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**THE SOUTH-WEST OF THE FORMER DACIA APULENSIS (BANAT)
BETWEEN 275 AND 380 A.D. ON THE BASIS OF
NUMISMATIC SOURCES**

THE SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

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Key words: Banat; the south-west of the former Roman Dacia; monetary hoards; isolated monetary finds; monetary circulation; fortifications; archaeological finds; the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

Introduction

This doctoral thesis analyses the monetary circulation between 275 and 380 A.D. in Banat, the geographical space, named like this starting with the 18th century, bounded on the north by the Mureş, on the south by the Danube, on the west by the Tisa and on the east by the Cerna passage, a region which represented the south-west of the former Roman province Dacia Apulensis.

The historical period we refer to, 275-380 A.D., covers the time between the retreat of the Roman administration and army from the province of Dacia (275) and the Goths' victory over the Romans at Hadrianopolis in 378 (this year, 380, is a simple conventional date as the disaster from Hadrianopolis had emphasized a lot of reverberations for many years). The consequences affected the Roman domination and mastership, the political situation of the Empire and its influence northwards of the Danube instigated the population's displacement, which had radically changed the economic and political connections in the area for a long period of time.

The exploration of the monetary finds, not only of the hoards, but also of the isolated finds, besides the archaeological discoveries, is very important and necessary as it can provide the information regarding the economic, social and political transformations developing in this region during the late Roman epoch.

Our interests in the analysis of the monetary circulation in Banat between the end of the 3rd century and the end of the 4th one were determined especially by the absence of a complex numismatic study concerning the monetary circulation in Banat in the 4th century (based on a more comprehensive repertory of monetary finds), as well as by the large number of monetary hoards in the 4th century found in Banat.

We are aware of the limits of our approach due to a number of objective (the current stage of research) and especially subjective reasons. However we consider that the present work will complete the bibliography referring to the history of Banat in the late Roman epoch while highlighting possible directions of the future numismatic research concerning this subject.

We have to emphasize the viewpoint according to which we used terms such as monetary hoard, or monetary deposit and lot, while underlining that the option regarding their usage from this viewpoint belongs to us. If we have used the **monetary hoard** term to point to its well-known sense (an accumulation of material or abstract values), the **monetary deposit** is understood as a smaller and more modest hoard, and the **monetary lot** suggests a group of coins detached from a hoard.

The numismatic fund dated between 275 and 380 A.D. consists in isolated hoards and monetary finds from 143 localities from Banat, comprising about 34.578 discovered coins. From all this, around 33.488 coins can be found in the 77 hoards, deposits and monetary lots in the 41 localities in Banat, and the rest of about 1.090 coins is represented by the isolated coins discovered in 125 localities from Banat.

Referring to the 77 hoards, deposits and monetary lots, there are some doubts regarding 6 of them, and the other 71 consist of: 54 hoards, 5 deposits and 12 monetary lots. Only 22 hoards, deposits and monetary lots from the 77 discovered in Banat have been published since 1972, in agreement with numismatic standards, by Eugen Chirilă, Nicolae Gudea, Ioan Stratan, Dana Bălănescu, Radu Ardevan, Nicoleta Demian, Viorica Suci, Raoul M. Șeptilici (those from the Romanian Banat), by Velika Dautova-Ruševljan and Ljiljana Bakić (those from the Serbian Banat). The other hoards dating in the 3rd and 4th centuries in Banat, although often mentioned in repertories, numismatic or archaeological surveys, do not correspond to a detailed numismatic analysis given the absence of a catalogue including all the information regarding the coins. This observation is also valid in the case of the hoards, that had been lost in time which, most of the time, cannot be recovered only on the basis of some bibliographical information.

Concerning the late Roman isolated monetary finds in Banat, the bibliographical sources are very different: numismatic repertories, archaeological repertories, synthetic works (which usually contain repertories too), numerous articles, archive information, different articles from the publications edited at the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th one, the monographies of some localities or counties from Banat, published during the same period of time; numismatic lectures held on the occasion of various scientific sessions or the annual national symposiums of the Romanian Numismatic Society.

Chapter I.1-3. Characteristics defining the external politics and military history of the Roman Empire between 275 and 380 A.D.

