

## WHERE WAS THE CAMP OF MILITES IIII CONSTANTIANI (NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, V, 86-87) IN DUROSTORUM (SILISTRA)?

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Durostorum, Legio XI Claudia, canabae, fortificație, castellum, monede.*

**Mots-clés:** *Durostorum, Legio XI Claudia, canabae, fortification, castellum, monnaies.*

**Rezumat:** *Articolul aduce dovezi arheologice, istorice și numismatice potrivit cărora tabără în care se aflau milites IIII Constantiani (NotDign. V, 86-87) se afla la Durostorum, mai precis în micul castellum de pe malul Dunării. La sfârșitul sec. III, potrivit inscripțiilor și săpăturilor arheologice de la Silistra din ultimii ani, a fost renovată fortificația de la Durostorum. În zonă, în afara taberei Legiunii XI Claudia (22 hectare) se mai aflau o fortăreață cu turnuri și canabae-le la nord de tabăra legiunii (45 ha). Pe malul Dunării s-a construit un mic castellum (cca. 3,5 ha). Circulația monetară activă, mai ales pentru castellum este în creștere: de la 10 piese de la Diocletian (284-305) la 51 de piese în timpul lui Constantin I și 97 piese (respectiv 45%) în timpul lui Constantius II (337-361). Noi presupunem că tocmai în acest loc Constantius II i-a instalat pe milites IIII Constantiani.*

**Résumé:** *Cet article invoque des preuves archéologiques, historiques et numismatique, selon lesquelles le camp des milites IIII Constantiani (NotDign V, 86-87) se trouve à Durostorum et tout particulièrement dans le petit castellum sur le bord du Danube. À la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle suivant les inscriptions et les fouilles archéologiques récentes la fortification Durostorum a été rénovée. Outre le camp de la Legio XI Claudia (22 hectares), vers le nord la zone était protégée par une forteresse avec des tours et les cannabae (env. 45 hectares). Sur le bord du Danube a été construit un petit castellum (env. 3,5 hectares). La circulation monétaire active, notamment pour le castellum, est en*

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*ascension 10 pièces de Dioclétien (284-305), 51 pièces de Constantine I (306-337) et 97 pièces (45%) de Constantius II (337-361). Par conséquent, nous supposons que justement à cet endroit l'empereur Constantius II a installé les milites IIII Constantiani.*

*Notitia Dignitatum (NotDign)*, composed in the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> c. and recording the situation along the Limes mainly at the time of Constantine I the Great and his heirs<sup>1</sup> contains a particular paragraph on *milites IIII Constantiani* alongside the documented presence of *Legio XI Claudia* in Durostorum<sup>2</sup>. They were Constantius' soldiers (Constantius II), fourth division. *Milites* were auxiliary troops – foot soldiers, registered in *NotDign* along the border sector of the provinces of Moesia Secunda and Scythia as without exception they have been listed under the name of *auxiliares*. In case this re-organization is usually associated with Constantine I (306–337), the reign of Constantius II (337–361) marks a new stage<sup>3</sup>. Then they have initiated all the *milites primi Constantiani* in Noviodunum, *milites secundi Constantiani* in Troesmis and *milites quinti Constantiani* in Salsobia (the three of them in the province of Scythia), and especially *milites quarti Constantiani* in Durostorum – the only ones in Moesia Secunda. Remarkably, the three *military units* from the time of Constantius II were located in legionary camps. The essential issue of where *milites IIII Constantiani* were stationed in Durostorum remains open<sup>4</sup>.

Considering the results of the archaeological research in Silistra from the 1970s to the late 20<sup>th</sup> c. the fortified camp of *Legio XI Claudia* was identified, constructed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. and with some corrections and additions functioning until the late 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>5</sup> It was situated about 900 m south of the Danube bank; rectangular in plan and measuring 510 x 430 m or ca. 22 ha (**Fig. 1.I**). Quite logically *Legio XI Claudia* continued to reside in this camp also in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. when its presence in Durostorum was registered in *Notitia Dignitatum*. In case we agree that *milites IIII Constantiani* (about 300 soldiers) were indeed an independent military unit, they were hardly in the boundaries of the legionary camp. The answer to the spot of their residence can be found against the background of the topography and fortifications of the Late Antiquity Durostorum.

As a result of systematic archaeological studies in recent years it has been established that besides the camp of the legion from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c., a small *castellum* was constructed on the Danube bank about the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (**Fig. 1.III; 2**), and the residential areas (the former *canabae*) covering ca. 50 ha in total were fortified (**Fig. 1.II**)<sup>6</sup>. The new wall has been documented at nine points (**Fig. 1.II.1-9**) along the eastern, northern and

<sup>1</sup> ZAHARIADE 1988, p. 21-27.

<sup>2</sup> *NotDign* 1876, V, 86-87 = ЛИБИ 1958, 245.

<sup>3</sup> ZAHARIADE 1988, p. 75-76.

<sup>4</sup> *NotDign* 1876, V, 86-87.

<sup>5</sup> DONEVSKI 1990, p. 236-245; DONEVSKI 2004, p. 15-18; IVANOV, ATANASOV & DONEVSKI 2006, p. 169-176, fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup> ATANASOV & MIHAILOV 2018, 81-108.

southwestern layout. Its width is about 2 m, with two faces of medium and larger single-faced processed stones (occasionally *spolia* were also employed) fixed with very strong red mortar and emblecton of smaller and medium crushed stones and the same mortar (**Fig. 3**). Two rectangular towers added with joints have been registered along the eastern wall. Along the river the wall has a shallow foundation, ca. 0.40 m deep, while along the eastern wall it reaches up to 1.30 m dug into the sound loess. At two points the new wall crosses structures containing pottery from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c., and both towers have revealed pottery only from the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>7</sup> This circumstance implies that it was constructed about the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. – a construction operation reflected in two inscriptions of emperor Diocletian from Durostorum<sup>8</sup>. However, the new protected territory covered also about 23 ha of undeveloped space in the southwest direction, which makes 50 ha in total. If we add also the area of the legionary camp (ca. 22 ha) (**Fig. 1.I**) and of the Danube *castellum* - 4<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 3.5 ha; **Fig. 1.III**), the total fortified area is approaching 75 hectares<sup>9</sup>. In this sense, within the vast diocese of Thrace we can compare Durostorum with Philippopolis (Plovdiv) alone whose inhabitable area exceeded 75 ha in the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>10</sup>

