

The Carausian Revolt

Marcus Aurelius Mausaeus Valerius Carausius (died 293) was a military commander of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century. He was a Menapian from Belgic Gaul, who usurped power in 286, during the Carausian Revolt, declaring himself emperor in Britain and northern Gaul (Imperium Britanniарum). He did this only 13 years after the Gallic Empire of the Batavian Postumus was ended in 273. He held power for seven years, 5 fashioning the name "Emperor of the North" for himself, before being assassinated by his finance minister Allectus.

Carausius was of humble origin, a Menapian who distinguished himself during 10 Maximian's campaign against the Bagaudae rebels in northern Gaul in 286. This success, and his former occupation as a pilot, led to his appointment to command the Classis Britannica, a fleet based in the English Channel, with the responsibility of eliminating Frankish and Saxon pirates who had been raiding the coasts of Armorica and Belgica. He was suspected of keeping captured treasure for himself, and of 15 allowing pirates to carry out raids and enrich themselves before taking action against them, and Maximian ordered his execution. In late 286 or early 287 Carausius learned of this sentence and responded by declaring himself Emperor in Britain and northern Gaul. His forces comprised not only his fleet, augmented by new ships he had built and the three legions stationed in Britain, but also a legion he had seized in 20 Gaul, a number of foreign auxiliary units, a levy of Gaulish merchant ships, and barbarian mercenaries attracted by the prospect of booty.

British historian and archaeologist Sheppard Frere wonders how Carausius was able to 25 win support from the army when his command had been sea-based, and speculates that he had perhaps been involved in an unrecorded victory in Britain, connected with Diocletian's assumption of the title Britannicus Maximus in 285, and signs of destruction in Romano-British towns at this time. The campaign against the Bagaudae, however, was evidently land-based and may have been responsible for Carausius's popularity with the army. Equally, if the accusations of larceny are true, he could perhaps have afforded to buy their loyalty.

30 Maximian prepared an invasion of Britain in 288 or 289 to oust him, but it failed. A panegyric delivered to Constantius Chlorus attributes this failure to bad weather, but notes that Carausius claimed a military victory. Eutropius says that hostilities were in vain thanks to Carausius's military skill, and peace was agreed. Carausius began to entertain visions of legitimacy and official recognition.

35 This situation continued until 293, when Constantius Chlorus (Constantius I), now the western Caesar, marched into Gaul and reclaimed it for the empire. He isolated Carausius by besieging the port of Gesoriacum (Boulogne-sur-Mer) and invading Batavia in the Rhine delta, securing his rear against Carausius's Frankish allies. He could not yet mount an invasion of Britain until a suitable fleet could be built.

40 Nevertheless, Carausius's grip on power was fatally undermined. Allectus, whom he had put in charge of his treasury, assassinated him and assumed power himself. His reign would last only three years, after which he was defeated and killed by Constantius' subordinate Julius Asclepiodotus.

In April 2010 a large hoard containing over 52,500 Roman coins was unearthed in a 45 field near Frome, Somerset. 766 coins were determined to have been produced during Carausius' reign, of which only 5 were silver denarii. This find roughly equates to four years' pay for a Roman legionary, but the presence of later coin issues suggests that the group was not deposited until after Carausius' death.

50 Allectus was treasurer to Carausius, a Menapian officer in the Roman navy who had seized power in Britain and northern Gaul in 286. In 293 Carausius was isolated when the western Caesar, Constantius Chlorus, retook some of his Gallic territories, particularly the crucial port of Bononia (modern Boulogne), and defeated his Frankish allies in Batavia. Allectus assassinated Carausius and assumed command himself. His reign has left little record, although his coin issues display a similar 55 distribution to those of Carausius. They are found in north western Gaul, indicating that the recapture of Bononia did not spell the end of the rebel empire on that side of the English Channel.

Constantius launched an invasion to depose him in September 296. His forces sailed in several divisions. Constantius led one division from Bononia, but seems to have been 60 delayed by bad weather. Another division, under the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus, took advantage of fog to avoid Allectus's ships stationed at the Isle of Wight, and landed near Southampton Water, where they burnt their ships. Allectus's forces were forced to retreat from the coast, but were cut off by another of Constantius's divisions and defeated. Allectus himself was killed in the battle, having removed all 65 insignia in the hope that his body would not be identified. Archaeology suggests that Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester) was the site of his defeat or the area surrounding the town. A group of Roman troops, who had been separated from the main body by the fog

70 during the channel crossing, caught up with the remnants of Allectus's men, mostly Franks, at Londinium (London), and massacred them. Constantius himself, it seems, did not reach Britain until it was all over, and his panegyrist claims he was welcomed by the Britons as a liberator.

