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THE SONS OF ISTROS AND THE CLASSICAL SILVER COINS OF HISTRIA

FLORINA PANAIT BÎRZESCU*

Keywords: Histria, silver coins, Classical period, iconography, foundation myths

Abstract: The image of the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins of the Classical period has been the subject of numerous studies, the aim of which has primarily been to find the identity of the personages illustrated. Various hypotheses have been proposed regarding the identity of these two heads: wind deities, river streams, the two mouths of the river Istros, the Dioskouroi, Helios, or Apollo-Helios. The present article resumes this discussion within the context of the numismatic iconography of the Milesian *apoikiai* from the Black Sea area, and bringing new literary and iconographic data proposes another hypothesis, namely the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins are associated with the heroes of a local foundation myth.

Cuvinte-cheie: Histria, monede de argint, epoca clasică, iconografie, mituri de fondare

Rezumat: Imaginea celor două capete de tineri de pe emisiunile monetare histriene din argint de epocă clasică a făcut obiectul a numeroase studii, al căror scop a fost în principal aflarea identității personajelor reprezentate. Ipotezele de identificare au fost dintre cele mai diverse: divinități vânturi, curenți, două guri ale râului Istros, Dioskouroi, Helios sau Apollo-Helios. Articolul reia discuția asupra acestui subiect în contextul iconografiei numismatice a coloniilor grecești din zona Mării Negre, și aducând noi date iconografice și literare propune o nouă ipoteză de identificare, respectiv eroii unui mit local de fondare.

The image of the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins of the Classical period has been the subject of numerous studies, the aim of which has primarily been to find the identity of the personages illustrated. Across over 100 years of study of the iconography of these Histrian silver coins, scholars have underlined the uniqueness of this coin type: two youthful heads, one of which is upside-down (Fig. 1). Various hypotheses have been proposed regarding the identity of the owners of these two heads: wind deities, river streams, the two mouths of the river Istros, the Dioskouroi, Helios, or Apollo-Helios. In an article published more than ten years ago, which summarized the discussion and reviewed all the identifications that had been proposed, I pointed out that none of these hypotheses stood up to scrutiny¹. The lack of clear analogies for the iconography of these two young heads left the question of their identity unresolved. The present article resumes this discussion, bringing into play new literary and iconographic data and considering the Histrian coins within the context of the numismatic iconography of the Milesian *apoikiai* from the Black Sea area.

The first coin issues appeared in the Greek world at a time when Greek communities were defining their own identity, and coinage was one form of the expression of this identity². Consequently, a large number of representations on these first issues are related to foundation myths. Given this pattern, perhaps the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins should be associated with the heroes of a local history.

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¹ Panait Bîrzescu 2003-2005 with bibliography. After laying out the arguments and counter-arguments for each hypothesis, I accepted, at least until further evidence emerged, one of the most likely identifications: Apollo, the main Histrian deity.

² Dougherty 1993, p. 86: “...in its initial stages, Greek coinage was not primarily a commercial tool, but rather, like poetry, a medium for forging and commemorating a city’s civic identity”.

THE TWO YOUTHS ON THE HISTRIAN SILVER COINS: HEROES OF A LOCAL LEGEND?

The reduced decorative field available on coins usually results in the abbreviation of personages represented to the simple image of a head; it is rarer that the whole figure is depicted. When we are dealing with the well-known Gorgon head, or with heads accompanied by attributes characteristic to a deity, the identity of the subject is not hard to determine. The same cannot be said, however, about depictions of the heads of local heroes or heroines. In these cases, only the appearance of the myth in literary sources, or, exceptionally, an explanatory coin legend, can confirm the identity of the personage illustrated. Unfortunately, the Histrian coins do not bear a legend that identifies the heads, and no literary sources preserve a local mythology that might offer an identification. Nevertheless, I argue here that a local myth is the most likely explanation for this iconography.

The closest and most striking analogy for the motif of the Histrian heads is panel 25 from the interior frieze of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum. The frieze illustrates the story of Telephos³, the mythical founder of Pergamum. Panel no. 25 presents an episode from the battle between Greeks and Mysians on the Kaikos river bank.

Two warriors are shown in a battle scene, at the moment of their fall (Fig. 2). Both of them wear short tunics and leather cuirasses. One of them is holding a shield; behind him, a figure approaching from the right holds a Scythian bow. The other warrior is rendered upside-down, falling over a horse. From the left side, a fourth figure, wearing a long mantle, places his foot on the horse's thigh. Both of the approaching figures seem to intend to deliver a death-blow to the fallen heroes and to strip their armour⁴.

In her study of the Telephos relief, Huberta Heres⁵ remarked on the fact that the work uses a number of old-fashioned iconographic motifs, among which she includes the scene of the two fallen heroes. This combines motifs frequently found in Archaic art, such as the stripping of the armour of the defeated and the recovery of the hero's corpse by his fellows. What is relevant for our discussion is the position of the two fallen figures: their bodies mark two oblique lines in the composition, and their heads two opposed planes, one of which is turned upside-down. This arrangement is characteristic for the rendering of two fallen heroes. The scene of the falling warriors on panel no. 25 of the Telephos frieze quotes a motif previously used in the Sperlonga-type statuary group depicting Scylla⁶, where two companions of Odysseus are shown falling from the ship and being grabbed by Scylla's dogs. Since the original Scylla group is likely to have been sculpted at Rhodes slightly earlier than the Telephos frieze at Pergamon⁷, it is noteworthy that these two works of the second quarter of the 2nd century BC share the motif of two Homeric heroes, one of whom is upside-down, caught at the moment of their fall (in the former case from a ship, in the latter from a chariot).

The origins of the motif of two heads, one of which is inverted, are to be sought in Late Archaic and Classical painted pottery. The motif occurs on an Apulian red-figure *situla* (Naples Mus.) of the Lycurgus Painter (c. 350 BC)⁸, which pictures the scene of the death of the Thracian king Rhesus at the hands of Diomedes and the theft of his horses by Odysseus. The iconography of the Rhesus episode is known through three Apulian vases⁹, including this *situla*, all dated towards the middle of the 4th century BC, and a Chalcidian amphora¹⁰ dated to 550-540 BC. The Apulian vases have the same composition in two registers: an upper one with the scene of the sleeping/dead Thracians, and a lower one depicting the theft of the horses. They also have in common a composition in which Odysseus holds the bridle of two white horses. The representation of the dead Thracians, however, varies in its arrangement from vase to vase.

³ On the myth of Telephos, see Heres 1997; Stewart 1997.

⁴ Heres, Strauss 1994, p. 857-862, cat. 1; Schraudolph 1996, 66, cat. 8, panel 25; Heres 1997, p. 100.

⁵ Heres 1997, p. 100, 105, fig. 26. Heres remarked on the way the motif of the fallen heroes on panel 25 echoes a scene of sleeping/dead Thracians on a red-figured *situla* of the Lycurgus Painter in Naples.

⁶ Andreae 1998, p. 174-179; Andreae 2001, p. 121-131, pl. 98-102. The motif of the falling heroes is one of the numerous stylistic and thematic influences that the statuary group of Scylla had on the sculpture of the altar of Pergamum: see Andreae 2001, p. 142, pl. 99, 101, fig. 108-111.

⁷ On the Rhodian original of the statuary group of Scylla and its dating (180-165 BC) before the altar of Pergamum (165-156 BC), see Andreae 1998, p. 157-166, 167-179; Andreae 2001, p. 121-131, 136-146.

⁸ True 1997, cat. 6: red-figure Apulian *situla*, Lycurgus Painter, c. 350 BC, Naples Museum.

⁹ True 1997, cat. 3, 4: red-figure Apulian volute craters, c. 350 BC, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

¹⁰ True 1997, cat. 2: black-figure Chalcidian amphora, c. 550-540 BC, Malibu, Getty Museum.



Fig. 1. Histrian silver coins, 5th century BC (Numismatic Collection, “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest; Photo: Theodor Isvoranu).



Fig. 2. Panel no. 25, Telephos frieze, Pergamum altar (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Photo: Johannes Laurentius).

The Archaic Chalcidian amphora provides a forerunner of the two-heads motif on the *situla* in Naples. This amphora, dated toward the middle of the 6th century BC, bears a representation of the same scene, and echoes the motif in the position of the heads of the sleeping Thracians who lie in opposite directions in the lower field of the register on each side of the amphora. The composition of the scene in which Diomedes kills Rhesus is repeated on the second side of the amphora to illustrate Odysseus killing another Thracian. All twelve companions of Rhesus mentioned in Iliad are shown, and their arms and shields hanging in the trees decorate the picture background.

The detail that enables us to consider the iconography of the Histrian coins as an abbreviation of this scene is the different rendering of the hair of the two youths on a series of earlier coin issues (group I)¹¹: one has tight curls (still represented in an archaizing beaded style), the other waving, scattered locks that can be nothing other than the hanging hair of the overturned hero. On panel 25 of the Telephos frieze, the same difference in the rendering of the hair of the two heroes is visible. On the coin issues of the group II, the ‘hanging locks’ are adopted for both heads (Fig. 1b)¹², while on the later issues, of the group III-IV, these evolved into simple curly locks¹³.

The central figures of panel 25 have been identified as Heloros and Aktaios, the sons of river Istros¹⁴. The two participated as allies of the Mysians against the Achaeans in the battle on the Kaikos river banks. The battle in Mysia is narrated at length in the *Heroikos* of Philostratus¹⁵, who probably had the same source of inspiration as the artists of the Pergamene frieze. This battle is an episode in the Trojan cycle that took place during the first landing of the Achaeans on the coast of Asia Minor. Two passages in the *Heroikos* mention these two heroes: 23.11-13¹⁶ and 23.21-22¹⁷. From the first passage, we find out that the two sons of Istros were the leaders of the main allies of the Mysians, the Scythians, and that their fame surpassed that of the Mysian heroes Telephos and Haimos. The second passage describes the fight between Istros’ sons and Ajax, the son of Telamon. Clanging his shield loudly, Ajax spooked their horses, which then overturned the chariot and threw the two heroes to the ground.

The *Heroikos* of Flavius Philostratus, written in the second half of the 3rd century AD, belongs to the ‘Second Sophistic’. It presents a critical view of the Homeric poems, correcting and emending them especially in matters of myth and ritual, on the basis of a local mythology, most probably North-Aegean¹⁸. One tradition contradicted in *Heroikos* is the episode of Achaeans’ landing in Mysia, which in the official Homeric version was the result of an error due to inexact knowledge of Troy’s location. For Philostratus, however, the landing and the battle of the Kaikos river was far from accidental. On the contrary, it was as important as the battle of Troy, an opinion that most probably reflects a local tradition¹⁹.

¹¹ Canarache 1968, pl. 4.2; SNG BM Black Sea, cat. 225.

¹² Canarache 1968, pl. 5; Preda 1998, p. 49, pl. II.3-4; Poenaru Bordea 2002, p. 14, pl. I.11.

¹³ Canarache 1968, pl. 7-36; SNG BM Black Sea, cat. 237-257; Preda 1998, p. 50, pl. II.5-6.

¹⁴ Schraudolph 1996, 66, cat. 8; Heres 1997; Stewart 1997; Andreea 2001, p. 142.

¹⁵ Philostr. *Her.* 23.2-30.

¹⁶ Philostr. *Her.* 23. 11-13: “When he ordered him to report by word of mouth (for the alphabet had not yet been invented) how many Achaean ships he had seen at Aulis, the whole interior of the country formed an alliance, and the Mysian and Scythian peoples came in waves over the plain. Protesilaos says that this was the greatest contest for them, greater than both those at Troy itself and any subsequent battles between Hellenes and barbarians. The alliance of Têlephos was highly esteemed by both the multitude and the warriors. Just as the Achaeans celebrated in song the Aiakidai and heroes as renowned as Diomedes and Patroklos, so the Mysians sang the names of Têlephos and Haimos, son of Ares. But the most renowned names were Heloros and Aktaios, sons of the river god Istros in Scythia” (trans. Maclean, Aitken).

¹⁷ Philostr. *Her.* 23.21-22: “The greater Ajax considered those killing the crowds “harvesters” since they were mowing down nothing remarkable, but those who prevailed over the bravest he called “wood-cutters” and considered himself more worthy of this sort of battle. Accordingly, he moved quickly against the sons of the river, since they did not share his heritage and were fighting from a four-horse chariot, as Hektor also fought. Walking haughtily amid the confusion of battle, Ajax clanged his shield loudly in order to spook the horses, and the horses immediately panicked and rose up on their hind legs, at which point the Scythians, distrusting their chariot, leapt from it, since it was now in disarray, and fell upon Ajax; although both Heloros and Aktaios fought in a manner worthy of fame, they died” (trans. Maclean, Aitken).

¹⁸ Philostr. *Her.*, according to J.K. Berenson Maclean and E. Bradshaw Aitken, p. XLIX-L.

¹⁹ Philostr. *Her.*, according to J.K. Berenson Maclean and E. Bradshaw Aitken, p. LX-LXXVI, especially p. LXVI.

Philostratus' use of the term 'Scythians' points to a source later than the moment when the Homeric poems were fixed in writing, probably no earlier than the 5th century BC. In the *Iliad*, the area to the north of the Propontis is represented only by Rhesus' Thracians, and, according to Bernard Fenik²⁰, the Rhesus episode itself may be a later interpolation corresponding to a North-Aegean tradition.

What, then, can explain a Scythian presence in Philostratus' account of the Trojan War? Before clarifying this question, it is necessary to remember that the epic poems use concepts and perceptions that have little to do with historical reality, but are dictated instead by the dramatic requirements of the poems. Moreover, in the *Iliad* the Milesians are called *barbarophoni* Karians, a designation that corresponds neither to the historical reality of the time of the Trojan War, nor to that of Homer's own time, but, according to Christiane Sourvinou Inwood²¹, is instead a poetic construct intended to emphasize the non-Greek character of the Trojans' allies.

The Scythians in the *Heroikos* are part of the same category of poetic constructs; here, they reinforce the non-Greek character of the Mysians' allies. The mythical alliance between Scythians and Mysians reflects an interpretation of the relation between Mysia and the area around the Istros delta. This relation, which has its roots in the historical tradition of the Milesian colonisation of the Black Sea area, is anchored in mythical times through the participation of Istros' sons in the Trojan War. The image of the heads of the two youths, one of which is inverted, on the Histrian silver coins therefore points most probably to a local tradition about the city's foundation that eludes us. The fact that both heroes, although they are described as leaders of the Scythians, have Greek names is particularly noteworthy. This suggests they represent the Greeks from Danube's mouth, rather than the nomadic *hippomolgoi*.

It would not be the only Milesian contribution to Pan-Hellenic mythology. The best known is the episode in which Thetis brings the body of the dead Achilles to the White Island (Leuke), a story narrated in *Aethiopis*. Although the attribution of the poem to Arctinos of Miletus is controversial²², it is widely accepted that the story of Achilles arriving in the Black Sea must have been introduced by the Greeks who were the most active on the Black Sea littoral at the time²³. An echo of the fight between Ajax and the sons of Istros River might be preserved in a reference to Ajax's presence on White Island²⁴ (Leuke, an island located near the west coast of the Black Sea, not far from the Istros delta). Whether Ajax was also the object of cult on the island is difficult to determine, since the literary sources do not mention a cult statue other than those of Achilles and Helen. It is worth mentioning that, in the epic cycle, Achilles, too, fought a series of heroes of noble descent, also sons of rivers themselves²⁵. The confrontations between the two Achaeans and these local heroes are examples of the *Greek vs. non-Greek* paradigm that characterises many episodes in the Greeks' mythical history²⁶.

Carina Weiss²⁷ has emphasised the complex role of water sources, personified as deities, heroes and nymphs, in local myths, using as the base of her discussion the rich numismatic iconography of the colonies from Sicily and South Italy. Weiss has identified motifs common to several colonies, in which the hero or heroine, usually the son or daughter of a river deity, is, as *oikist*, the ancestor of the local aristocracy; a passive witness to the city's foundation; and *kourotophos* for the land and its inhabitants. But the most

²⁰ Fenik 1964, especially p. 13; cf. Forsdyke 1957, p. 159; Burgess 2001, p. 43.

²¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 40-41, 268.

²² Burgess 2001, p. 162-165; about a Mytilenian – Milesian epic tradition of *Aethiopis*, see Nagy 1990, p. 66-69. On the notion of the non-Greek Scythian that has its origin in the experience of the colony (who came in contact with foreign populations) and was incorporated in the mythological tradition of the mother-city, Miletus, see Nagy 1990, p. 70-71, n. 96. Nagy agrees with Ferrari Pinney's thesis (1983) that the iconographic theme of Scythian archers on late Archaic Attic pottery reflects a local epic tradition associated with the Milesian colonization.

²³ Hommel 1980, p. 12; Ferrari Pinney 1983, p. 139; Bravo 2000, p. 258; Ivantchik 2005, p. 76; Bujsklich 2006, p. 149. Jonathan Burgess admits that although the Milesians played a major role in the development of the cult, they cannot be considered solely responsible for the introduction of the worship of Achilles in the Black Sea: cf. Burgess 2001, p. 162-165.

²⁴ Paus. 3.19.11.

²⁵ Weiss 1984, p. 44.

²⁶ For several examples, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 315-320.

²⁷ Weiss 1984, p. 21-49, on the foundation myths and the monetary iconography of the Italiote colonies, where the representations of nymphs and river deities predominate. Larson 2001, p. 211-225, explains this predominance by the necessity to establish claims over the land and its water sources. On the importance of the rivers in marking frontiers and in positioning sanctuaries, see de Polignac 1995, p. 104, n. 35.

significant role of the local hero's origin-story is to legitimate the settlers' claim over the newly-occupied land, the newcomers' so-called 'rooting in the land'. The image of the local deity on the coins is, according to Weiss²⁸, an expression of the colony's growing consciousness of a new identity that clearly differentiates it from its mother-city.

In the case of Heloros and Aktaios, this legitimacy is double: their descent from the river Istros is a 'statement of autochthony'²⁹, and their place in the 'generation of heroes' provides the new city at the mouths of the Danube with a mythical past that precedes its historical foundation³⁰. As a result, the local myth creates an identity that affirms both the connection of the colonists with their newly-claimed land and their Pan-Hellenic identity. This phenomenon is likely to have taken place, according to Irad Malkin's model³¹, several generations after the foundation of the colony, most probably in the 5th century BC.

THE MYTHICAL TRADITION OF HISTRIAN FOUNDATION IN THE MILESIAN AND PONTIC CONTEXT

Although the only evidence for the interpretation of the coin device as a representation of local heroes associated with a lost mythical tradition for Histria's foundation consists of an iconographical motif used on the Pergamenian relief and the textual reference in the *Heroikos*, an analysis of the data in light of other Milesian and Pontic foundation myths does allow us to establish a model this hypothetical tradition could have followed.

In her study of the myth of Hylas, which served as the foundation myth for Kios, a Milesian colony in the Propontis, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood³² used several other Milesian myths for comparison. Her study emphasised certain patterns in the structure of the various foundation stories, in which common motifs are reformulated and manipulated in order to convey the Greek community's version of its own history and its relation to the territory it claimed and the local peoples who previously occupied that territory – a version that does not always correspond to historical reality. The aim of this story was to fill the gap between the 'beginning of the world' and the foundation of the colony. Hence, in the colonial tradition, the local non-Greek population played an important role. Usually this population is represented by a non-Greek hero or heroine, whose death at the hands of a Greek hero reflects an initial phase of hostile interactions between colonists and the local population. According to Sourvinou-Inwood, the death is a *sine qua non* condition for the founding hero. The city is founded as a consequence of the hero's death, and in turn the city receives the hero as a guardian (*polissouchos*)³³. In the case of Heloros and Aktaios, both the image and the text underline the moment of their heroic death; therefore, considering their lineage, in Sourvinou-Inwood's formulation, they would represent the relation between the colonists at Histria and the local population.

The closest analogy for the story of Istros' sons seems to be the pattern on which the myth of Rhesus³⁴ has been structured. In Greek mythopoeia, Rhesus represented another population the Milesians met on the Western coast of the Black Sea: the Thracians. He makes his appearance in the tenth book of the *Iliad* as a king of the Thracians who has arrived at Troy to support the Trojans in the tenth year of the war. The episode was dramatized in the play *Rhesus*, attributed to Euripides. The delay in the arrival of the Thracian allies is explained by the long war these had previously been waging against the Scythians. Rhesus and his Thracians do not play an important role in the course of the war, however, because they are killed in their sleep on their very first night at Troy, during a nocturnal raid undertaken by Diomedes and Odysseus.

²⁸ Weiss 1984, p. 46.

²⁹ Dowden 1992, p. 54: „To be the son of a river is a statement of autochthony, of belonging to the land from the beginning and therefore having full rights to the land”. On the claiming of the land through the appropriation of the past, see also de Polignac 1995, p. 140-145.

³⁰ On the mythical construction of history, see Graf 1993, p. 121-141; also, de Polignac 1995, p. 143-147.

³¹ According to Irad Malkin, in the 5th century Italiote cities shifted the focus from the historical founder to the mythical hero, cf. Malkin 1994, p. 133-139; Malkin 2006, p. 64-65; see also de Polignac 1995, p. 147.

³² Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 268-309.

³³ In the logic of the foundation myth the death of the hero was followed by the consultation of an oracle, and by the foundation of a city that would keep the memory of the hero alive, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 264, 323.

³⁴ Sittig 1914; True 1997, p. 1044-1045 with the bibliography.

In the *Rhesus*, Athena explains that they must kill Rhesus and his men, for if the Thracians fight the next day, the Achaeans will lose the war.

Rhesus, son of Eioneus, the eponym of a Thracian tribe at Homer, becomes in Euripides' drama the son of the Strymon River and a Muse. In the final lines of the *Rhesus*, the Muse establishes, as Thetis did, a posthumous destiny for her son, announcing his immortality³⁵ and reign over Mount Pangaion in Thrace. In Philostratus' *Heroikos*, Rhesus dwells not in Pangaion, but in Rhodops, variations that can be explained by the vast extent of Thrace and the limited knowledge of its geography among Greek authors. Another literary source concerning Rhesus and the nymph Argathone, narrated by Parthenius of Nicaea, has been commented on at length by Jane Lightfoot³⁶, who suggested that Rhesus' inclusion in the Homeric poems had the role of connecting the two regions of Thrace and Bithynia.

A fifth and final literary source is a quotation from Polyaeus' *Strategia* (6.53), which tells the story of the Athenian leader Hagnon, who, after consulting the Delphic oracle, ordered that Rhesus' bones be brought from Troy and buried on the Strymon river bank, at the site of the future Amphipolis. The myth of Rhesus, which until this point seems only to have served to connect Thrace and Bithynia, is thus further developed as a foundation myth for Amphipolis³⁷. In the context of several failed Greek attempts to colonise the North-Aegean coast³⁸, the story of the return of Rhesus' bones to his native soil is an example of the appropriation of a local hero by colonists: in this way, Rhesus is reinterpreted as a guardian of the Greek city in a hostile Thracian environment³⁹.

The common elements between Heloros and Aktaios on one side, and Rhesus on the other, are: 1) their lineage from a river deity (Istros and Strymon), 2) their participation in the Trojan War as leaders of non-Greek allies of the Trojans (Scythians and Thracians), and 3) their death at the hand of an Achaean hero (Ajax and Diomedes). It is difficult to say whether the hypothetical local story that included the sons of Istros also echoed an initially hostile relation between the Greek colonists and the local population. The relation between Milesians and Scythians is an ambivalent one, to judge from both historical and mythical stories. It suffices to remember Herodotus' accounts of Anacharsis and Skyles⁴⁰, both Hellenised Scythians and as a consequence victims of their fellows' wrath.

Further analogies for Histria are given by Olbia and Sinope, on the one hand because they are the three earliest Milesian colonies in the Black Sea region, and on the other hand because their coins have, probably not coincidentally, the same reverse type: the eagle on a dolphin. This iconographic consistency hints at the existence of a common mythological tradition that provided the main source of inspiration for at least the first monetary issues. If the reverse showed what the first Milesian colonists from the Black Sea area had in common (the eagle surmounting a dolphin), however, the obverse was reserved for their local, particular traits.

For Olbia and Sinope, literary accounts of local lore are less lacunar and have the advantage of being easier to distinguish with respect to the origin of their traditions. Thus, the passage from Pseudo-Skymnos' *Periploos* that contains the recital of Sinope's foundation myths uses a version that seems to be earlier than the foundation itself. In his analysis of the passage, Askold Ivantchik⁴¹ has noted various traditions of different origins: 1) the story of the amazon Sinope⁴², has an erudite literary origin; 2) the story of the Argonauts Autolykos and the Thessalian brothers, Deilon and Phlogios, which belongs to the local patriotic mythopoeia; and finally 3) the story of the Milesians Habron, Koos and Kretines, which reflects successive

³⁵ Eur. *Rh.* v. 963-973; a similar lamentation is narrated by Parthenius from Nicaea, see Lightfoot 1999, p. 553.

³⁶ Lightfoot 1999, p. 553.

³⁷ *Rhesus* has been considered a dramatization that used to commemorate the foundation of Amphipolis, e.g. Leaf 1915.

³⁸ Thuc. 4.102: about a Milesian attempt, followed by that of a coalition lead by Athenians; the colony was founded only in 437, after Hagnon's campaign.

³⁹ Malkin 1994, p. 137: „... Rhesos, although not an eponymous hero, served as an additional heroic cult figure. In mythological terms, he was brought into the Athenian orbit; he had an immediate connection with the soil; he could serve as the focus of local identity (...); finally, he could encourage the settlers facing the challenge of hostile natives”.

⁴⁰ Hdt 4.76, 78-80. About a Scythian protectorate over the Greek cities during Skyles' reign, see Vinogradov, Kryzickij 1995, p. 132. For the Northern Black Sea coast see the foundation mythos of Pantikapaeum, related by Stephanos from Byzantium; the city was founded by the son of Aietes, who received the land from the Scythian king, Agaetos; cf. Ivantchik 2005, p. 98.

⁴¹ Ivantchik 1997, p. 33-45.

⁴² For the much older story of the nymph Sinope, kidnapped by Apollo and brought to the site of the future colony see Braund 2010, p. 17-22.

waves of colonists chronologically linked to the Cimmerians' invasion of Asia Minor, and was initially an oral tradition that was later recorded in writing.

What should be added to Ivantchik's observations is the fact that all three stories are complementary and should be read in the chronological order in which they were written, as the Hellenistic compiler intended precisely to create a narrative of the 'proto- and prehistory' of the Milesian colony. The story of the nymph Sinope abducted by Apollo, whose son, Syros, was the ancestor of the local population (*syroi/leukosyroi*), corresponds to 'proto-history', the time before the coming of the Greeks. Thus, through the descent of the local population from Apollo, the main deity of the colonists, a mythic kinship between the two groups was created. The aim of this story was on the one hand to describe the landscape prior to the moment of colonisation, and on the other hand to assure the ascendance of the colonists (represented by Apollo, the masculine archetype of the coloniser) over the natives (represented by the nymph, the feminine embodiment of autochthony), the abduction acting in mythological terms as an equivalent for marriage⁴³.

The second of the Sinopean foundation myths then anchors the mythical past of the city in a Pan-Hellenic past through the Argonauts. Their act of foundation plays the role of a 'sown seed', a mythical attempt to settle on the new land, which will justify the future historical foundation, after a pattern revealed by the myth of Cyrene's foundation⁴⁴. Only with Habron, Koos and Kretines is the establishment of the Milesians at the mouth of the Halyss finally secured, marking the beginning of the city's history.

In contrast to Sinope, Olbia lacks a full set of foundation myths. Nevertheless, Herodotus' account is no less relevant. He relates two versions, attributed to the natives (*skolotai*) and to the Olbians, respectively, about the origin of the Scythians (Hdt 4.5-10). According to the first version, Targitaos, the son of Zeus and a daughter of Borysthenes, was the ancestor of the three Skolotian tribes. According to the Greek version, by contrast, the ancestor of the Scythians is Heracles, who arrived in Scythia leading Geryones' herds, which disappear while he was sleeping; searching for them, he arrived in Hylaia, where in a cave he encountered a creature half woman, half snake. From his tryst with this being were born the ancestors of the three Scythian tribes: Agathyrsos, Gelonos and Scythes. Of the three, only the last acquired the right to remain in his homeland after passing the test of drawing the bow left as an inheritance by his father.

The two versions are so similar, and their motifs so interchangeable (e.g. the nymph in the Skolotian version is clearly analogous to the monstrous creature in the Greek one⁴⁵), that it is hard to determine who influenced whom in the creation of these legends. It is noteworthy that they are constructed according to the same pattern, and that both correspond to the first story from the Sinopean narrative. Here, however, the place of Apollo has been taken by Heracles, the other champion of the Greek colonisation, who appears in a large number of foundation myths⁴⁶.

In the case of Olbia, the account of Herodotus, who must have had first-hand information, is supported by concrete epigraphic evidence. A graffito discovered at Olbia and dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC, which preserves part of a letter written by a priest, confirms the existence of a sanctuary of Cybele in a region called Hylaia⁴⁷. There, near the altar of the Mother of the Gods, were also the altars of Heracles and Borysthenes. Hence, the nymph from Hylaia, who in the myth is the mother of the Scythians, in cultic reality was no other than the Great Mother of the Gods.

The iconography of the first monetary issues of Olbia reveals the popularity of this myth: several series have on the obverse the heads of Borysthenes, Heracles, and a female deity, while on their reverse they bear an image of the arms of Heracles (quiver, bow and axe)⁴⁸. Other series show a kneeling figure stringing a bow, which, because he wears a lion skin, has been interpreted as Heracles. However, on several 3rd century

⁴³ Dougherty 1993, p. 61-76, esp. p. 69; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 112-115.

⁴⁴ Malkin 1994, p. 174-218; see also Calame 2003, p. 35-113; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 317-318.

⁴⁵ On their representation in the Scythian art, see Parzinger 2004, p. 98.

⁴⁶ Farnell 1921, p. 140. Noteworthy is the correspondence between the names of the places and of the protagonists of the Olbian and Kian myths. Both of them involve Heracles and a local nymph; regarding the names, the hero Hyllas from the Kian myth corresponds to the Olbian Hylaia, both of them evoking a land with lakes and luxuriant vegetation. In the myth of Hyllas the landscape is explicitly described. Both myths seem to be derived from a shared Milesian background; they use common motifs, but arrange them after different mythological schemata: the Olbian story prefers the genealogical scheme that establishes the land of the future city, the Kian myth the scheme of the 'failed' ephebe, whose ritual commemoration leads to the foundation of the city. See Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 375-377.

⁴⁷ Rusjaeva, Vinogradov 1991; Dubois 1996, p. 55-62, cat. 24, who dates the graffito much later, c. 400 BC.

⁴⁸ SNG BM Black Sea, cat. 390-393, 402-413, 428-549, 575-585; SNG Stancomb, cat. 359-417; Vinogradov, Kryzickij 1995, p. 114, 119.

BC coin issues that have on the obverse the head of a female figure with a mural crown, the kneeling figure shooting an arrow seems to be rather the young Scythes, the forefather of the Scythians. The female figure has been identified as Demeter, most probably because of the presence of wavy locks that characterise a frequently-recurring image on the Olbian coins: a female figure with loose hair and necklace, rendered both frontally and from profile. In the profile version, her forehead is crowned by two ears of wheat. Yet the wavy locks and unveiled head fit better with the iconography of Kore than that of Demeter. On the other hand, the ears of wheat do not occur on the earlier coin issues, and seem to be a later development. I would argue that the female figure on the Olbian coins is none other than the nymph of Hylaia, who later came to be assimilated to Kore/Persephone. A similar process took place in the iconography of some local nymphs on the coins of Sicily: Syracuse, Henna, Selinus and Egesta. Maria Caltabiano⁴⁹ has convincingly demonstrated how the iconography of these local nymphs gradually took the shape of Demeter/Kore, in response to historical changes in the political needs of these cities. The common *kourotróphos/karpotróphos* qualities of both nymph and Kore, as well as their shared chthonic character, facilitated their assimilation.

To sum up, the iconography of the first coin issues of the two Milesian colonies, Sinope and Olbia, represents local nymphs (Sinope and the nymph of Hylaia). Mythopoetically, these define the sacred landscape and the local ‘proto-history’. The two youths on the Histrian silver coins belong to the same category of representations. The Histrian heroes’ story, however, was shaped in a different mould: that of the mythos of Rhesus. Their participation in the Trojan War shows on the one hand the mythical pedigree of the Greek foundation at the Danube delta, and on the other hand its kinship to Ionia. The main role of Heloros and Aktaios was to connect the Danube area to a Pan-Hellenic identity. It is unlikely that the two heroes were the object of actual cult at Histria. Mythical heroes and heroines who appear late in foundation myths (e.g. Sinope, Rhesus) tend to be literary constructs, and as such they do not typically inspire religious veneration. However, it is possible that an artistic representation of their combat with Ajax was present in some medium in the city, and this may have served as inspiration for the coin type. The fame of the myth and the visual echo of a well-known artwork would thus have made the coin iconography easy for a Histrian to interpret.

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⁴⁹ Caltabiano 2008, p. 124, 129.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen – Berlin
- AAIN – Annali dell’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Roma
- AARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București
- Academica – Academica. Revistă editată de Academia Română, București
- ACSS – Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Bordeaux – Moscow
- ActaArchCop – Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen
- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- ActaMM – Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
- ActaMV – Acta Musei Varnaensis, Varna
- ActaMT – Acta Musei Tutovensis, Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
- ActaPraehArch – Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin
- ActaTS – Acta Terraes Septemcastrensis. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean
în Context European, Sibiu
- AÉ – L’Année Épigraphique, Paris
- AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
- AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
- AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
- AJS – The American Journal of Sociology, Chicago
- Alba Regia – Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani regis, Székesfehérvár
- Aluta – Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
- Alt-Hildesheim – Alt-Hildesheim. Jahrbuch für Stadt und Stift Hildesheim, Hildesheim
- AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
- American Anthropologist – American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association,
([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1548-1433](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1433))
- American Antiquity – American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology, Washington
- Anatolia Antiqua – Anatolia Antiqua, Istanbul
- AnB – Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- Ancient Philosophy – Ancient Philosophy, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh
- AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
- AnnalesESC – Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations, Paris
- AnnalesHSS – Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris
- Annals of Science – Annals of Science, Taylor and Francis Online (<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tasc20>)
- ANSNS – American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Studies, New York
- AnUA-SH – Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia
- AnUBucurești – Analele Universității București, București
- Angustia – Angustia. Arheologie, