Capidava*, in *MCA*, Brașov, 1983, pp. 361-6; Eadem, *Raport preliminar asupra cercetărilor arheologice din sectorul V al cetății Capidava (campaniile din anii 1975, 1976, 1978 și 1979)*, in *Pontica*, 13, 1980, pp. 269-71; Eadem, *Raport preliminar privind cercetările arheologice din sectorul V al cetății Capidava (Campaniile din anii 1975, 1976 și 1978)*, in *MCA*, 13, 1979, pp. 175-8; R. Florescu, *Date noi cu privire la cronologia Capidavei romane timpurii*, in *Pontica*, 8, 1975, pp. 361-72; Idem and N. Cheluță-Georgescu, *Săpăturile de la Capidava*, in *Pontica*, 8, 1975, pp. 77-85; *ibidem*, in *Pontica*, 7, 1974, pp. 417-35; Gr. Florescu in: Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu and P. Diaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³ N. Șt. Noica, Cr. Matei, I. Dima and M. Munteanu, *Cercetările fizico-chimice privind mortarul de rostulă folosit la instalația portuară antică de la Capidava*, in *CCDJ*, XIII-XIV, 1995, pp. 193-6; Cr. Matei, *Cercetările arheologice în zona instalației portuare antice de la Capidava, II*, in *CCDJ*, V-VII, 1988-1989, pp. 121-41; Idem, *Cercetările arheologice în zona instalației portuare antice de la Capidava, I*, in *CCDJ*, III-IV, 1987, pp. 95-101.

⁴ I. Opreș, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-33.

⁵ yet to be published.

⁶ P. Diaconu in: Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu and P. Diaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 238-44.

⁷ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmățchi, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (XIII)*, in *Pontica*, 32, 1999, p. 351; Idem, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (XII)*, in *Pontica*, 31, 1998, p. 316-7; Idem, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (XI)*, in *Pontica*, 30, 1997, p. 377-8; A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (X)*, in *Pontica*, 28-29, 1995-1996, p. 315; Idem, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (IX)*, in *Pontica*, 25, 1992, p. 386; Idem, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (VIII)*, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 378-80; Idem, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (IV)*, in *Pontica*, 15, 1982, p. 282; Idem, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (II)*, in *Pontica*, 13, 1980, p. 355; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Câteva monede romane și bizantine descoperite întâmplător la Capidava*, in *BSNR*, 70-74, 1976-1980, 124-128, pp. 247-51.

⁸ G. Custurea and T. Clante, *Monede bizantine descoperite în Dobrogea (sec. VI-VII)*, in *Pontica*, 39, pp. 419-34; G. Custurea, *Date noi privind circulația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (sec. V-VII)*, in *Pontica*, 37-38, 2004-2005, pp. 495-507-8; I. Opreș, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fn. 24, pp. 23, 25; G. Custurea, *Unele aspecte privind penetrația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea în secolele VII-X*, in *Pontica*, 19, 1986, p. 277; Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in *MCA*, Brașov, 1983, p. 361= Eadem, *op. cit.*, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 187-96; Eadem, *op. cit.*, in *Pontica*, 13, 1980, pp. 269-71; R. Florescu, in I. Mică, *Dobrogea*, Bucharest, 1978, plate; Idem and N. Cheluță-Georgescu, *op. cit.*, in *Pontica*, 8, 1975, p. 85; R. Florescu, *Ghid arheologic al Dobrogei*, Bucharest, 1968, plate 63; Idem, *Capidava*, Bucharest, 1965, plate; Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu and G. Ceacalopol, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Capidava (1958)*, in *MCA*, 7, 1961, p. 579; Z. Covacef, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România* (hereafter CCA), campaigns of 1983-1992, Bucharest, 1997, pp. 19-21; Eadem, in CCA 1998, Bucharest, 1999, p. 22; Eadem, in CCA 2000, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 55-6; Eadem, in CCA 2001, Bucharest, 2002, p. 85.

⁹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *Monnaies Byzantines du Musée de Constanța (Roumanie)*, Wetteren, 2004.

¹⁰ W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, I, Vienna, 1973; II, 1975 and III, 1981.

place gives precious clues regarding the functioning of some important constructions of the fortress and ultimately information about the final blows that sealed the fate of early Byzantine Capidava. As the simple enumeration of coins in a catalogue did not seem satisfactory, I added more comprehensive maps¹¹, plotted on the spot where the respective coins were found.

Judging by the number of coins, one can notice at a cursory examination a number of peculiarities compared to the statistics provided by other large fortresses in Scythia¹². An interesting fact is the high percentage of coins from Justin I, the results from Callatis alone providing a higher figure for this emperor. The number of specimens issued by Justin II exceeds the number of coins dating from the reign of Justinian I, which is not uncommon anymore. At Capidava, though, we find an unprecedented difference between the two emperors, by far the highest in Scythia at this point¹³: 51 Justinian I to 61 Justin II. Further on, one can see that despite the high presence of coins issued by Justin II, the coin circulation drops severely during the reigns of Tiberius II Constantine, Maurice Tiberius and Phocas. Only one coin of Heraclius has been found at Capidava so far.

In all, the presence of various mints at Capidava follows the pattern of a widely spread classification throughout the province (appendix, table 5). Some peculiarities still occur, namely the quite high involvement of Antioch and Nicomedia, while the metropolitan mint shows a lower figure than the usual average in Scythia. In what concerns the denominations, we notice the total lack of pentanummia, although one may expect at least some specimens from the reign of Justin II, given the fairly large number of such finds in other neighbouring fortresses. Otherwise, the follis seems to be the most frequent denomination among finds, followed by half-folles, as usual¹⁴.

Passing to a more thorough statistical insight, the percentage based on coin reforms but also on the gold/ copper ratio for each span of time is to be taken into account. The coins dating from the reign of Anastasius give close results at Capidava and in the other important centres of Scythia. Although with a higher figure than Tiberius II, Maurice, Phocas and even the last stage of the reign of Justinian, the prosperous reign of Anastasius in terms of finance and constructions, as revealed by various sources, does not seem to have left important numismatic traces neither at Capidava nor in the rest of the province. Nevertheless, the second stage of his reign (512-518) provides more coin finds than the period after 578 and until the collapse of the Roman fortress. We should also underscore the significance of the three small module issues dated before 512, as an indicator of a

¹¹ I wish to thank Dr. Ioan C. Oprea, chief-coordinator of the excavations at Capidava for providing the latest archaeological maps of the site.

¹² Gh. Poenaru Bordea in Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Fl. Topoleanu and Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Halmyris I*, 2003, pp. 142-89; S. Torbatov, *Coin Circulation in the Hill-top Settlement near Odartsi (310-610 AD)*, 2003; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Nicolae and A. Popescu, *Contributions numismatiques à l'histoire de Noviodunum aux VI^e-VII^e siècles*, in SCN, 11, 1995, pp. 135-61 (statistics for Noviodunum, Istrus and Dinogetia); M. Iacob and Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Les monnaies des IV^e-VII^e siècles découvertes à Argamum (Scythie Mineure), in XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997, Akten-Proceedings-Actes, II*, Berlin, 2000, pp. 780-92; Th. Isvoranu and Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Monede bizantine de la Tomis și împrejurimi în colecția Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, in Simpozion de Numismatică, 2003*, pp. 137-61; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and A. Popescu, *Monede grecești, romane și bizantine din Dobrogea în colecția muzeului din Brăila*, in SCN, 12, 1998, pp. 83-117 (for Callatis); Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, passim (for Tropaeum Traiani); V. Parușev, *Antičnite moneti ot Kaliakra*, in INMV, 27, 1991, pp. 26-31; I. Iordanov, *Numizmatičeskata kolekcija na Arheologičeski Muzej Balčik- Istoričeski izvor za istorijata na grada i okolnostite mu*, in Balčik- Drevnost i sâvremene, 1990, pp. 49-55; M. Dimitrov, *Monetite ot Dionisopolis-Karvuna: Izvor za administrativnata, političeskata i stopanskata istorija na severozapadnoto Černomorie ot IV v. pr. Xr. do sredata na XV vek*, in Dobrudža, 12, 1995, pp. 173-9; I. Iordanov, *Moneti ot Čirakman, in Čirakman – Karvuna – Kavarna*, Sofia, 1982, pp. 57-8; Gh. Poenaru Bordea and R. Ocheșeanu, *Probleme istorice dobrogene (secolele VI-VII) în lumina monedelor bizantine din colecția Muzeului de Istorie Națională și Arheologie din Constanța*, in SCIVA, 3, 1980, pp. 377-96 (for the Constantza collection); A. Gândilă, *Sixth-to-Seventh Century Coin Circulation in Dobrudža*, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, p. 113 (entire province). It is worth mentioning that Capidava is the first major fortress on the western border of the province, whose 6th-7th c. coin finds are gathered in a central analysis.

¹³ Tomis: 145 Justinian I/ 139 Justin II; Noviodunum: 44 Justinian I/ 40 Justin II; Istrus: 96 Justinian I/ 98 Justin II; Dinogetia: 21 Justinian I/ 23 Justin II; Halmyris: 37 Justinian I/ 37 Justin II; Argamum: 47 Justinian I/ 32 Justin II; Callatis: 24 Justinian I/ 10 Justin II; Dionysopolis: 43 Justinian I/ 39 Justin II; Acres: 17 Justinian I/ 20 Justin II; Odartsi: 58 Justinian I/ 48 Justin II and Scythia (overall): 947 Justinian I/ 867 Justin II. At (L)ibida there is also a very big difference in favour of Justin II, cf. M. Iacob, *La circulation monétaire à (L)ibida (Mésie Inférieure) du V^e jusqu'au début du VII^e siècle*, presentation at the international symposium *Byzantine coins in Central Europe between the 5th and 10th Century*, Krakow, 2007.

¹⁴ A. Gândilă, *Some aspects of the coin circulation in the Byzantine province of Scythia*, in Acta Musei Varnensis - Numismatic, sphragistic and epigraphic contributions to the history of the Black Sea coast, Varna, 2005, forthcoming.

Roman presence at Capidava during this time, as these smaller issues would be soon drawn out from circulation after the next reform¹⁵.

The reign of Justin I brings a big boost in the monetary circulation at Capidava, paralleled only by the one in the capital city of Tomis. With 13. 27% this period is placed on the 3rd position of the overall classification and it might show that the reconstruction process started by Anastasius was continued at a larger scale during these years¹⁶. As the coins can be dated more precisely, we notice that the first period (518-522) is less represented in coin finds, 70 nummia/ year, than the second one (522-527) with 78 nummia/ year. Although, the difference is not striking, the forays of the Antes and Slavs from the beginning of the reign may have influenced Capidava indirectly¹⁷. Judging by the gold/ copper ratio of the period 498-538¹⁸, the reign of Justin I indicates the most thriving economic activity at Capidava

The reign of Justinian I began with an important fall in terms of coin circulation at Capidava, of almost 5% during the stage 527-538. Procopius of Caesarea speaks of a barbaric attack in 529, resumed in 533, when the defence of the Danube became highly unstable¹⁹. As the dating of coins can be more accurate (527-532 and 532-538), one would expect the second stage to show lower figures due to the troubled times at the Danube border. This fact is confirmed by the coin finds, 48 nummia/ year compared to approximately 36 nummia/ year. At least at this point, it could be stated that Capidava was economically affected by the events unfolding probably on the upper Danube, as were the other important centres of the province²⁰.

The major reform carried out in 538 saw an important increase in the coin circulation at Capidava, which becomes even greater if we take into account the gold/ copper ratio for this stage (538-542), 22. 74% (Hahn), the highest prosperity level of the whole studied period²¹. The coin finds from this time indicate that Capidava was not on the route of the strong attack led by the Cutrigurs in 540, who managed to reach the Anastasian wall²².

Although still very high judging by the gold/ copper ratio, the next stage (542-550) marks a serious downfall in coin circulation, which is not to be recovered until the end of the reign. From the same Procopius of Caesarea we learn of two important diplomatic events: the emperor's attempt to dissuade the Antes from further depredations by settling them north of the Danube Delta (544) and the granting of the much debated fortress of Turris in 546²³. If the first event doesn't seem to have left any numismatic traces at Capidava, we notice a lack of coin finds for the year 545/6. However, we do

¹⁵ C. Morisson, V. Popovic and V. Ivanisevic (ed.), in collaboration with M. Oeconomidès, P. Culierrier, B. Mitrea, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, I. Turatsoglou and Y. Youroukova, *Les Trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491-713)*, *Réalités Byzantines*, 8/2006, passim. Out of 36 hoards containing well dated coins of Anastasius only 7 have small module types, which could point to the fact that at least in this part of the Empire the small module issues were legally withdrawn from circulation. Otherwise, at Berytus in the East, the situation is quite opposite: the pre 512 issues are the most numerous types of finds. See: K. Butcher, *Small change in ancient Beirut. The coin finds from BEY 006 and BEY 045: Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods*, in *Berytus, Archaeological studies*, XLV-XLVI, 2001-2002, pp. 105-108.

¹⁶ The reconstruction underwent during the period Anastasius-Justin I might be the reason why Capidava is not mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea among the fortresses rebuild by Justinian.

¹⁷ Al. Barnea in Al. Suceveanu and Al. Barnea, *La Dobrudja romaine*, Bucharest, 1991, p. 172.

¹⁸ 1 solidus=360 folles (W. Hahn).

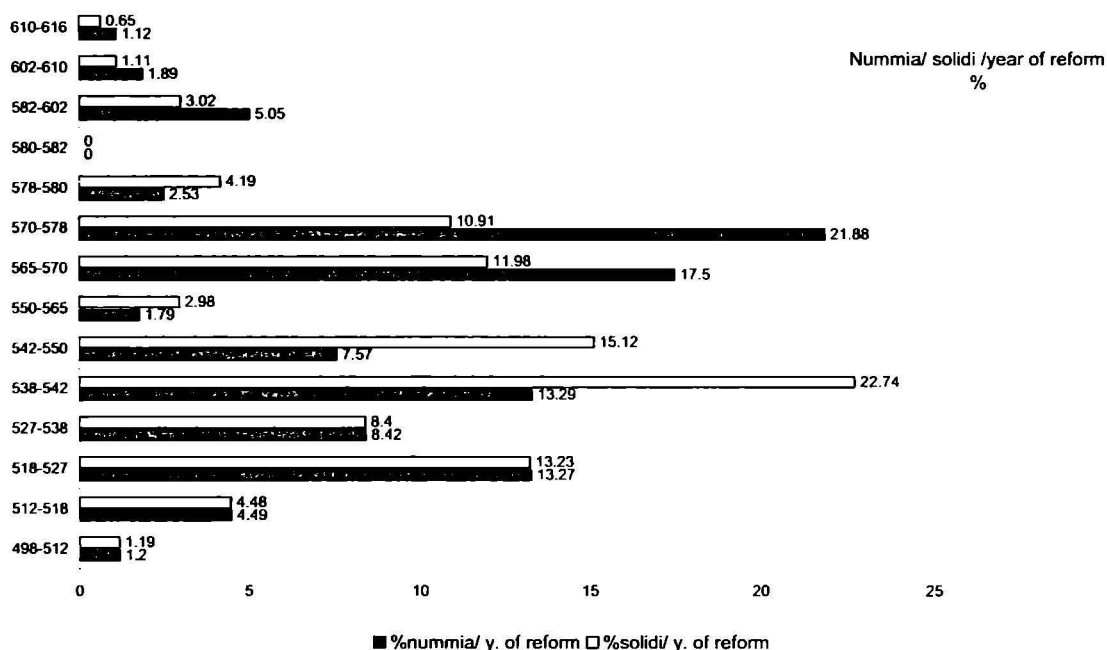
¹⁹ Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, III, 14, 6.

²⁰ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Nicolae and A. Popescu, *op. cit.*, in SCN, 11, 1995, p. 150.

²¹ 1 solidus=210 folles. See also C. Morrison, *Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World*, in *Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. II, pp. 815-78.

²² Otherwise, except for Noviodunum, the major fortresses of Scythia provide an important number of coin finds for this period. The special situation at Noviodunum was related to the Cutrigurs' attack in 540; see: Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Nicolae and A. Popescu, *op. cit.*, in SCN, 11, 1995, p. 151. Although the explanation is reasonable, we should wait for further research to show if these events affected other fortresses of the province, as it should be expected given the geographical position of Noviodunum and the final destination of the barbarian hoards.

²³ I. Barnea in R. Vulpe and I. Barnea, *Din istoria Dobrogei, vol. II: Romanii la Dunărea de Jos*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 418. For the location of Turris see: Al. Madgearu, *The Placement of the Fortress Turris*, in *BalkSt.*, 33, 2, 1992, pp. 203-8; Idem, *The 6th century Lower Danubian Bridgeheads: location and mission*, in *Ephemeris Napocensis*, 13, 2003, pp. 301-4; D. Gh. Teodor, *Romanitatea carpato-dunăreană și Bizanțul în veacurile V-XI e. n.*, Iași, 1981, p. 18. Discrete hypotheses have been presented based on archaeological evidence mostly with disregard to the fact that Procopius states only the intention of the emperor without any mention of the outcome of his proposition. It should be also mentioned that the great hoard of Anadolchioi, near Tomis, ends with a coin dated 545/6, possibly related to the same events; see: B. Mitrea, *Un tezaur de monede bizantine descoperit la Constanța*, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, pp. 239-62; Gh. Poenaru Bordea and E. Nicolae, *Minimi din tezaurul descoperit la Constanța în cartierul Anadolchioi*, in *BSNR*, 80-85, 1986-1991, 134-139, pp. 101-15.



not possess a sample of coins rich enough to substantiate a connection with the granting of Turris, although the archaeological evidence, as shown below, could point to a partial destruction of the town. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that most of the fortresses in Scythia indicate severe drops in coin circulation compared to the previous stage (table 2). This appears to be a more widely spread phenomenon across the empire, as most of the coin samples from excavations and public collections indicate a similar trend²⁴.

²⁴ DOC (A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection: Anastasius I to Maurice, 491-602*, Washington, 1966); BMC (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908); BNP (C. Morisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliotheque Nationale I*, Paris, 1970), Belgrade (V. Radić and V. Ivanisević, *Byzantine Coins From the National Museum in Belgrade*, Belgrade, 2006), Šumen (Ženia Žekova, *Moneti i monetno obrăștenie v srednovekovnija Šumen*, Sofia, 2006), Amaseia (S. Ireland, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Museum at Amasya*, London, 2000, pp. 101-109), Antioch (D. B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. IV, part 2: *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins*, Princeton-London-The Hague, 1952, pp. 148-164), Sardis (G. E. Bates, *Byzantine Coins*, Cambridge (MA), 1971, pp. 19-112; H. W. Bell, *Sardis*, vol. XI, part I, 1910-1914: *Coins*, Leiden, 1916, pp. 76-95).

Table 1. A comparative survey by nummia per year of reign

% OF THE COEFFICIENTS NUMMIA/ YEAR OF REIGN											
EMPEROR	Tomis	Istrus	Noviodunum	Dinogetia	Halmyris	Callatis	Argamum	Tropaeum	Acres	Odartsi	CAPIDAVA
Anastasius	2.75	4.38	5.09	6.43	7.49	5.19	2.37	4.44	5.00	7.08	3.95
Justin I	21.40	12.87	20.61	17.68	21.21	32.52	10.85	21.07	13.55	20.00	23.97
Justinian I	9.55	11.29	10.04	13.50	12.35	15.92	13.21	15.01	4.22	14.01	11.80
Justin II	24.81	31.35	32.78	41.80	40.04	16.61	40.63	49.40	26.44	39.52	43.94
Tiberius II	6.80	20.39	11.16	3.85	9.14	14.88	7.89	6.83	13.88	9.76	3.80
Maurice	14.82	11.41	9.72	16.72	5.48	8.65	15.19	2.39	11.88	1.57	9.11
Phocas	19.87	8.30	10.56	-	3.29	6.23	9.86	0.86	25.00	0.15	3.43

Table 2. A comparative survey by reigns and monetary reforms

% OF THE COEFFICIENTS NUMMIA/ YEAR OF REFORM									
EMPEROR	REFORM	Tomis	Istrus	Noviodunum	Dinogetia	Tropaeum	Halmyris	Odartsi	CAPIDAVA
Anastasius I	498-512	1.29	0.56	0.25	1.60	1.13	0.26	1.13	1.21
	512-518	3.27	6.06	6.48	6.57	4.23	6.61	9.41	4.54
Justin I	518-527	14.85	7.06	10.30	8.81	9.79	10.23	10.30	13.42
Justinian I	527-538	7.24	10.07	6.66	7.37	6.93	6.79	11.76	8.51
	538-542	7.62	9.31	2.16	20.03	15.87	17.65	8.35	13.44
	542-550	4.87	4.74	9.77	4.96	4.37	6	4.86	7.65
	550-565	5.41	2.18	3.11	2.08	5.71	2.91	4.70	1.81
Justin II	565-570	13.33	11.27	17.30	19.23	18.73	15	13.99	17.70
	570-578	14.24	18	18.85	20.99	25.39	20.91	24.42	23.14
Tiberius II	578-580	-	9.94	4.32	-	3.17	8.82	4.05	2.56
Constantine	580-582	3.81	9.94	8.65	-	3.17	-	6.08	-
Maurice	582-602	10.28	6.26	4.32	8.33	1.11	2.64	0.81	5.11
Phocas	602-610	13.79	4.24	8.04	-	0.40	1.58	0.08	1.91

It could be that the great plague from the early 540's, which had drastically reduced the population of the empire, offered a good opportunity for invasions. The same could be supposed later on, in 559, when the Cutrigurs initiated a strong offensive after another outbreak of the plague in the preceding year. The plague, with its devastating effect on demography, crippled the economy and the defence system, bringing an unprecedented shortage of manpower²⁵. It is not impossible that Justinian's policy regarding the Antes was more closely connected to the plague, as the depopulation in the urban centres had created a structural imbalance in favour of the northern barbaric tribes²⁶.

The last sequence in terms of monetary reforms (550-565) brings a most intriguing situation at Capidava. Among the available statistics, the coin finds from this period place Capidava on the last position at the scale of the whole province of Scythia. The economic activity was paralyzed for more than a decade, only 160 nummia entering the town in fifteen years (1.79%), according to the current finds²⁷. Undoubtedly, the dramatic downfall in the coin circulation is due to the insecurity in the area caused by the presence of the Slavs at Ulmetum, close to Capidava, where they initiated powerful attacks in 550-551, southwards into Thrace²⁸. Moreover, in 559, the Empire receives a severe blow from the Cutrigurs led by Zabergan²⁹, leaving destructive traces at Istrus³⁰, Dinogetia³¹ and perhaps Capidava as well³². One of the few coins from this period is dated 559/560, but after this moment we notice another gape until the end of the reign. During these last years we learn of a new threat, this time coming from the Avars of Baian, who intended to take up Dobrudja in 562³³, trying to take full advantage of the disorder created by the Huns and Bulgarians, who were menacing the Empire during the same year³⁴.

Based on the archaeological evidence and in the light of the numismatic finds, it might be possible for the first phase of the 6th c. (N1) to end sometime between 544 and 559, after repeated barbarian incursions. A burned layer was uncovered in multiple sectors of the fortress, dating from this period, as best proven by a coin found in a chamber from the east side of the town³⁵. Although the coin was dated 541/2, the coin finds indicate a serious break in the circulation only after 545. We might assume that Capidava was affected by the insecurity of the province beginning with 544 and afterwards faced the devastating raids of the Slavs and Cutrigurs, inflicting successive destructions, which resulted in multiple burned levels. The archaeological reports speak about three such burned layers uncovered in a chamber from the 5th sector (□K76). The first is dated with the above mentioned coin of 541/2 (-1.9m) found glued to an amphora as a result of a high temperature. I suspect that the first destruction was provoked by the events unfolding in the area in 544-546, when the plague was menacing the Empire. The same events may also have led to the concealing of the Anadolchioi hoard³⁶.

Some 50 cm above, another layer destroyed in a fire provided an issue dated 549/50³⁷. This second destruction could be the result of a Slavic attack in the early 550's or the latest during the

²⁵ See the pioneering work of P. Allen, *The 'Justinianic Plague'*, in *Byzantion*, 49, 1979, pp. 5-20; J. Durliat, *La peste du VI^e siècle. Pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantines*, in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin. IV^e - VII^e siècle*, Paris 1989, pp. 118-25 and recently Lester K. Little (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750*, Cambridge, 2006; P. Horden, *Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian*, in *The Cambridge Companion to The Age of Justinian*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 134-60.

²⁶ J. C. Russell, *Late ancient and mediaeval population*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., 44, 3, 1958, pp. 41 ff, showing that the nomad way and the steppe climate lowered the mortality level among the tribal unions.

²⁷ This gape was already anticipated, see: A. Gândilă, *op.cit.*, in CN, 9, 2005, p. 116 while two more coins were added in the meantime thanks to the publishing of the collection of the Constantza Museum; see appendix, catalogue, n. 57 and n. 61.

²⁸ Al. Barnea in Al. Suceveanu and Al. Barnea, *op.cit.*, p. 173.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 174. Prior to this event, troops were moved from the Balkans to Italy, to fight the Ostrogoths, leaving the Danube border with a weak defense. See: M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare*, Oxford, 1988, p. 79.

³⁰ Al. Suceveanu and C. Scorpan, *Stratigrafia Histriei romane târzie în lumina săpăturilor din 1969 și 1970 în sectorul central*, in *Pontica*, 4, 1971, p. 164 and fn. 14, p. 167 and fn. 19.

³¹ B. Mitrea, *Monedele și prăbușirea Dinogetiei la sfârșitul secolului VI*, in *Pontica*, 7, 1974, p. 65, n. 21 and p. 66, n. 33; I. Barnea, *L'incendie de la cite de Dinogetia au VI^e s.*, in *Dacia N.S.*, 10, 1966, pp. 237-59.

³² Z. Covacef, *op.cit.*, in MCA, 15, 1983, p. 362; Eadem, *op.cit.*, in MCA, 13, 1979, pp. 175-8.

³³ Al. Barnea in Al. Suceveanu and Al. Barnea, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

³⁴ I. Barnea in R. Vulpe and I. Barnea, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

³⁵ I. Opreș, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fn. 24.

³⁶ See. fn. 23.

³⁷ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in MCA, 15, 1983, pp. 361-362; Eadem, *op. cit.*, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 189-90.

invasion of the Cutrigurs in 559, as indicated by yet another specimen found in the 5th sector (y. 547/8 in C10 □ P77)³⁸.

The situation in the 5th sector is confirmed by the stratigraphy of the 3rd sector. Here, in □ T72, two folles were found glued together; they were dated 542/3 and 543/4³⁹. This level also ends in a devastating fire.

Although it was suspected that Capidava did not suffer a major reconstruction after the terrible events at the end of Justinian's reign⁴⁰, the coin circulation from the period 565-578 reveals a rather unexpected rebirth of the town, both economically and as a strategic point on the Danube border. With 43.94% of the total coin finds, the reign of Justin II brings more specimens at Capidava than almost anywhere else in Dobrudja. The first years of his reign bear the heavy legacy left by Justinian and the prodigal policy conducted by the Empire during the previous decades. A new raid, led by the Avars, takes place in 566⁴¹. The new emperor embarks on a new strategy, suppressing the substantial payments sent to the barbarian chieftains, while he decides to strengthen his defences to resist the attacks on his Danube frontier⁴². One result of this new policy seems to be the reconstruction of Capidava early during his reign, as the coin circulation resumed and flourished for a decade. Still, the high number of coins does not necessarily ascertain an abundance of goods and the thriving of commerce, as the inflation struck the empire's weakened economy. Looking at the gold/ copper ratio, at least the first stage (565-570) provides a higher figure, 11.98 %, 3rd place on the overall classification, whereas the next period (570-578) shows a slightly lower figure, drawn back by the very few coin finds from the last three years of reign.

As mentioned above, the square K76 from the 5th sector provided (-1.4m) a specimen from Justinian dated 549/50⁴³, but also one from Justin II, a follis issued in 568/9. If both coins are belonging to the same archaeological context⁴⁴, than the moment of the destruction could be placed after 568/9, as both coins were in circulation at the time. On a wall closing the square K76 another coin find was reported, a half-follis dated 572/3⁴⁵. In another square (C9 □ P75) was found a half-follis dated 566/7, in the proximity of a collapsed wall after a fire⁴⁶. In the 3rd sector of the fortress, inside the late Roman horreum, two issues of 571/2 or later were found⁴⁷. Also, coins of Justin II were found in the basilica (570/1 or later)⁴⁸ and at the docks (574/5), two constructions that might have been still in service during these years⁴⁹. All of this might indicate that, at least until the middle of the 570's, Capidava kept its urban institutions and therefore maintained a certain degree of urban life⁵⁰.

³⁸ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmatchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2008.

³⁹ I. Opreș, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁴⁰ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.* in MCA, 15, 1983, p. 362.

⁴¹ Al. Barnea in Al. Suceveanu and Al. Barnea, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁴² I. Barnea in R. Vulpe and I. Barnea, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

⁴³ The same coin is dated 546/7 by Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in MCA, 15, 1983, pp. 361 and also 549/50 in Eadem, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 13, 1980, p. 271, n. 18.

⁴⁴ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in MCA, 15, 1983, p. 361; Eadem, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 194-5.

⁴⁵ The coin was found at -0.8m, close to a third burned layer, but on a wall, which, in my opinion, makes it uncertain for dating this new destruction, as it may well originate from a later period. Otherwise, lower on the Danube, at Troesmis, a follis dated 571/2 was found on a burned layer and related to an Avar incursion: E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Monede antice bizantine descoperite la Troesmis*, in Peuce, 8, 1980, p. 251.

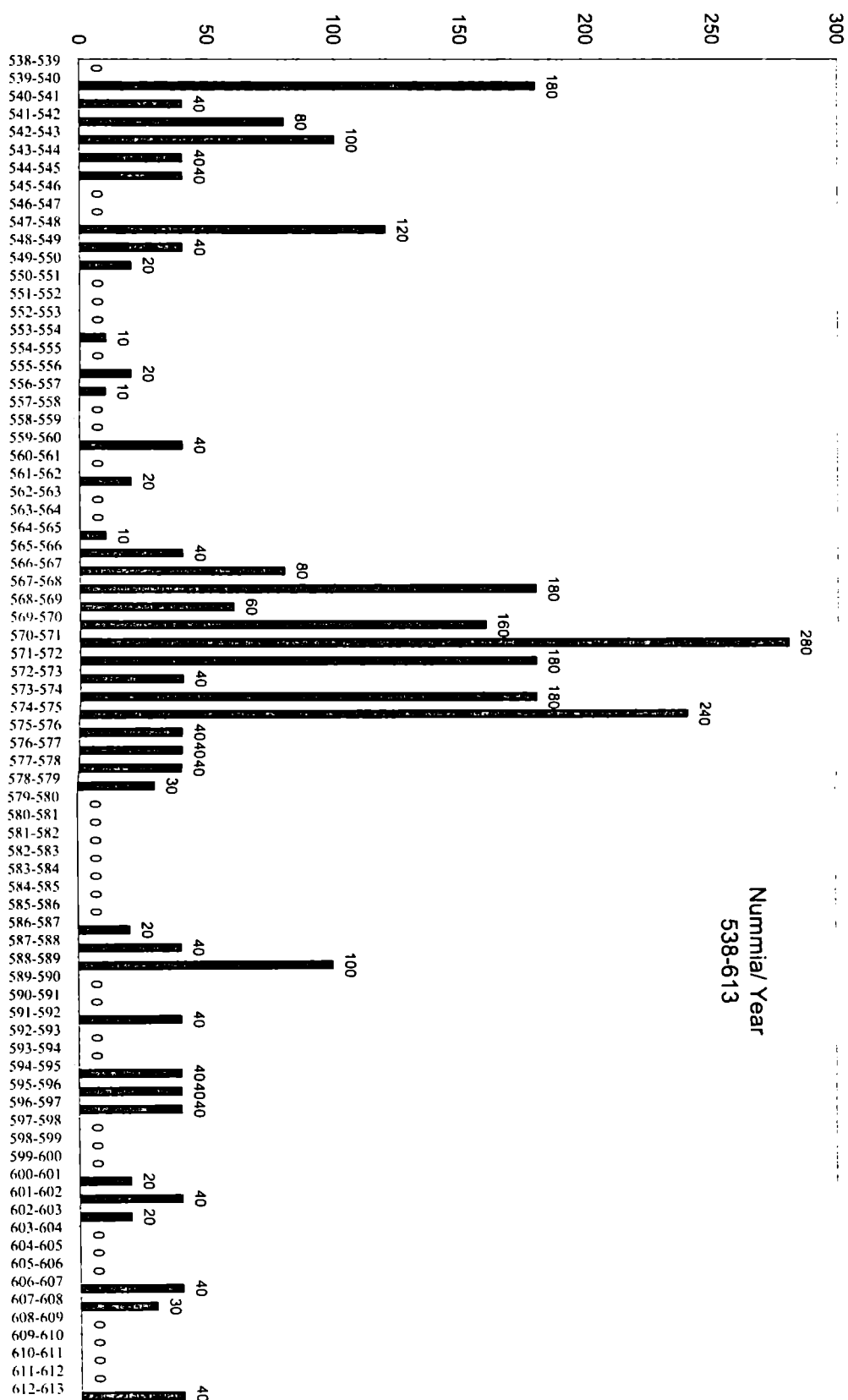
⁴⁶ Z. Covacef, in CCA 2000, Bucharest, 2001, p. 56.

