

Relații Interetnice în Transilvania Militaria Mediaevalia în Europa centrală și de sud-est



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Lucrări prezentate în conferințele internaționale Interethnic Relations in Transylvania Sibiu, 2018-2019

Editat de / Edited by Zeno Karl PINTER, Claudia URDUZIA și Anca NIȚOI

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CUVÂNT ÎNAINTE

Evul mediu reprezintă o perioadă ce paradoxal se bucură de atenția constantă a specialiștilor dar, în același timp, încă, reprezintă din multe puncte de vedere o perioadă cu multe pete albe. Istoria militară a reprezentat mereu o temă predilectă pentru foarte mulți din cercetătorii perioadei medievale. Chiar și istoriografiile din fostele state socialiste, puternic influențate de curentul marxist, au acordat atenție deosebită istoriei militare. Starea de beligeranță permanentă dintre lumea creștină și lumea musulmană în perioada secolelor VIII-XVII este încă o temă abordată frecvent în mediul științific. Totodată, această perioadă este la originea unor realizări artistice de excepție în literatura și pictura romantic, care au făcut cunoscute unele dintre cele mai importante realizări ale lumii medievale: castelele.

Chiar și astăzi istoria militară a evului mediu reprezintă o sursă de inspirație pentru mulți cercetători. Dacă în urmă cu cca. 50-60 de ani domeniul era dominat mai ales de cercetători de gen masculin, asistăm astăzi la o apetență tot mai mare manifestată pentru această tematică și de către femei. Tematica este departe de a putea fi considerată epuizată și în poziția de a nu mai putea furniza elemente noi de înțelegere a mecanismelor care au guvernat comunitățile medievale

În urmă cu 15 ani se năștea ideea unei conferințe dedicate analizării interacțiunii diferitelor comunități etnice din Transilvania – Relații Interetnice în Transilvania (sec. VI-XIII) – care s-a dovedit a fi o idee care a adunat aproape an de an specialiști dedicați cercetării relațiilor interetnice prin prisma arheologie, istoriei, istoriei artei sau arhitecturii. În anul 2010, ca urmare a unor discuții începute în Varna (Bulgaria) cu colegi din Bulgaria și din Polonia, s-a născut ideea ca sub umbrela conferinței Relații Interetnice în Transilvania, să fie organizată o conferință dedicată istoriei militare a perioadei migrațiilor și evului mediu timpuriu – Medievalia Militaria in South-East Europe. Conferința, a cărei primă ediție a fost în anul 2011, s-a bucurat mereu de o largă participare internațională și a dus la publicarea a 7 volume dedicate istoriei militare sub toate aspectele ei, demonstrând că speranța pe care o exprima Zeno Karl Pinter în Cuvantul Înainte la primul volum din seria Relații Interetnice (2005) s-a transformat în certitudine. În acest context cele 7 volume apărute între 2011-2018 reprezintă o contribuție importantă, fiind și singurele volume tematice ce abordează, în istoriografia din România, această tematică.

Volumul de față este al VIII-lea și el grupează comunicări susținute la edițiile din 2018-2019 ale conferinței Relații Interetnice în Transilvania. Militaria Mediaevalia în Europa centrală și de sud-est.

Temele dezvoltate în cele 14 studii din cuprinsul volumului dezbat subiecte legate de arheologia și istoria militară și a echipamentelor militare, de arheologia și istoria așezărilor, de istorie a bucătăriei și gătitului, legate de patrimoniul construit sau de istoria și arheologie ecleziastică. Deși aparent studiile reflectă o eterogenitate a temelor, asocierea lor nu face decât să ilustreze multiplele fațete prin care societatea medievală se manifesta, precum și modul în care societatea noastră, contemporană, se raportează la martorii încă prezenți ai acelei perioade.

Studiile ne poartă, nu doar pe un interval cronologic larg (secolele IV-XVIII) ci și pe un areal geografic care pornește din Transilvania (Z.K. Pinter, *O descoperire veche, într-o lumină nouă. Complexul arheologic de la Viscri / Deutsch-Weisskirch*; A. Niţoi, *Arms and Armour from the Medieval Paintings of the Church at Mălâncrav (Sibiu County)*; P. Langa, *The Sword and the Saber–Symbols of Social Position in the Votive Images of Medieval Transylvania*; D. Bacueţ, H. Cociş, T. Keresztes Ordine monastice medievale pe valea Barcăului. Despre urmele mănăstirii pauline din hotarul localității Nuşfalău (jud. Sălaj); R. Frîncu, Simona Malearov, *Rețete culinare ale landlerilor reflectate în manuscrise și cercetări de teren*), ajunge în Bulgaria (V. Yotov, *Chafing Dishes and Ember Covers Vessels North at the Danube River (30-ies Years of 9th – Beginning of 10th Century*); S. Popov, Late Medieval War Hammers from Vatevi Collection (Bulgaria); Elements of the 15th – 16th C. Equipment of Horseman and Horse – Possible Witnesses of the Conflicts Between the East and West; S. Boyanov, Localization of the Battle of Adrianople (378), the Causes and Consequences

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of this Military Conflict According to Ancient Authors) pentru a ajunge în regiunea Rusiei (E. Shinakov, V. Guryanov, A. Chubur, Ownership Settlements of the Ancient Rus Epoch in the Desna Region: Natural, Economic and Ethno-demographic Aspects). Subjectele prezentate anterior sunt completate de studii dedicate analizării apariției unor motive decorative pe săbii (D. Toichkin, Y. Toichkina, About the Origin of Swords, Decorated with Special Christian Symbols and Inscriptions) și de analiza procesului de restaurare a uneia dintre cele mai imprtante fortificații de pe linia Dunării de Jos (V. Speriatu, Inițiative de restaurare și valorificare a Cetății Capidava).

În încheiere un cuvânt de prețuire trebuie adus colectivului redacțional care a făcut posibilă editarea acestui nou volum: Zeno Karl Pinter, Claudia Urduzia și Anca Nițoi.

Sibiu, septembrie 2020

Prof. univ. dr. habil. Ioan Marian Țiplic

FOREWORD*

Middle Ages is a period of time which paradoxically sees the constant attention of specialists and at the same time is still in many regards an age with many blank spots. Military history has been always a popular theme for many of the researchers studying the medieval period. Even historiographies in former socialists states, under the strong influence of the Marxist currents, have shown a special attention to military history. The permanent state of belligerence between the Christian world and the Muslim world in the period of time comprised between the 8th and the 17th centuries is still a frequent approached theme in the scientific environment. At the same time this period of time is at the origin of some exceptional artistic achievements in Romantic literature and painting, which popularised some of the most important achievements of the medieval world: castles.

Even today the military history of the Middle Ages serves as an inspiration source for many researchers. If some 50-60 years ago this domain was dominated by researchers of the male gender, one can observe today an increasing taste for such subjects among female scientists as well. The topic is far from being exhausted or in the situation of being unable to supply new elements for understanding the mechanisms which governed medieval communities.

15 years ago the idea of a conference dedicated to analysing the interaction between the various ethnical communities in Transylvania was born – Interethnic Relations in Transylvania ($6^{th} - 13^{th}$ centuries) – which proved to be a popular idea, gathering together almost yearly specialists dedicate to interethnic relations in terms of archaeology, history, art history or architecture. In 2010, following some discussions started in Varna (Bulgaria) with colleagues from Bulgaria and Poland, came the idea of organising a conference dedicated to the military history of the Migration period and Early Middle Ages – Medievalia Militaria in South-East Europe – under the large umbrella of the conference Interethnic Relations in Transylvania. The conference which had its first edition in 2011, always enjoyed a large international participation and led to the publication of 7 volumes dedicated to military history in all its aspects, proving that the hope expressed by prof. Zeno Karl Pinter in his foreword to the first volume of the series Interethnic Relations (2005) is becoming a certainty. In this context the 7 volumes printed between 2011 and 2018 stand as an important contribution, being also the only thematic volumes to approach this topic in the Romanian historiography.

The volume here is the 8th and it brings together papers presented during 2018 and 2019 editions of the conference **Interethnic Relations in Transylvania. Militaria Mediaevalia in Central and South-Eastern Europe**.

The themes approached in the 14 studies of the volume deal with subjects linked to military archaeology and history and history of military equipment, settlement archaeology and history, history of kitchen and cooking, built patrimony, or ecclesiastic history and archaeology. Although the studies apparently reflect a heterogeneousness of themes, their association only illustrates the multiple facets through which the medieval society manifested itself, as well as the mode in which our contemporary society relates to the still present witnesses of those times.

The studies take us not only through a large chronological frame (4th-18th centuries) but also through a geographical areal beginning in Transylvania (Z. K. Pinter, *O descoperire veche, într-o lumină nouă. Complexul arheologic de la Viscri / Deutsch-Weisskirch*; A. Niţoi, *Arms and Armour from the Medieval Paintings of the Church at Mălâncrav (Sibiu County)*; P. Langa, *The Sword and the Saber–Symbols of Social Position in the Votive Images of Medieval Transylvania*; D. Bacueţ, H. Cociş, T. Keresztes, *Ordine monastice medievale pe valea Barcăului. Despre urmele mănăstirii pauline din hotarul localității Nuşfalău (jud. Sălaj)*; R. Frîncu, Simona Malearov, *Rețete culinare ale landlerilor reflectate în manuscrise și cercetări de teren*), reaches Bulgaria (V. Yotov, *Chafing Dishes and Ember Covers Vessels North at the Danube River (30-ies Years of 9th – Beginning of 10th Century*); S.

^{*} Translated in English by / Tradus în limba engleză de Claudia Urduzia.

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Popov, Late Medieval War Hammers from Vatevi Collection (Bulgaria); Elements of the 15th – 16th C. Equipment of Horseman and Horse – Possible Witnesses of the Conflicts Between the East and West; S. Boyanov, Localization of the Battle of Adrianople (378), the Causes and Consequences of this Military Conflict According to Ancient Authors) until finally reaching Russian areas (E. Shinakov, V. Guryanov, A. Chubur, Ownership Settlements of the Ancient Rus Epoch in the Desna Region: Natural, Economic and Ethno-demographic Aspects). The subjects already mentioned are complemented by studies regarding the analyses of some special decorative motifs on swords (D. Toichkin, Y. Toichkina, About the Origin of Swords, Decorated with Special Christian Symbols and Inscriptions) and by the analyses of the restauration process of one of the most important fortifications of the Lower Danube line (V. Speriatu, Initiative de restaurare și valorificare a Cetății Capidava).

Before closing we must add an appreciation thought for the editorial team, who made possible the editing of this new volume: Zeno Karl Pinter, Claudia Urduzia and Anca Niţoi.

Sibiu, September 2020

Prof. univ. dr. habil. Ioan Marian Ţiplic

LOCALIZATION OF THE BATTLE OF ADRIANOPLE (378), THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THIS MILITARY CONFLICT ACCORDING TO ANCIENT AUTHORS

Stanislav Nikolov BOYANOV*

Abstract: The Battle of Adrianople in the year 378 between the Roman army and the Gothic invaders is not accidentally seen as an epochal event for the ancient history of its transition to the Middle Ages. The meaning of this battle was understood by its contemporaries, who have left us very good descriptions of its causes, its development and its consequences. Despite the solid source base, there are some unclear questions, and with my research I hope to offer answers for them. For example, the localization of the battle itself has been unspecified so far, with several possible options being proposed in the scientific literature. Also, the number of soldiers involved in the battle is also the subject of discussion. The survey will also examine the Roman military units (with their specific names) involved in the battle. **Keywords**: Roman Empire, Goths, Valent, Grazian, Adrianopole.

