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# THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE OTTOMANS TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE VAUBAN-TYPE FORTRESS IN KILIYA

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**Keywords:** Kiliya, Chilia, Kili, bastioned fortress, Ottoman fortification, Vauban-type fortress, François Kauffer

**Abstract:** The bastioned fortress of Kiliya was built in 1795–1797, according to the order of Sultan Selim III by the French engineer François Kauffer on the site of the old stone fortress of Stephen the Great. Some elements of the previous fortress were incorporated into the new fortress such as two towers of the citadel, the observation tower with the Middle Gate, four towers of the outer belt of the wall, the inner defence ditch, etc. The bastioned fortress had a square plan with four corner bastions, three acute-angled bastions with an open gorge (Agha Bastion, Sultan Selim Bastion, Pasha Bastion) and a double, irregular bastion with an open gorge (the southern part of the formerly named Unique, Unusual, Incomparable Bastion). Access to the fortress was ensured by two main gates incorporated in separate constructions: the Hotin Gate (the northern gate) and the Constantinople Gate (the southern gate), as well as by two gates in the courtyards: the eastern gate and the Water Gate. Outside the southern curtain was the Gate with Portcullis or the Gate with “fingers”. The Pasha Bastion was supplemented with the Stone Gate, and the Agha Bastion with the Agha Gate. The fortress included a number of component elements borrowed from the fortification methods of the famous French engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban considered the “father of the gradual attack”. Kiliya bastioned fortress functioned until 1856.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** Chilia, fortificație bastionară, fortificație otomană, cetate de tip Vauban, François Kauffer

**Rezumat:** Cetatea bastionară a Chiliei a fost construită în anii 1795–1797, la comanda sultanului Selim al III-lea, de inginerul francez François Kauffer pe locul vechii cetăți de piatră a lui Ștefan cel Mare. În noua fortificație au intrat unele elemente ale întăriturii precedente: citadela cu două turnuri, turnul de observare cu Poarta de Mijloc, patru turnuri ale centurii exterioare de zid, șanțul interior de apărare ș.a. Cetatea bastionară înscrisa un plan pătrat cu patru bastioane de colț, trei în unghi ascuțit, cu gorja deschisă (Bastionul Agalei, Bastionul Sultanului Selim, Bastionul Pașei) și un bastion dublu, neregulat, cu gorja deschisă (partea de sud a acestuia a fost numită Bastion Unic, Neobișnuit, Incomparabil). Accesul în cetate era asigurat de două porți principale incorporate în construcții separate: Poarta Hotinului (poarta de nord) și Poarta Constantinopolului (poarta de sud), precum și de două porți în cortine: poarta de est și Poarta dinspre apă. În afara cortinei de sud se găsea Poarta cu hersă sau Poarta cu „degete”. Bastionul Pașei era suplimentat cu Poarta de Piatră, iar Bastionul Agalei – cu Poarta Agalei. Cetatea includea o serie de elemente componente împrumutate din manierele de fortificare ale renumitului inginer francez Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban considerat „părintele atacului treptat”. Fortificația bastionară a Chiliei a funcționat până în anul 1856.

The bastioned fortress of Kiliya (Kilia, Kili, Chilia)<sup>1</sup>, once located at the mouth of the Danube, was built on the initiative of Sultan Selim III (1789–1807). The Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow preserves the project for this fortification made on 8–9 October 1794, commissioned by the Sublime Porte and carried out by the French engineer François Kauffer (Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>. The draft shows, at the same time, the three fortifications of Kiliya: the stone citadel (probably built by the Genoese in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, existing in 1794), the Moldavian stone fortress (built by the prince Stephen the Great in 1479, existing in 1794) and the Ottoman bastioned fortress (which did not exist when the project was developed). Later, the old stone fortifications of Kiliya were replaced by a Vauban-type fortress, designed according to the principles of the French fortification school.

The new Ottoman fortification completely incorporated the Moldavian one. The designed bastioned fortress was subordinated to two major, mutually perpendicular axes. The new fortification had a square plan, the corners of which were protected by three acute-angled bastions and an irregular bastion. For the irregular bastion, the author proposed two different versions: the first presents an asymmetrical polygonal-plan bastion similar to an acute-angled bastion and the second version presents a double irregular bastion with four and three sides, respectively (Fig. 2a, b). The drawing shows the scale in *toises* (1 *toise* = 1.95 m). The fortress is defended from three sides by a water ditch and a covered way. From the west, the fortress is bordered by the waters of the Danube. The three *places d'armes* which supplement the covered way are triangular in shape. From the *extramural* side, the south curtain is preceded by an earthen rampart, triangular in plan, with two exits leading to the shore. The connection between the fortification and this redoubt is provided by

<sup>1</sup> For a much more extensive version of this contribution in Romanian, see Şlapac 2024, chap. IV.1, p. 141–207.

<sup>2</sup> RSMHA 1794.



Figure 1. The project of the bastioned fortress of Kiliya made on 8-9 October 1794, issued by the Sublime Porte and implemented by the French engineer François Kauffer (RSMHA).