⁴⁷ I. Opreș, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁴⁸ Al. Barnea, in Al. Suceveanu and Al. Barnea, *op. cit.*, p. 181, who was assuming that the Christian basilica was still in service "au moins jusqu'à 559".

⁴⁹ With the reserve that coins found in the ancient docks area might have been brought by the river. See: Cr. Matei, *op. cit.*, in CCDJ, III-IV, 1987, p. 96.

⁵⁰ Al. Madgearu, *Continuitate și discontinuitate culturală la Dunărea de Jos în secolele VII-VIII*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 106.



Sometime during the 6th century was dated the construction of the smaller fortification in the southern part of the Roman fortress. At the beginning, it was suspected that Anastasius⁷³ built this late defence system but later on, new finds pointed to the first decade of the 7th century as the moment when the town was reduced to its southern quarter⁷⁴. Two coin finds close to the late fortification wall might shed some light on its dating. At some point, in □T71, the wall itself is built on a previous 6th century construction of residential nature. Inside the chamber, on the floor (-0.65m), was found a follis dated 518-522 (cat. n. 16). The floor level is contemporary with the neighbouring street (in □T72), which provided a follis issued in 594/5 (-0.70m). If the hypothesis of the two coins circulating at the same time seems quite reasonable, the fact that the late fortification was raised above the 594/5 coin find is almost a certainty. The original profile and destination of both the building and the street were doubtlessly lost after the new citadel was built. Based on the numismatic and archaeological evidence I think that the late citadel was raised in the years following the attack of the Avars in 597/8. The lack of resources did not permit a full scale reconstruction, so the size of the fortress had to be reduced. It may be that the population kept the stronghold for defence purposes, while they inhabited other parts of the town as well⁷⁵, as evinced by the map plotted with coin finds from this period. Thus, chambers from other archaeological sectors of the fortress, outside the perimeter of the small citadel, yielded coin finds from the reign of Maurice, dated after 595⁷⁶.

Another acceptable dating could be the first half of the 7th century, when the fortress would have been reduced as a consequence of the depopulation in the area, after 613, when the coin circulation seems to end and Capidava turns into a small rural settlement.

On the second part of his reign, Maurice Tiberius concentrates on the Danube border, transferring troops from the eastern front after the war with the Persians was brought to an end. The imperial army does not succeed in obtaining a decisive victory against the Avars or the Slavs. Even more, the rebellious troops camped north of the Danube marched towards the Capital, where the centurion Phocas was proclaimed emperor. After another attack of the Avars, Phocas seals a new *foedus* involving a large tribute meant to forestall further invasions, which might have bought some peace for the next few years⁷⁷, thus explaining the rather considerable number of coin finds from his reign⁷⁸.

Capidava provides one of the only four specimens issued in 602/3 to enter the province, while the other two coins from Phocas are dated 606/7 and 607/8. The latest coin discovered so far at Capidava or its surroundings is a follis dated 612/3, from the reign of Heraclius⁷⁹. Thus, Capidava joins the other major fortresses of the province, with coin finds dated to the first years of his reign:

⁷³ Gr. Florescu in Gr. Florescu, R. Florescu and P. Diaconu, *op. cit.*, p. 68-72, maintained by R. Florescu, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 8, 1975, pp. 366-72. An attempt was made to date the citadel to the Middle Byzantine period: P. Diaconu, *Zur Frage der Datierung des Steinwalles in der Dobrudscha*, in Dacia N.S., VI, 1962, pp. 330-1. Only the *vallum* and the *fosa*, drawn along the Early Byzantine wall of the small citadel, seem to belong to the Middle Byzantine age.

⁷⁴ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in MCA, 15, 1983, p. 362. The reduction of the fortified area was also noticed in the cases of Iatrus, Novae and Almus, upper on the Danube (Biernačka-Lubanska, *The Roman and Early Byzantine Fortifications of Lower Moesia and Northern Thrace*, Wrocław, 1982, p. 219), Nova Ćerna (S. Torbatov, *The stone fortifications near Nova Ćerna (Bulgaria)*, in *Studia Danubiana, I. The Roman Frontier at the Lower Danube, 4th-6th centuries. The second International Symposium*, Bucharest, 1998, pp. 157-67), Develtos in south-eastern Bulgaria (I. Iordanov, *Pečatite na komerkarijata Develt*, Sofia, 1992, p. 17).

⁷⁵ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 195-6.

⁷⁶ Catalogue nos. 152, 153, 158 and 160. Not all these specimens have details regarding the exact finding place, but it is a rather extraneous matter, being found before the opening of the research in the late citadel sector. Unfortunately, of the three specimens from Phocas, one is from a private collection and the other two, kept at the museum in Constantza, again, do not hold any information regarding their finding place.

⁷⁷ Al. Madgearu, *op. cit.*, in BalkSt., 37, 1, 1996, p. 52. Very few coin hoards seem to have been buried during his reign compared to the previous decades; see: C. Morrisson, V. Popovic and V. Ivanisevic (ed.), in collaboration with M. Oeconomidès, P. Culerrier, B. Mitrea, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, I. Turatsoglou and Y. Youroukova, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ A. Gândilă, *op. cit.*, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, p. 120; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Monnaies byzantines des VII^e-X^e siècles découvertes à Silistra dans la collection de l'Académicien Périclès Papahagi conservées au Cabinet des Médailles du Musée National d'Histoire de Roumanie*, in CN, 7, 1996, pp. 101-2.

⁷⁹ Probably found outside the town walls, the coin might testify that Capidava was still connected to the Empire during the second decade of the 7th century. Until recently it was considered that Capidava did not survive the rebellion of the Danube army in 602: A. Petre, *Quelques données archéologiques concernant la continuité de la population et de la culture romano-byzantine dans la Scythie Mineure aux VI^e et VII^e siècles de notre ère*, in Dacia NS, 7, 1963, p. 344; I. Barnea in R. Vupe and I. Barnea, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

Ibida 612/3⁸⁰, Istrus 613/4⁸¹, Halmyris 613/4⁸², Aegyssus 613/4⁸³, Argamum 613/4⁸⁴, Tornis 613/4⁸⁵, Acres 613/4⁸⁶, Dionyssopolis 613/4⁸⁷, Bizone 613/4⁸⁸, Axiopolis 614/5⁸⁹, Ulmetun⁹⁰ 614/5⁹⁰ and Sacidava 615/6⁹¹. After the devastating attacks led by the Slavs and Avars in 614-616, Capidava lost its military function and the dissolution process started after 575 was entering its final phase.

In terms of chronology, both numismatic and archaeological evidence indicate a period of reconstruction largely during the age Anastasius - Justin I. Although not mentioned in Procopius of Caesarea's *Buildings*, Capidava lived its most flourishing time during the reigns of Justin I and Justinian I, until the 550's, when the phase N1 ends under the attacks of the Slavs and Cutrigurs. A reconstruction process is undertaken by Justin II, early in his reign, and the city was given another ten years of prosperity. The invasions initiated in 576 destroyed the phase N2 at Capidava and also brought an unprecedented lack of new currency for a decade. In the late 590's or soon after, the defenders of the fortress, highly outnumbered and impoverished, try to make a final desperate attempt to resist the following attacks, reducing the fortress to a small citadel in the south-eastern corner, by drawing a new and poorly made defence system. The trouble of making a new fortification shows the still significant military role of the town. The scarce coins of 595/6 and 602/3 prove that Capidava was worth being supplied with fresh currency immediately after serious threats and that some military forces were still present. Having already lost its urban appearance during the last quarter of the 6th century, Capidava will finally be stripped out of its military function after the invasions initiated in 614. The days of the town as a military outpost on a strategic crossing of the Danube were over. Life may have continued for some time inside the remains of the Roman fortress, but in the shape of a rural settlement with no urban attributes whatsoever⁹².

APPENDIX

Table 1. The chronological sequence of copper coin finds

YEAR	CON	THE	NIC	CYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
COINS/ NUMMIA/ YEAR							
498-512						1/40	1/40
507-512	1/40		1/20				2/60
512-517	6/140					1/20	7/160
517-538			1/20				1/20
518-522	8/280						8/280
518-532	1/40						1/40
522-527	9/270		1/40				10/310
518-527			1/40				1/40

⁸⁰ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *Descoperiri monetare în Dobrogea (X)*, in *Pontica*, 28-29, 1995-1996, p. 318.

⁸¹ H. Nubar, *Monede bizantine de la începutul secolului VII și sfârșitul cetății Histria*, in *SCN*, 3, 1960, p. 189.

⁸² Gh. Poenaru Bordea in Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Fl. Topoleanu and Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁸³ E. Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, *Monede bizantine din secolele VII-X descoperite în nordul Dobrogei*, in *SCN*, 7, 1980, p. 163.

⁸⁴ M. Iacob and Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 785.

⁸⁵ Th. Isvoranu and Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *op. cit.*, in *Simpozion de Numismatică*, 2003, p. 154, table 6.

⁸⁶ V. Parușev, *op. cit.*, in *INMV*, p. 31.

⁸⁷ M. Dimitrov, *op. cit.*, in *Dobrudža*, 12, 1995, p. 176, also present in the public exhibition of the archaeological museum in Balčic.

⁸⁸ I. Iordanov, *op. cit.*, in *Čirakman – Karvuna – Kavarna*, Sofia, 1982, p. 57-58 also present in the public exhibition of the archaeological museum in Kavarna.

⁸⁹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea and R. Ocheșeanu, *Tezaurul de monede bizantine de aur descoperit în săpăturile din anul 1899 de la Axiopolis*, in *BSNR*, 78-79, 1983-1985, 131-133, p. 191.

⁹⁰ B. Mitrea, *Découvertes de monnaies antiques et byzantines en Roumanie*, in *Dacia N. S.*, 1966, p. 413.

⁹¹ A. Vertan, G. Custurea and G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, in *Pontica*, 32, 1999, p. 355.

⁹² One coin dated 629/30 was found at Hârșova (ancient Carsium) lower on the Danube and one follis from Justinian II dated 686/7 was retrieved from Topalu, a few kilometers away from Capidava. See: G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in *Pontica*, 19, 1986, p. 277, n. 6 and Gh. Poenaru Bordea and I. Donoiu, *Contribuții la studiul pătrunderii monedelor bizantine în Dobrogea în secolele VII-X*, in *BSNR*, 75-76, 1981-1982, 129-130, p. 238, n. 6. Both coins might witness an active policy conducted by the empire at the former Danube border.