Along with everything else, remarkable is the fact that after the opening of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. the protected agglomeration of Durostorum contained two independent fortified nuclei as well – a kind of citadels: the camp of *Legio XI Claudia* to the southeast and the Danube *castellum* to the northwest. The existence of such a *castellum* was formulated by St. Angelova in 1970s – a thesis accepted almost without objection<sup>11</sup>. Its correlation with the legionary camp is intriguing and especially with the newly revealed fortification around the residential area of Durostorum which we recognize as synchronous. At the same time the northern fortress wall of the Danube *castellum*, being of a similar width of ca. 2.10 m and a similar rectangular tower (but structurally connected to the wall), is distinguished by much better construction of well hewn stone blocks, a banquet and most of all – concerning the foundation (**Fig. 4**). There the latter is up to 3.10 m deep and ca. 0.18 – 0.40 m wider than the superstructure which is 2.10 m. The reasons are at least three. Firstly, this corner of the fortification is still washed by the waters of the river and periodically attacked by ice drift. Second, this sector of the wall and

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<sup>7</sup> ATANASOV & MIHAILOV 2018, 86-93. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. the camp of *Legio XI Claudia* was the only fortification in Durostorum. Unlike many other Roman towns, the *canabae* were not fortified. This circumstance is due to the fact that the legion and its command permanently resided in Durostorum and presumably with some exceptions about half the legion (in those days its capacity was ca. 5 – 6 thousand soldiers) was in Durostorum and guaranteed the protection of the whole town. To them we have to add the corps of the veterans (more than 1000 armed men) living in the *vici*, *canabae* and the nearby surroundings. After the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. the Barbarian threat (and of the Goths in particular) over the limes and respectively over Durostorum became permanent, the legion was reduced to about 1500 warriors and this necessitated strengthening the *canabae* as well as the construction of an additional *castellum* on the Danube bank.

<sup>8</sup> RUSSU 1936, p. 210-212; VELKOV 1960, p. 215; KOLENDO 1966, p. 139-154; GERASIMOVA 2009, p. 329-331.

<sup>9</sup> ATANASOV & MIHAILOV 2018, 81-108.

<sup>10</sup> MARTINOVA & BOSPOCHIEVA 2002, p. 184, fig. 1.

<sup>11</sup> ANGELOVA 1973, p. 83-93, fig. 1, 2.

the foundation respectively lie over some earlier cultural layers dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. on the grounds of pottery and artefacts; thus the constructors have been striving to reach a sound terrain. Third, this careful masonry might have been designed according to more specific requirements: for instance, erection of an independent defence structure assumed by St. Angelova in 1970s – an early Danube *castellum* which preceded the construction of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. one (Fig. 1.III.2). In case there was indeed such an early fortification, besides along the Danube, we would have to register its walls also in the eastern, western and southern direction, which did not happen at the sewer diggings in 2014–2015 through the territory of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. *castellum*. Early walls were not documented also during the study of the large sector (more than 110 m) of the southern wall of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. *castellum* in 2006–2014 (Fig. 2). Only when revealing the eastern gates from the 9<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>12</sup> the foundation of an earlier wall was registered (Fig. 1.III.1; 5) as the situation is very reminiscent of the northern fortress wall beneath Drastar Hotel explored in 2004 (Fig. 1.III.2; 6). We can see clearly how the wall from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. constructed of large quadrate arranged in Binder-Laufer pattern mounts and uses as a foundation an earlier fortress wall made of well hewn small stone blocks similar to the masonry of the wall along the Danube River from the early 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>13</sup> For that reason, with some reservations, we continue to adhere to St. Angelova's suggestion for a Danube *castellum* earlier than the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. which probably approximately coincides at least along the northern and eastern (wall beneath the eastern gates) with the borders of Justinian's *castellum* constructed after the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Nevertheless, to identify it undoubtedly and to determine its borders we need new arguments and additional research. In this regard, we can point out to a structure revealed in 2007 and reasonably related to the Late Antiquity<sup>14</sup>. It appears roughly in the central southern sector of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. *castellum* and about 60 m behind the central southern gates (Fig. 2A.4; 7). The structure is composed of two walls crossing at an angle of 80 degrees as the one running northeast – southwest is 2.50 – 2.60 m wide. The wall oriented south – southeast is 10 m long, 5 m wide and contains a small appendage ca. 2.60 x 2.10 m at the southern end. From the elevation of 14.60 m of the surveyed terrain, it has been dug vertically into the continent loess ca. 1.15 m deep to elevation 13.44 m as its bed is filled tightly with rose mortar, small stones and soil<sup>15</sup>. It seems rather hard to figure out the nature of this structure as well as its precise date; however, judging from the elevation of digging and the stratigraphy we can relate it in general to the Late Antiquity. Hypothetically we can assume that it is the bed of a fortress wall with a gate, protruding from its front as the width of the walls

<sup>12</sup> ANGELOVA 1973, p. 83-85; ATANASOV 2012, p. 33; ATANASOV & RUSSEV 2014, p. 239-241, drawing 1; 14.

<sup>13</sup> ANGELOVA 1973, p. 83-85; ANGELOVA & BUCHVAROV 2006, p. 67, fig. 2.

<sup>14</sup> KOLEVA & KIRILOV 2008, p. 611-612, fig. 2; KIRILOV & KOLEVA 2008, p. 231-250, Abb. 3.