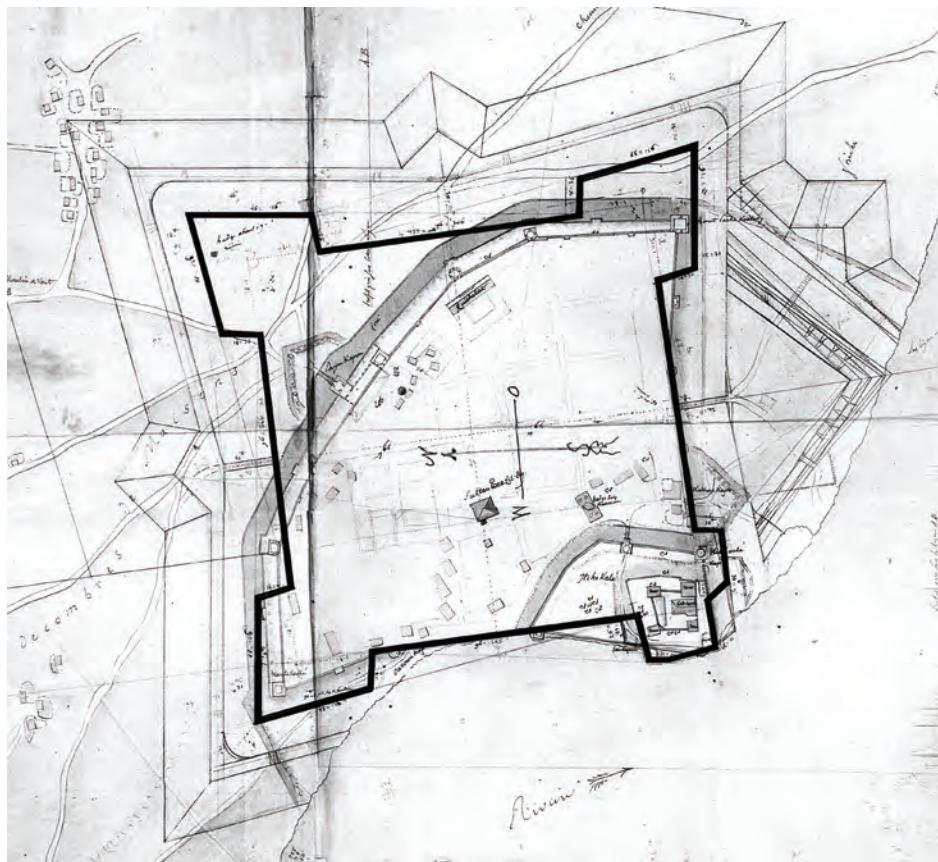
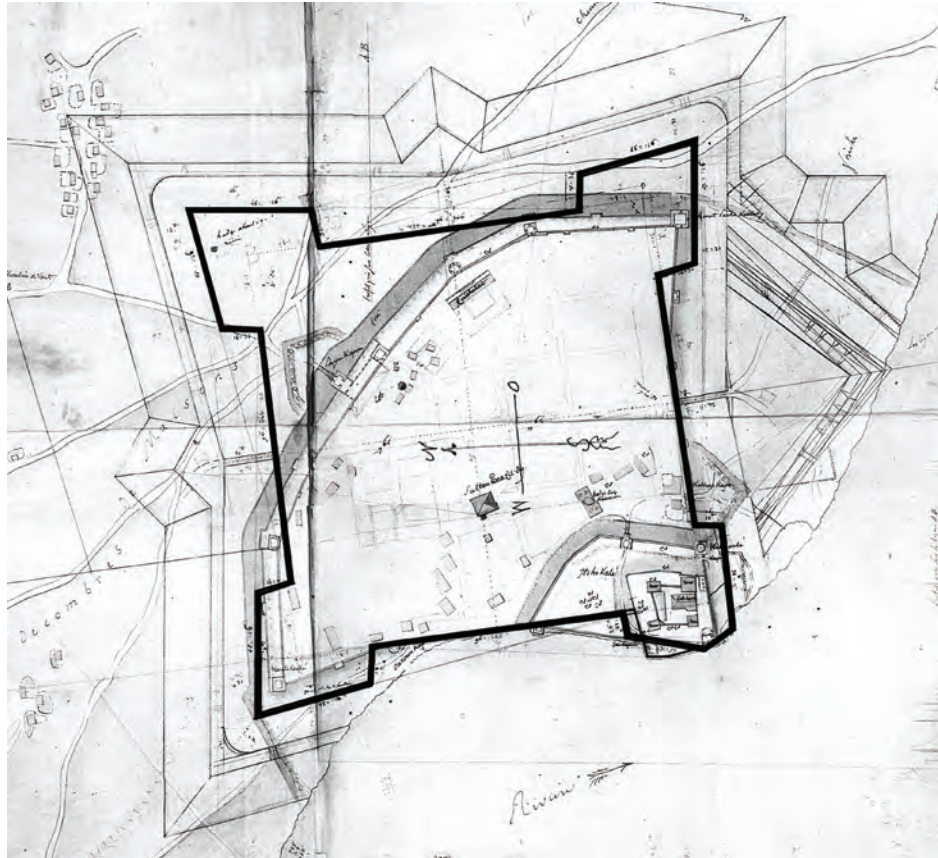


Figure 2a–b. Two versions of the bastioned fortress of Kiliya: the first presents an asymmetrical polygonal plan bastion similar to an acute-angled bastion and the second version presents a double irregular bastion. Author's drawing, after Şlapac 2024, fig. 77.