527	2/80					2/80
527-529				1/20		1/20
527-532	6/200					6/200
529-531				1/20		1/20
532-538	4/140				2/80	6/220
527-538	3/90					3/90
538-542		1/16				1/16
538-561				1/40		1/40
538-565	1/10				1/40	2/50
538-539						0
539-540	2/80		1/20	1/40	1/40	5/180
540-541	1/40					1/40
541-542	1/40		1/40			2/80
542-543	1/20		1/40		1/40	3/100
543-544					1/40	1/40
544-545	1/40					1/40
545-546						0
546-547						0
547-548	2/60		1/40		1/20	4/120
548-549					1/40	1/40
549-550			1/20			1/20
550-565					1/10	1/10
550-551						0
551-552						0
552-553						0
552-565			2/20			2/20
553-554	1/10					1/10
554-555						0
555-556				1/20		1/20
556-557					1/10	1/10
557-558						0
558-559						0
559-560					1/40	1/40
560-561						0
561-562					2/20	2/20
562-565		1/20				1/20
562-563						0
563-564						0
564-565					1/10	1/10
565-566	1/40					1/40
565-578	4/160	2/40			4/80	10/280
566-567	1/40	2/40				3/80
567-568	2/80	3/60		1/40		6/180
568-578					1/40	1/40
568-569	1/40	1/20				2/60
569-570	1/40	6/120				7/160
570-571	3/100		5/180			8/280
571-572	3/100		2/80			5/180
572-573		2/40				2/40
573-574	1/40		3/120	1/20		5/180
574-575	2/80	3/60	1/40	2/60		8/240
575-576	1/40					1/40
576-577	1/40					1/40

577-578				1/40			1/40
578-(579)	1/30						1/30
578-582			1/20				1/20
579-580							0
580-581							0
581-582							0
582-583							0
582-602	2/50	1/20				1/20	4/90
583-584							0
584-585							0
585-586							0
586-587	1/20						1/20
587-588	1/40						1/40
588-589	1/40	1/20	1/40				3/100
589-590							0
590-591							0
591-592	1/20	1/20					2/40
592-593							0
593-594							0
594-595	1/40						1/40
595-596	1/40						1/40
596-597			1/40				1/40
597-598							0
598-599							0
599-600							0
600-601		1/20					1/20
602	1/40						1/40
602-603	1/20						1/20
603-604							0
604-605							0
605-606							0
606-607	1/40						1/40
607-608			1/30				1/30
608-609							0
609-610							0
610-611							0
611-612							0
612-613	1/40						1/40
TOTAL	84/2800	25/496	26/850	8/260	7/220	17/410	167/5036

Table 2. Coins and nummia per year of reign.

Emperor	Coins/ year	Coeff. C/ Y	% Coeff. C/ Y	Position	Nummia/ year	Coeff. N/ Y	% Coeff. N/ Y	Position
Anastasius	10/20	0.5	4.73	VI	260/20	13	3.93	V
Justin I	21/9	2.33	22.06	II	710/9	78.88	23.88	II
Justinian I	51/38	1.34	12.70	III	1476/38	38.84	11.76	III
Justin II	61/13	4.69	44.41	I	1880/13	144.61	43.77	I
Tiberius II	2/4	0.5	4.73	V	50/4	12.5	3.78	VI
Maurice	16/20	0.8	7.59	IV	600/20	30	9.08	IV
Phocas	3/8	0.37	3.50	VII	90/8	11.25	3.41	VII
Heraclius	1/31	0.03	0.28	VIII	40/31	1.29	0.39	VIII

Table 3. Reigns and monetary reforms. Coins per year of reform and nummia per year of reform

Emperor	Reform	Coins/year of Reform	Coeff. C/Y	Position	Nummia /y. of Ref.	Coeff. N/Y	% Coeff. N/Y	Position
Anastasius I	498-512	3/14	0. 21	XII	100/14	7. 14	1. 20	XIII
	512-518	7/6	1. 16	VII	160/6	26. 66	4. 49	VIII
Justin I	518-527	21/9	2. 33	III	710/9	78. 88	13. 27	III
Justinian I	527-538	17/11	1.54	V	550/11	50	8. 42	V
	538-542	9/4	2. 25	IV	316/4	79	13. 29	IV
	542-550	11/8	1. 37	VI	360/8	45	7. 57	VI
	550-565	11/15	0. 73	IX	160/15	10. 66	1. 79	XI
Justin II	565-570	19/5	3. 8	II	520/5	104	17. 50	II
	570-578	31/8	3. 87	I	1040/8	130	21. 88	I
Tiberius II Constantine	578-580	1/2	0. 5	X	30/2	15	2.53	IX
	580-582	-/2	-	XIV	-/2	-	-	XIV
Maurice	582-602	16/20	0. 8	VIII	600/20	30	5.05	VII
Phocas	602-610	3/8	0. 37	XI	90/8	11.25	1. 89	X
Heraclius	610-(616)	1/6	0. 16	XIII	40/6	6.66	1.12	XII

Table 4. Mints

EMPEROR	CON	THE	NIC	CYZ	ANT	?
Anastasius	7/ 87.5%		1/ 2.5%			2
Justin I	19/ 90.48%		2/ 9.52%			
Justinian I	23/ 56.10%	2/ 4.88%	7/ 17.07%	3/ 7.32%	6/ 14. 63%	10
Justin II	21/ 36.84%	19/ 33.33%	11/ 19.30%	5/ 8.77%	1/ 1.76%	4
Tiberius II	1/ 50%		1/ 50%			
Maurice	9/ 60%	4/ 26.67	2/ 13.33			1
Phocas	2/ 66.67%		1/ 33.33%			
Heraclius	1/ 100%					
? (517-538)			1			
? (518-532)	1					
TOTAL	84/ 56%	25/ 16.67%	26 17.33%	8 5.33%	7 4.67%	17

Table 5. A comparative survey upon mints

MINT	TOMIS	ISTROS	NOVIODUNUM	DINOGETIA	HALMYRIS	ODARTSI	CAPIDAVA
Constantinople	58.50	63.26	55.22	57.53	60.74	64.08	56
Thessalonica	17.42	13.60	22.38	17.80	14.95	9.86	16.67
Nicomedia	13.27	13.26	14.17	17.80	15.88	16.20	17.33
Cyzicus	7.05	4.42	3.73	2.73	4.67	5.63	5.33
Antioch	2.90	4.42	2.23	2.73	3.73	2.82	4.67
Alexandria	0.41	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carthage	0.41	1.02	-	1.36	-	1.41	-
Rome	-	-	0.72	-	-	-	-
Momilimit.	-	-	1.49	-	-	-	-

Table 6. Denominations

EMPEROR	M	XXX	K	I	IS	TOTAL
Anastasius	3/ 30%		7/ 70%			10
Justin I	15/ 71.43%		5/ 23.81%	1/ 4.76%		21
Justinian I	28/54.90%		12/ 23.53%	10/ 19.61%	1/ 1.96%	51
Justin II	33/ 54.10%		28/ 45.90%			61
Tiberius II		1/ 50%	1/ 50%			2
Maurice	8/ 50%		7/ 43.75%	1/ 6.25%		16
Phocas	1/ 33.33%	1/ 33.33%	1/ 33.33%			3
Heraclius	1/ 100%					1
Uncertain	1		1			2
TOTAL	90/ 53.89%	2/ 1.20%	62/ 37.12%	12/ 7.19%	1/ 0.60%	167

Table 7. Officinae

EMPEROR	CON					NIC		CYZ		ANT			
	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	A	B	A	B	A	B	Γ	Δ
Anastasius	2		1		2								
Justin I	4	4	3	3	2		1						
Justinian I	5	1	1	3	5	2	1		1	1		1	1
Justin II	6	3	5	2	3	4	6	1	2				
Tiberius II													
Maurice	2	3	1		2		1						
Phocas	1		1										
Heraclius					1								
Uncertain							1						
TOTAL	20	11	12	8	15	6	10	1	3	1		1	1

I. CATALOGUE

ANASTASIOS I

1. AE ⚔ 25x26mm, 8.82g.

K, (CON), Γ.

MIB, I, 33, y. 512-517.

Cap. 1970, Basilica. S VII.

MNIR Inv. 317624

JUSTIN I

2. AE ↑ 30x32mm, 16.72g.

M, CON, E, * l. and r.

MIB, I, 11, y. 518-522.

Cap. 2004, III, □ T 71, -0.65m.

MNIR Inv. 317625

3. AE ↓ 23x24.5mm, 7.30g.

K, (CON), Δ.

Overstruck on earlier K, NIC.

MIB, I, 18, y. 518-522.

Cap. 1970, Basilica, S II.

MNIR Inv. 317626

4. AE ↓ 20x21.5mm, 4.45g.

I, CON, * l. and r.

MIB, I, 22, y. 522-527.

Cap. 1971, Basilica.

MNIR Inv. 317627

JUSTINIAN I

5. AE ↓ 29x31mm, 12.71g.

M, CON, A, * left and right.

MIB, I, 83, y. 527-532.

Cap. 1968, river bank.

MNIR Inv. 317628

6. AE ↑ 22x25.5mm., 8.61g.

K, CON, Δ, ✕ below and above.

MIB, I, 90, y. 527-532.

Cap. 1970, river bank.