<sup>15</sup> It seems remarkable that exploring the Danube *castellum* (Kinton?) near Nova Cherna village, Silistra region, located about 70 km westwards, the stones from the foundations of the walls from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. have been extracted in a similar way and the beds are found filled with mortar, soil and small stones (See MILCHEV & ANGELOVA 1970, p. 12-15, Pl. V.1; TORBATOV 1998, p. 157-167, fig. 2).

excludes the possibility of being a foundation of a building. As a rule, during this age the walls of the towers were almost twice as narrow as the width of the curtain; however, along the river the foundations of the wall from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. are ca. 2.0 m and here the width is ca. 5 m. Definitely at a certain stage the stone masonry of the entire superstructure and foundation was extracted for a new building and only the mortar fixing the stones remained in the beds. Alongside the rest, this circumstance means that the stones of the substructure were comparatively large and semi-processed as in case it was only a blocking of crushed stones various in size fixed with sound rose mortar (but-beton as it is with the foundation of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. wall) extracting stone would be difficult and inefficient. It has been already determined that sectors of the wall from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. explored along the river and beneath the eastern gates had their foundations made right of semi-processed stones. So we ask ourselves whether this structure was possibly a sector of the southern wall of the earlier Danube *castellum* from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. we could not register beneath the southern wall of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. *castellum* revealed over 110 m in length. In case this assumption is correct, it means that the earlier *castellum* from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. was smaller in size covering ca. 3,5 ha (**Fig. 2A**) (totally enough to receive about 300 soldiers from *milites IIII Constantiani*) – a hypothesis to be confirmed or rejected by a future archaeological research.

Having in mind these realities after nearly half a century of archaeological studies in Silistra, we can make at least 3 reasoned suggestions concerning the fortification system of Durostorum during the Late Antiquity directly or indirectly related to the camp of *milites IIII Constantiani*:

1. The camp of *Legio XI Claudia* constructed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. over an area of ca. 22 ha continued to function as a main fortification.

2. A small *castellum* less than 3.5 ha in size was built along the Danube bank northwest of the legionary camp.

3. The residential area of the town (former *canabae*) ca. 50 ha in size was strengthened *a fundamentis* with a fortress wall containing within ca. 23 ha undeveloped area as well. This means in practice that after the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. the fortification agglomeration of Durostorum was three-component, composed of three structures interconnected but relatively independent: 1. The camp of *Legio XI Claudia* – Durostorum I. 2. The fortified residential area (former *canabae*) – Durostorum II. 3. The *castellum* along the Danube bank constructed in parallel with Durostorum II – Durostorum III (Atanasov & Mihailov 2017).

There are important arguments available providing grounds to make reasoned assumptions on the initial date of the new Late Antiquity fortification of Durostorum II and III as well as on the figure who has directed its construction.

I. Piso brings serious arguments that Durostorum was the capital city of the province of Moesia Inferior from the time of Emperor Trajan (98-117) to the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>16</sup> He is grounded on the practice to have the capital centres along the *limes* located always at the *principia* of a legionary camp and also on the fact that a couple of inscriptions of provincial governors have been discovered in Silistra. A similar idea was earlier presented by V. Velkov in 1977 and M. Zahariade in 1998

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<sup>16</sup> PISO 2014, p. 489-504.

although they concentrated on the situation in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. and on the inscriptions of the provincial governors Silvius Silvanus and Aurelius Dizo in particular<sup>17</sup>. The inscriptions were found in a representative edifice<sup>18</sup> beneath the Bishop's palace from the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>19</sup>, almost at the centre of the *canabae* of Durostorum (**Fig. 1.b**). There is a suggestion that Silvanus (definitely under Diocletian (284-305) there was overlapping of military and civilian functions of Silvanus as *praeses* and *vir perfectissimus*) was governor up to 280/ 284. Further on, the suggestions that after him the power was taken over by Aurelius Dizo have been justified as the latter might have been the last prefect of Moesia Inferior as well as the first prefect of the new province of Moesia Secunda established ca. 285<sup>20</sup>. If indeed Aurelius Dizo was the prefect of the province and resided in Durostorum after 285 up to 303, he may be the main factor in the organization of large-scale construction of the new fortification in Durostorum as well as in the neighbouring fortresses at the very end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. Most probably he also organized the visits of Emperor Diocletian along the Lower Danube, in Durostorum in 294 and 304 respectively (?). The assumptions of V. Velkov and M. Zahariade that in 303 governor of the province was Basos, mentioned in the life of St. Dassius of Dorostol, and in 304 – Maxim, mentioned in the life of St. Julius of Dorostol as *praeses* of the *provinciae*<sup>21</sup> are right with question marks as these hagiographic sources were compiled about the late 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. and we cannot accept them with great confidence<sup>22</sup>.

Under Diocletian and the early reign of Constantine I, when the fortification of the legionary camp (Durostorum I) was renovated and the fortress wall around the former *canabae* (Durostorum II) and the small *castellum* (Durostorum III) were constructed, the legionary system in the Empire was not yet entirely degraded and there were several more decades before the advent of *limitanei* and *comitatenses*<sup>23</sup>. The construction of the *castellum* (Durostorum III) as an autonomous military fortress was rather intended to strengthen the defence of the most pregnable sector along the Danube<sup>24</sup>. The presence of a ford through the Danube has been registered at the same place<sup>25</sup> through which probably the

<sup>17</sup> VELKOV 1977, p. 241-244; ZAHARIADE 1998, p. 52-53.

<sup>18</sup> DONEVSKI 1976, p. 61-64; VELKOV 1977, p. 241-244.

<sup>19</sup> Due to the lack of detailed knowledge of archaeological realities in Silistra, I. Piso associates the residence of the prefects with a representative edifice from the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. at the same spot the latter being rather a Bishop's palace. More likely the residential edifice from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. was the large structure from the same time (*villa urbana* destroyed about the late 4<sup>th</sup> c.?) revealed by P. Donevski with the Bishop's palace built over its ruins in the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. See ATANASOV 2004-2005, p. 275-287; IVANOV, ATANASOV & DONEVSKI 2006, p. 213-219, 342-349, fig. 20; ATANASOV 2007, p. 103-107, Pl. XXX. 32, 33.

<sup>20</sup> DONEVSKI 1976, p. 61-64; VELKOV 1979, p. 241-244; DIVR 1976, p. 399-401; ZAHARIADE 1998, p. 52-53; POPESCU 2015, p. 227-228.

<sup>21</sup> VELKOV 1977, p. 241-244; ZAHARIADE 1998, p. 52-53.

<sup>22</sup> CUMONT 1897, p. 5-16; PILLINGER 1988, p. 8-11; HAMACK 1891, p. 50-52; ATANASOV 2007, p. 16-22, 27.

<sup>23</sup> JONES 1964, p. 653-686.

<sup>24</sup> ANGELOVA & BUCHVAROV 2007, p. 68.