75 Carausius had deliberately used his coinage for propaganda purposes, and some of his slogans, such as a claim to have restored 'liberty', were designed to appeal to British sentiment. Constantius answered such claims in a famous medal struck on the morrow of his victory, in which he described himself as redditor lucis aeternae, 'restorer of the eternal light (viz. of Rome).'

An antique Brexit?

80 There is some controversy as to why Roman rule ended in Britain. The view first advocated by Wolfgang Mommsen was that Rome left Britain. This argument was substantiated over time, most recently by A.S. Esmonde-Clearay. According to this argument, internal turmoil in the Roman Empire and the need to withdraw troops to fight off barbarian armies led Rome to abandon Britain. It was the collapse of the imperial system that led to the end of imperial rule in Britain. However, Michael 85 Jones has advanced an alternative thesis that argues that Rome did not leave Britain, but that Britain left Rome. He highlights the numerous usurpers who came from Britain in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, and points out that the supply of coinage to Britain had dried up by the early 5th century, so that administrators and troops were not getting paid. All of this, he argues, led the British people to rebel against Rome.

90 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sub-Roman_Britain

ROMAN AND SARMATIAN CAMPAIGNS

95 of Constantine were fought by the Roman Emperor Constantine I against the neighbouring Germanic peoples, including the Franks, Alemanni and Goths, as well as the Sarmatian Iazyges, along the whole Roman northern defensive system to protect the empire's borders, between 306 and 336.

100 After becoming controller of the western provinces along the Rhine limes (in 306) following the death of his father Constantius Chlorus (Augustus of the west) in 306, Constantine initially concentrated his forces on defending this area of the frontier against the Franks and Alemanni, making Augusta Treverorum his first capital for this purpose. Having defeated the usurper Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, all Italia passed under Constantine's control and he thus became the sole 105 Augustus of the West.

110 In February 313, Constantine (who had spent the winter in Rome) formed an alliance with the Emperor of the East, Licinius, reinforced by Licinius' marriage to Constantine's sister, Flavia Julia Constantia. However, this alliance survived for only a few years, before the two Augusti came into conflict in 316. Constantine 115 defeated Licinius, who was forced to cede Illyricum to Constantine, but not Thrace. Constantine advanced ever further east with his territorial acquisitions, now having to defend the important strategic region of the limes sarmaticus (from 317).

120 In the following years, Constantine mostly occupied himself in the central section of the Danubian Limes, mostly fighting against the Sarmatians in Pannonia, residing at Sirmium almost continuously until 324 (when he moved against Licinius once more), making it his capital along with Serdica. At this time Constantine also demonstrated a very active military bent, travelling along the whole of the limites of his newly 125 acquired territory. From 320 he appointed his eldest son, Crispus, Praetorian prefect, with military command of Gaul.

130 When he learnt that an army of Goths had crossed the Danube to raid Roman territory in Moesia Inferior and Thrace, which belonged to Emperor Licinius, he left his general headquarters in Thessalonica and marched against them (323). The fact that he had trespassed into a part of the empire which was not under his control unleashed the final phase of the Civil wars of the Tetrarchy, which ended with the complete defeat of Licinius and the consecration of Constantine as the sole Roman Emperor. The final period of Constantine's reign, until his death (337), saw the Christian Emperor consolidate the entire defensive system on the Rhine and Danube, obtaining important military successes and reasserting control over a large part of the territory that the Romans had abandoned under Gallienus and Aurelian: the Agri Decumates from the Alemanni, the area south of the Tisza from the Sarmatians, as well as Oltenia and Wallachia from the Goths.

Historical context

135 With the death of Emperor Numerian in November 284 (who had been entrusted with Eastern Roman empire by his father Carus) and the refusal of the eastern troops to recognise Carus' eldest son Carinus as his successor, a proven general of Illyrian origins, Diocletian, was raised to the purple. At the end of the civil war which

135 followed, Diocletian was victorious and in 285 he named Maximian as his deputy (or Caesar) and then a few months later elevated him to the rank of Augustus (1 April 286), thereby forming a diarchy, in which two emperors divided the government of the empire on geographic lines. This also entailed the division of responsibility for the defence of the northern frontier from Germanic and Sarmatian incursions.

140 Given the increasing difficulty of containing the internal revolts and those along the borders, a further territorial division was executed in 293 to facilitate military operations: Diocletian named Galerius as his Caesar in the east, while Maximian chose Constantius Chlorus in the west.

145 However, this tetrarchy fell into crisis only a year after the abdication of the two Augusti in 305, beginning a new Civil War (306-324), permitting new breaches along the Roman external border, with populations attempting to settle within Roman territory.