MNIR Inv. 317629

7. AE ↓ 33x35mm, 19.32g.
M, CON, E, y. X⁴III= 544/5.
MIB, I, 95a.
Cap. 2002, river bank.

8. AE ↓ 11mm, 3.90g.
I, CON, y.? after 538.
MIB, I, 99.
Cap. 2005, passim.
MNIR Inv. 317630

9. AE ↓ 37mm, 15.97g.
M, NIKO, A, y. XXI=547/8
Cap. 2005
MNIR Inv. 317631

10. AE ↘ 41mm, 19.77g, burned.
M, ΘVΠO, Δ ?, y. XIII= 539/40.
MIB, I, 143.
Cap. 1993, □ W 73.
MNIR Inv. 317632

JUSTIN II

11. AE ↑ 22x25mm, 5.63g, clipped.
K, CON, y. ζ ?= 570/1? or later (570/4).
MIB, II, 44.
Cap. 1970, Basilica, S. II, on the brick floor.
MNIR Inv. 317633

12. AE ↓ 27x29.5mm, 14.42g.
M, CON, E, y. ζ 1= 571/2.
MIB, II, 43.
Cap. 1993, □ V 73.
MNIR Inv. 317634

13. AE ↓ 18x22mm, 4.37g.
K, TES, ΘKC above, y. E = 569/70.
MIB, II, 70c.
Cap. 2003, VII, □ B-C.
MNIR Inv. 317635

14. AE ↓ 20x23mm, 5.49g.
K, TES, M above, y. X= 574/5.

MIB, II, 70b.
Cap. 2005, Docks.
MNIR Inv. 317636

15. AE ↓ 26x28mm, 12.99g.
M, NIKO, A, y. ζ 1= 570/1.
MIB, II, 46.
Cap. 2004, passim.
MNIR Inv. 317637
16. AE ↓ 28x30.5mm, 13.27g, burned.
M, NIKO, B, y. ζ 1= 571/2.
MIB, II, 46.
Cap. 1973, passim.
MNIR Inv. 317638

17. AE ↓ 28x30mm, 8.42g, clipped.
M, KYZ, B, y. XIII?=577/8?
MIB, II, 50.
Cap. 1990, □ Z 77, -0.8m.
MNIR Inv. 317639

MAURICE TIBERIUS

18. AE ↓ 28x30mm, 13.29g.
M, CON, A, y. XIII= 594/5
MIB, II, 67d.
Cap. 2001, □ T 72, -0.7m.
MNIR Inv. 317640

HERACLIUS

19. AE ↓ 29x33mm, 10.28g.
M, CON, E, y. III= 612/3.
MIB, III, 158.
Cap. 2004, passim.
MNIR Inv. 317641

UNCERTAIN

20. AE ↓ 24x26mm, 6.64g, burned.
K, NIC, B.
MIB, I, y. 512-538.
Cap. 1993, □ V 73.
MNIR Inv. 317642

II. CATALOGUE⁹³ 6th-7th c. coins found at Capidava⁹⁴

ANASTASIOS I

1. M, CON, A, 507-512⁹⁵.
2. M, CON, 512-517⁹⁶. CAP 85, V, □ L74, under B2
3. K, CON, A, 512-517⁹⁷. CAP 85, V, □ K74, -0.70m
4. **K, CON, Γ, 512-517** CAP 70, Basilica, S.VII
5. K, CON, E, 512-517⁹⁸.
6. K, CON, E, 512-517⁹⁹. CAP 57, VII, SA □4B8
7. K, CON, 512-517¹⁰⁰. CAP 99, III, □ T72
8. K, NIC, 507-512¹⁰¹.
9. M, 498-512¹⁰².
10. K, 512-517¹⁰³.

JUSTIN I

11. M, CON, B, 518-522¹⁰⁴.
12. M, CON, B, 518-522¹⁰⁵.
13. M, CON, Γ, 518-522¹⁰⁶.
14. M, CON, Δ, 518-522¹⁰⁷.
15. M, CON, E, 518-522¹⁰⁸. CAP 76, I, □ W60, -0.4m
16. **M, CON, E, 518-522.** CAP 04, III, □ T71
17. K, CON, A, 518-522¹⁰⁹.
18. **K, CON, Δ, 518-522.** CAP 70, Basilica, S. II
19. M, CON, B, 522-527¹¹⁰. CAP 88, Docks, S IV
20. M, CON, Γ, 522-527¹¹¹.
21. M, CON, Δ, 522-527¹¹². CAP 85, V, □ K74-73, on the street
22. M, CON, 522-527¹¹³.
23. M, CON, 522-527¹¹⁴. V, □ P72
24. K, CON, A, 522-527¹¹⁵. Docks, S. XI
25. K, CON, B, 522-527¹¹⁶.

⁹³ The numbers on the maps refer to numbers in the catalogue. Unfortunately, the coins found in *sector I* do not hold sufficient information as to the exact finding place. Nevertheless, they were found in the Middle Byzantine layer and are irrelevant in terms of stratigraphy and dating.

⁹⁴ Recently, Dr. Gabriel Custurea, chief keeper at the Numismatic Department of the Museum in Constantza published the coins that he generously offered me for study a year ago (mentioned in footnotes by MINAC followed by the inventory no.). Most of the coins are worn or corroded and some of our descriptions differ on details, usually without altering our common attribution elements: G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, pp. 424-6.

⁹⁵ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1274.

⁹⁶ *ibidem*, n. 1275.

⁹⁷ *ibidem*, n. 1276.

⁹⁸ *ibidem*, n. 1277.

⁹⁹ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 377, n. 1708.

¹⁰⁰ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 54.

¹⁰¹ MINAC Inv. 77363. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 14, who read it more like a Justin I or Justinian I issue. The low weight of the coin and what seemed a star in the right field pointed me to a small module of Anastasius. The coin is not broken or clipped. At any rate, 4.89g is not exaggerated for this type, as shown in standard catalogues, adding that half-folles from Nicomedia tend to be slightly heavier: see DOC, I, 35.

¹⁰² MINAC Inv. 56032. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 426, n. 35.

¹⁰³ I. Opreș, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fn. 24.

¹⁰⁴ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1278.

¹⁰⁵ *Iidem* and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 31, 1998, p. 316, n. 1842.

¹⁰⁶ *Iidem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 377, n. 1709, dated 518-527.

¹⁰⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 23, n. 76.

¹⁰⁸ *ibidem*, p. 24, n. 83.

¹⁰⁹ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1279.

¹¹⁰ *Iidem* and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 31, 1998, p. 317, n. 1843.

¹¹¹ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1281.

¹¹² *ibidem*, n. 1282.

¹¹³ *ibidem*, n. 1280.

¹¹⁴ *ibidem*, n. 1283.

¹¹⁵ MINAC Inv. 67837. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 424, n. 9.

26. K, CON, Γ, 522-527¹¹⁷.

27. I, CON, 522-527.

CAP 71, Basilica

28. M, CON, A, 527 (with Justinian)¹¹⁸.

CAP 99, southern gate, outside city walls

29. M, CON, A, 527 (with Justinian)¹¹⁹.

CAP 89, Docks, S V

30. M, NIC, B, 522-527¹²⁰.

31. M, NIOM, imitation (The Gepids?), obscure letters IK, 518-527¹²¹. CAP 91, Docks, S. VIII

JUSTINIAN I

32. Solidus fourée, CON, H, 527-565¹²².

CAP 97, V, □ L 75-CP1

33. M, CON, A, 527-532.

CAP 68, River bank

34. M, CON, E, 527-532¹²³.

CAP 92, Docks S. IX

35. M, CON, 527-532¹²⁴.

36. K, CON, Δ, 527-532.

CAP 70, River bank

37. K, CON, 527-532¹²⁵.

38. M, CON, E, 527-532¹²⁶.

CAP 59, □ 32, - 1.20m

39. M, CON, A, 532-533¹²⁷.

40. M, CON, A, 532-537¹²⁸.

CAP 90, Docks, S. VIII

41. M, CON, A, 532-537¹²⁹.

42. K, CON, 537-538¹³⁰.

43. M, CON, Δ, 527-538¹³¹.

44. M, NOC (sic), 527-538¹³².

45. I, CON, 527-537¹³³

CAP 97, V, C10

46. M, CON, B, 539/40¹³⁴.

47. M, CON, E, 539/40¹³⁵.

48. M, CON, Δ, 540/1¹³⁶.

CAP 98, V, C9, □ O74

49. M, CON, Γ, 541/2¹³⁷.

50. K, CON, A, 542/3¹³⁸.

CAP 74, I, □ 119, -0.58m

51. M, CON, E, 544/5.

CAP 02, River bank

52. M, CON, 547/8¹³⁹.

53. K, CON, E, 547/8¹⁴⁰.

CAP 99, V, C10

54. I, CON, 553/4¹⁴¹.

CAP 97, V, □ O73

¹¹⁶ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1284.

¹¹⁷ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 6.

¹¹⁸ A. Vertan, G. Custurea and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2004.

¹¹⁹ MINAC Inv. 67834. G. Custurea and T. Clianțe, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 4254 n. 11.

¹²⁰ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 31, 1998, p. 317, n. 1844.

¹²¹ MINAC Inv. 67833. G. Custurea and T. Clianțe, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 424, n. 10. For similar imitations of Justin I found in the Lower Danube area see: V. Radić and V. Ivanisević, *op. cit.*, n. 204-206; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, n. 105; D. Vladimirova-Aladjova, *Encore une fois au sujet des imitations barbares dans la circulation monétaire au VI^e siècle* (in Bulgarian), in Numismatika i Sfragistika, 5, 1998, 1, pp. 70-5.

¹²² Z. Covacef, in CCA 1983-1992, Bucharest, 1997, p. 20.

¹²³ MINAC Inv.

¹²⁴ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 15, 1982, p. 282.

¹²⁵ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 7.

¹²⁶ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 377, n. 1710, but dated 527-534.

¹²⁷ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1285.

¹²⁸ MINAC Inv.

¹²⁹ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 377, n. 1711.

¹³⁰ *ibidem*, n. 1712.

¹³¹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 186.

¹³² Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *op. cit.*, in BSNR, 70-74, 1976-1980, 124-128, p. 248 and fn. 12.

¹³³ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2006.

¹³⁴ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1286.

¹³⁵ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 8.

¹³⁶ Mentioned by Z. Covacef in CCA 1998, Bucharest, 1999, p. 22 and published with full details by G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2007.

¹³⁷ R. Florescu, in I. Miclea, *op. cit.*, plate.

¹³⁸ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 264.

¹³⁹ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 11.

¹⁴⁰ Mentioned by Z. Covacef in CCA 1999, Bucharest, 2000, p. 26 and published with full details by G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2008.

55. I, CON, 538-565.

56. AISP, THE, 538-542¹⁴².

57. K, THE, 562-565¹⁴³.

58. K, NIC, 539/40¹⁴⁴.

59. M, NIC, B, 541/2¹⁴⁵.

60. M, NIC, A, 542/3¹⁴⁶.

61. M, NIC, A, 547/8.

62. K, NIC, 549/50¹⁴⁷.

63. I, NIC, 553-565¹⁴⁸.

64. I, NIC, 553-565¹⁴⁹.

65. M, CYZ, 539/40¹⁵⁰.

66. M, CYZ, B, 538-561¹⁵¹.

67. K, CYZ, 555/6¹⁵².

68. K, ANT, 527-529¹⁵³.

69. K, ANT, Δ, 529-531¹⁵⁴.

70. M, ANT, 539/40.

71. K, ANT, 547/8¹⁵⁵.

72. M, ANT, 548/9¹⁵⁶.

73. M, ANT, Γ, 559/60¹⁵⁷.

74. M, (CON ?), 532-537¹⁵⁸.

75. M, (CON ?), 532-537¹⁵⁹.

76. M, after 538¹⁶⁰.

77. M, 542/3¹⁶¹.

78. M, 543/4¹⁶².

79. I, (NIC?), 553-565¹⁶³.

80. I, 556/7¹⁶⁴.

81. I, 561/2¹⁶⁵.

82. I, 561/2¹⁶⁶.

CAP 89, Docks

CAP 92, V, □ L74, on the pavement

CAP 80, V, □ K 75, near the dolium

CAP 82, □ L 75

CAP 76, V, □ K76

CAP 95, V

CAP 78, River bank

CAP 93, III, □ W 73

CAP 75, I, □ 132, -0.20m, on a Roman wall

CAP 92, Docks

CAP 90, Docks

CAP 87, Docks, S. II, -0.9m

CAP 00, III, □ T 72

CAP 00, III, □ T 72

CAP 95

CAP 92, Docks S. X

CAP 92, Docks

CAP 90, V, □ L 74

¹⁴¹ Ibidem, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, 2009. As mentioned in the coin description, no issues dated 553/4 from Constantinople have been recorded in MIB I. The recent catalogue (MIBE) mentions the existence of at least a few specimens: MIBE, p. 58, fn. 286.