In order to understand the historical context, we have presented the main military conflicts of the Roman Empire taking place between 275 and 380 A.D., by using a couple of sources such as the chronologies established by the authors of *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, volumes V/1, VI, VII, VIII and IX, and by including the data when the Roman emperors could be found in the provinces bordering the area of Banat.

Chapter I.4. Special considerations regarding the fortifications in the “Iron Gates” zone

In order to reach a higher understanding of the monetary circulation in Banat between 275 and 380 A.D., we considered it would be necessary to present the fortifications in the “Iron Gates” zone, a term largely approached in the specialty literature, comprising the zone extending from *Lederata* to the proper Iron Gates (a sector stretching between Moldova Veche and Drobeta Turnu Severin).

According to the information provided by the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, in the sector between *Singidunum* (Belgrade) and *Drobeta* (Turnu Severin), during the late Roman epoch, there were 51 large fortifications, smaller fortifications (towers – *turres*, burghs - *burgi*), barrages (*clausurae*), completed by the fortified towns.

These fortifications were laying along the Danube, most of them were situated on the southern shore; 37 fortifications belonged to the province of Moesia Prima, and 14 to Dacia Ripensis. Regarding the fortifications from Banat, on the left bank of the Danube, 9 belonged to the province of Moesia Prima: Pančevo, Kovin, Sapaja, Banatska Palanka, Pojejena, Moldova Veche, Gornea and the towers from Coronini (Pescari) and Svinița, while Dierna and the tower from Dubova belonged to Dacia Ripensis.

The repertory of the 51 fortifications along the two banks of the Danube, already known or assumed, presented from the west to the east, was achieved on the basis of the works referring to the Late Roman fortifications in the Iron Gates zone, mentioned in the bibliography at the end of the thesis. Each fortification is presented briefly according to a number of criteria: the ancient name; the modern name of the locality; the location in proportion to the locality; the accomplished research; the fortification’s technical data; the stationary military unit; the discovered archaeological material and the bibliography.

Chapter II. The structural analysis of the monetary hoards in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. in Banat

At present, we know about 77 hoards, deposits and monetary lots, in 41 localities from Banat, comprising approximately 33.488 + x discovered coins. We estimate the number of the coins recovered from the hoards found, that is about 20.807 + x, and the one regarding the coins, 5.226.

In terms of component coins, most of the late Roman monetary hoards in Banat are modest, comprising several tens or hundreds of coins. Thus, 40 hoards comprise up to 100 coins, 10 hoards comprise between 100 and 500 coins, and 8 hoards about 500-1.000 coins. The number of large monetary hoards comprising more than 1.000 coins raises to 11, and the one regarding the hoards whose number of component coins is unknown is 7. The largest hoard discovered is Moldova Veche IV - „Flotations” comprising more than 4.200 coins, and the smallest, known as completely recovered, is the Moldova Veche VI deposit with 6 coins found in a small vessel.

From the 77 monetary hoards, 59 include bronze coins, 13 have a mixed composition, 3 are composed of golden coins, and in the case of 2 hoards the coins' metal is unknown. In 8 cases the hoards or monetary deposits were discovered in vessels and in 4 cases the coins in the hoards or deposits were found in association with other objects.

Analysing the distribution of the coins in hoards and deposits on the basis of geographical zones, we have reached the following results:

- in the Danubian sector - 26 hoards (about 18.506 coins);
- in the plain region of Banat - 40 hoards (about 12.800 coins);
- in the hill and mountain area of Banat - 10 hoards (about 2.182 coins).

Further on, we have analysed, from the viewpoint of structure (monetary mints, issuers, monetary types and chronological sequences), only the 22 monetary hoards and lots from the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. in Banat published systematically. We have achieved the analysis on the basis of the Corpus of structural analysis in the case of hoards and the corresponding tables.

We must emphasise that we have preserved the determination and dating of monetary types in compliance with the *LRBC (Late Roman Bronze Coinage)*, in the way those coins were published, as a new determination of these in compliance with the *RIC (The Roman Imperial Coinage)* would have gone beyond the context of the present work by far.

The numismatic fund of the 22 hoards, deposits and lots analysed, consisting of 5.226 coins, adapts to the elaboration of some useful and relevant statistics. The number of imitations in the 22 hoards rises to 5 (0,09%), and the one regarding the previous issues (between the 1st and 3rd centuries A.D.) to 33 coins (0,63%).