150 It was only with Constantine's accession to the throne, becoming sole Augustus of the West after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 and later still defeating Licinius and reuniting the Empire under a single emperor (324) that the northern frontiers were adequately defended once more. It is no coincidence that Constantine is attributed the responsibility for perfecting the military reforms of Diocletian and also for the reconquest or vassalisation of all the territory which Trajan had controlled.

Background: the death of Constantius Chlorus

155 With the death of Constantius Chlorus at Eboracum (York) on 25 July 306, the Tetrarchy entered a crisis: the eldest son of the dead emperor, Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by the Alemanni general Chrocus and the army of Britannia. His election was in accordance with a dynastic principle rather than the meritocratic system of the Tetrarchy created by Diocletian. Only Lactantius maintains that

160 Constantine was named Augustus by his father on his deathbed. Galerius was displeased by this act and offered the son of his deceased colleague the title of Caesar, which Constantine accepted, allowing Flavius Severus to succeed his father Constantius instead. A few months later, Maxentius son of the old Augustus Maximian was acclaimed Emperor by the Praetorian guard with the support of officials like Marcellianus, Marcellus and Lucianus (but not Abellius, vicar of the Praefectus urbi, who was killed), reaffirming the dynastic principle. It was in this period that Constantine began to achieve important military successes against the Alemanni and the Franks, along the stretch of the frontier attributed to him, as is recounted by Eutropius.

Forces in the field

170 Regarding the Roman forces garrisoned along the whole stretch of the northern limites from Britannia to Moesia, it is important to note that at this time there was a very important reform of the Roman army, a new Deployment of the Roman legions along the borders and an increase in the size of the Roman army. In fact, we know that, with Diocletian's Tetrarchy reforms, the total number of legions was brought to 55 or 56 in the year 300. Constantine's accession to the throne and the return of a dynastic monarchy brought about the final increase of the number of Roman legions to 62 or 64 around the year 330.

Barbarians

180 Along the Rhine limes the Franks and Saxons in particular pressed on Gaul and Britannia. The Alemanni also made some incursions in these regions, but the main goal of their attacks at this time was Northern Italy via Pannonia (the western part of the Danubian Limes). The major clashes occurred along the Lower Danube in the Roman provinces of the Balkan region, where the Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians and especially the Goths (divided into the Tervingi and the Greutungi) concentrated their attacks.

Phases of the conflict

First phase (306-316): defence of the Rhine limes

306

190 The twenty-one-year-old Constantine, unable to get permission to visit his ailing father Constantius Chlorus (Augustus of the west) from the Augustus of the East, Galerius, in whose court he had lived since the time of Diocletian, decided to escape in the spring of this year. He found his father at Gesoriacum (Boulogne-sur-Mer) about to cross the English Channel to Britannia and joined him in a successful military campaign against the Picts and Scotti to the north of Hadrian's wall. When his father died during the summer, Constantine was proclaimed Augustus of the West by his father's loyal troops at Eboracum on 25 July.

195 The young tetrarch however needed his election to the Imperial office to be recognised, particularly by Galerius, the most senior of the Augusti. Galerius

200 preferred his friend and comrade in arms, Licinius, to Constantine. Confronted with a fait accompli and in the face of the "secession" of Gaul and Britannia, Galerius appealed to precedent and named the former Caesar, Flavius Severus as the new Augustus with control over Italy, Africa, and Spain and recognised Constantine only as a Caesar. Constantine voluntarily accepted this and in Autumn of the same year he returned to Augusta Treverorum (Trier) whence he could more easily monitor the Gallic frontier, which was being menaced by the Franks. He continued to defend this important stretch of the limes for the next six years, transferring his whole imperial court to Trier and transforming it into his capital (with circa 80000 inhabitants), constructing the imposing Aula Palatina in 310. During these years, not only did he reinforce the defences of this region against the continued incursions of the barbarians, but he also strengthened the forces under his control, augmenting his forces through the creation of new legions.

307

210 At the beginning of spring, Constantine planned a new campaign in German territory. He found it necessary to confront the Franks, Chamavi, Bructeri, Cherusci and Alemanni. The young emperor had been educated in the military training ground of the east by Diocletian and Galerius and, despite his youth, conducted the war with the sort of determination and energy which his father had not been able to muster in the preceding years. In the course of the military operations, he achieved important successes, managing to heavily wallop the Franks who had invaded the Roman territory east of the Rhine the previous year. It is reported that, while the Franks were planning to cross the Lower Rhine, Constantine quickly crossed the river in another location and surprised the enemy with an unexpected attack, which prevented a new invasion. Many of the Franks were killed, captured or enslaved - some of these were employed as gladiators. All their livestock was seized and their villages were burnt to the ground. As a result of these successes, Constantine was awarded the cognomen Germanicus Maximus at the end of the year. In the course of this campaign and those following it, Constantine may have used the legionary fortress of Castra Vetera as a base and the valley of the Lippe (as had been done in the time of Augustus and again fifty years later under Julian) as an invasion route by which to outflank the enemy, who were found to the north of this major river, and catch them from behind after devastating their territory.