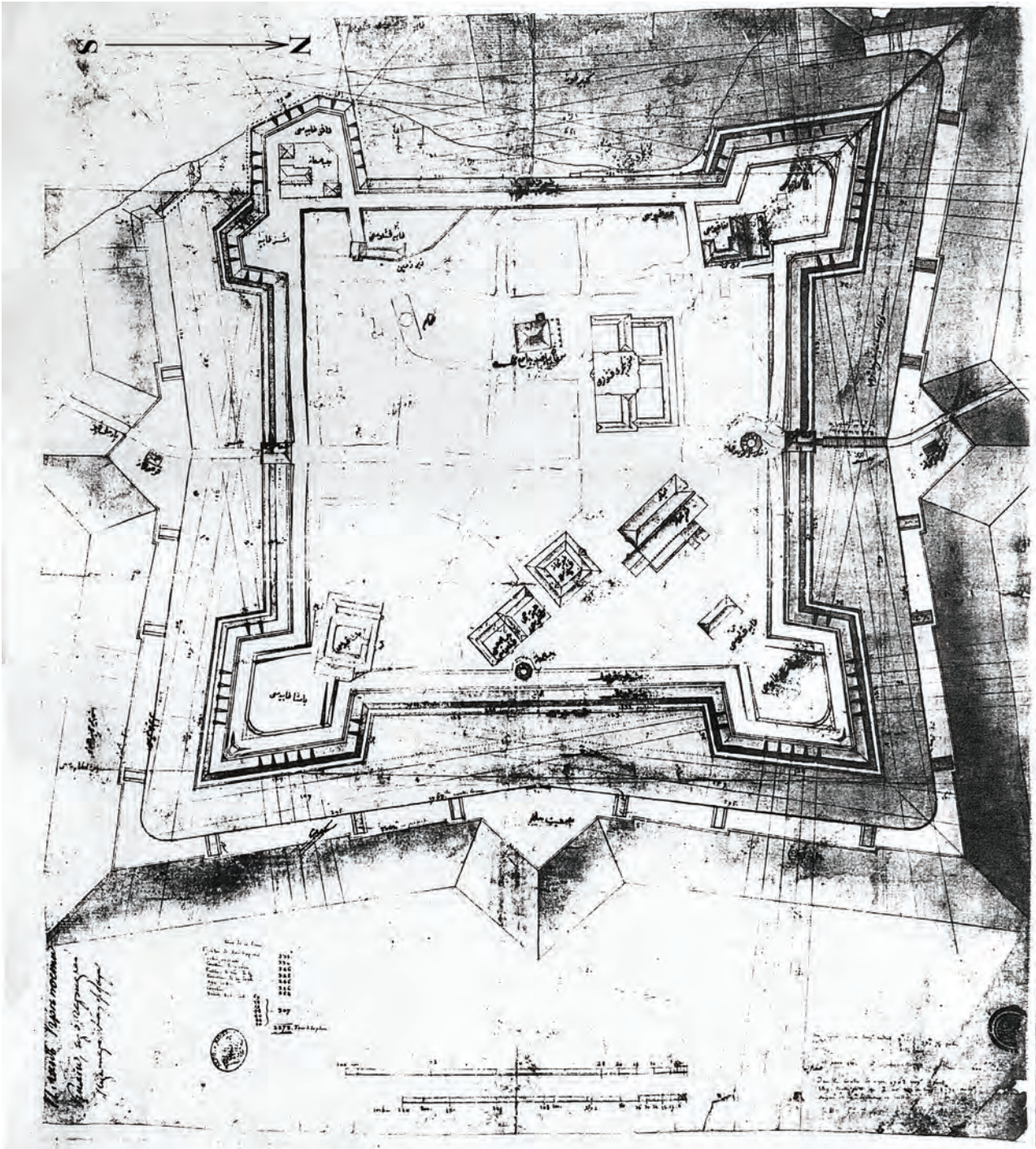


Figure 3. The plan of the bastioned fortress of Kiliya. Drawing by François Kauffer (RSMHA), after Şlapac 2024, fig. 78.

a bridge built over the defensive ditch. Another bridge connects the north curtain with the *place d'armes* oriented towards the settlement. The glacis organized around the bastioned fortress is intended to prevent the advance of enemy troops.

The engineer F. Kauffer included some components of the old stone fortress in the new earth one. This included four towers of the fortress, the observation tower with the Middle Gate, and the old citadel, which had lost two of its four towers. A few intramural buildings, the ditch between the “civil” and the “middle” courts, as well as some sections of the ditch, also remained intact.

The French engineer received the order to build the Kiliya bastioned fortress in April 1795, its construction was completed in 1797<sup>3</sup>. In the Russian State Military-Historical Archive there is still a document, which can be attributed to the engineer F. Kauffer<sup>4</sup>. The horizontal wooden grids used to strengthen the bastioned fortress below the level of the foundations are represented here.

Another design of interest is attributed to the engineer F. Kauffer, which could have been elaborated in 1797<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 3). Here, all the inscriptions are made in the Ottoman-Turkish language<sup>6</sup>. The plan shows the already built bastioned fortress. We notice that the differences between the completed version and the initial project are minimal: only the redoubt located in the southern part of the fortress is replaced by a *place d'armes*, and the stone citadel is integrated into a double bastion. F. Kauffer's new fortress is inscribed in a shape close to a square plan, being endowed with three identical bastions of the acute-angled type (with two faces, two flanks and an open *gorge*), and a double bastion. From the land side, it is surrounded by a water ditch and a covered way, equipped with three triangular-shaped *places d'armes*. The Ottoman fortress has two main entrances: from the south and the north. There is a guard post in front of the entrance on each *place d'armes*. Two fixed bridges built over the water ditch ensure the circulation between the *places d'armes* and the entry gates. The French engineer divides the inner courtyard into a network of squares and rectangles, placed at angles of 90° and 45°. The military barracks and barns are included in this network. There is a mosque and a *hammam* in the courtyard. The citadel, transformed into an ammunition depot (*cebebane*), the entry gate (*kapsu*), the bridge (*cisr*), the household building (*koğuşhane*), the guard post (*karakolhane*), the ditch (*seğirdim*, *hendek*), the bath (*hammam*), Sultan Bayezid mosque (*Sultan Beyazid Cami-i Şerifi*), the barn (*anbar*), the janissary barracks (*yeniçeri kışlası*), the armourers' barracks (*tophane kışlası*), underground shelter (*zir-i zemin*), etc. are all indicated in the Ottoman-Turkish language on the drawing. Here, too, are the names of some defensive elements: Bastion of Victory (*Zafer (?) tabya*) (northern bastion of the double bastion); Unique, Matchless, Incomparable Bastion (*Eşsiz (?) tabya*) (southern bastion of the double bastion); Pasha Bastion (*Paşa tabyası*) (south-eastern bastion); Gate with "fingers" / Gate with Portcullis (*Parmaklı kapu*), Stone Gate (*Taş kapsu*), Water Gate (*Su kapsu*), Agha Gate (*Ağa kapsu*), etc.

The following plan, preserved in the Russian State Military-Historical Archive, represents the bastioned fortification by F. Kauffer which was already built<sup>7</sup>. Here the fortress appears within the settlement. The plan shows the great mosque of the Sultan, the Greek and Armenian Churches, the Arab and the Ismael Agha mosques, the customs house, the port, the Gypsy, Tatar, fishermen's, *tekke*, *çarsi* slums, Greek quarter, etc.<sup>8</sup>.

From a technical and tactical-strategic point of view, the bastioned fortress of Kiliya was quite successful (Fig. 4). It represented a square fort built, mainly, of masses of earth dressed in stone and reinforced with piles, grids, belts, fascines and wooden walls. The corners of the square were reinforced with four prominent bastions: bastion no. 1 (north-west bastion, Agha Bastion), acute-angled bastion with open *gorge*; bastion no. 2 (north-eastern bastion, Sultan Selim Bastion), acute-angled bastion with open *gorge*; bastion no. 3 (the south-eastern bastion, Pasha Bastion), acute-angled bastion with open *gorge*, and bastion no. 4 (the southwest bastion, its northern part being called the Bastion of Victory, its southern part being called the Unique, Unusual, Incomparable Bastion), double, irregular bastion with an open *gorge*. A similar double bastion was built at the initiative of the Ottomans in the Hotin fortress. The frontal protection is done with the help of parapets equipped with rectangular or trapezoidal firing holes. Behind the earthen curtains, lined from the outside with stone, there were platforms with *appareilles* for moving artillery pieces and banquets for riflemen made of earth. Underground stone barracks, brick-encased with barrel-vaults were built beneath the slopes of some curtains.