Rezumat: Bătălia de la Adrianopol din 378 a fost un eveniment de reper pentru istoria Balcanilor și pentru soarta lumii romane. Semnificația sa a fost apreciată de contemporanii acestui eveniment, care în sursele istorice păstrate la noi spun clar că acesta este sfârșitul unei ere. De acum încolo, tot mai multe provincii romane vor intra sub controlul triburilor barbare. Pe de o parte pierderea romanilor este pur materială - daune umane și monetare în proporții enorme. Pierderea lor are si o altă dimensiune: pierderea prestigiului dintre vecinii barbari ai romanilor, ei înțelegând că înfrângerea unei mari armate romane, o parte de est a imperiului și moartea împăratului Valent în luptă, reprezintă pentru ei că Imperiul Roman este în mare declin și vor profita rapid de situație.** **Cuvinte cheie**: Imperiul Roman, Goți, Valent, Grazian, Adrianopole.

Barbarian invasions of threat to the Roman state throughout its existence, but the Romans managed to successfully repel them when internally consolidated. But since the middle of the third century AD, the wars between the claimants of imperial power have made the protection of the Roman borders a very difficult task.

In 364, one year after the death of Emperor Julian (361-363), Valent became co-emperor with his brother Valentinian I. They divided the empire into two: Valent became Eastern Emperor and Valentian became Western.

In 367-369, Valent fought and defeated the Goths. In 375, Valentian died and was succeeded by his son Grazian. In 376, displaced by the invasion of the Huns, the Goths, led by Alaviv and Fritigern, asked that they be allowed to settle in the Roman Empire, and more precisely south of the Danube.

Emperor Valent allowed them to settle in Moesia, hoping that they would become

farmers and allies of Rome (the federations). However, after settling south of the Danube, the Goths rise because of the hardships they endure as a result of arbitrariness against them by local governors Lupicin and Maxim. The two governors impose high Gothic taxes, take advantage of starvation to sell them lowquality meat at very high prices, hold their wives and their daughters as concubines and take children hostage.

Lupicin sees the discontent of the Goths and tries to capture their chiefs Fritigern, Alaviv and others at a banquet in Marcianopol (today Devnya). Alaviv is killed, but Fritigern escapes from the trap, leads the Goths into open revolt and kills the military led by Lupicin in 15 km from Marcianopolis. Other Gothic chiefs Alatei and Safrax also cross the Danube on rafts with their men.

Eastern Emperor Valent understands that the situation in Moesia and Thrace is serious and decides to return from the Persian border along

^{*} Статията е реализиран по проект ДН10/2 на Фонд Научни Исзледвания.

with his army and asks the Western Emperor Grazian for reinforcements to fight the Goths. Grazian sends Commander Frigerid as well as the leader of his guard, Ricomer, along with reinforcements. In the two years before the battle of Adrianople, there were a series of battles that prevented either party from taking the lead. Valent leaves Antioch for Constantinople, arriving on May 30.378.

He appoints Comes Sebastian, to reorganize troops in Thrace. Sebastian takes 2000 of his legionnaires and heads to Adrianople. They defeat small Gothic units, including one returning after the Rhodope looting. Fritigernes gathers his forces at Nicopolis ad Istrum, and then passes through Beroe (or Cabile) to confront the Roman threat¹.

In early August 378, Grazian was at the Iron Gate (in present-day Serbia) about 400 kilometers from Adrianople. But he receives news that Pannonia is being attacked by the Alans, and is therefore compelled to return to repel the $attack^2$.