308

220 Further successes were achieved by Constantine against the Bructeri over the whole year, for which he received the title of GERMANICUS MAXIMUS once again. At the end of this new military campaign against the Franks, Constantine built the important "bridgehead" of Dativia (modern Deutz) in German territory opposite Colonia Agrippina (Cologne).

310

230 Once more Constantine achieved important military successes over the Alemanni and the Franks, whose king he is said to have captured and fed to the beasts in the amphitheatre. In the course of this campaign against the Franks, Constantine added a majestic bridge at Dativia, 420 metres long and 10 metres wide. Meanwhile, however, Maximian had rebelled and Constantine had to cut his campaign against the Franks short, marching rapidly to southern Gaul where he captured Maximian and forced him to commit suicide.

311

240 With the death of Galerius, the Tetrarchy became ever more unstable. Probably as a result of this, no campaigns against the Germans beyond the Rhine seem to have been undertaken this year. On the contrary, Constantine fortified the Rhine limes ever further with new construction (as at Haus Bürgel on the right bank of the river, 30 km north of Dativia, or along the roads leading from Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier) and with the strengthening of preexisting fortifications. Since the auxiliary fortress of Noviomagus Batavorum (Nijmegen) had, apparently, been abandoned at the end of the third century, Constantine constructed two new forts in the area: at Valkhof (on the banks of the river Waal) and another along the coast at Valkenburg (near Hooch).

312

250 Constantine gathered a massive army, including barbarians from the recent wars (Germanic peoples and Celts brought over from Britannia), and led it into Italy, defeating his rival Maxentius at Turin, Verona, and finally at the Milvian Bridge. Constantine thus became sole ruler of the West. The eastern half fell under the control of Licinius the following year, with whom Constantine entered into a marriage

alliance.

313

265 At this time Constantine conducted another military campaign against the Franks and the Alemanni in Gaul, which lasted until the end of summer. Pretending to cross the river, he followed his earlier course, marching against the Alemanni, but then turned back and attacked the Franks with a rapid fleet. He devastated their territories and captured one of their kings. Immediately afterwards he retraced his steps and 270 devastated the territories of the Alemanni as well, a campaign commemorated on the coins of the year, which celebrate the GAVDIVM ROMANORVM ALAMANNIA.

314-315

275 Once again, Constantine made Augusta Treverorum (Trier) his general quarters for these two years, in order to stay more in control of the Rhine frontier, once again putting things in order against possible incursions of Franks and Alemanni and continuing his fortification works. In July of 315 he left the frontier in order to travel to Rome and celebrate his triumph for the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.

316-317

280 Conflict arose between Licinius and Constantine, who defeated the former at Cibalae and Mardia. In the following peace agreement, Licinius was forced to cede Illyricum to Constantine. Constantine thereby extended his territory to the east and now had another important strategic sector to defend: the limes sarmaticus (or pannonicus), also called the Pannonian Limes, where he had earlier fought in 305, as an official of Galerius, managing to defeat a barbarian general in single combat.

285 Second phase

317-319

290 Following the events described above, Constantine fought against the Sarmatians on the Pannonian stretch of the limes, earning the victory title of SARMATICUS MAXIMUS for the first time, as seems to be demonstrated by an inscription found in Mauretania, indicating to Mócsy that he remained as Sirmium almost continuously until 324 (when his armies moved against Licinius), employing it as his capital. Horst too maintains that his preferred imperial residences in the period between 317 and 323 were Serdica and Sirmium.

295 During this year, Constantine again showed an active interest in military activities, since he often travelled along the whole limes of the territories he had acquired with the peace of Serdica (March 317). He inspected the garrisons of Pannonia Inferior, overseeing their repair and the construction of new bridgeheads towards the plain of the Tisza River, to face the peril of the barbarians beyond Rome's borders (Iazygi and Goths). He strengthened the river fleets of the Danube, Sava, Drina, and 300 Morava, as well as the maritime fleets of the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, reinforcing the ports of Aquileia, Pireus, and Thessalonica (formerly Galerius' capital) through the construction of arsenals, shipyards, and the construction of further naval squads. Clearly these reconstruction and strengthening works could be employed not only against the barbarians, but also, one day, against Licinius.

305 320

Constantine's eldest son, Crispus (now fifteen, and therefore aided by a Prefect), received the military command of Gaul and conducted military campaigns along the Rhine, achieving victories over the Franks and Alemanni within the year.

322

310 Constantine managed to repulse a new invasion of Pannonia by the Sarmatians and the Iazygi. After this, Constantine may have begun the construction of a new stretch of border fortifications, the so-called Devil's Dykes, which consisted of a series of north-facing embankments starting by the Danube at Aquincum, heading to the Tisza, then turning south towards the river Mureş, crossing the Banat and reaching the 315 Danube at Viminacium (it is possible that this construction resumed earlier work under Diocletian). Accordingly, the coinage of this year and the next declared SARMATIA DEVICTA ("Sarmatia vanquished") and name Constantine as "Sarmaticus Maximus" for the second time.

323

320 Yet again Constantine was able to repel an invasion of Sarmatian Iazyges, as Zosimus seems to support, though he might have combined or confused the Sarmatian invasions of two separate years, which had unsuccessfully besieged a city of Pannonia Inferior, identifiable with Campona, a little south of the legionary fortress of Aquincum. The Sarmatians first attacked a city which had a constant garrison, where the part of

325 the wall near the ground was built of stone and the upper parts in wood (which could be Campona). The Sarmatians thought they could easily conquer the city, if they could set the wooden part of the wall on fire, so they lit a fire and shot the people on the walls. But while these people returned fire with darts and arrows, Constantine attacked them from behind, taking them by surprise, killing many and taking numerous prisoners, while the survivors fled. — Zosimus, *New History*, 2.21.1-2.

330 At the same time, the Goths of Rausimodus decided to cross the Danube (further downstream) too and tried to raid the Roman territory of Moesia Inferior and Thrace. Informed of this, Constantine left his general quarters in Thessalonica and marched against them. Hearing of the arrival of the Emperor, the Goths decided to retreat to Wallachia, but Constantine crossed the Ister, reached the Gothic invaders and massacred them in the battle which followed, managing to kill Rausimodus.

335 Constantine crossed over the Ister and attacked him [i.e. Rausimodus] as he fled towards a thickly wooded hill. He killed many barbarians, including Rausimodus himself, and afterwards he captured many more. Taking this multitude, which instantly raised its hands in surrender, he returned with them to his general quarters. After posting them in the cities [especially at Bononia] he returned to Thessalonica. — Zosimus, *New History*, 2.21.3 & 22.1.

340 The barbarians had requested peace and Constantine had nevertheless led an army into parts of the Empire which were not under his competency (i.e. Moesia), but that of the other Augustus, Licinius — thereby initiating a new civil war between Constantine and Licinius. Coinage continued to celebrate the *Sarmatia devicta*.

324 The civil war which followed saw the complete defeat of Licinius and Constantine's consecration as sole Augustus. Remembering the recent war with the Goths, Constantine decided to construct some stone bridges in order to frighten the Barbarians north of the Danube: One connecting Oescus to the new fort of Sucidava on the north bank of the Danube, another linking Transmarisca and the fort of Daphne which was also on the north bank of the Danube. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the construction of these new fortifications dates to the later Gothic campaigns of 326-329.

324/325 Third phase (324-337): the defence of the *limes gothicus* and the "reconquest" of Dacia

In this new phase, Constantine, now sole monarch of the Roman empire, not only managed to consolidate the entire defensive system along the Rhine and Danube, but also obtained important military successes and regained "control" over a good part of the territories which had been abandoned by Gallienus and Aurelian. This included the Agri decumates from the Alemanni, the plain south of the Tisza (Banat) from the Sarmatians and Oltenia & Wallachia from the Goths. These gains seem to be demonstrated by the coinage of the period and by new defensive constructions (Devil's Dykes and Brazda lui Novac). Additionally, in this period, Constantine brought about a new series of reforms, completing those begun some forty years earlier by Diocletian. This process was accomplished gradually over the last thirteen years of his reign (324-337, the year of his death).

324/325 In the course of these two years, new military campaigns were conducted against the federation of the Alemanni by Constantine's son Crispus, which were celebrated coinage inscribed "ALEMANNIA DEVICTA (Alemannia conquered)". From this time, Constantine began to use Nicomedia as well as Serdica and Sirmium as his preferred Imperial residences.

328 Once again, Constantine, along with his son Constantine II was forced to intervene on the Upper Rhine, to defeat the Alemanni who had attempted to invade Gallic territory. This war seems to have lasted many years, since the Emperor's sons were granted the title of ALAMANNICUS MAXIMUS only in 331/2.

328 In this year it seems that there were new clashes with Germans, Sarmatians and Goths on the central and lower Danube and that Constantine was forced to cross the Ister once more, constructed a fortified bridge (between Oescus and Sucidava) to take the war to Barbarian territory, such that the road leading to Romula was paved. He devastated the local territory and reduced them to slavery, according to the account of Theophanes the Confessor.