The bastioned fort had four polygons: polygon no. 1 (northern front), polygon no. 2 (eastern front), polygon no. 3 (southern front) and polygon no. 4 (western front). The movement of carriages and pedestrians was ensured by two main entrances: the northern gate (Hotin Gate) and the southern gate (Constantinople Gate, Istanbul Gate), as well as by two gates in the courtyards – the eastern gate and the Water Gate. Outside the southern curtain was the Gate with Portcullis or the Gate with "fingers". The Pasha Bastion was supplemented with the Stone Gate, and the Agha Bastion with the Agha Gate. In front of the northern and southern gates, fixed wooden bridges supported on wooden piles, were built, each with a movable section at the end, which was lowered and raised with the help of two wooden arms. The Kiliya bastioned fortress was surrounded by a defensive ditch lined with stone. In front of the earthen curtains, wooden *şaranpo* with sharp tips were stuck at different angles.

The bastioned fort was surrounded by a covered road with three triangular *places d'armes* and a glacis with a smooth slope. The covered road was crossed by several *traverses* with bypasses in front of them. The defensive arrangement

<sup>3</sup> Hurmuzachi 1962, p. 551, 643; Сапожников 2016, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> RSMHA 1797a.

<sup>5</sup> RSMHA 1797b.

<sup>6</sup> We thank Mr. Mehmet Tütüncü and Mr. Hakan Engin for their assistance in translating the inscriptions.

<sup>7</sup> RSMHA 1797c.

<sup>8</sup> We thank Mr. Adrian Tertecel for his assistance in translating the inscriptions.

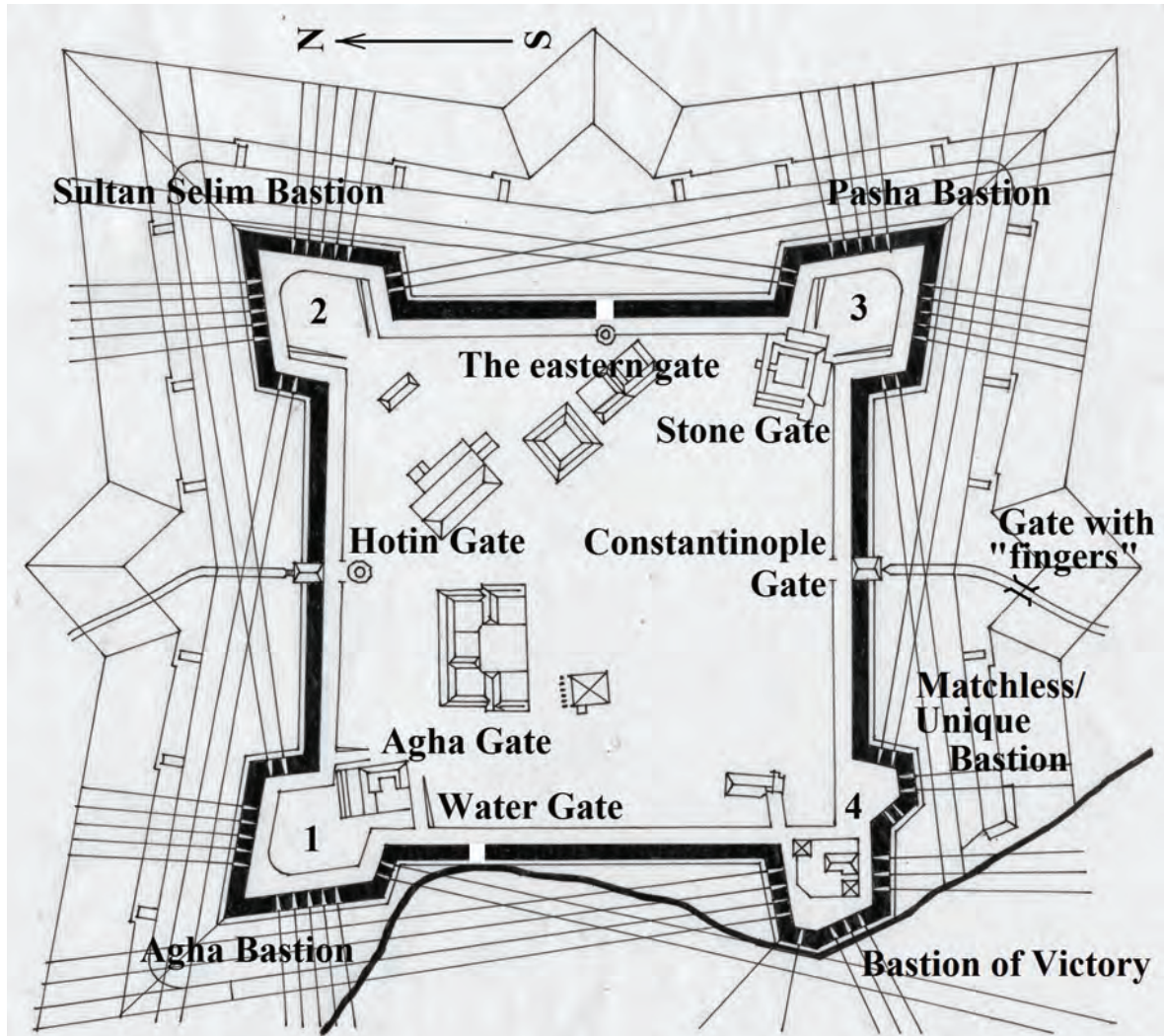


Figure 4. The plan of the bastioned fortress of Kiliya. Author's drawing, after Şlapac 2024, fig. 116.

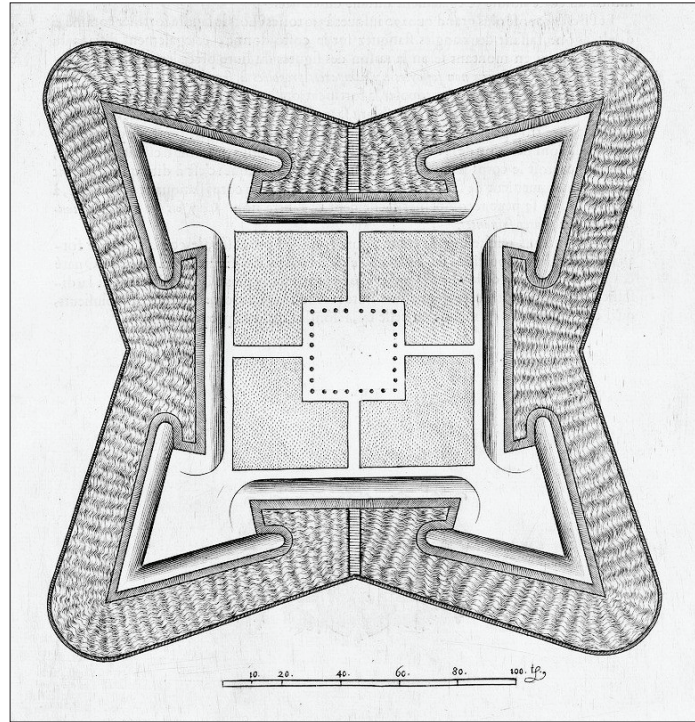
ensured a good coverage of the space with artillery fire. Under the Ottomans, the Danube fortress was an important military stronghold located on the northern border of the Ottoman Empire.

Depending on the proposed defensive goals, the Kiliya bastioned fortress constituted a military support point with a permanent garrison (up to 3000 fighters), its protective function being dominant. Depending on the duration of operation, it was a part of bastioned fortifications of a permanent character, which ensured stable security over a long period of time.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was a time of prodigious military activity in Europe and America, during which fortification works were carried out in many towns and strategic places. Their plans impressed with their complexity and beauty. The period between 1680 and the Great French Revolution is called the "classical century of military engineering", when the capabilities of the bastion system adapted to the requirements of the siege technique were particularly appreciated. The French military architecture of that time massively influenced the defensive system of many countries.

One of the most famous French military engineers was marshal Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707), a great strategist and innovator in the art of defence, considered the "father of the gradual attack". Three fortification systems bear his name. A faithful follower of the bastion system, Vauban believed that the use of the bastion front was the most effective means of defence. During his lifetime, the French engineer built more than 50 fortress-cities, fortified more than 100 settlements and erected an impressive number of small fortresses.





**Figure 6.** The plan of the regular quadrilateral bastioned fortress (after Jean Errard de Bar-Le-Duc), after Şlapac 2024, fig. 82.



**Figure 7.** The plan of the regular quadrilateral bastioned fortress (after Louis de Cormontaigne), after Şlapac 2024, fig. 83.



Figure 8. The Chinese bastioned quadrangle "Chong Cheng" (<https://greatmingmilitary.blogspot.com/2015/05/bastion-and-star-fort.html>), after Şlapac 2024, fig. 85.

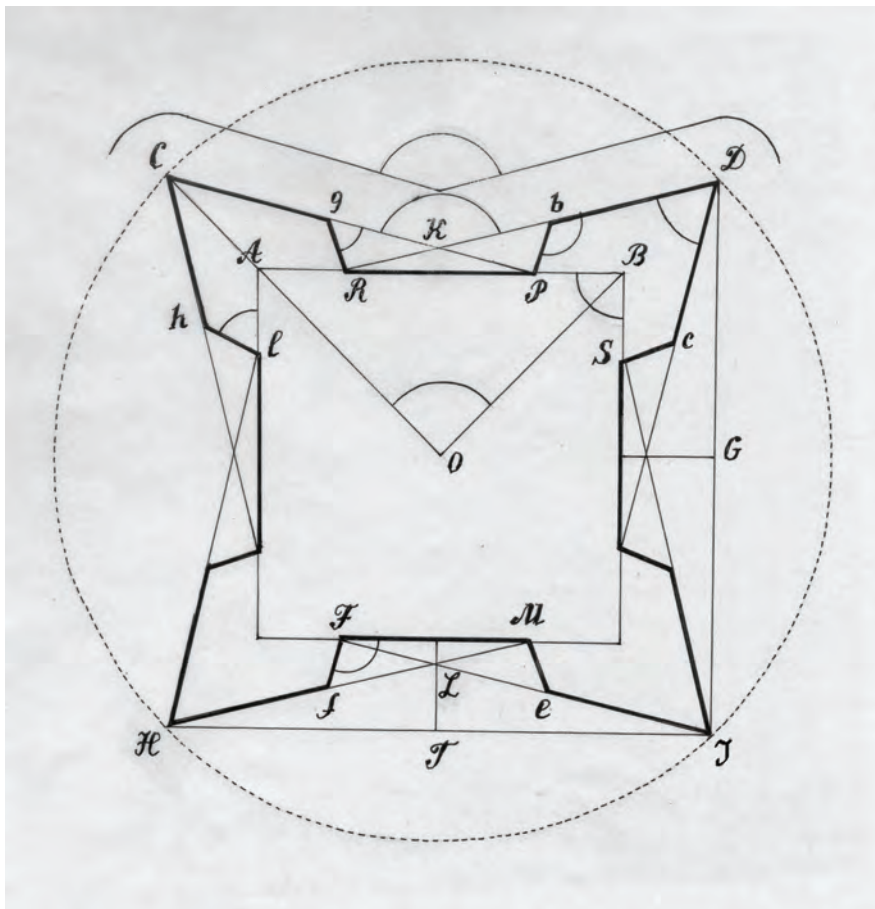


Figure 9. The model of the regular quadrilateral bastioned fortress (after Vauban), after Şlapac 2024, fig. 86.

The engineer F. Kauffer was himself a representative of the French school of fortification. If we compare several parameters of the quadrilateral bastioned model proposed by the French engineer Vauban (Fig. 9) with those of the Kiliya bastioned fortress built by F. Kauffer (Fig. 4), we find the following:

- at the base of both plans is a square;
- in both fortifications the corners are reinforced with bastions, but in Vauban's model all the bastions are of the acute-angled type, and at the Kiliya fortress there are three acute-angled bastions and one double/polygonal;
- in both cases the central angle is 90°;
- in both cases the angle of the bastion's throat is 90° (for the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case the angle of the bastion is about 63°, and in the second case it is about 70° (for the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case, the angle of the curtain is from 98°30', and in the second case it is about 103° (compared to the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case the angle of the face of the bastion is around 112°30', and in the second case it is about 110° (compared to the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case, the angle of the flank of the bastion is around 81°30', and in the second case it is about 75° (compared to the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case, the flanking angle is around 67°30', and in the second case it is about 70° (compared to the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case, the length of the face of the bastion is 86.4 m, and in the second case it is about 93.6 m (for the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case, the length of the flank of the bastion is 32.4 m, and in the second case it is about 27.3 m (for the acute-angled bastion);
- in the first case, the length of the curtain is 151.2 m, and in the second case it is about 187.2 m;
- in the first case, the length of the perpendicular is 37.8 m, and in the second case it is about 27.3 m (between two acute-angled bastions);
- in the first case, the length of the outer polygon between two acute-angled bastions is 327.6 m, and in the second case it is about 354.9 m;
- in the first case, the length of the semi-diameter is 232.2 m, and in the second case it is about 245.7 m (between two acute-angled bastions).

So, a certain influence of the quadrilateral bastioned model of the French engineer Vauban can be observed on the project made by F. Kauffer. Only some proportions and the layout of one corner bastion differ, due to the configuration of the river line. The Danubian bastioned fortress also included other component elements borrowed from Vauban's first system of fortification: the covered ways with *tenailles*, equipped with *traverses* and a bypass in front, the soldiers' barracks built into the slope of the earthen curtains, bastions with open gorge, etc.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman engineers also achieved tangible results in the field of defence architecture. They tried to name their own achievements as accurately as possible to make them known to foreign specialists and made efforts to adapt the local terminology to international norms.

One precious document preserved in the collections of the Russian State Military Historical Archive is the report of the French engineer F. Kauffer, prepared for the Ottoman Porte on July 1, 1797, titled "Report of the engineer Kauffer on the current state of the border fortifications in Izmail, Khotin, Bender, Yanuk palanka, Akkerman and Kili" ("Rapport de l'Ingénieur Kauffer sur l'état actuel des places frontières d'Ismail, Hotin, Bender, palanka lanuk, Akerman et Kili")<sup>14</sup>. The document shows that the old stone fortress of Kiliya was already decommissioned at that time. In fact, this is the only case in the Northwestern Black Sea region where the construction of a new fortification was preceded by the destruction of the old one, and Kauffer was able to obtain permission from the Ottoman authorities.

At the very beginning of the report, the engineer mentions that he was appointed by the Ottoman Porte "to plan and carry out construction works in this fortress", having "several ideas for the implementation of a project capable of giving the important advantage that a fortress of this level should have"<sup>15</sup>. Further, the author criticizes the work of Turkish engineers previously carried out in Kiliya and puts forward new proposals: "First of all, you should find the highest point on this natural landscape to indicate the level of binding. I chose the protruding corner of the Sultan Selim Bastion as a starting point, and thanks to this I retained the dominant position of the fortress in relation to the city... Moreover, I retained the dominant position of the fortress in relation to the river and the island which was on the opposite side. At

<sup>14</sup> Красножон 2018, p. 267–272; RSMHA 1797d.

<sup>15</sup> Красножон 2018, p. 269.



**Figure 10.** The traces of the stone lining of the wall of the bastioned fortress, hidden for many years under the piles of scrap metal, 1993. Author's photo, after Şlapac 2024, fig. 121.



**Figure 11.** The remains of the fortress pier, 1993. Author's photo, after Şlapac 2024, fig. 122.

this stage of work, my plans were implemented exactly... As for external defences such as the counter-escarp, covered road and glacis, I planned to lower them by 1 *arshin* (71 cm) to preserve the water ditch. Convinced that the one who surrounds the fortress would not be able to dig a trench under cannon fire in the area between the Danube and the fortress, the enemy would have met a thousand obstacles here. But my intentions in that direction were not even remotely realized [by the performers], since they did not think of lowering the covered road here, the chosen level was observed on other fronts. Then [Turkish engineers] installed palisades five *arshins* higher (3.6 m), against all the rules of competent fortification, according to which the established height of the palisade was equal to three *arshins* (2.13 m). Because of those wrong actions, which cost a lot of money from the very beginning, a mistake was made there. And now the enemy will be so well covered that an entire cavalry detachment will not be visible behind the ramparts of the fortress. And even the most fortified entrance tower is vulnerable because: 1) the enemy will use cover; 2) he will be able to prevent the supply of the fortress with food through the Istanbul Tower - the only tower provided for this..."<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Красножон 2018, p. 269, p. 269–270.



Figure 12. The ruins of the Kiliya fortress, 1937–1940 (after A. Avadani), after Şlapac 2024, fig. 118.

Kauffer is not at all pleased with what he saw in Kiliya: “With all regret, I inform the Sublime Porte that it is necessary to order to lower the stockade in this part of the outer corner of the covered road opposite the Pasha Bastion, as well as glacis. And this is after all the money was spent to heap up earth there without any result. For more than a month, the workers were busy with work here that damaged the fortress... It is necessary to cut, sharpen again and install 1000 piles. One worker can only produce three units a day. Then lower the level of the glacis to the horizon of the crest of the earth mound... The main earth mound is also too high... it must be lowered by six to eight fingers (15–20 cm) to open a covered road for shooters... Modelled after the existing gate tower in Bender, two retaining walls were built here on both sides of the aisle, which support the embankment of the mound. But in Kiliya they were useless and even harmful. They did not think that the old gate tower, which did not have sufficient depth, was strengthened in Bender, and in order to strengthen the land of the mound, the engineer came up with walls. In Kiliya it is completely different, since the gate tower has a sufficient depth and coincides with the line of inclination of the mound...”<sup>17</sup>.

Other information refers to the entrances and to the coastal part of the fortress: “The Istanbul gate tower is located on a covered road, wriggling like a snake, which creates great difficulties for transporting bulky goods, for which it is necessary to have a cart drawn by six to eight horses. On the city side, the gate tower is too wide and... the enemy will be able to pass through it in a column of 12 people in a row, and even more... Within the fortress fence, the level of the yard is lowered (the soil was removed) by two or even 3 *arshins*; as a result, lakes are formed in winter and residents will need boats to move from house to house. It is necessary to immediately bring land for filling, and not to change the previous level, but to let the water flow properly to the Water Gate”<sup>18</sup>.

The engineer notes that the ditch surrounding the city harms the defence of the fortress, since the enemy can use it as a third parallel; the slope of the *Brustwehr* of the earthen rampart is not consistent with the slope of the glacis; the gun platforms are raised too high and expose not only the gunners but also the artillery pieces to destructive fire, and the *berms* are too low. There are also disadvantages in linear fortifications: “the lining of the mounds with turf was not made according to the rules at all. Poor quality turf, taken at a distance of a shot from the fortress, is cut into squares of

<sup>17</sup> Красножон 2018, p. 270–271.

<sup>18</sup> Красножон 2018, p. 271

seven to eight fingers and is no more than 8 fingers (20 cm) thick and attached to the shaft using wooden stakes. It will be a miracle if this turf, attached in this way to the slopes of the mounds, can withstand the coming winter, as it is made in an unsuccessful way"<sup>19</sup>. At the same time, the report contains a number of criticisms which indicate that the French engineer is completely dissatisfied with the activities of local Turkish entrepreneurs. Later, he personally supervised the construction work, which ended in the autumn of 1797.

There was a strict order in making the final decisions relative to the building of defensive constructions. During the time of Selim III, all the architectural solutions of foreign military engineers were coordinated with Mustafa Reşid Efendi or the Sultan himself, taking into account financial means in existence<sup>20</sup>. Such a procedure limited possible conflicts and disputes among the invited specialists, which could appear on the construction site. The same hierarchical order was respected in the case of coordination of the Kiliya bastioned fortress project. The new bastioned fortress built by the engineer F. Kauffer played an important role as an Ottoman military outpost at the mouth of the Danube until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The period of functioning of the bastioned fortification of Kiliya as a military structure ended on May 31, 1856, when the Russian military blew up the fortress in accordance with the provisions of the International Peace Treaty in Paris. The ruins of this fortress finally disappeared in the 40–50s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after the completion of the development of the river port and elevator. Today, absolutely nothing has survived on the surface. However, sometimes during construction or repair work on the territory of the port and elevator, the remains of some defensive structures are revealed. Thus, on the territory of the elevator, a basement with large stone cannonballs was discovered.

Thanks to the Ukrainian archaeologist Valeriu Cojocar, in 1993 we managed to photograph a fragment of a wall made of stone blocks carved from limestone right on the banks of the Danube. A few years later, owing to the port workers, we managed to photograph the traces of the stone lining of the wall of the bastioned fortress, hidden for many years under the piles of scrap metal (Fig. 10). But each time all the remnants were hastily covered with concrete and asphalt. Then I managed to photograph the remains of the pier of the bastioned fortress (Fig. 11). Here, under a concrete dam washed by the waters of the Danube, there is a wall of stone blocks, preceded by a series of massive piles.

And today, from the yards of private houses located among the current streets of Bukov, Port and Defenders of Snake Island, bordering the pond, when the water level drops, you can see the remains of the cladding of the former defensive ditch. Two portions remain from this ditch, one is a parallel to the course of the Danube and the other was a perpendicular one. Today both portions are part of the Kiliya City Park.

The vestiges of the bastioned fortress of Kiliya, located today on the territory of Ukraine, should be investigated in the future by archaeologists.

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- RSMHA 1797a – RSMHA, F. 349, inv. 17, f. 2292.
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<sup>19</sup> Красножон 2018, p. 271–272.

<sup>20</sup> Bostan 2020, p. 173–175.



## ABREVIERI / ABRÉVIATIONS / ABBREVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen–Berlin  
(A)ARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București  
ACD – Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecenensis, Debrecen  
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest  
ActaHistArt – Acta historiae artium Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapesta  
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca  
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău  
AÉ – L'Année épigraphique, Paris.  
AIIA Iași – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași  
AIIC – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu”, Cluj  
AJBA – American Journal of Biological Anthropology  
AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology  
AK – Archaeologiai Közlemények, Pest  
AnSt – Anatolian Studies, British Institute of Ankara  
AnUCDC – Analele Universității Creștine „Dimitrie Cantemir”  
AnUVT – Annales d'Université « Valahia » Târgoviște, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire  
AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova  
ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia  
ArchÉrt – Archaeológiai Értesítő, Budapest  
Argesis – Argesis. Muzeul Județean Argeș. Pitești  
ArhMed – Arheologia Medievală  
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași  
AȘUI – Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași  
Az Érem – Az Érem kiadványai, Budapest  
Banatica – Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița  
BARBrSer – British Archaeological Reports. British Series, Oxford  
BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports. International Series, Oxford  
BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice  
BerRGK – Bericht der Romisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main  
BibIstroPontica-P – Biblioteca Istro-Pontica. Seria Patrimoniu, Tulcea  
BJ – Bonner Jahrbücher – Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Bonn  
BMC – *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Londra: I, *Augustus to Vitellius*, 1923; II, *Vespasian to Domitian*, 1930; III, *Nerva to Hadrian*, 1936; IV, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, 1968; V, *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, 1950 (H. Mattingly); VI, *Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus*, 1962 (R.A.G. Carson).  
BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București  
BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria  
BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București  
Buridava – Buridava. Studii și materiale, Muzeul Județean „Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu”, Râmnicu Vâlcea  
CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București  
Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Asociația Arhitectură, restaurare, arheologie, București  
Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău  
CCA – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România  
CEpR – Cronica Epigrafică a României  
Cerclst – Cercetări Istorice, Iași  
CICSA – Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București  
CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I–XVII, Berlin  
CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București  
CNM, V.1 – *Corpus Nummorum Moldaviae*, vol. V.1, Chișinău  
CRAI – Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année ...  
Crisia – Crisia. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea

- Dacia – Dacia / Dacia Nouvelle Série. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'archéologie « V. Pârvan », Bucarest
- Danubius – Danubius. Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
- DHA – Dialogues d'histoire ancienne, Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité
- Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology, Ljubljana
- EphemDac – Ephemeris Dacoromana, Roma
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
- ERSIR – *Enciclopedia reprezentanților scrisului istoric românesc*, I – V, V. Spinei, D. N. Rusu (coord.), Suceava, 2021
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
- Fontes I – *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae – Izvoarele istoriei României*, I, București, 1964
- Fontes II – *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae – Izvoarele istoriei României*, II, București, 1970
- FSI – Forensic Science International
- Glasnik – Glasnik. Srpsko Arheološko Društvo (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrad
- Hierasus – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Buzău
- HOMO – HOMO. Journal of Comparative Human Biology, Stuttgart
- Ialomița – Ialomița. Studii de cercetări de arheologie, istorie, etnografie și muzeologie, Slobozia
- IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones externae – Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000
- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. I-V, Sofia, 1956-1970
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- IGRR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, publiées par R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, G. Lafaye, Paris, 1906-1927
- IJP – International Journal of Paleopathology
- ISM – *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae – Inscriptiile din Sythia Minor*: I. *Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia – Histria și împrejurimile* (Dionisie M. Pippidi), București, 1983; II. *Tomis et territorium – Tomis și teritoriul său* (Iorgu Stoian), București, 1987; III. *Callatis et territorium – Callatis et son territoire* (Alexandru Avram), București – Paris, 1999; IV. *Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis* (Emilian Popescu), București – Paris, 2015 ; V. *Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum* (Emilia Doruțiu-Boilă), București, 1980; VI.2. *Supplementa 2. Tomis et territorium – Tomis et son territoire* (Alexandru Avram, Maria Bărbulescu, Livia Buzoianu), București – Paris, 2018
- Istros – Istros. Muzeul Brăilei „Ferdinand I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaVarna – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej (Izvestija na Varnenskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo), Varna
- JAHA – Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca
- JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science, Amsterdam
- JAT – Journal of Ancient Topography
- JFS – Journal of Forensic Studies
- JITE – Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics
- JHE – Journal of Human Evolution
- LRBC – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 394-498*, Londra, 1965: I, *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324–346* (P. V. Hill, J. P. C. Kent); II, *Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346–498* (R. A. G. Carson, J. P. C. Kent).
- MarNero – Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț
- Marmatia – Marmatia. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
- MCSEE – Monedă și comerț în Sud-Estul Europei, Sibiu
- MEFRM – Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, Rome
- MER – *Catalogue des monnaies de l'Empire romain*. II. J.-B. Giard, *De Tibère à Néron*, Paris, 1988 ; III. J.-B. Giard, *Du soulèvement de 68 après J.-C. à Nerva*, Paris-Strasbourg, 1998
- MFMÉ-SA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
- MIR – *Moneta Imperii Romani*. 14. B. Woytek, *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)*, I–II, Wien, 2010; 18. W. Szaivert, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus und Commodus (161–192)*, Wien, 1986.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- MuzNaț – Muzeul Național, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- Numizmatičar – Numizmatičar. Casopis za anticki i stari jugoslovenski novac, Belgrad

- Numizmatikai Közlöny – Numizmatikai Közlöny. A Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat, Akadémiai Klado, Budapest
- NZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift, Viena
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și Comunicări, Craiova
- Paléorient – Paléorient: revue interdisciplinaire de préhistoire et de protohistoire du sud-ouest et de l'Asie centrale, Paris
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronze Funde, München – Stuttgart
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea
- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Leuven, I (A–I, 1976), II (I–V, 1977), III (1980; indici)
- Pontica – Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Przegląd Archaeologiczny – Przegląd Archaeologiczny, Institut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław
- PZ – Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- RAASI – Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare, Institutul de Cercetări Bioarheologice și Etnoculturale, Republica Moldova
- RAN – Repertoriul Arheologic Național / National Archaeological Repository
- RCAN – Revista de Cercetări Arheologice și Numismatice, București
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română. Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- RevArh – Revista Arheologică, Chișinău
- RGZM – Barbara Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz, I-II, 2004
- RI – Revista Istorică. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Londra: I<sup>2</sup>, *From 31 BC to AD 69*, 1984 (C. H. V. Sutherland); II, *Vespasian to Hadrian*, 1926 (H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham); II.1, *From AD 69–96. Vespasian to Domitian*, 2007 (I. A. Carradice, T.V. Buttrey); II.3, *From AD 117–138. Hadrian*, 2019 (R.A. Abdy, P.F. Mittag); III, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, 1930; IV.1, *Pertinax to Geta*, 1968 (H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham); IV.2, *Macrinus to Pupienus*, 1938; IV.3, *Gordian III – Uranian Antoninus*, 1949 (H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland); V.1, 1927 (reimprimat 1968; P. H. Webb); VII, *Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313–337*, 1966 (P.M. Bruun); VIII, *The Family of Constantine I A.D. 337–364*, 1981; X, *The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395–491*, 1994 (J.P.C. Kent)
- RMD – Margaret M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, London: I. *Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977*, 1978; II. *Roman Military Diplomas 1978–1984*, 1985; III. *Roman Military Diplomas 1985–1993*, 1994; Margaret M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas IV*, 2003; P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas V*, 2006
- RMM-MIA – Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor – Monumente Istorice și de Artă, București
- Romanoslavica – Romanoslavica. Asociația Slaviștilor din România, București
- RPC – *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Oxford ([https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/map?volume\\_id=](https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/map?volume_id=))
- RPC, VII.2 – *Roman Provincial Coinage. VII.2. From Gordian I to Gordian III (AD 238–244): all provinces except Asia*, Londra/Paris, 2022 (J. Mairat, M. Spoerri Butcher, cu contribuția M. Amandry, R. Bland, K. Butcher, J. Nurpetlian, U. Peter).
- RRH – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Bucarest
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
- SCIA.AP – Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică
- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București
- SHA – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1965
- Simpozion Chișinău 2003 – *Simpozion de numismatică dedicat Centenarului Societății Numismatice Române (1903–2003)*, Chișinău, 26–28 noiembrie 2003, București, 2005.
- SMIM – Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- SMMIM – Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară, București
- SNGCop 2 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish Royal National Museum*, Copenhaga, 1942–1969 (serie reeditată); II, *Thrace and Macedonia*, West Milford, 1982.
- SP – Studii de Preistorie, București
- StCl – Studii Clasice, București
- StratumPlus – Stratum Plus, Școala Superioară de Antropologie, Chișinău, St Petersburg, București
- Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, Suceava
- SympThrac – Symposia Thracologica, București
- Syria – Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire. Institut Français du Proche-Orient
- TdE – Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt, Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, Spania

Th-D – Thraco-Dacica, București

Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău

VAH – Varia Archaeologica Hungarica V. Redigit Csanád Bálint. Publicationes Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest

Valachica – Valachica. Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii, Complexul Muzeal Național „Curtea Domnească”, Târgoviște

ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

ZRVI – Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta. The Institute for Byzantine Studies. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrad