

ABOUT THE LOWER DANUBE AT THE END OF ANTIQUITY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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Abstract: The study refers to the end period of the antiquity and beginning of the Middle Ages. I first presented the situation regarding the romanized population and the Goths, the first important migrants. From the time of the Huns an important literary source is Priscus of Panion who has known the latter directly. The Huns and their society were also described by Ammianus Marcellinus. The Gepids were attested mainly through archaeological discoveries. The stage of development of the Avar society was significantly presented by writers as: Menander Protector or Teofilact Simocata. We also know the way Slavs organized their society from the works of writers such as: Procopius of Caesarea, Mauricius or Leon the Wise. Bulgarians were best described by Ibn Fadlan who knew them directly.

Regarding the relations with the Eastern Roman Empire and especially the native population besides these sources there are others like: Salvianus (De guventionone Dei), Ioan Zonaras (The Chronicle), Mauricius (Military Art), Teofilact Simocata, Georgios Kedrenos and many more. The detailed study of some descriptions made by authors from that time leads us to new conclusions and other views about the political relations in this region in the early Middle Ages.

Keywords: Lower Danube, medieval history, romanian population, migrating populations, narrative sources.

In the Roman Empire, since the middle of the third century, barbarian invasions have taken place almost every year. Regarding the internal situation, the Empire was practically divided for a while. I could remember in this sense the "time of the 30 tyrants" (usurpers), the various revolts or battles fought by Gallienus, etc. For the Danube regions it is worthy of remembered the revolt of Regalianus, the governor of the Lower Moesia, who claimed that he was a descendant of Decebal's family¹. Regalianus proclaimed himself emperor and struck a coin own at Carnuntum². His actions mainly concerned Illyricum and Pannonia, but they were involved and the Danube regions. His authority extended to Durostorum, a city that he and mastered for a very short time (about a week)³. The Regalianus revolt from years 258-259 AD he had no luck. Regalianus proclaimed himself emperor and struck a coin own at Carnuntum². His actions mainly concerned Illyricum and Pannonia, but they were involved and the Danube regions. His authority extended to Durostorum, a city that he and mastered for a very short time (about a week)³. The Regalianus revolt from years 258-259 AD he had no luck. However, we consider, even for the troubled times of the time, that this is insufficient to talk about Dacia's final demise. But after the plot against Gallienus, Claudius - with the nickname "Gothicus Maximus" and Aurelian - "Romanian blind restorer" has had to face numerous attacks of goths, carp, hunas and so on. m.d. Everybody Dacia Felix it is also

¹ Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, Budapesta, 1940 cu referiri și la Historia Augusta-CLAUDIUS, 7, 4, (Kaiser

Claudius), II; Pachia Tatomirescu, *Regallianus*, Timișoara, 1999, passim.

² Alfodi, A., *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des Jahrhunderts nach Christus*, Darmstadt, 1967, p. 102-103

³ *Ibidem*

mentioned in an inscription⁴ from the time of Decius, which bore the title " restitutor Daciae", as well as Gallienus⁵. The sources we know about the withdrawal of the Romans from Dacia do not present on broadly the event and are not contemporary to him (Sextus Aurelius Victor, Rufius Festus, VIII; Eutropius, IX, 5 and IX, 6, Historia Augusta Aurelianus, 394 - 4th century; Orosius, VII, 22 - in the 6th century). All of them, however, link the withdrawal of the Romanian administration to the evolution things from the south of the Danube, not the inability to preserve the northern Danube territories⁶.

Aurelianus himself intervened north of the river, so that although the 5th Legion Macedonia was moved from Potaissa to Oescus, its units worked to strengthen it Sucidava⁷.

In the time of Constantinus (the end of the third century) it was spoken of as "the province Dacia restored (Panegyrici latini), an affirmation uncertain, but worth mentioning. Gallerius, also called Armenetrius ("Shepherd") - the origin of Dacia Ripensis and named in 293 AD Caesar by Diocletian was thinking, as Lactantius wrote (*Demortibus persecutorum* , XVII, 9) the restoration of the Dacian Empire. But in this sense they had to there should also be the conditions for carrying out this restoration and, of course, the north Danube. As for the Goths, their actions and relations with the Roman Empire are known. That is why I considered it more important to present some lesser known or discussed.

As for Wulfila, the question arose whether he was a follower of all of universal Christianity⁸, given the historical conditions, the Aryan Goths, etc. Most of researchers are of the opinion⁹ that we consider the correct one.

Pshilostorios, in Church History, II, 5 affirmed that the missionary on the left of the Danube

was "ordained by Eusebius (from Nicomedia Antioch) and by the bishops who were with he bishop of the Christians of the gothic country - so not of any nation there, but of all of Christians . Sosomenos (Church History, VI, 7, 8) was the one who explained that Wulfila , after a visit to Constantinople, in the Empire, he converted to Arianism.

It was the time when, although Arianism had been condemned, emperors, such as Constantinus (337-361) encouraged him, and about Valens (364-378) it is known that he had gone christian Arian, confirmed later by Iordanes (Getica, XXV).

Wulfila, bishop of Christians in the country of the Goths¹⁰ also preached among the natives daco-Romans, because his disciple, Auxentius, who was a bishop at Durostorum (Letter of the disbelief, life and death of Wulfila), stated that to the left of the river , his mentor has been active for 40 years without interruption in Greek , Latin and Gothic and that "he left behind in these three languages more treatises and a lots of comments. It is without a doubt that in the "land of the gutters", the natives were those who understood Latin. The

⁴ I.D.R., III ,2, 82

⁵ D. Tudor ,*Sucidava*, București , 1976, p. 95

⁶ Fontes Historae Daco-Romanae , vol II , București , Originea și conținutul românilor . Arheologie și Tradiție istorică, București ,1991, p.189

⁷ D.Tudor, op. cit., p. 96-98

⁸ P.Diaconu, Unele aspecte ale relațiilor dintre bisericile din Dobrogea și Paphlagonia , în Tomis, 1996, 31, nr.6, p.13; D. Corovu-Sererineanu , Scrisori ale Sf.Vasile cel Mare și Epistola Bisericii Goției către Capadochia-izvoare importante pentru Istoria Bisericii Române, în Mitropolia Olteniei , Craiova, 1996, 48, nr. 1-2, p.20-31; vezi și N.Zugravu , Păgâni și creștini în spațiul extracarpatic în veacul al IV-lea, în Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A..D.Xenopol”, XXXIII, 1996, p. 119-132 (partea I) și XXXIV,1997, p.295-300 (partea a-II-a) .

⁹ N. Zugravu, Geneza creștinismului popular al românilor ,Bucurști ,1997 ,p.230

¹⁰ E.Popescu, Christianitas Daco-Romana .Florilegium studiorum, București ,1994, ,p.164 referitor la convertire , p.168-170; a propovăduit între 336,338 sau 341 și 348 d.Hr.

missionary's activity endangered even his authority Athanaric. The situation created was best presented by Socrates Scholastic (Istorii , IV, 33.7).

"Because he preached Christianity not only among the barbarians under his obedience Athanaric, he saw his ancestral faith harmed and subjected his vengeance to many of those who were Christian. Thus, the barbarians, followers of Arius, became martyrs. he could add that Athanaric was in danger of his authority, for Fritigern he was an Aryan Christian. Analyze Boladiana - the Greek manuscript of 1587, kept at the National Library in Paris, also includes a list of the martyrs of that time. Auxentius from Durostorum explains (Letter about faith ..) that "because of wickedness and through the enmity of the enemies, it was started then on barbaric land, with tyrannical anger, persecution of Christians on the side of the unbeliever (Athanaric), a jude of the Goths.

It was the moment (the year 372) when Saint Sava (Acta Sanctorum) was martyred, ap., II, 2, 962). His death was announced by the "Church in the land of the Goths to the Church in Cappadocia and all the Catholic churches in that place. " Saint Sava was drowned in the river -

Museums (...): Unius Soranus, ruler of Scythia, transported him to the country of the Romans and took him buried in Capadochiall (Vasile the Great, Epistles, CLV, CLXIV, CLXV-cherished relics of martyr).

If in the territories of the Empire (especially in the eastern parts) occurred between the years 320-324 a persecution of Christians due to Licinius, north of the Lower Danube we have in the decade.

In the eighth century, this Athanaric fishery. This state of affairs has determined Wulfila to flee to the south of the Danube. His disciple, Auxentius of Durostorum a also written in Latin but with a series of morphological and syntactic deviations towards Latin popular from the Danube (Letter about life, activity, ...).

It should also be mentioned that in the beginning the Goths (in our case Visigoths) had one bicephalous leadership: Athanaric (most tribes) and Fritigern. This leadership was similar to other populations at the same stage of development. At the Attila and Bleda huns or "two kings of the Huns" (Ioanes Mallalas, Chronography, XVII); the Bulgarians also had "two kings" (Theophanes Confessor, Chronographia, 160), and the Pechenegs were led by Kegen (2 tribes) and Tyrah (11tribes) - the two were also mentioned by Georgios Kedrenos (Comedy of Stories, 33). Persian geographer Gardizi said about the Hungarian leader that: Kanda is called andthis is the title of their greatest king although the rank of the one who really leads them is Juls and the Hungarians are doing everything their Jula does to them¹¹. Probably this Kanda or Kende he was a kind of "prince" and Jula-Gyula had executive power¹²The latter might be a judge (or a function in this regard)¹³. Threatened by the huni, the vigilantes tried their journey through Europe, being received at beginning in the Empire, in Thrace.

Ammianus Marcellinus states that the Huns spend most of their riding life: When organizes an important meeting in this way they all hold counsel together. And they are not controlled by the harsh authority of a king, but content with the noisy leadership of chiefs.

¹¹ Șt.Pascu ,Voievodatul Transilvaniei , vol IV, Cluj-Napoca , 1989, p.135

¹² V.Spinei, Marile migrații în estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII, Institutul European ,Iași , 1999, p.100

¹³ Vezi în acest sens denumirea –Gyuka la Simon de Keza ,Constantin al VII-lea Porfigernul etc., N.Iorga ,Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria , București , 1989, p. 32-33;idem, Despre cronici și cronicari , București ,1988:p.251;etc.

"(Historian, XXXI, 2,2), this quote is significant in order to highlight the paradise in which the respective society is located. As when someone is asked, no one can it says where it is drawn (..) I break an alliance and then it links again (History Roman; XXXI, 2,1), which is significant for a nomadic society; and the fact that the Huns did not have an organized state capable of concluding alliances and treaties especially to guarantee them.

This idea was also reinforced by Priscus Panites, who reported that: The barbarians did not want to descend only from the horse (Embassies. About the Romanians' messages ..). In such conditions their laws they could only mean the goodwill of the leaders.

Also significant is that Attila at one point wanted to come in the message even the emperor in person (he even wanted half of the Western Empire, etc.), which caused the rhetorician Priscus to state that: This work was not requested either by your ancestors and no other kings of Scythia, and any soldier or squire could go ashore (Embassies: About the Romanians' messages ...).

According to Ammianus Marcellinus (Roman History, XXXI, 2.4) the Huns "have no notions morals above good and evil. " In this sense they imitated the institutions and the organization from the territories in which they lived. More than the latter counted personal dependence on the driver, after Attila's death, their so-called state was relatively easy to break up.

For the 5th century, after the coalition defeated Attila's sons in Nedao led by Ardaric, we consider it necessary to refer to the geysers and their relations with the other populated with whom they came into contact (especially the North-Danube romance).

You came from Scandinavia (like the Goths) in the 1st century BC, the geysers started southward migration in the first half of the 2nd century AD Gepid Kingdom, with its center in The Plain of Tiszai probably exerted a more nominal control over Transylvania, a passive control that was characterized by a relatively calm period from the point of view political and military. The kingdom of the Gepis was based in the Tisza region; after a century of existence, it fell in 567, under the blows of the Avaro-Lombard coalition. After this year the sparrows have been assimilated by the local population and we find it appropriate to recall a weaving workshop at Morești¹⁴, as well as the workshop for making jewelry from Band¹⁵. In these Gepiz localities have coexisted with the locals.

Teofilact Simocata (Istoriei, VI, 8, 12-13)¹⁶ tells how in the battles fought by the army General Priscus, victorious then, somewhere north of the Danube, takes many prisoners, and "among the barbarians there was a fool who had once embraced the faith of Christians. He had passed by the Romans and showed them the way to enter before. The Romans have the masters of the entrances came and defeated the barbarians.

But many natives preferred the control of the allogeneic populations, a proof is found in the writings of Salvianus (DeGubernatione Dei, V, 7): All Romans (those subjected to election - n.n.) have only one wish: that of not returning to Roman rule (..) and thus, our brothers

, not only will they not run back to us, but on the contrary, they are leaving us to run away from them.

¹⁴ D.Popescu, Das gepidische Grabenfeld in einer vor und fruhgeschichtlichen Siedlung in Sibenburgen, București, 1979, passim

¹⁵ I.Hica, Un cimitir din secolul al VI-lea e.n. de la Valea Largă în SCIVA, 25, 1974,4,p.517-526.

¹⁶ Vezi în acest sens Teofilact Simocata, Istoria bizantină. Domnia Împăratului Mauricius (582-602) (trad. H. Mihăilescu), București, 1958, p.128-129, n. 24; Elibachia în legătură cu Helis; Teofilact, VI,8,9; Diodor din Sicilia, XXI,2. La p.20, n.27, râul Paspiros la 180km, Siretul sau unul din brațele Dunării, Herodot, IV, Siretul.Tirantos, Teofilact, Paspiros; VI,9,10; acțiunea poate fi mutată și mai la vest.

North of the Danube, migratory populations have found a stable population, a civilization rural, of which the plunder would have no use. These populations were not the only ones who or supplied from here. Ioan Zonaras (Chronicle, XIV, 13.40) states about the emperor Mauricius

: And his brother, Peter, who was a strategist, sends him orders to cross the Istrus with the army and to procure from there the necessary ones. Proceed thus because of his love for money, for armies to feed, and he to earn from food for soldiers. This information was probably taken from Theophanes' Chronography Confessor (p.284): Mauricius scolded Peter by letters to cross Istrus and to left hurry for the flocks, from the country of the Slavs, in order not to be forced to offer the Romans food state.

In the same paper, references were made to the events that took place at the siege of the city Tomis (the year 600). When the Romans celebrated Passover, the inn Baian sent them "from

most of all the necessities of life. This information was transmitted to us by Theophilact The Simocata (VII, 13.5) was completed by Theophanes Confessor (p.284). He claimed that it would be it was about "400 of which with pieces". Regardless of the quantity, it should be noted that the inn Baian, moving at that time on a very large space, would have had no place to dispose of so much food (for two armies) without the existence of a stable agricultural population, in the first line and well organized to be able to gather those products, secondly. Mauricius (Military Art XI, 2.22) also showed that the damage "causes much damage to them and the passage on our part of the fugitives, because they have no steady thoughts and they like gain.

Regarding the damage. We must mention that there were also meetings of them warriors, assemblies with power of decision. Thus, at one point "Baian, the ruler he decided to send a message to the assembly (Menander Protector, Fragments, 28).

Like other halogenous populations, and faults, were considered in the sources written "wandering and venetian (Ibidem).

Nor did they, like the Huns, form a state in the true sense of the word - institution that would have guaranteed and respected the agreements made. Thus, it is mentioned about them that in the year 586-587 they again stepped on the face of the alliance with the Empire (Theofilact Simocata, Histories, I, 8). Manager Protector (Fragments, 48, 35) states at one point: After he returned with the tribute and the goods he bought and brought him gold, Baian suddenly broke, with shame and as a barbarian, the treaties concluded with Emperor Tiberius at the beginning of his reign then he started with the whole army and reached the Saos River, between the cities of Sirmium and Singidum. There he tried to make a bridge and cross the water, with the intention of reaching the city Sirmium and put his wire around him.

But he was afraid he wouldn't be hindered by it Romanians who stood guard and Singidunum, especially since he knew for a long time that they are skillful. In the sixth century the Slavs appeared; they organized numerous incursions into the Empire Byzantine through southern Moldova and eastern Muntenia¹⁷. At the end of the 6th century, the temporary settlement of the Slavs in some regions and in southeastern Transylvania has largely part of the character of a colonization organized by damage¹⁸. During the VI-VIII centuries, Slavs were still organized in gentile communities, so for this period the fundamental political unity of the society was the tribe¹⁹.

¹⁷ D.Gh Teodor, Contribuții privind pătrunderea slavilor în teritoriile extracarpătice ale României, în Carpica V, 1972, p.105-114

¹⁸ Idem, Unele considerații privind încheierea procesului de formare a poporului roman, în Arheologia Moldovei IX, Iași, 1980, p.75-84

¹⁹ H.Lowmiansky, Transformations sociales en Europe central et orientale aux VI-XIII siècles, cominicare la cel

Regarding the Slavic society from the north of the Lower Danube, I kept a quote from Menander Protector (Fragments, 48, 15-25): *“The damage leader sent messages to Daurentios and the other scalvin masters and ordered them to obey and to be among those who pay tribute. And Dauritas and bosses around have said. But who is this man, and under whom the sun's rays are warming, if he dares to come with the power over us? We are trained to master foreign land and not others to master our land, and this habit will remain in our ranks as long as we exist wars and swords. Thus the slaves answered with pride, and the riches did not leave before, but they got into misunderstandings.*

The scalvins could not get their anger and killed the messengers who came to them again this fact was found out by Baian, so against the scalvinlor Baian now had a motive jealousy, which he had been waiting for a long time and was no longer able to hide his anger. angry that they did not obey his commandments and caused him a great deal of suffering, then he wished to do as the king pleased, and was confident that he would find much wealth in their country. , because the lands of the Romans had been destroyed many times by the slaves, while their land had never been trampled upon by other nations”.

Regarding how to make decisions on various issues Procopius from Caesarea wrote: When the news spread and reached the ears of all, almost all the people gathered because they considered it a task of the whole public "(On Wars, VII, 21) these, the slaves and the ancients are not ruled by one man, but have been living since ancient times the democratic order and therefore their affairs, both the good and the bad , they are always debated by the public (On wars, VII, 22). They “move from one place to another another (About Wars, VII, 24), and Mauricius wrote that "there are many kings and they do not understand each other them (military art, XI, 30).

The patriarchal family of Slavs lived in the same house (large), and the housekeeper was an administrator, not master of the common goods.

About the wars, VII, 17-19, VII, 29, VII, 38) showed that the Slavs were often more cruel than the Huns or avarii, and Mauricius (Military Art, XI, 3) wrote that: I do not know the customs, they are speechless and not listening to each other, they "hardly supported the agricultural work (Leon the Wise, Tactical, XVIII, 106).

According to Obolensky's²⁰ opinion, the Slavic society differed from the Germans in first because the first did not enter the Empire as federates, but only as swimmers , quickly destroying the Byzantine Roman administration and especially the network of bishops what had been established in the south of the Danube since the 6th century; a cause of their cultural return in the 7th and 8th centuries were also the refractions of the influence of Christianity.

The Sclavins in which they lived in the south of the Danube, they designated geographical regions mostly concentrated on the river valleys and not a politico-administrative unit.

Thus, the Monemvasia Chronicle²¹ a stated about the Slavs who had reached Peloponnese that "no

de al XIII-lea Congres Internațional de Științe Istorice, Moscova 16-23 august 1970, în Revista de referate și recenzii ,istorie-geografie, 1970, nr.4, p.447-450, B.D.Grecov, Geneza feudalismului în Rusia (în lb rusă), în Voprosii istorii, 1925, nr.5 apud Șt. Olteanu ,Societatea carpato-danuabiano-pontică în secolele IV-XI .Structuri demo-economice și social politice, București, 1997, p.211-212.

²⁰ D.Obolensky ,Un Commonwealth medieval: Bizanțul, București ,2002, p.71-73

²¹ P. Charanis, The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece, apud Ibidem, p.72

they were neither the subjects of the Roman emperor nor anyone else.

Therefore, during this period the Scandinavians were not under the Empire's authority, but neither they were not political institutions with their own organization. Slavic culture, of an archaic nature, borrowed various elements from the a In this sense, no settlement of the first ones has been discovered so far uncontaminated by local Romanesque elements²².

Concerning the spiritual life of the Slavs, Procopius from Caesarea (About Wars, VII, 14) described that they believed in a god of lightning, to whom they offered sacrifices, but that they worshiped "rivers and nymphs and other spirits and offered sacrifices and made predictions about these sacrifices". which is eloquent for the stage of development of the respective onescommunities.

In a similar way, Arab Ibn Fadlan described the beliefs of the communities of the Bulgarians when they were still in the region of the Volga River (protobulgarii). Bulgarian shamans conducted religious ceremonies, and Ibn Fadlan later noted: "I saw in their ranks a fowl that worshiped snakes and a fowl that worshiped fish and another of worshipers at the elbows²³.

The notes of the Arab traveler who knew the in another way , the opinions about the Bulgarians on the Volga are eloquent it is a primitive society, dominated by animism and totemism, where human sacrifices were practiced together. Being nomad "If a building was to be built, it had to be round in shape, in the memory of their tents²⁴.

Well organized population centers in the north of the Lower Danube were certified by Georgios Kedrenos (Compediu , 23,) at the arrival of the Bulgarians. Then the natives they appealed to the king's understanding: "surrendering with those fortresses, receive them gently (the emperor) sent people to take over the fortress and plentiful armies for their guard. It can also be stated that the tribes of the Protobulgarians were given laws, as we know, only during the time of the inn Krum (802-814) influenced by the social realities in Empire. We have already specified that the eighth century represented only a moment of silence with the exception of protobulgar occurrences. The latter, like the Slavs, settled between the northern Danube territories and Byzantine Empire. In the tenth century the victories of the Byzantines restored the North-Danubian territories under the control Empire.

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²² D. Gh.Teodor, Unele considerații...., p. 75-84

²³ A.Koestler, Al treisprezecelea trib :Khazarii, Roma, 1987, p.40

²⁴ Ibidem, p.16

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