390 The next year, all along the Lower Danube, the Goths went on the offensive, managing to penetrate to Moesia Inferior and Thrace, where they wreaked devastation, but Constantine managed to repel the barbarian hordes, construct a new bridge in Scythia Minor and attack their territory, as is recorded in his titulature for these years and in *Anonymus Valesianus*. At the end of this campaign or that of the previous year, he seems to have received the title of GERMANICUS MAXIMUS for the fourth time and the title of GOTHICUS MAXIMUS for the first time.

395 331/332

The Visigoths, who had molested the allied Sarmatians, invading their territory and then the Balkan provinces of the Romans, were defeated near the modern city of Varna (Bulgaria), by Constantine and his sixteen-year-old Caesar, Constantine II. Reportedly, cold, hunger, and battle took the lives of 100000 Goths. The survivors 400 were forced to sue for peace with the Emperor, handing over hostages including the King's son Ariaric as a guarantee, as well as a contingent of auxiliaries, in exchange for seed and grain. Most importantly, a treaty was concluded with these people (foedus), under which the Goths (presumably the Visigoths) were employed to defend the Imperial border and provide 40000 soldiers. This peace endured until the 405 time of Julian or even to 375/376. For these successes, he received the victory title of GOTHICUS MAXIMUS for the second time, as well as "DEBELLATOR GENTIUM BARBARARUM" ("Conqueror of barbarian peoples") and the coins of 332 and 333 named GOTHIA and SARMATIA as if they had become new Roman provinces. Immediately following these events, Emperor Constantine may have begun construction of a new stretch of border 410 defences, the so-called Brazda lui Novac, which runs parallel to the north bank of the Danube from Drobeta, across the plain of eastern Wallachia to the Siret River, surrounding the newly "reconquered" territories. Not coincidentally, Aurelius Victor recounts that a bridge was built on the Danube (referring to the bridge built in 328) 415 as well as numerous forts and bastions in diverse locations for protection of the borders.

334

Two years later, the same Sarmatians who had requested the "friendly" intervention of the Romans, created new problems for the Emperor, when they were riven by internal 420 conflict between the Limigantes and the Argaragantes. It is said that the slaves (Limigantes) drove their masters (Argaragantes) from Banat, forcing Constantine to intervene militarily in order to settle an enormous mass of "refugees" (allegedly 300000 people) in Scythia Minor, Italia, Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia Superior and Pannonia Secunda. Some maintain instead that Constantine launched a new military 425 campaign into the plain south of the Tisza to restore order among the warring factions, at the end of which Constantine received the victory title of SARMATICUS MAXIMUS for the third time. There are, after all, archaeological hints that Constantine had occupied part of the Banat mountains, along the "old" Roman roads which led from Dierna and Lederata to Tibiscum seventeen years earlier.

circa 335

430 Jordanes recounts an episode datable to this period, in which the Vandals of Visimar, who inhabited the region between the Marisus and Danube rivers (perhaps a little northwest of Banat), clashed with the Goths of Geberic and were defeated. The 435 survivors asked Constantine to be allowed into Roman territory, got permission and settled in Pannonia Inferior, where they remained in peace for around forty years, "obeying the laws of the Empire like the other inhabitants of the region".

336

Emperor Constantine achieved new successes beyond the Danube in the territories which had once been the Roman province of Dacia (abandoned by Aurelian), receiving the honorific title "DACICUS MAXIMUS". It cannot be coincidental that an inscription 440 found near the former legionary fortress of Apulum (modern Alba Iulia) mentions a woman named Ulpia Constantia (reflecting connections to Trajan and Constantine). This could give serious support to Emperor Julian's claim that Constantine reconquered all the territories controlled by Trajan - which included Dacia.

445 The equilibrium along the lower course of the Danube, after all the campaigns of Constantine and his sons, remained almost unchanged until around 375. The focus of the Emperor turned to the east, where a series of preparations were made for an imminent military campaign against the Sassanids, which was never carried out by Constantine on account of his death in May 337. For twenty five years, the Roman 450 armies of Constantius II and then Julian, fought against the Sassanid armies with varying success (337-363). However the Lower Danube and Eastern borders remained, for almost thirty years, practically unchanged.

XXI After these events, the Goths had already returned home when they were summoned at the request of the Emperor Maximian to aid the Romans against the Parthians. They fought for him faithfully, serving as auxiliaries. But after Caesar Maximian by their aid had routed Narseus, king of the Persians, the grandson of Sapor the Great, taking as spoil all his possessions, together with his wives and his sons, and when Diocletian had conquered Achilles in Alexandria and Maximianus Herculius had broken the Quinquegentiani in Africa, thus winning peace for the empire, they began rather to neglect the Goths.