<sup>25</sup> Crossing the river at the same place is facilitated by an island around the midstream of the Danube exploited up to the 19<sup>th</sup> c. also by the Russian generals to attacks

Barbarians attacked the town in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., and the Goths in particular in 250, 267 and 295<sup>26</sup>.

Against this background we discern still another possibility encoded in *NotDign* commented above. We have already pointed out that alongside the documented presence of *Legio XI Claudia*, a separate paragraph on the auxiliary troops in Durostorum records also *milites IIII Constantiani*<sup>27</sup>. It does not seem entirely clear to what extent they were subordinated to the Commander of the Legion, but the context creates an impression that *milites IIII Constantiani* were an independent unit to the legion<sup>28</sup>. This circumstance suggests the hypothetical option for two *castella* indeed in Durostorum after the opening of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. – the large one (the legionary camp – Durostorum I) where the reduced *Legio XI Claudia* resided and the smaller one (Durostorum III) where *milites IIII Constantiani* were staying after 337. Remarkably, alongside the pronounced cultural layer containing pottery and artefacts from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c., within the smaller Danube *castellum* the coin circulation<sup>29</sup> intensified mainly under Diocletian and Constantine I to increase sharply under Constantius II thus deserving a special attention (Annexes 1-3).

It is noteworthy that within the small Danube *castellum* we observe a sharp increase of the coinage circulating under Constantius II. Though we have 43 coins from the reign of Constantine I (306-337), and 10 of Constantine II (337-340), under Constantius II they reach the number of 92<sup>30</sup>. Of a total of 373 coins from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. to the early 7<sup>th</sup> c. issued by 36 emperors this growth is impressive and is far from accidental.

Of the total 43 coins of Diocletian discovered in Durostorum, 13 come from the newly constructed Danube *castellum*, 24 – from the old legionary camp and the *canabae* and 6 – from the *vicus*<sup>31</sup> as 90% of them were minted after the monetary reform conducted in 294. The coins belong mainly to the type of CONCORDIA MILITVM (35 pieces) struck between 294-299 and GENIO POPVLI ROMANI (294-298); the only earlier coins are four Antoninians, three of them struck in Ticinum

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against Silistra fortress in 1773, 1810, 1829, 1853 and 1977. Just opposite the ford and the island respectively (the latter disappeared about the late 19<sup>th</sup> c.) was the Ottoman – Turkish citadel of Silistra fortress which was in fact the renovated *castellum* built by Justinian I (527-565) over the ruins of the Danube *castellum* from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. and functioning throughout the Middle Ages (ATANASOV 2013a, p. 52-70; ATANASOV 2013, p. 496-517, fig. 2, 9). We have already mentioned that the western Danubian lane and respectively the northeastern sector of the wall protecting the former *canabae* after the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. was of a weaker construction and almost missing foundation for disembarking Barbarian troops at that spot was hampered by the muddy terrain. On the contrary, the northeastern sector is higher, there is not any natural protection and the wall was more stable and with a more massive foundation.

<sup>26</sup> VELKOV 1984, p. 132-133.

<sup>27</sup> *NotDign* 1876, V, 86-87 = ЛИБИ 1958, 245.

<sup>28</sup> ZAHARIADE 1988, p. 84-88.

<sup>29</sup> To the reign of Diocletian, in the course of two centuries 88 coins were found in the Danube *castellum* of Durostorum as the earliest ones belong to Trajan and the latest ones – to Carinus.

<sup>30</sup> GANCHEVA 2015, p. 448, Pl. 1.

<sup>31</sup> For the distribution of coins in the particular structures composing the Antiquity town see Annex 2 below in the text.

and one – in Rome. The *folles* of Diocletian and the ones minted during the following years show a decrease in size and weight ranging from 10.36 to 1.96 g and diameter from 27.8-27.4 mm to 18.2-19.1 mm. In this regard, it should be noted that their greatest concentration is in the *castellum* as 13 coins have been registered over ca. 5 ha, and in the legionary camp and *canabae* they are indeed more in number – 41, but are scattered over an area exceeding 70 ha. The situation in the *vicus* is similar. The same trend remains after Diocletian, with the coins of Maximian (286-305) – 5 pieces in the *castellum*, 16 – in the camp and *canabae*, and 2 – in the *vicus*; coins of Galerius (305-311) – 5 in the *castellum*, 5 in the camp and *canabae* and 1 in the *vicus*; of Maximinus (310-313) – 4 in the *castellum*, 3 in the camp and *canabae* and 1 in the *vicus*; and especially of Licinius (304-324) – 32 in the *castellum*, 26 in the camp and *canabae* and 18 in the *vicus*. Out of a total of 76 Licinius' coins of several types, except one dated in 309, all others were minted after 313. The mint yard in Heraclea is represented by the most in number coins (25 pieces), followed by Nicomedia (17 pieces), Cyzicus (11 pieces) and Rome, Trier, Arles, Siscia and Thessaloniki – by one coin each.

We can see the same trends in the coin circulation of Constantine I the Great covering the period from 311 up to 337, that is the time of his co-reign with Licinius (till 324) and afterwards, when he became the only sovereign in the Empire. Out of a total of 204 coins found in Durostorum, 57 come from the Danube *castellum*, 112 – from the camp and *canabae*, and 35 – from the *vicus*. Thirty of the coins are dated up to 324 including *folles* of various types. In 324 emitting *folles* was ceased and small copper denominations remained to dominate, denoted as AE3 and AE4. Under the sole reign of Constantine I the coins found significantly increase in number – 174 pieces, all of them of small denominations intended for mass consumption. They belong to the known characteristic types circulating during this period – GLORIA EXERCITVS, PROVIDENTIAE AVGG, VRBS ROMA and CONSTANTINOPOLI. To the same time we can relate also coins entering the circulation in the name of his sons and other kinsmen in their capacity as Caesars – 106 pieces. After the emperor's death two types of coins were issued in his honour representing 12% of the coins of Constantine I.

The emissions of Constantine I's sons and relatives take the main share within the circulation in Durostorum and in the *castellum* respectively as especially characteristic is the circulation under Constantine II (337-340) and Constans (337-350). The former is presented with 15 coins in the *castellum*, 31 in the camp and *canabae* and 10 in the *vicus*, and the latter – 24, 32 and 17 pieces respectively.