¹⁴² MINAC, Inv. 67836. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 16.

¹⁴³ MINAC Inv. 77361. Mentioned by Z. Covacef in CCA 1983-1992, Bucharest, 1997, p. 20, but attributed to Justin II; G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 426, n. 32, who identifies it as Maurice Tiberius, THE, year XXI (602).

¹⁴⁴ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 365.

¹⁴⁵ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 15, 1982, p. 282, n. 516, erroneously dated 540/1. It is the same coin published in the archaeological report by Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Materiale, 13, Brasov, p. 362, plate 4, n. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1287.

¹⁴⁷ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 13, 1980, p. 271, n. 18. Later the coin was given another dating, 546/7. See: Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in MCA, 15, 1983, p. 361 and Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp. 189-190. It seems to be the same coin, with the mint of Nicomedia instead of Constantinople published by A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 15, 1982, p. 282, n. 517.

¹⁴⁸ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 378, n. 1288.

¹⁴⁹ MINAC Inv. 77360. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 20.

¹⁵⁰ R. Florescu, *Capidava*, Bucharest, 1965, plate = R. Florescu, *Ghid arheologic al Dobrogei*, Bucharest, 1968, plate 63.

¹⁵¹ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 377, n. 1713. In the above quoted article the coin was dated 538-565, using MIB I as a reference. However, W. Hahn's catalogue does not specify any folles issued at Cyzic after 561.

¹⁵² Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 411.

¹⁵³ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2005.

¹⁵⁴ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 60, n. 425.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, n. 428.

¹⁵⁶ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 12.

¹⁵⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 422.

¹⁵⁸ MINAC Inv. 59587. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 424, n. 12, attributing the coin to the joint reign of Justin and Justinian.

¹⁵⁹ MINAC Inv. 59589. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 15.

¹⁶⁰ MINAC Inv. 67835. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 23.

¹⁶¹ I. Opriș, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁶² Ibidem.

¹⁶³ MINAC Inv. 77359. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 21, dated after 555.

¹⁶⁴ MINAC Inv. 67831. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 19.

¹⁶⁵ MINAC Inv. 67832. G. Custurea and T. Clante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 22.

83. I, 564/5¹⁶⁷.

CAP 74, I, □ 154, -1.60m

JUSTIN II

84. M, CON, A, 565/6¹⁶⁸.

CAP 97, V, □ C1-C6

85. M, CON, Δ, 566/7¹⁶⁹.

CAP 94, V, passim

86. M, CON, Δ, 567/8¹⁷⁰.

CAP 58, VII, B22

87. M, CON, 567/8¹⁷¹.

CAP 97, V, □ C6

88. M, CON, Ε, 568/9¹⁷².

CAP 79, V, □ K 76, -1.40m

89. M, CON, Ε, 569/70¹⁷³.

90. M, CON, A, 570/1¹⁷⁴.

CAP 94, River bank

91. M, CON, B, 570/1¹⁷⁵.

92. K, CON, 570/1?

CAP 70, Basilica, SII

93. M, CON, B, 571/2¹⁷⁶.

CAP 93, V, pillar n. 1 in □ L75

94. K, CON, Γ, 571/2¹⁷⁷.

CAP 96, V, □ N72

95. M, CON, Ε, 571/2.

96. M, CON, A, 573/4¹⁷⁸.

CAP 75, I, □ 138-B136, -0.8m

97. M, CON, Γ, 574/5¹⁷⁹.

98. M, CON, Γ, 574/5¹⁸⁰.

99. M, CON, Γ, 575/6¹⁸¹.

CAP 96, V, C10, □ N72

100. M, CON, A, 576/7¹⁸².

101. M, CON, A, 565-578¹⁸³.

CAP 51, north of □ 29

102. M, CON, A, 565-578¹⁸⁴.

CAP 91, III, □ W74

103. M, CON, B, 565-578¹⁸⁵.

CAP 92, Docks

104. M, CON, Γ, 565-578¹⁸⁶.

105. K, THE, 566/7¹⁸⁷.

106. K, THE, 566/7¹⁸⁸.

CAP 00, V C9, □ O74

107. K, THE, 567/8¹⁸⁹.

108. K, THE, 567/8¹⁹⁰.

CAP 96, V, □ L73, -0.20.

109. K, THE, 567/8¹⁹¹.

110. K, THE, 568/9¹⁹².

¹⁶⁶ MINAC Inv. 77362. Mentioned by Z. Covacef in CCA 1983-1992, Bucharest, 1997, p. 20; G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 18, dated after 551.

¹⁶⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 458.

¹⁶⁸ Mentioned by Z. Covacef in CCA 1997, Bucharest, 1998, p. 13 and published with full details by G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2010.

¹⁶⁹ MINAC Inv. 77366. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 25.

¹⁷⁰ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 377, n. 1714.

¹⁷¹ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2011.

¹⁷² Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 13, 1980, pp. 269-270, n. 14, same coin from: A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 15, 1982, p. 282, n. 518.

¹⁷³ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 15, 1982, p. 282.

¹⁷⁴ MINAC Inv. 77365. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 27, who attributes the coin to the mint of Nicomedia, year, 572/3.

¹⁷⁵ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1291.

¹⁷⁶ MINAC Inv. 77368. Mentioned by Z. Covacef in CCA 1983-1992, Bucharest, 1997, p. 20, but dated 570/1. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 28.

¹⁷⁷ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, n. 1716.

¹⁷⁸ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 70, n. 508.

¹⁷⁹ A. Vertan and G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1293.

¹⁸⁰ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 25, 1992, p. 386, n. 1408.

¹⁸¹ MINAC Inv. 77367. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 30.

¹⁸² Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 524.

¹⁸³ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, n. 1717.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, n. 1718.

¹⁸⁵ MINAC Inv. 59588. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 29, dated 572/3.

¹⁸⁶ G. Custurea, A. Vertan, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1297.

¹⁸⁷ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 25, 1992, p. 386, n. 1407.

¹⁸⁸ Z. Covacef, in CCA 2000, Bucharest, 2001, p. 56.

¹⁸⁹ G. Custurea, A. Vertan, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1289.

¹⁹⁰ *Idem* and G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, n. 1715.

¹⁹¹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 674.

¹⁹² *ibidem*, p. 87, n. 681.

111. K, THE, 569/70¹⁹³.
 112. K, THE, 569/70¹⁹⁴. CAP 78, V, □ K76, on the wall, -0.8m
 113. K, THE, 569/70¹⁹⁵.
 114. K, THE, 569-570¹⁹⁶.
 115. K, THE, 569/70. CAP 03, VII, □ B-C
 116. K, THE, 569/70¹⁹⁷.
 117. K, THE 572/3¹⁹⁸. CAP 76, V, □ N76
 118. K, THE 572/3¹⁹⁹. CAP 78, V, □ K76, -0.8m
 119. K, THE, 574/5²⁰⁰.
 120. K, THE, 574/5²⁰¹.
 121. K, THE, 574/5. CAP 05, Docks
 122. K, THE, 565-578²⁰². CAP 85, V, □ K74-73
 123. K, THE, 565-578²⁰³.
 124. M, NIC, A, 570/1. CAP 96, V, C9, □ O74
 125. M, NIC, A, 570/1²⁰⁴.
 126. M, NIC, B, 570/1²⁰⁵. CAP 97, V, □ O72
 127. M, NIC, B, 570/1²⁰⁶.
 128. K, NIC, 570/1²⁰⁷. CAP 91, III, □ V75
 129. M, NIC, A, 571/2²⁰⁸.
 130. M, NIC, B, 571/2. CAP 75, S.1, □ 153 side of B177, - 1.10m
 131. M, NIC, B, 573/4²⁰⁹. CAP 74, I, □ 136 B 177, -1.1m
 132. M, NIC, B, 573/4²¹⁰. B130, □ 89, -1.65
 133. M, NIC, B, 573/4²¹¹.
 134. M, NIC, A, 574/5²¹². CAP 75, I, □133 B147, - 1m
 135. M, CYZ, A, 567/8²¹³. V, □K73
 136. K, CYZ, 573/4²¹⁴.
 137. M, CYZ, B, 574/5²¹⁵. CAP 90, III, □ Z77, -0.8m.
 138. K, CYZ, 574/5²¹⁶.
 139. M, CYZ, B, 577/8. CAP 76, V, □ N77
 140. M, ANT, 568-578²¹⁷.
 141. K, 565-578²¹⁸.
 142. K, 565-578²¹⁹.
 143. K, 565-578²²⁰.

¹⁹³ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1290.

¹⁹⁴ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 692.

¹⁹⁵ *ibidem*, p. 88, n. 694.

¹⁹⁶ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 13, 1980, p. 355, n. 184, but dated 569-578.

¹⁹⁷ *ibidem*, n. 185.

¹⁹⁸ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 13, 1980, p. 270, n. 15.

¹⁹⁹ *ibidem*, p. 270, n. 16.

²⁰⁰ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 89, n. 713.

²⁰¹ *ibidem*, n. 714.

²⁰² G. Custurea, A. Vertan, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1298.

²⁰³ *ibidem*, n. 1299.

²⁰⁴ MINAC Inv. 77365. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 26.

²⁰⁵ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 78, n. 606.

²⁰⁶ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2012.

²⁰⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 632.

²⁰⁸ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 28-29, 1995-1996, p. 315, n. 1565.

²⁰⁹ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1292.

²¹⁰ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 79, n. 620.

²¹¹ *ibidem*, n. 622.

²¹² A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1294.

²¹³ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popea, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 643.

²¹⁴ *ibidem*, p. 84, n. 655.

²¹⁵ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1295.

²¹⁶ *ibidem*, n. 1296.

²¹⁷ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, p. 378, n. 1719, without mentioning the mint. The reverse is in a very poor condition, but the style on the obverse points out to Antioch.

²¹⁸ Z. Covacef, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 13, 1980, p. 271, n. 17.

²¹⁹ G. Custurea, A. Vertan and G. Talmațchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, n. 1720.