455 460 Now it had long been a hard matter for the Roman army to fight against any nations whatsoever without them. This is evident from the way in which the Goths were so frequently called upon. Thus they were summoned by Constantine to bear arms against his kinsman Licinius. Later, when he was vanquished and shut up Thessalonica and deprived of his power, they slew him with the sword of Constantine the victor. In 465 like manner it was the aid of the Goths that enabled him to build the famous city that is named after him, the rival of Rome, inasmuch as they entered into a truce with the Emperor and furnished him forty thousand men to aid him against various peoples. This body of men, namely, the Allies, and the service they rendered in war are still spoken of in the land to this day. Now at that time they prospered under 470 the rule of their kings Ariaric and Aoric. Upon their death Geberich appeared as successor to the throne, a man renowned for his valor and noble birth.

East Roman management of barbarians tribes in the Lower-Middle Danube frontier zones, A.D. 332-610
by Alexander Sarantis

475 [...] Eastern Roman strategic aims

Eastern Roman emperors and their governments wanted to encourage and maintain the security of the Danube frontier and peaceful relations with barbarian groups beyond it. A politically divided barbarian world was preferable, consisting of numerous political groups, not powerful enough to seriously threaten the empire, and which could be played off against one another.

480 When these conditions prevailed, the Eastern Roman government found it easier to exploit barbarian tribes for their manpower resources; recruiting soldiers for its armies and farmers to settle in the Balkan provinces.

485 The Eastern Roman emperors achieved this balance of power along the Lower Danube frontier for the major part of Late Antiquity. Between AD 284 and 332, the Tetrarchs' and Constantine's energetic management of the Lower and Middle Danube frontiers ensured that no major threats emerged.

490 The peace of AD 332 with the Tervingi provided the foundation for over three decades of peace along the Lower Danube before Valens' campaigns against this group in the 360s. Aggressive military campaigns against Sarmatian and Quadi tribes across the Middle Danube in the 350s and 370s kept this section of the frontier largely passive until the late fourth century. [...]

Eastern Roman 'barbarian management strategies'

495 To prevent the two crisis situations just discussed from occurring, the Eastern Roman governments needed to adopt a variety of time-honored diplomatic and military policies. These ensured that barbarian groups remained divided but stable and involved a balancing act between giving them what they wanted and concurrently intimidating them and limiting their power. Concessions included manpower in the form of returned prisoners or refugees, trading privileges, annual subsidies and military support against rival groups. In addition, Roman emperors could confirm Barbarians in their occupation of specific territories, even if these were outside the empire.

500 These benefits were enjoyed by the Tervingi Goths in Wallachia following their treaty with the emperor Constantine I in AD 332. This seems to have included trading rights along the Lower Danube and some sort of regular payment. In return, these Goths served periodically in Roman armies and defended the Lower Danube against barbarian groups from further afield. [...] There is less that can be said about the fourth century because the empire enjoyed peace in the East from AD 298 to 332, and along the Lower Danube from AD 332 to 367, during which wars were fought against the

510 Sassanian empire of Shapur II (especially in AD 337-351 and 359-363). Constantius II's Middle Danube campaign of AD 358 later coincided with peace on the eastern frontier. [...]

https://www.academia.edu/33845028/East_Roman_management_of_barbarians_tribes_in_the_Lower-Middle_Danube_frontier_zones_A.D._332-610?swp=rr-rw-wc-32358309

515 [Wikipedia] According to Jordanes, who does not mention the Tervingi, the Gothic

520 ruler Ariaric was forced to sign a treaty with Constantine the Great in 332 after his son Constantine II decisively defeated the Goths. After that time, substantial numbers of valuable Roman gold medallions was distributed in Gothic territories from Netherlands to Ukraine, and have been discovered by archaeologists. They demonstrate the Roman influence among the Goths.

Roman coins discovered in East Java, Indonesia.

525 Studying extra regional trade networks in Antiquity can be considered a relatively popular field of research, but the intensity and patterns of such complex system still leave lot of questions, particularly in case of Rome's Far Eastern trade. There is still a trend to visualize a kind of globalized commercial activity between the Imperium and communities on the eastern edge of the Silk Road(s). However the facts provide us a more comprehensive picture. Due to the meticulous work of international joint research projects working in East and Southeast Asia followed by a raised 530 interest in collecting ancient objects among local people, increasing number of Roman objects have been discovered in the region. These finds prove the significance of mediator cultures in transferring Roman artifacts beyond India - with their own imprints on forming evaluation/acceptance of these non-local goods by the receiving culture.

535 At the same time, one must keep in mind that Roman objects discovered in East and Southeast Asia have different backgrounds, and most cases - due to extensive looting - are lacking archaeologically secure context. Therefore, a careful approach towards these finds is essential along with re-evaluation of earlier discoveries. Detailed and objective report of Roman artifacts newly discovered in East and Southeast Asia - whatever their background may be - is a first step towards a more elaborate study.