The processes and coin proportions under Constantius II (337-361) are the most expressive. The largest number of coins is associated with his name – 275 pieces distributed as follows: *castellum* – 101, camp and *canabae* – 95 and *vicus* – 79. Thirty one of them are small denominations struck during the period between his proclamation of Caesar in 324 and the death of his father. The later copper coins also belong mainly to denominations of AE3 and AE4, although there are a couple of pieces of the larger AE2 minted in the Eastern workshops – Heraclea (2), Constantinople (1), Cyzicus (1), and one coin remains with undeciphered name of the mint. The coins belong mostly (57%) to the type of FEL TEMP REPARATIO - a



soldier piercing a falling horseman; the type entered the coin circulation in 351 and is related to Constantius II as well as to Constantius Gallus between 351–354 and Julian II – 355–361. The latest coins associated with the coinage of Constantius II bear a legend on the reverse as SPES REIPUBLICAE dating from 355–361. The only two coins which are not struck in copper belong also to Constantius II – a *solidus* – GLORIA/ REI/ PVBLICAE with Roma and Constantinople struck in Constantinople between 351 and 355 and a *siliqua* CONSTANTIVS CAESAR with Victoria, struck in Heraclea in 336–337 (Pl. 2).

The expressive trends under Constantius II (337–361) continued in Durostorum also during the time of his heirs though not at such drastic scales. However, the fact that out of a total number of 373 coins issued by 33 emperors between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. found in the *castellum* 101 belong to Constantius II seems impressive and is far beyond accidental. We accept it as still another significant repère to support the suggestion that in Durostorum III exactly *milites IIII Constantiani* were quartered. Theoretically we can discuss if they were camping in semi-massive barracks with shallow stone foundations mostly destroyed when levelling the terrain in the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> c. to construct at the same place a couple of large cult and residential buildings with forceful foundations<sup>32</sup>. Next to the northern wall of the *castellum* Late Antiquity water mains and a canal covered with *tegulae* have been indeed registered beneath the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> c. building horizons as well as an intriguing construction we know about only from a general description without a plan and dimensions<sup>33</sup>. Revealed between the wall from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the *basilica* from the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> c., it was of a large size, composed of two rooms (Fig. 2.3; 8). Its foundations were constructed of crushed stones fixed with mud, and its superstructure – 0.80 m wide – of small stone blocks fixed with light rose mortar and crushed stones. The building was roofed with tiles. According to the researcher, its functions are not clear but having in mind its size and stable masonry, it was not a usual house. In general it can be related to the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. for it has been dug into a layer containing artefacts and coins from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. and above its banquets comes a layer with pottery and coins from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. It cannot be excluded that it is a part of the barracks of *milites IIII Constantiani*. Walls with stone foundations made of crushed stones and adobe belonging to small rooms have been registered also beneath the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> c. *basilica* (Fig. 2.) and next to the southern fortress wall (?) from the 6<sup>th</sup> c.; however, their date is generally related to the 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>34</sup>

Concerning the initial date of the Danube *castellum* (Durostorum III) and of the newly revealed fortress around the town residential area respectively (Durostorum II) we have a couple of reliable markers pointing to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c.; however, it seems hard to precise the date of their destruction. Indicative is the fact that the wall of the Danube *castellum* built after the opening of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. is lying over the northwestern bed of the wall of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. Danube *castellum*<sup>35</sup>. The absence of pottery from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. along the eastern wall around the

<sup>32</sup> ATANASOV 2007, p. 169–172, Pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>33</sup> ANGELOVA & BUCHVAROV 2007, p. 73, fig. 3, 8, 9.

<sup>34</sup> ANGELOVA & BUCHVAROV 2007, p. 73, fig. 3; ATANASOV 2013, p. 529, fig. 2.17.

<sup>35</sup> ATANASOV 2013a, p. 52–70.

*canabae* as well as inside the towers containing larger amount of artefacts suggests that at a certain moment in the 5<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> c. this fortification also ceased to function. For the same conclusion we have an additional indicative argument as the coin circulation declining sharply about the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. in the Danube *castellum* and in Durostorum generally. There are historical, archaeological and numismatic grounds that this circumstance is due to disarrange about, in time and after the Huns' raids<sup>36</sup>. Their first attack was in 395, the initial year of Arcadius' reign (395-408). The raids continued in the following years and the authorities were forced to take measures for keeping up the limes. In the 40s of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. the Huns lead by Attila undertook one of the most severe raids in the whole span of the Late Antiquity history of Thrace Diocese, and of the province of Moesia Secunda respectively where Durostorum is located<sup>37</sup>. We can perceive it clearly observing the coin circulation in Durostorum and especially in the *castellum*. While the coins of Arcadius (395-408) are 24 in the *castellum*, and 51 in total in Durostorum, under Theodosius II (408-450) they are 7 and 15 correspondingly; under Marcianus (450-457) – right after the Huns' attack in 447 – they are only 2 as the same number are the coins of Leo I (457-474) too. At the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., under Anastasius I (491-518) and the following Byzantine emperors, the coin circulation increased sharply – one of the indicators that Durostorum/ Dorostol and the Danube *castellum* in particular were constructed once again along a new outline (**Fig. 2**) and entered a new stage of their life and development which is though still another subject<sup>38</sup>.

#### Annex 1. Distribution of the coins discovered in Durostorum under Emperor Diocletian to Leo I

Emperor	Castellum	Castra/ Canabae	Vicus	Total
Diocletian (284-305)	13	24	6	43
Maximian (286-305)	5	16	2	23
Galerius (305-311)	6	5	1	12
Galeria Valeria	1	2	1	4
Constantius I (305-306)	–	1	–	1
Severus II (306-307)	–	1	–	1
Maximinus II (310-313)	4	3	1	8
Licinius I (308-324)	29	19	12	60
Licinius II (321-324)	3	7	6	16
Constantine I (306-337)	57	112	35	204
Helena	3	1	–	4
Crispus (317-326)	4	5	3	12
Hanibalian (335-337)	1	–	–	1

<sup>36</sup> VELKOV 1960, p. 212.

<sup>37</sup> VELKOV 1959, p. 39-40.

<sup>38</sup> ATANASOV 2013, p. 52-70.