In the 22 hoards, deposits and monetary lots analysed we notice the dominance of the following mints: Sirmium (1.131 coins; 31,34%), Thessalonica (690 coins; 19,12%) and Siscia (616 coins; 17,07%). The placement of the Sirmium mint on the first place in the context of the analysed hoards can be related to the moment of their foundation (351-354) too, the period of time when Sirmium (today Sremska Mitrovica, in Serbia), opened again in 351, is the closest workshop to the area of Banat. This is a particularity of Banat, since Siscia and Thessalonica dominate the monetary circulation of the bordering areas in the first half of the 4th century. Thus, like in other cases, it is certified that the coin supply in this zone was done in the closest monetary mint.

The western and central mints in the Latin zone of the Empire emphasise a number of 1.910 coins (52,93%), while the Balkan and Oriental mints in the Greek zone are present with 1.698 coins (47,06%). Thus, regarding the studied period of time, they certify the orientation of the south-west zone of the former Dacia towards the Latin zone of the Roman Empire.

Regarding the issuers, from the 5.002 coins assuredly attributed in the context of the 22 hoards under discussion, the greatest number is represented by the coins of Constantius II (3.464 items; 69,25%), followed at a considerable distance by the coins of Constantius Gallus, *caesar* of Constantius II (426 items; 8,51%) and the ones of Constans (375 items; 7,49%).

In the numismatic fund we have analysed (5.047 coins defined by the already specified type) there are 54 monetary types with different issuing periods of time between 305 and 392 A.D. In the 22 hoards, deposits and monetary lots the dominant type is represented by *Fel Temp Reparatio*, FH - „Falling Horseman” (351-354 A.D.) issued by Constantius II and Constantius Gallus (2.782 coins; 55,12%), followed by the same monetary type between 355 and 361 A.D. issued by Constantius II and Iulianus (852 coins; 16,88%). Other representative monetary types in the hoards from Banat (published systematically) are related to the period between 341 and 346, *Victoriae DD Augg Q NN* (567 coins) and *Vot XX Mult XXX* (319 coins).

The preponderance of the *Fel Temp Reparatio* monetary type, FH is not surprising, if we consider the fact that half of the analysed monetary hoards in the 4th century A.D. in Banat are composed of such coins. Practically, from the 22 analysed

hoards, 11 present a majority of the *FTR*, FH type (351-354 A.D.): Dalboșeț I, Gornea, Jupa, Măcești-Moldova Nouă, Moldova Nouă II, Moldova Veche IV (“Flotations”), Moldova Veche V (“Vinograda”), Orșova I and II, Pojejena and Zagajica. The other two monetary types mentioned, *Victoriae DD Augg Q NN* and *Vot XX Mult XXX* (341-346 A.D.) are re-found especially in the hoard from Oreșac and in the 5 lots from Răcășdia (I A, I B, II, III and IV).

After all, we have grouped the 77 hoards, deposits and monetary lots from the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. from Banat according to the last coin’s dating in more groups of hoards:

- a first group is part of a single hoard, with the last coin issued between 313 and 318 A.D. (Stara Palanka, today Banatska Palanka, Serbia);
- the second group comprises 14 hoards and lots, from which only 8 published systematically, completed with coins issued between 337-341 A.D. (Banatska Palanka II) or 341-346 A.D. (Banatska Palanka III, Kuštilj I and II, Malo Središte, Mesić I, Oreșac, Răcășdia I A, I B, III and IV, Vatin, Vermeș and Vračev Gaj);
- a third group comprises 17 hoards and lots, from which only 9 published systematically, completed with coins issued between 351-354 A.D. (Zagajica and Zrenjanin II) or 355-361 A.D. (Bocșa Vasiovei, Dalboșeț I, Lukino Selo, Măcești II, Măcești - Moldova Nouă, Moldova Nouă II, Moldova Veche I, II, IV, V, VI and VII, Novi Bečej, Pojejena and Răcășdia II);
- a fourth group includes 7 hoards and deposits, from which only 4 published systematically, completed with coins issued later: 364-367 A.D. (Gornea and Mesić II), 367-375 A.D. (Cheglevici, Dalboșeț II and Orșova I) or 383-392 A.D. (Jupa and Orșova II);
- a fifth group composed of 38 hoards, deposits and lots; we have no information referring to the dating of the last coin.