540 In the following pages, fourteen Roman and Byzantine coins along with eleven Chinese coins found in different locations in East Java will be studied.

<https://www.academia.edu/38753453/>

Ariaric also known as Ariacus

545 was a 4th-century Thervingian Gothic pagan ruler (reiks, kindins).] He was succeeded by Geberic. In 328, Constantine the Great constructed a bridge across the Danube and built fortifications in the territory of Oltenia and Wallachia. This caused a 550 migration of the Thervingi and Taifali to the west into Tisza Sarmatian controlled areas. The Sarmatians joined forces with Constantine, who appointed his son Constantine II to campaign against the Goths in late winter 332, reportedly resulting in the deaths of approximately one hundred thousand people due to the weather and lack of food. Ariaric was forced to sign a treaty or foedus with Constantine in 332. Yet some scholars dispute that this treaty was a foedus, but more like an act of submission.

555 Ariaric's son Aoric was raised in Constantinople, where a statue was erected in his memory. Patrick J. Geary suggested that under Ariaric branches of the western Goths became increasingly integrated into the Roman empire and systems, providing troops for military campaigns against the Sassanid Empire. [from Wikipedia]

The Taifals or Tayfals (Latin: Taifali, Taifalae or Theifali)

560 were a people group of Germanic or Sarmatian origin, first documented north of the lower Danube in the mid third century AD. They experienced an unsettled and fragmented history, for the most part in association with various Gothic peoples, and alternately fighting against or for the Romans. In the late fourth century some 565 Taifali were settled within the Roman Empire, notably in western Gaul in the modern province of Poitou. They subsequently supplied mounted units to the Roman army and continued to be a significant source of cavalry for early Merovingian armies. By the sixth century their region of western Gaul had acquired a distinct identity as Thifalia.

570 One of the earliest mentions of the Taifals puts them in the following of the Gothic king Cniva when he campaigned in Dacia and Moesia in 250 and the years following. They are sometimes classified as a Germanic tribe closely related to the Goths, although some believe they were related to the (non-Germanic) Sarmatians with whom they might have emigrated from the Pontic-Caspian steppe.

575 In the late third century they settled on the Danube on both sides of the Carpathians, dividing the territory with the Goths, who maintained political authority over all of it. In Spring 291 they formed a special alliance with the Gothic Thervingi, forming a tribal confederation from this date until 376, and fought the Vandals and Gepids: Tervingi, pars alia Gothorum, adiuncta manu Taifalorum, adversum Vandulos Gipedesque concurrunt. Along with the Victufali, the Taifals and Thervingi were the tribes mentioned as having possessed the former Roman province of 580 Dacia by 350 "at the very latest".

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Gepids were contesting Transylvania, the region around the Someş River, with the Thervingi and Taifals. The Taifals were subsequently made foederati of the Romans, from whom they obtained the right to settle in Oltenia. They were at that time independent of the Goths.

585 In 328 Constantine the Great conquered Oltenia and the Taifals, probably taking this opportunity to resettle a large number in Phrygia, in the diocese of Nicholas of Myra. In 332 he sent his son Constantine II to attack the Thervingi, who were routed. According to Zosimus (ii.31.3), a 500-man Taifal cavalry regiment engaged the Romans in a "running fight", and there is no evidence that this campaign was a failure.

590 Nonetheless, the Taifals largely fell into the hands of the Romans at this time. Around 336 they revolted against Constantine and were put down by the generals Herpylion, Virius Nepotianus, and Ursus. By 358 the Taifals were independent foederati of Rome and Oltenia lay outside Roman control. They launched campaigns as allies of the Romans from their own Oltenic bases, against the Limigantes (358 and

595 359) and the Sarmatians (358). However, campaigns against the Thervingi by the emperor Valens in 367 and 368 were inhibited by the independence of Oltenia. It is possible, however, that the Taifals at this time were still fighting alongside the Goths. In 365 the emperor ordered the construction of defensive towers in Dacia Ripensis, but whether this was Oltenia is unclear. Archaeological evidence evidences

600 no sedes Taifalorum (Taifal settlements) east of the Olt River.

https://archive.org/stream/letresordeclairv001alo/letresordeclairv001alo_djvu.txt

http://www.persee.fr/doc/bec_0373-6237_1902_num_63_1_448120#

http://www.persee.fr/doc/ccmed_0007-9731_2003_num_46_184_2865

http://www.persee.fr/doc/bulmo_0007-473x_1973_num_131_2_5229

605 TABLE CHRONOLOGIQUE DES TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS ÉDITÉS DANS LES TOMES 123 À 147 DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'ÉCOLE DES CHARTES