Valent moves his army to Adrianople, where they fortify with a moat and a shaft. On August 6th, Valent receives notices of the location of the Goths 18 km north of the city. The envoy of the Western Emperor Ricomer carried a letter advising him to wait, as did some of Valent's generals.

On August 8, Fritigern sends an ambassador with a proposal for peace and union in exchange for Roman territory. Confident in his numerical superiority, Valent rejected the proposal. However, his assessment does not include the part of the Gothic cavalry that went to collect supplies. Valent probably wanted to increase his popularity with the population of Constantinople with a victory that would equal the military successes of Grazian and prevent a possible Gothic march against Constantinople.

The Valent army included parts of the Thracian army, which suffered heavy casualties in 376-377, as well as part of the eastern troops. Marcelin does not mention many of the names of the individual parts, but it is known that Legio I Maximiana participated in the battle. The cavalry consists of archers on the horse and the Imperial Guard. Squads of Lancarii and Marthiarnii are likely to be barbaric contingents, Marthiarnii in which Valent seeks refuge during the battle, a sign of his desperate situation. Roman troops also include a squadron of Batavians who are apparently fleeing, as it is mentioned that a senior cavalry officer, Victor, who tries to engage them in the battle but finds their absence, a cavalry with shields (scooters) and archers under the command of the Iberian Prince Bakuri. They are probably auxiliary troops from the Transcaucasian Iberia.

South of the Danube there are two Gothic armies, one led by Fritigern is chiefly recruited from the Tervings and the other led by Alathey and Safrax is composed of Greutungs. Fritigern was the first to confront the Romans and involve his entire army in battle. Alathey and Safrax arrive later along with most of their cavalry and a strong troop of alans, who are probably also on horseback.

The course of the ensuing battle is difficult to describe in detail because, despite its many qualities as a historical one, Ammianus' account is not as detailed nor as clear as one would have hoped for such a momentous event. This is partly due to the fact that Amian did not personally attend the battle, nor did he like Valent and contrasted him with his hero Julian (361-363), and therefore the description of the battle of Adrianople was significantly inferior in quality compared to that of his of the battle description at 357 of Argentoratum (Strasbourg) where Caesar Julian smashed German tribes.

Amian notes that at the discretion of Roman field scouts, the Goths number 10,000, but dismisses this value as an understatement. This figure does not seem to include the forces of Alatei and Safrax (.XXXI, 12, 1 - 7)³. The exact number of the Roman army is not known, but it hardly exceeded 18,000-20,000. This can be suggested by the fact that not long before 378, namely in 363 emperor Julian embarks on his great march against Persia with an army of 35,000, which includes both the eastern and western legions, i.e. almost all the impact power of the empire. The Goths probably had a similar number or a little more.

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^{**} Translated in Romanian by / Tradus în limba română de Claudia Urduzia.

¹ All the quotes by Amian Marcellin in the article are from Христоматия на военните конфликти по българските земи, Пловдив, 2018, съставители Георги Митрев и Станислав Боянов, р. 287, ISBN 978-619-7178-08-1

² Right there, p. 288

³ Right there, p. 288

Relații Interetnice în Transilvania. Militaria Mediaevalia în Europa centrală și de sud-est Localization of the Battle of Adrianople (378), the Causes and Consequences of this Military Conflict According to Ancient Authors

As the course of the battle itself is not the subject of this study, I will not dwell on it in detail. However, I want to share a hypothesis that is formed in me after reading the story of Amian Marcellin, namely the Gothic battle tactics.

As the battle progressed (Adrianople 378), Marcellinus said that the Romans attacked a fortified Gothic hill fort protected by part of the Goths (probably infantry and archers), and the Gothic cavalry that went for supplies returned and struck the Romans' flank. in this way they are severely defeated.

Earlier, however, Amian described (XXXI, 12, $(1-7)^4$ the battle at Marcianopolis, which occurred earlier in the year. And the description is almost identical. The Goths retreat to their "karago"⁵ and when the Romans attacked it, the previously exited Gothic cavalry struck them in the flanks and provoked the retreat. The Gothic-reinforced truck camp serves as the base from which they make the attack, and when used, use it as a stronghold, while the cavalry that have previously taken positions near the camp can deal a powerful blow to the enemy as he attacks the fortified one. gothic position.f the Roman army. This, I think, may be a description of the tactics used by the Goths. It is pointless to use Gothic cavalry to protect the camp, and it is better for it to retain its operational mobility. This may be the real reason for the Gothic cavalry to appear a little later in the battlefield at Adrianople, not as Marcellin reports that she went for supplies.

The Battle of Adrianople in the year 378 between the Roman army and the Gothic invaders is not accidentally seen as an epochal event for the ancient history of its transition to the Middle Ages. The meaning of this battle was understood by its contemporaries, who have left us very good descriptions of its causes, its development and its consequences.

Numerous ancient authors who mentioned the Battle of Adrianople, but a very detailed description of the battle itself was made by Amian Marcellin in XXXI book of the his "Res Gestae"⁶. The aforementioned author did not participate in the battle itself, but as a former high-ranking army officer, he apparently received the information he presents in his book from a direct participant in the battle.

Amian Marcellin reports that the Goths have stopped 12 miles from Adrianople (XXXI, 12, 1-7)⁷. But it does not tell the direction of the city. The Exact day of the battle, according to Marcellin's story, the Romans went to dawn (about 6:00) and arrived at the battlefield at about 2:00 pm, which means they marched about 8 hours. Marcellin also writes that they have moved through an uneven place to their collision with barbarians (XXXI, 12, 10-17)⁸.

I want to present to your attention a possible localization of the battle. This is the place under the medieval fortress Bukelon (images 1), which is about 18 km away north of Adrianople. There are several arguments in favour of this thesis. Logically, the Goths sat up their camp near a river, and the Tundia River and the Mangara River are just some hundred meters from the supposed location of the battlefield. And in my opinion, the battle took place west of the Tundzha River, because Marcellinus did not mention the crossing of a river by the Roman army, which rejected the eastern side of the Tundzha River. In addition. one possible argument that the battle took place on the western side of the Tundzha River is that Marcellinus explicitly mentions that the Roman army was advancing through heavily rugged terrain, and there was only one along the western bank of the Tundzha River. Of course, the landscape may have changed over the centuries since the battle, but it is hardly so dramatic as to obliterate kilometers of elevation.

Besides, the direction from which the Gothic detachments came from precisely from the north. Before that they defeated the Romans in Martzianopol and descended to Adrianople and probably their goal was Constantinople. The same, as stated by Marcellin, that the Romans walked through a cross-country corresponds best with a possible march to the north. Travel times and distance to Bukelon are also within the margin set by Marcellin.

⁴ Right there, p. 289

⁵ Fortified camp with Gothic cars forming a circle.

⁶ Христоматия на военните конфликти по българските земи, Пловдив, 2018, съставители

Георги Митрев и Станислав Боянов, р. 289, ISBN 978-619-7178-08-1.

⁷ Right there, p. 291.

⁸ Right there, p. 291.

To speak in of the support of the Bukelon's area as a potential battlefield is that there are high hills which are similar type coming towards to Adrianople. Amian Marcellin categorically writes that the Goths have set up their camp on a high hill, and that the Gothic cavalry, which later entered the battle, has been rounded on both sides of the hill or hills, and so hit the advancing Romans on the flanks and at the end to account for to the complete defeat of the Romans.

The other possible locations mentioned in modern historiography suffer (in my opinion) from the lack of at least one of the markers mentioned by the ancient authors. One thesis suggests that the Gothic camp and the battleground were located to the north of <u>Adrianopol</u>, west of the <u>Tonzos river</u> but east of <u>Hebros</u> river ($41.81^{\circ}N \ 26.50^{\circ}E$).⁹

Another locates the battlefield again north of the city, but east of <u>Tonzos river</u>, near the contemporary Turkish village of Muratçalı $(41.81^{\circ}N \ 26.60^{\circ}E)$.¹⁰

The third thesis adopts a location east of the city, near the contemporary Turkish village of Demirhanlı ($41.70^{\circ}N \ 26.74^{\circ}E$), i.e. assuming that Valens was marching due East, starting from the Adrianople city walls.¹¹

The first of the possibilities shown above has, in my opinion, the greatest ground for truth, but it is too close to Adrianople, and yet Marcellin announces that the Gothic camp is 12 Roman miles.

There aren't any tall hills near to today's village of Demirhanli, but there is a hill in today's village of Muratchalli, but it isn't a tall one and has smaller diameter, there could not (κ удънт) be any possibility for probably a tens of thousands of Gothic warriors and their families to be gathered there. For sure, this large (over 200 m) altitude hills in the medieval fortress of Bukelon fully respond of that condition - large enough to assemble the Gothic multitudes.

Some¹² blame for the Roman loss at Adrianople must be placed on the head of Emperor Valent. Like Crassus at Carrhae, Valent was seeking glory for himself and failed to wait for his nephew to arrive from the west. He had had success against the Goths earlier and with unreliable information telling him of the low Gothic numbers, he decided not to wait for Gratian and unfortunately marched to his own death, taking over 10,000 with him¹³. With his nephew having success in Gaul, Valent wanted a successful defeat of the Gothic forces to be his and his alone.

Although not completely dismissing Valent failings, historians place the defeat on three key reasons: low morale - the Roman army was tired, hungry, and thirsty when they arrived at Adrianople poor and inadequate scouting - Valent had no knowledge of the 10,000 Greuthungi cavalry who would join Fritigern later the inadequately trained Roman cavalry - the Roman cavalry made a series of poorly planned and failed attacks against the Goths. These failed attacks led to an unprotected Roman left flank.

As Fritigern and his men attacked the Romans from the front and side, chaos ensued. The overwhelming numbers of the Gothic forces led to Roman soldiers deserting the battlefield. Emperor Valent was killed in battle after being wounded by an arrow. Take Paul Orozius¹⁴ as he fled the battlefield the emperor was carried by the soldiers to a villa or small mansion. The Goths set fire to the house and the emperor and his small entourage burned.

Adrianople put an end to the classic appearance of the legion as a major constituent of the Roman imperial army that conquered territory from Scotland to Mesopotamia. Of course, his transformation from his imperial appearance to his complete barbarism began decades earlier. Less than a century later, the main offensive part of the army was the heavy horsemen, the forerunners of the Byzantine catafracts and the medieval knights.

Unfortunately for Fritigern, he and his army would be unable to capitalize on his victory at Adrianople and have further success against the Romans. Having failed to capture Adrianople - the Goths did not have siege

⁹ Curran, J. From Jovian to Theodosius. In A. Cameron & P. Garnsey (Eds.), The Cambridge Ancient History, 1997, p. 100.

¹⁰ Potter, D.S.. The Roman Empire at Bay. Routledge, 2006, p. 531.

¹¹ <u>Donnelly, Peter</u>. What Happened at Adrianople? *A reexamination of the campaign and battle of Adrianople, August* 378 *CE,* <<u>http://skookumpete.com/adrianople.htm</u>> available on 23.02.2020.

¹² Donnelly, Peter. What Happened at Adrianople? ...

¹³ Христоматия на военните конфликти по българските ..., р. 292

¹⁴ Right there, p. 321

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weaponry - the Gothic War (376-382) continued to wreak havoc across the Roman frontier. Finally, in 382 Emperor Theodosius I and the Goths came to terms in an alliance that granted lands in exchange for soldiers to serve in the Roman army. The Adrianople defeat demonstrated weaknesses within the Roman military, and in the decades that followed, the

empire in the west continued in a downward spiral until Alaric, a Visigoth leader and former Roman commander, invaded and sacked Rome in 410 CE. The west collapsed the last emperor Romulus Augustulus relinquished the throne in 476 CE - but the empire in the east survived until being overtaken by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 CE.

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- Fig. 1. The Roman Empire c. AD 378
- Fig. 2. The presumed place of the battle, according to the author of the study. It is outlined with a red line. (Google Maps)

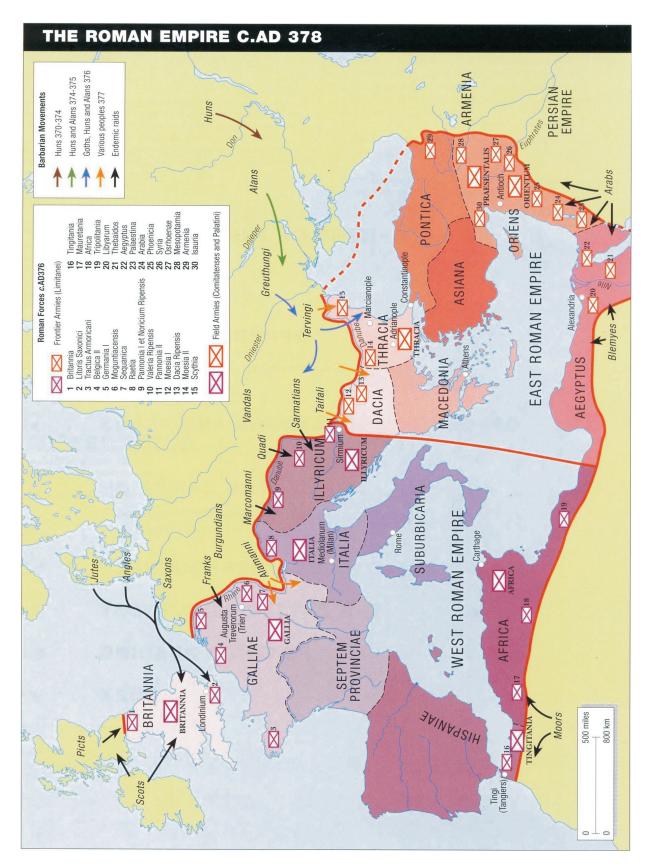


Fig. 1

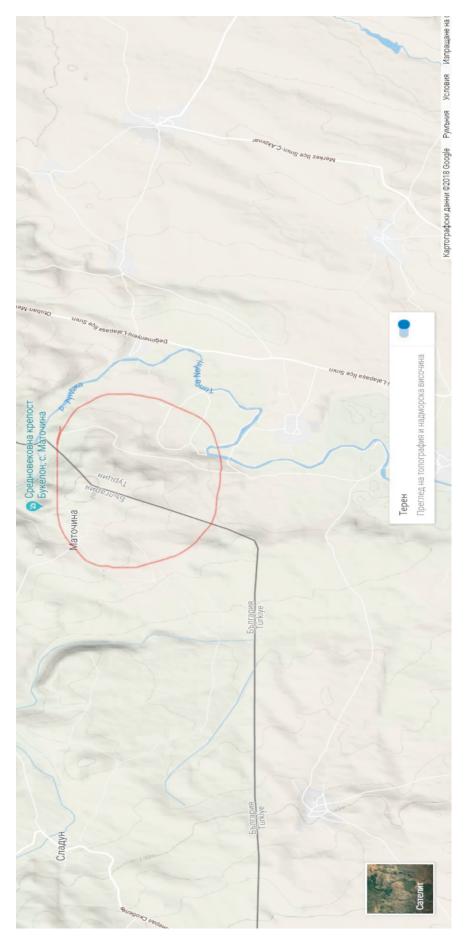


Fig. 2