Chapter III. The analysis of the isolated monetary finds in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. in Banat

The isolated monetary finds in the south-west of the former Roman Dacia (Banat) dated between 275 and 380 A.D. comprise around 1.061 coins, deriving from 125 localities. Unfortunately, there is no information regarding approximately half of this total of discovered coins. In the analysis of isolated finds, like in the case of hoards,

there isn't a fix number of coins, their number differs from case to case, depending on the criterium of analysis. In the mints' analysis we considered 570 coins, in the issuers' analysis, 1.061 coins, and concerning the monetary types and chronological sequences, 551 coins.

Analysing the distribution of the late Roman isolated coins from Banat in the same three geographical zones which we also had in mind in the case of the hoards, we obtained the following results:

- ❖ in the Danubian sector - 21 localities (about 604 coins);
- ❖ in the field area of Banat - 75 localities (about 295 coins);
- ❖ in the hills and mountains of Banat - 29 localities (about 191 coins).

The bronze coins (931 items discovered in 101 localities) represent 87,74% from the 1.061 renowned isolated coins; the issues align almost continuously from Probus to Valentinianus II. From the 783 bronze coins with a renowned issuer, most of them were issued by Constantius II (287 coins), followed by Constantinus I (134 coins).

The silver (12 coins from 13 localities) and golden coins (18 coins from 17 localities), whose number is relatively very little compared to those made of bronze, appear especially in the plain area of Banat, then along the Danube and completely isolated in the mountainous Banat. Regarding the Antoninians, found in a higher number (27 coins in 5 localities) than the golden or silver coins, we can't say they are concentrated in any particular zone, the places they were discovered are spread throughout the whole area of Banat. The number of coins made of some unspecified metal (73 items from 19 localities) is explained through a lacunary research which, in most of the cases, cannot be recovered anymore. Among the isolated finds in Banat one can also notice 6 imitations of some bronze coins dating in the 4th century.

Furthermore, in the context of this chapter, we have analysed the late Roman coins from Banat discovered isolated in agreement with monetary mints, issuers, monetary types, chronological sequences and the coefficient of coins/year, on two levels: 1) Banat on the whole and 2) the three distinct geographical zones: the Danubian sector, the plain region of Banat and the hills and mountain area of Banat.

Among the isolated monetary finds from Banat dated between 275 and 380 A.D. there are 17 monetary mints: 9 from the western and central part of the Roman Empire (Londinium, Treveri, Lugdunum, Arelate, Roma, Ticinum, Aquileia, Siscia and Sirmium), and 8 from the Balkans and the Oriental part of the Empire (Serdica, Thessalonica, Heraclea Thracica, Constantinopolis, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antiochia and Alexandria). In the context of isolated coins with a determined mint (345 coins) we

notice the dominance of the following mints: Siscia (128 coins; 37,10%), Thessalonica (70 coins; 20,28%), Constantinopolis (26 coins; 7,53%) and Sirmium (23 coins; 6,66%).

The series of isolated monetary finds from Banat, dated between 275 and 380 A.D., comprise 31 issuers, from the coins of Tacitus to the ones of Valentinianus II (it also includes the two series, *Urbs Roma* and *Constantinopolis*). Thus, concerning the isolated finds from Banat with a renowned issuer, most of the coins are related to Constantius II (298 coins; 33,94%), followed by his father, Constantinus I (145 coins; 16,51%) and his brother, Constans (63 coins; 7,17%).

From a total of 551 isolated coins, whose technical information we are aware of, we could determine the monetary type in the case of 467 coins (84,75%). In the analysed numismatic fund there are 73 monetary types with different issuing periods of time between 275 and 383 A.D. Like in the case of hoards, we used the determination and dating of monetary types in compliance with the *LRBC*, this was the publishing way of the analysed coins. The *Fel Temp Reparatio* monetary type, FH, is representative, between 351 and 354 A.D., issued for Constantius II and Constantius Gallus (66 coins; 14,13%), followed by *Victoriae DD Augg Q NN* between 341 and 346 A.D. (44 coins; 9,42%).

If in the case of the analysed hoards from Banat there are two culminating points of the coins coefficient/year, corresponding to two intervals of time, between 351 and 354 and between 341 and 346 (the value of the coefficient for the interval between 351 and 354 being unnaturally high, almost five times higher than between 341 and 346), in the case of isolated finds there are three culminating points of the coins coefficient/year corresponding to three periods of time: 351-354, 341-346 and 330-335 (preserving a balanced proportion among the values of the coefficient).

Chapter IV. The interpretation of the late Roman monetary presence in Banat

Starting from the analysis in Chapter II and III of the monetary hoards and isolated coins in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. discovered on the territory of Banat, in the first sub-chapter we emphasised the characteristics of the monetary circulation between 275 and 380 A.D. not only in the whole region of Banat, but also in the context of the three geographical zones mentioned: the Danubian zone, the plain area of Banat and the hills and mountain region of Banat, presenting the similitudes and differences among these zones.

Having analysed the distribution of coins, both in the hoards and deposits, and through the isolated finds, in the three geographical zones, we obtain the following situation:

- ❖ in the Danubian sector - 19.110 + x coins (around 18.506 + x coins in 26 hoards; about 604 + x isolated coins from 21 localities);
- ❖ in the plain area of Banat - 13.095 + x coins (around 12.800 + x coins in 40 hoards; about 295 + x isolated coins from 75 localities);
- ❖ in the hills and mountains of Banat area - 2.373 + x coins (about 2.182 + x coins in 10 hoards; about 191 + x isolated coins from 29 localities).

Then, by organising the chronological interval, 275-380 A.D., in six larger stages in compliance with certain events (275-294; 294-307; 307-324; 324-346; 346-364 and 364-383 A.D.) and by considering only the coins whose issuing period is known, both in the 22 structurally analysed hoards, and from the isolated finds (5.509 coins, from which 5.036 from hoards and 473 isolated coins), we have emphasised the general tendencies of each stage.

In the other three sub-chapters we drew up a comparison between the monetary circulation between 275 and 380 A.D. in Banat and the one in the bordering areas: the Roman provinces in the south of the Danube (Moesia Prima and Pannonia Secunda), the former Dacian provinces (Transylvania and Oltenia today), the Sarmatian zone (between the Tisa and Danube) and the Crişana zone, Satu-Mare and Maramureş, highlighting the existence of some mutual or different aspects. For Transylvania, Oltenia and Crişana we made a repertory of localities with monetary finds between 275-380 A.D., indicating the finds through distinct graphical signs: hoard or isolated discovery (the three repertories are found in the Appendixes).

Chapter V. Conclusions. The historical significance of the monetary circulation between 275-380 A.D. in Banat

The years following the Aurelian retreat are less known by the former province and, implicitly, by the region of Banat. The fact, that it was a difficult period of time, defined by the temporary disconnection with the Empire, is also demonstrated by the absence of monetary circulation in Banat between 275 and 294 A.D. Yet we must not forget that the Empire was still undergoing the monetary crisis and it was only after the monetary reform of Diocletianus in 294 when the situation experienced some improvement.

After 294 in Banat we can speak about a monetary circulation only in the zone of the Danube. Certainly, this is due to the fortifications along the left bank of the Danube, constructed or remade (the old ones) during the Tetrarchy.

Regarding the next stage, 307-324, during the last tetrarchies and the Constantinian-Licinian diarchy, the monetary circulation in Banat intensifies to a certain degree, but only in the Danubian sector, where coins enter in hoards, but most of them circulate as isolated coinage.

Only after 324, when Constantinus I, the only remaining leader of the Empire, initiates a series of military and civil reforms and begins the series of offensive actions in the north of the Danube, the monetary circulation undergoes a reversal. The isolated coins circulate in a high number compared to the previous stage in all the three zones in Banat, however in a higher number in the Danubian sector, due to the fortification action of the bank of the Danube, which still continues during the reign of Constantinus I.

During the reign of his sons, especially of Constantius II, most of the coins issued between 341 and 346 enter the area of Banat in hoards in the field zone: Kuštilj I și II, Malo Središte, Mesić I, Orešac, Răcășdia I A, I B, III and IV and Vatin (in the zone of Vrșac), forming a horizon of hoards, joined by Banatska Palanka (II and III) and Vračev Gaj (all three in the Danubian sector), but also Zagajica and Răcășdia II although they emerge later. The large influx of coins into this zone can represent higher payments explained through commercial connections with the Empire or stipends. It is possible that this part of the field area represents, due to its vicinity, the main supplying source of the garrisons in the fortifications of the 4th century, along the two banks of the Danube, with cereal crops, cattle or horses. We believe that this horizon of hoards can be related to the campaigns of Constantius II against the Sarmatians between 358 and 359 A.D.

The monetary circulation in Banat experiences the highest intensity only after the monetary reform of Constantius II in 348. Although this is the moment when they register a rise of the monetary circulation in the Danubian sector and the mountainous area of Banat, decreasing in the field area, there is a huge quantity of coins dated between 351 and 361 which enters the area of Banat in hoards concentrated especially in the Danubian sector, where they form the horizon of hoards: Măcești II, Măcești - Moldova Nouă, Moldova Nouă II, Moldova Veche I, II, IV, V, VI and VII and Pojejena, joined by Dalboșeț I, but also by Boljetin along the southern bank of the Danube.

Although the sources mention only few details about the constructions around the frontiers during the time of the sons of Constantinus I, the numismatic reality in the Danubian sector of Banat concerning the period of Constantius II proves something else. The analysis of the hoards in Banat and the south of the Danube, in Moesia Prima (Viminacium, Pincum, Boljetin, Horreum Margi) emphasises a culminating point for the interval between 351 and 354, with an almost identical coefficient, which proves a great inflow of coins along the two banks of the Danube during the reign of Constantius II. This great inflow of coins in the hoards, which does not appear in the circulation of isolated coins, demonstrates it is about punctual payments for the army and functionaries. We believe the hoards near the Danube, composed of *FTR* coins, FH issued between 351 and 354 A.D., can be explained through the payments of the militaries in the fortifications, as well as through commercial activities related to the mine exploitations (in Moldova Nouă).

We assume the burial of this horizon of hoards ending in 361 or even sooner, in 358 (given the absence of the *Spes Reipublicae* coins in 358-361) is connected to the civilian war between Constantius II and Iulianus in 361, and the conquest not only of Illyricum, but also of Sirmium, by the latter. There is also another hypothesis: the possible retreat of some drafts of troops from the fortifications considering the campaign of Constantius II from Persia in 360 (before the conflict with Iulianus) and, in this context, the safe placement of personal fortunes, as a result of some payrolls, by the soldiers.

In the Valentinian stage we notice a decreased monetary circulation in Banat. The great inflow of coins in the hoards from the two previous stages stops, and between 364 and 383 there are only a few coins which complete the hoards, and the isolated coins, less than during the previous stage, are limited especially to the Danubian sector. Although the written sources mention numerous constructions and recoveries of fortifications along the borders during the time of Valentinianus I and Valens, they can't be observed in Banat, as proved by the monetary circulation as well.

After 380, when the connections with the Empire are interrupted because of the events in the Balkans, after the Romans' defeat by the Goths at Hadrianopolis in August 378 and the people's movements provoked by the Huns, there are less coins penetrating the area of Banat, and the population gradually orients towards a natural economy.

The bronze coins represent an overwhelming majority both in the context of hoards and in the one concerning the isolated finds in Banat dated between 275 and 380 A.D. We only need to mention that from a total amount of 77 hoards, deposits and

monetary lots, 59 contain only bronze coins. This fact occurs because of two reasons: firstly, the bronze coin dominates the monetary circulation in the 4th century in the Roman Empire, and secondly, it is used by the Daco-Roman population on the territory of the former Roman Dacia, thus of Banat, which was familiar with the monetary economy.

The bronze coins are spread especially from the north-west corner of Banat, diagonally, towards its south-east part, as there are several areas with a higher density of finds. The high concentration of coins in the field between the Mureş and Timiș is probably explained through the swarming phenomenon of the settlements in consequence of an extensive agriculture; moreover, the field area is the most active considering the circulation of isolated coins, as here we can find numerous localities with a limited number of isolated coins, which certifies the practice of common, not wide-spreading commercial exchanges.

Most of the golden and silver coins between 275 and 380, concentrated especially in the field zone of Banat, should be probably connected to the Sarmatians who, after 275 A.D., start penetrating this zone, their presence is observed archaeologically. However the fact that the coins made of some precious metal appear in areas where the bronze coins are representative highlight the inhabitation of the field zone by the Daco-Romans and Sarmatians.

The hierarchy of monetary mints in the hoards from Banat is not identical with the one of isolated finds, yet one can notice that the coins derive from the closest monetary mints: Sirmium, Thessalonica and Siscia in hoards, Siscia, Thessalonica and Constantinopolis in the isolated finds. The domination of the mint from Sirmium in the hoards from Banat is a characteristic that defines only this region, it is not related to any of the bordering zones and it's connected to the moment of their formation (351-354), the period of time when the Sirmium was the closest mint to Banat.

The higher percentage of western and central mints in the Latin zone of the Empire, compared to the Balkan and Oriental ones in the Greek zone, both in the context of hoards, and in the one of isolated monetary finds, certifies – regarding the analysed period of time – the orientation of the south-west zone of the former Dacia towards the Latin zone of the Empire.

The Danubian zone is the zone from Banat which is constantly provisioned with Roman coins between 275 and 380 A.D. This situation is natural for a limes area, with fortifications playing an important role in the monetary circulation of the zone, where the coins from the Empire penetrate in larger amounts and circulate intensely. This is

also the place where we can find the localities with the highest number of late Roman coins: Banatska Palanka, Gornea, Pojejena and Mehadia (51-100 coins), Orșova Veche (the only locality certifying more than 200 coins). We can certainly refer to a Roman domination in the north of the Danube during the whole 4th century.

According to the boundaries between the two provinces, Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis, located next to Porečka Reka, most of the fortifications on the left bank of the Danube (in Banat) used to belong to the Moesia Prima province: Pančevo, Kovin, Sapaja, Banatska Palanka, Pojejena, Moldova Veche, Gornea and the towers from Coronini (Pescari) and Svinița, while Dierna and the tower from Dubova belonged to Dacia Ripensis. Therefore, we can hypothetically consider that the mountainous Banat with the Dierna-Tibiscum road might belong to Dacia Ripensis, while the hill and plain zone to Moesia Prima.

The hill and mountain area of Banat appears as a zone of distribution and circulation of the Roman coins in the 4th century, which entered the Empire in the Danubian zone. Concomitantly, by means of the Dierna-Tibiscum road, the mountainous Banat makes the connection among the Empire, the Danubian zone and the intracarpathian territory. The monetary finds point up to a clear interest of the Roman authority, especially during the time of Constantius II, in the mountain area and its mines.

On the other hand, the field area of Banat presents more different aspects of the monetary circulation than the Danubian and mountain zone: the recent coins (the *FTR* type) are very rare and limited; this is the place where we can find the golden and silver coins. Hence most of the coins found as funerary inventories. However, we can't speak about a conquest of Banat by the Sarmatians, although their presence is certified in the field zone.

On the basis of monetary finds some authors consider that the area of Banat was conquered again or dominated in the late Roman epoch, representing a certain connection between the empire and the Roman world in the intracarpathian Dacia. The intention of the roman Empire to preserve Banat as a bridgehead is clear, firstly because of the important resources in the former province: salt (found only in Transylvania), cereals (grain, barley), honey, wax, cattle, metals (gold, silver, iron, copper) and those defining the proper resources of Banat (the same with those enumerated above, excepting the salt).

It is certain that the roads in Banat during the province are still used in the 4th century, the spreading of late Roman monetary finds certify their existence and usage.

The importance of the Dierna-Tibiscum road is proved by the fact that this is the route followed by the Roman import products (fibulas, stoneware, the Paleo-Christian objects) together with the late Roman coins on the territory of the former intracarpathian Dacia. Other roads from Banat used frequently during the 4th century are the one in the field zone, connecting the south of Banat to the north, and the one in the south of Banat, along the Danube, which used to make the connection between the settlements and fortifications in the zone.

The preservation of a monetary economy, based on coins, as the main means of exchange, pleads for the continuity of a native population, which takes care of agriculture, cattle breeding, and the metals' processing, speaking the Latin language, a fact certified by some archaeological finds too. Thus, the brick with a Latin inscription with Italic letters discovered in the fortification from Gornea also certifies the existence of some forms of slavery in the Danubian zone during the 4th century besides the usage of the Latin language.

Regarding the localities from Banat with monetary finds from the 4th century, we notice the high number of localities where the isolated coins or hoards represent the only late Roman finds. Yet we believe that this situation can be explained through the absence of some systematic research for a large part of the settlements in Banat.

The system of parallel earthen walls crossing Banat from the south to the north, attributed to the Romans by the researchers, and dated in the constantinian epoch, did not represent an obstacle in the circulation of the late Roman coins, as the monetary finds were spread along the two sides of the earthen walls.

In conclusion, there were both economic and military reasons at the bedrock of actions enterprised by the Roman Empire in the south-west of the former province of Dacia between 275 and 380 A.D. Banat was surely a connection area between the Roman Empire and the territory of the former intracarpathian Dacia, contributing to the maintenance and evolution of the north-Danubian romanity for one more century after the aurelian retreat.

The corpus regarding the structural analysis of the hoards

We have achieved it only for the hoards in Banat which were published systematically (with a complete catalogue of the coins, including, for each coin, the nominal title, the mint, the issuer, the monetary type, the issuing period of time and the bibliographical reference from the numismatic catalogue), as only these hoards permit a detailed and complete statistic analysis. The 22 hoards and lots are presented in the

alphabetic order, referring to the number in the hoards' repertory, where one can find all the related information.

We have analysed each hoard or lot from the 22 published systematically, more exactly, we have distributed the coins according to monetary mints, issuers, monetary types and chronological sequences. We made a distinction between the determinable coins (representing total I) and the indeterminable ones, the imitations and issues before the 3rd and 4th centuries. Whether a hoard was published systematically, with all its data, yet without tables, we realized these tables in accordance with the hoard's catalogue.

The repertory of monetary finds in the 3rd and 4th centuries in Banat

It comprises the monetary finds dated between 275 and 380 A.D. in Banat: both those known from publications and from new discoveries, found in the numismatic collection of the Banat Museum, Timișoara, or in private collections (we found out about their existence from some kind information).

The monetary finds are presented in the alphabetical order of the localities, by also indicating the territorial administrative unit (commune, town, municipality) each locality belongs to, and in their context, from a chronological viewpoint. The old names of some villages were indicated between brackets only where it was needed (in the case of older finds) and only in the form encountered in the already quoted older bibliography.

In the repertory, made up of two parts, **A. The hoards' repertory** and **B. The isolated finds' repertory**, each monetary find is presented in the following order:

- a) the date, place and circumstances of the discovery;
- b) the number of items (total, nr. of renowned items, nr. of recovered items etc.);
- c) the place of maintenance (if it is known);
- d) bibliography.
- e) observations.

Regarding the bibliography, we have tried to mention the main works reminding of that discovery, from the first to the most recent one. We have tried to correct certain errors or confusions occurred in the consulted bibliography, either in observations (point e), or in the critical references (point d), between brackets.

In order to get an easier usage of the repertory, we drew up an index of the localities from Banat with late Roman monetary finds (it can be found in the Appendixes), where the localities are enumerated in an alphabetical order, and the

figures opposite each locality refer to the corresponding number in the repertory of hoards or isolated finds, or in both, according to the case.

The structurally analysed hoards in the corpus regarding the structural analysis are marked with an asterisk in the repertory.

The repertory of archaeological finds in the 3rd and 4th centuries in Banat

Elaborated in the form of a table, on the basis of the archaeological works and articles referring to Banat, indicated in the bibliography at the end of the thesis, we presented the categories of late Roman materials and archaeological objectives, found only in the localities with monetary discoveries (hoards, isolated finds or both): fibulas; applied ornaments; lamps; ceramics (grey; red; worked manually; unspecified); stamped bricks; residences; pits (of provisions; domestic); grinders; tools; traces suggesting the iron's processing; incineration tombs; inhumation tombs (Sarmatian; unspecified); beads and Paleo-Christian objects.

Given the frequency of these archaeological categories, we have organized the settlements from the 3rd and 4th centuries from Banat in three categories: certain (19 localities), probable (62 localities) and uncertain (62 localities).

Bibliography

On the whole, we have grouped the titles from the bibliography according to subject categories, while also making the difference between the general and special works. We presented not only the numismatic but also the archaeological works separately for each zone or province we have been analysing: Banat, the former Dacian provinces, Moesia Prima, Pannonia Secunda, Barbaricum.

The maps in the **Appendixes** (drawned by mr. Silviu Saftu from the Banat Museum, Timișoara) were elaborated on the basis of the monetary finds from Banat mentioned in the repertory (Maps 4-8) and the archaeological repertory (Map 9). The figures on the map correspond to those in the repertories, and some maps are also joined by a list of localities.