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Delmatius (335-337)	–	2	–	2
Constantine II (337-340)	15	31	10	56
Constans (337-350)	24	32	17	73
<b>Constantius II (337-361)</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>274</b>
Constantius Gallus (351-354)	7	9	2	18
Julian (360-363)	6	6	7	19
Vetranion (350)	–	1	–	1
Iovianus (363-364)	1	2	1	4
Valens (364-378)	14	14	21	49
Valentinian I (364-375)	15	12	11	38
Procopius (365-366)	4	–	–	4
Gratian (367-383)	5	3	3	11
Valentinian II (375-392)	5	2	3	10
Theodosius I (379-395)	8	17	7	32
Arcadius (395-408)	24	10	17	51
Eudoxia	1	1	–	2
Theodosius II (408-450)	7	2	6	15
Honorius (395-423)	10	12	11	33
Marcian (450-457)	2	–	–	2
Leo I (457-474)	2	1	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>1087</b>

**Annex 2. Coins and coin types of Emperor Constantine's dynasty**

Constantine's dynasty	camp/ canabae	castellum	vicus <sup>39</sup>	total
<b>Constantine I</b>				
GENIO AVGVSTI (311-313)		1		1
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG NN (312-316)	4			4
IOVI CONSERVATORI (312-317)	1	1	3	5
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (313-317)	4	6		10
SOLI INVICTO COMITI (313-317)	1			1
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG (317-320)	1			1
VOT XX MVL T XXX (318-319)	5			5
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP (318-320)	4	1	1	6
IOVI CONSERVATORI (321-324)			1	1
DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG. VOT XX	5	7	1	13

<sup>39</sup> The coins from the *vicus* near Durostorum (Gavidina?) on the territory of Romania near Ostrov Island are after the monograph of M. Dima and D. Elefterescu (DIMA & ELEFTERESCU 2009).

(321-324)				
BEATA TRANQVILLITAS (322-323)	1			1
PROVIDENTIAE AVGG (324-330)	10	8	1	19
DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG. VOT XXX (324-330)	3			3
CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE (326-330)	1			1
GLORIA EXERCITVS (330-335 r.)	26	10	4	40
CONSTANTINOPOLI. Victoria (330-335)	8	5	6	19
VRBS ROMA. She-Wolf (330-335)	11	12	5	28
GLORIA EXERCITVS (335-337 r.)	13	2	4	19
quadriga (337-341)	10	3	4	17
VN MR. Emperor (341-346)	4		5	9
<i>incerta</i>	1			1
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>Helena</b>				
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	1			1
PAX PVBLICA (337-340)		3		3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>4</b>
<b>Crispus</b>				
VICTORIA CAESS NN (319)			1	1
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP (319)		1		1
CAESARVM NOSTRORVM VOT V (320-321)	1		2	3
IOVI CONSERVATORI (321-324)	1			1
BEATA TRANQVILLITAS (322-323)	1			1
CAESARVM NOSTRORVM VOT X (323-324)	1	1		2
PROVIDENTIA CAESS (324-326)	1	2		3
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Hanibalian</b>				
SECVRITAS PVBLICA (336-337)		1		1
<b>Delmatius</b>				
GLORIA EXERCITVS (335-337)	2			2
<b>Constantine II</b>				
IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS (316-317)	1			1
CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE (317)			1	1
VICTIRIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP (319-320)	1			1
CAESARVM NOSTRORVM (320-321)			1	1
BEATA TRANQVILLITAS (322-323)		1		1
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS (324-330)	9	4	2	15
GLORIA EXERCITVS (330-335)	11	2	2	15
GLORIA EXERCITVS (335-337 r.)	16		4	20
<i>incerta</i>	1			1
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Constans</b>				
GLORIA EXERCITVS (335-337 r.)			1	1
GLORIA EXERCITVS (337-341 r.)	12	5	8	25

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VICTORIA DD AVGG Q NN (341-346)	3	5	4	12
VOT XX MVLT XXX (341-346)	13	7	4	24
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier and figure (346-350)	4			4
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Galliot (346-350)		6		6
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Emperor and captives (346-350)		1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Constantius II</b>				
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS (324-330)	1	5	3	9
GLORIA EXERCITVS (330-335)	8	7	6	21
GLORIA EXERCITVS (335-337 r.)	2	1	1	4
CONSTANTIVS CAESAR (336-337)	1			1
GLORIA EXERCITVS (337-341 r.)	8	7	8	23
VICTORIA DD AVGG Q NN (341-346)	3	2		5
VOT XX MVLT XXX (341-346)	6	4	5	15
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier and figure (346-350)		1		1
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Phoenix (346-350)	1	1	2	4
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Emperor and captives (346-350)	5	3	1	9
GLORIA REIPVBLICAE (351-365)	1			1
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier (351-361)	53	64	42	159
SPES REIPVBLICAE (355-361)	4	6	11	21
Incerta	1			1
<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>274</b>
<b>Constantius Gallus</b>				
FEL TEMP REPARATIO	9	6	2	17
CONCORDIA MILITVM		1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Julian II</b>				
FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier (355-361)	1	1	5	7
SPES REIPVBLICAE (355-361)	1	2	2	5
VOT X MVLT XX (361-363)	2	2		4
SECVRITAS REI PVB (361-363)	2	1		3
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>

## Annex 3. Distribution of the coins according to the mints

Emperor	Tr	Arl	R	Tic	Aq	S	Sr	Th	H	C	N	Cz	Ant	Al	Bez	Total
Diocletian			1	3		1			29			3			6	43
Maximian			1			1			8			9			4	23
Galerius								1	4		2	4			1	12
Galeria Valeria								1	2						1	4
Constantius I															1	1
Severus II									1							1
Maximinus II									1		2	3	1		1	8
Licinius I	1		1			1		1	20		13	10		1	12	60
Licinius II									4		5	1	1	1	4	16
Constantine I	1	1	1			8		18	34	23	15	23	3		77	204
Helena										3					1	4
Crispus	2	1				2		2	2			1			2	12
Hanibalion										1						1
Delmatius								1	1							2
Constantine II	1					5		4	11	5	4	7			19	56
Constans						4		8	2	6	3	5			45	73
<b>Constantius II</b>					<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>274</b>
Constantius Gallus						2	1		1		4	1			9	18
Julian II			1			2	2	2	2	5					5	19
Vetranion															1	1
Iovianus						1			1	1					1	4
Valens					1	8		5		4	2	3	2		24	49
Valentinian I						8		2	2	3	2	3	1		17	38
Procopius										3					1	4
Gratian						4		1		1					5	11
Valentinian II						1					1				8	10
Theodosius I					1			1	1	7	3	4			15	32
Arcadius									3	15	1	5	1		26	51
Eudoxia															2	2
Theodosius II									1		1				13	15
Honorius			1						1	4	2	4			21	33
Martian															2	2
Leo I										2					2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>1087</b>

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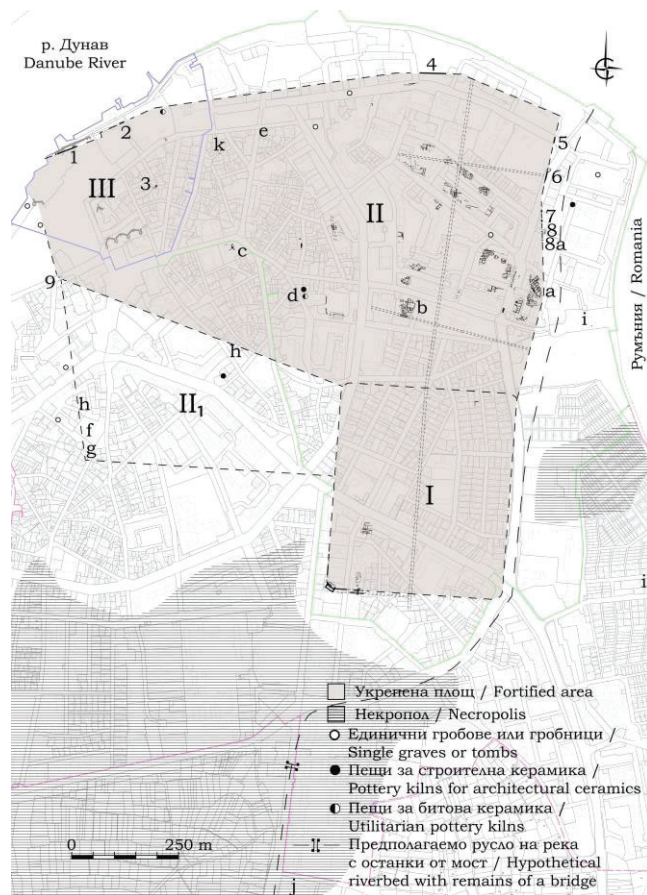


Fig. 1 - General plan of Durostorum and the fortification system of the town. 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. (after G. Atanasov and K. Mihailov with data from P. Donevski, S. Angelova and I. Bachvarov). I. The fortified camp of *Legio XI Claudia* (2<sup>nd</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> c.). II. *Canabae*. II.1. Controversial fortified (but uninhabited) territory during the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. III. *Castellum* on the Danube bank from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c., reconstructed after the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. 1, 2 and 3. Documented use of the wall of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. Danube *castellum* as a foundation for the new fortification constructed after the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. 4-9. Explored sectors of the fortress wall built in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>- early 4<sup>th</sup> c. around the residential area of Durostorum (former 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. *canabae*). a. Roman *thermae*. b. The residence (?) of the provincial governors in the second half of 3<sup>rd</sup> – first half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the Bishop's palace over it from the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. c, d, e, k. The westernmost explored buildings in the *canabae* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. and 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. residential buildings in Durostorum. f, g. Short sections of a fortress wall (?) explored but not documented during the 1970s. h. Explored sectors without traces of antique cultural layers and development from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> c. i. Building from the 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. outside the fortified territory. j. *Villa suburbana*.

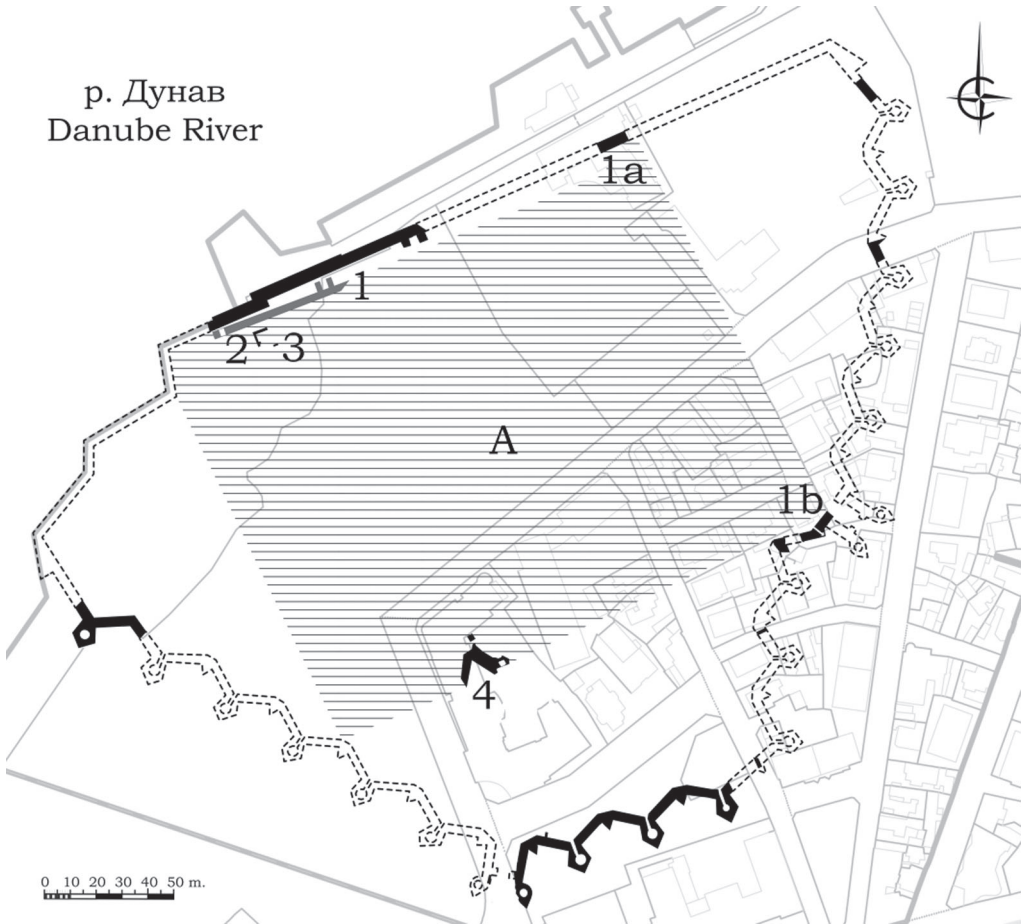


Fig. 2 - Plan of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Danube *castellum* in Durostorum – Dorostol after G. Atanasov. 1. Wall from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. (after S. Angelova and G. Atanasov). 1a, b. Documented use of the wall of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. Danube *castellum* as a foundation for the new fortification constructed after the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. A. Supposed territory of the *castellum* from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. 2. Two-space building from the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. (after S. Angelova). 3. Walls from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. 4. Structure (gates?) from Late Antiquity (?) (after R. Koleva and Ch. Kirilov).

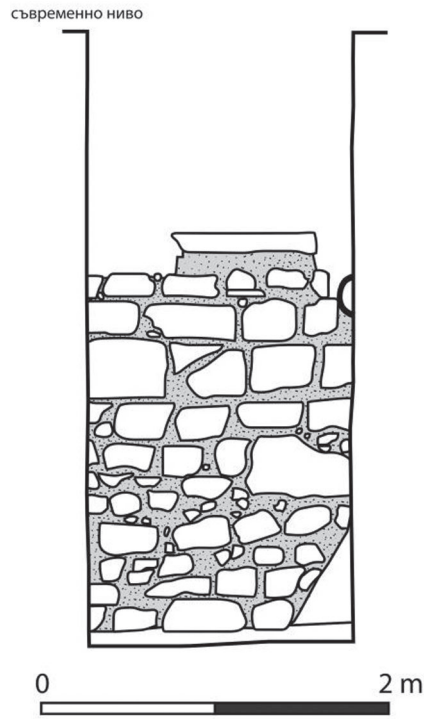


Fig. 3 - Outer face of the fortress wall along 17 - 19 Sedmi Septemvri Str.

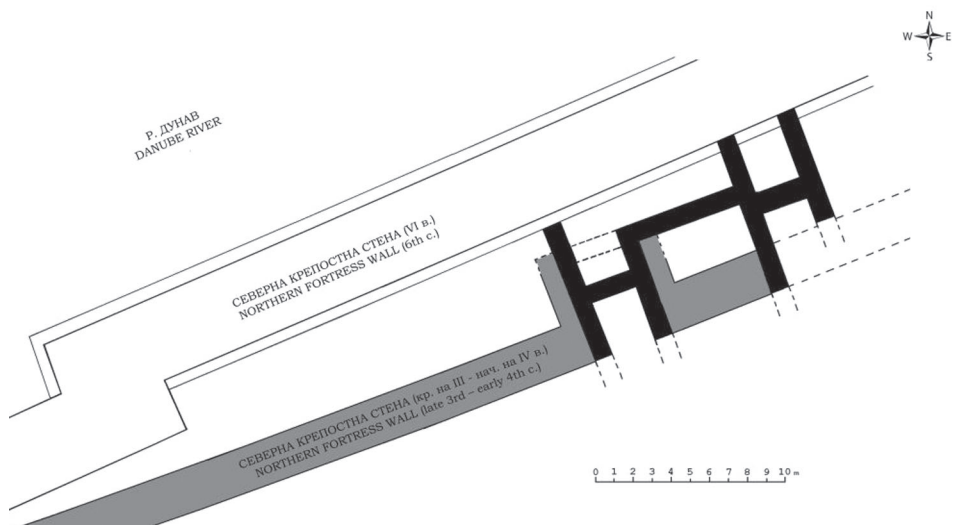


Fig. 4 - Plan of the northern fortress wall with a tower of the earlier Danube *castellum*? from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c.



**Fig. 5 - Section of the earlier fortress wall employed as a foundation for the 6<sup>th</sup> c. fortification. Photo from the excavations of the eastern gates of Drastar.**



**Fig. 6 - Section of the earlier fortress wall employed as a foundation for the 6<sup>th</sup> c. fortification. Photo from the excavations of the eastern gates of Drastar.**

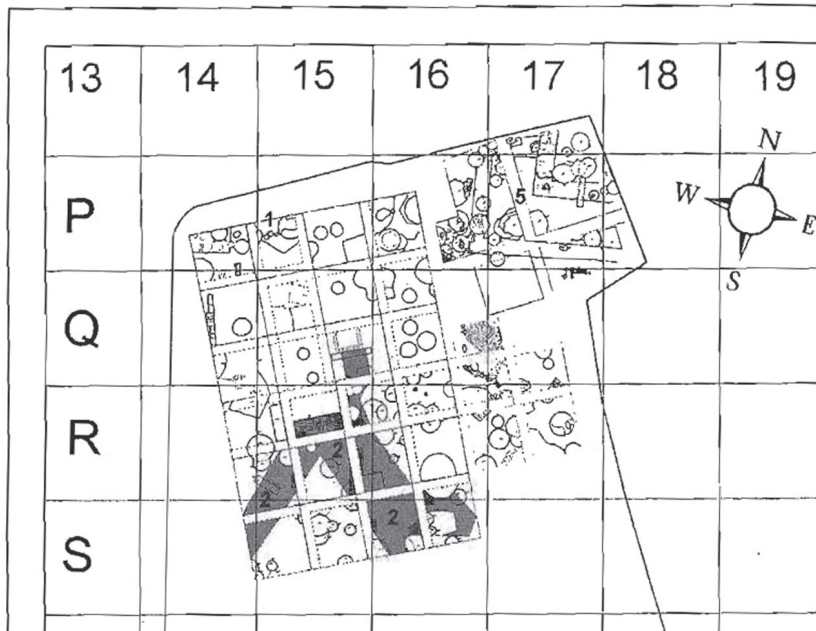


Fig. 7 - Structure - gates (?) of the *castellum* from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (plan after R. Koleva and Ch. Kirilov).



Fig. 8 - Two-space building from the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. of the *castellum* from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (after S. Angelova).