144. K, (TES?), 565-578²²¹.

CAP 95, V, C8, □ J-K73

TIBERIUS II CONSTANTINE

145. XXX, CON, 578²²².

146. XX, NIC, 579-582²²³.

CAP 96, II, □ N72

MAURICE TIBERIUS

147. K, CON, A, 586/7²²⁴.

148. M, CON, B, 587/8²²⁵.

149. M, CON, B, 588/9²²⁶.

CAP 84, V, □ R75

150. K, CON, 591/2²²⁷.

CAP 55, □7

151. M, CON, A, 594/5.

CAP 01, III, □ T 72, -0.65

152. M, CON, E, 595/6²²⁸.

153. M, CON, Γ, 602²²⁹.

CAP 74, I, □ 171, - 0.75m, on the floor

154. M, CON, B, 582-602²³⁰.

155. I, CON, E, 582-602²³¹.

CAP 99, River bank

156. K, THE, 588/9²³².

CAP 00, V, C9, □ O74

157. K, THE, 591/2²³³.

CAP 86, passim

158. K, THE, 600/1²³⁴.

159. K, THE, 587-602²³⁵.

CAP 95, V, C9 □ O75

160. M, NIC, B, 588/9²³⁶.

CAP 75, I, □ 148 -0.5m

161. M, NIC, 596/7²³⁷.

162. K, 582-602²³⁸.

CAP 93, V, C6, N-E wall

PHOCAS

163. XX, CON, Γ, 602/3²³⁹.

164. XXXX, CON, A, 606/7²⁴⁰.

CAP 84, passim

165. XXX, NIC, 607/8²⁴¹.

HERACLIUS

166. M, CON, E, 612/3.

UNCERTAIN

167. K, NIC, B, 517-538.

CAP 93, III, □ V73

168. M, CON, 518/22 or 527/32²⁴².

CAP 88, III, □ A77, -0.3m

²²⁰ *ibidem*, n. 1721.

²²¹ MINAC Inv. 77370. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 426, n. 31.

²²² A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1300.

²²³ *Idem* and G. Talmatchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, n. 1722.

²²⁴ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 10.

²²⁵ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1301.

²²⁶ *ibidem*, n. 1302.

²²⁷ *ibidem*, n. 1303.

²²⁸ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 98, n. 789.

²²⁹ *ibidem*, p. 99, n. 793.

²³⁰ A. Vertan, G. Custurea and G. Talmatchi, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 30, 1997, p. 378, n. 1723.

²³¹ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 32, 1999, p. 351, n. 2013.

²³² Z. Covacef, in CCA 2000, Bucharest, 2001, p. 56.

²³³ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1304.

²³⁴ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 25, 1992, p. 386, n. 1409.

²³⁵ MINAC Inv. 77371. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 426, n. 33.

²³⁶ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 107, n. 846.

²³⁷ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1305.

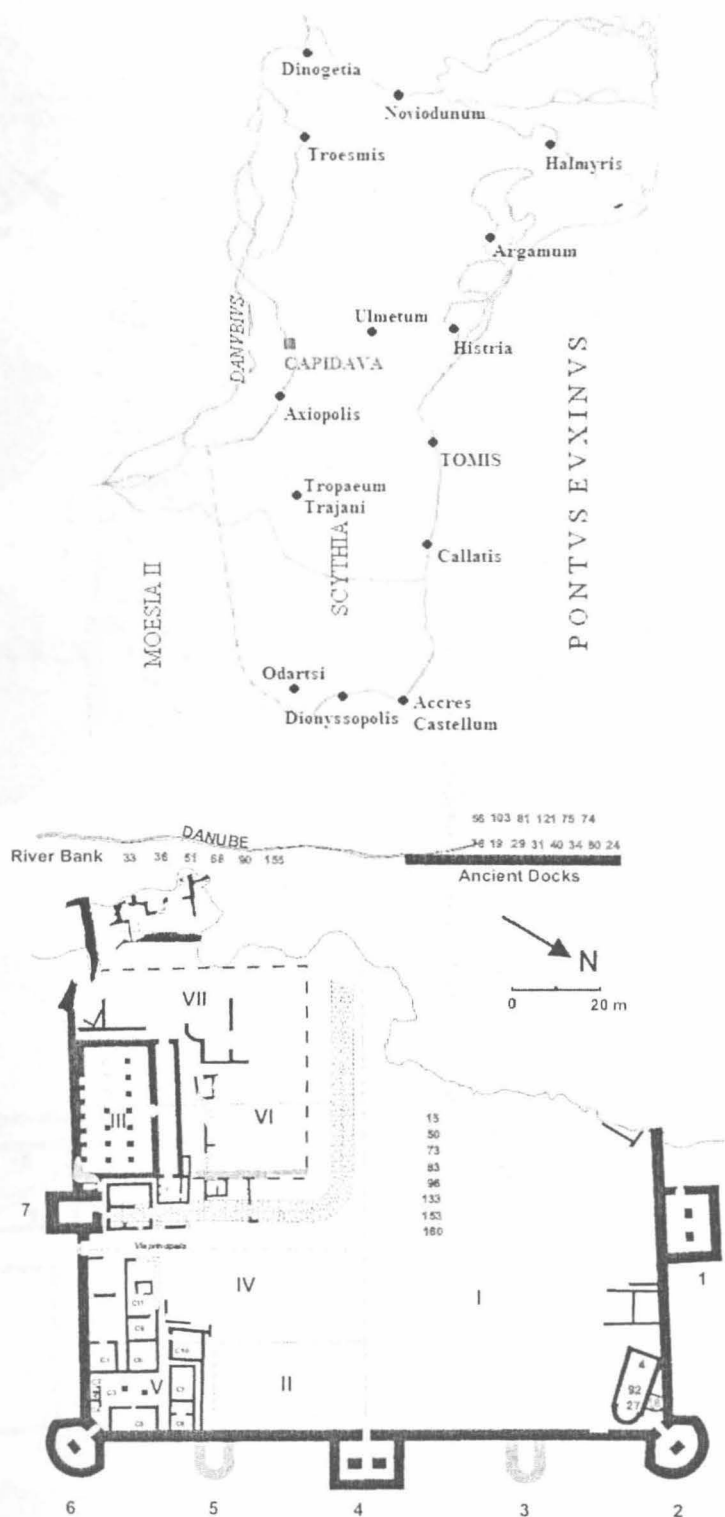
²³⁸ MINAC Inv. 77364. G. Custurea and T. Cliante, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 39, 2006, p. 425, n. 24, dated largely after 538.

²³⁹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu and Al. Popeea, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 916.

²⁴⁰ G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 19, 1986, p. 277.

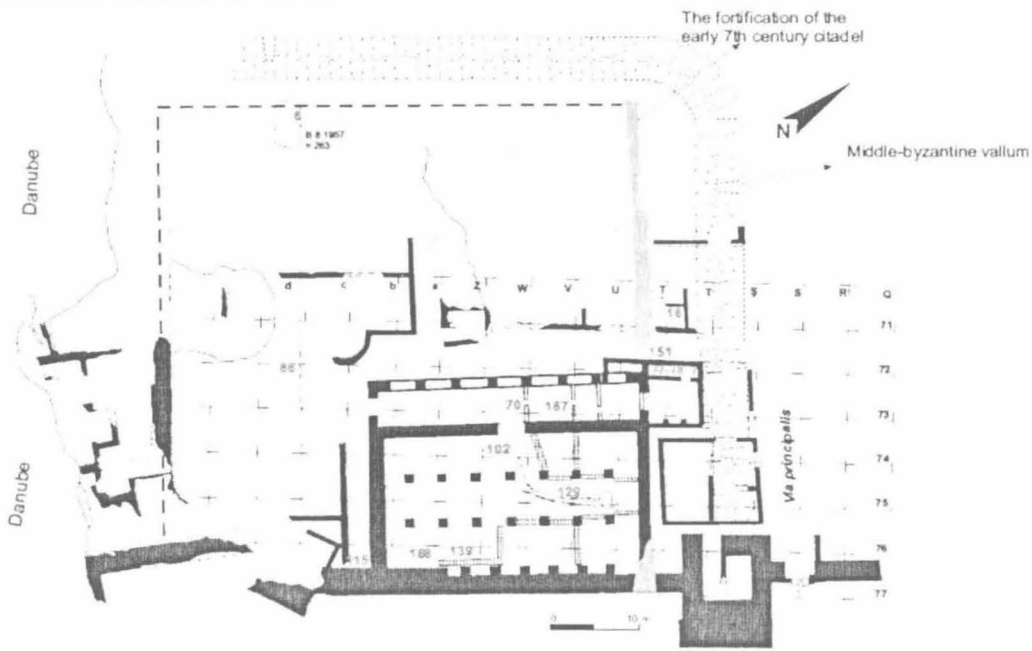
²⁴¹ *Idem* and A. Vertan, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 380, n. 1306.

²⁴² G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, in Pontica, 38-39, 2004-2005, p. 495, n. 9.

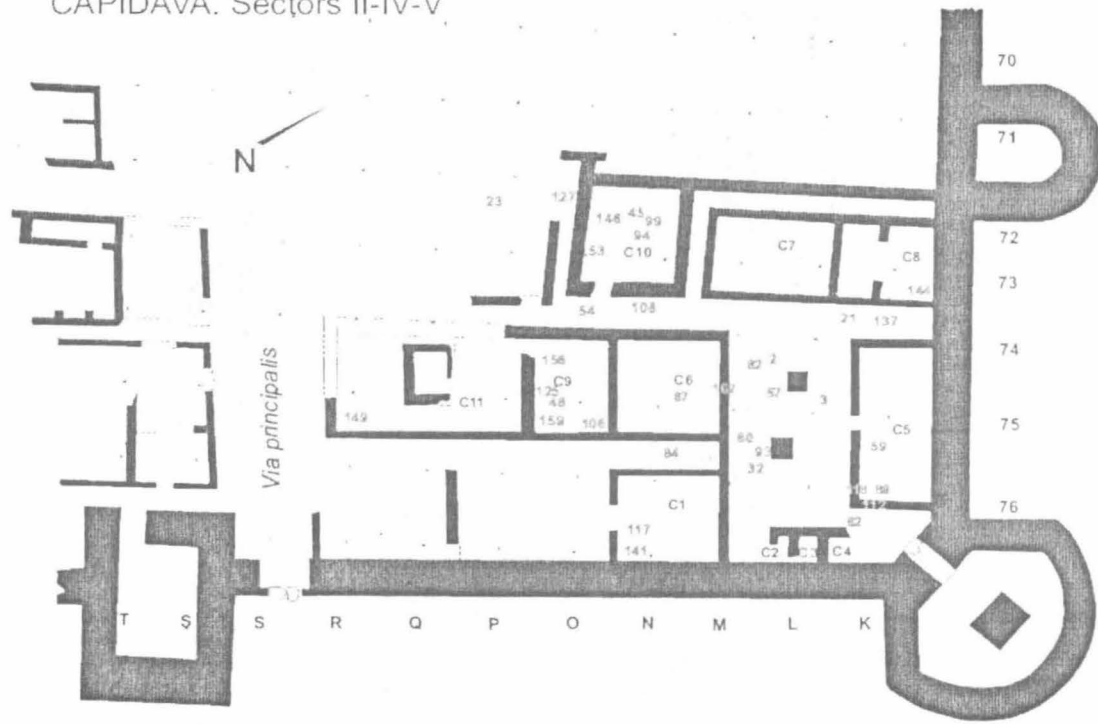


CAPIDAVA (6th c. A.D.)
General architectural plan

CAPIDAVA. Sectors III-VI-VII



CAPIDAVA. Sectors II-IV-V





Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



Cat. 6



Cat. 7



Cat. 9



Cat. 8



Cat. 10





Cat. 11



Cat. 12



Cat. 13



Cat. 14



Cat. 15



Cat. 16



Cat. 17



Cat. 18



Cat. 19



Cat. 20

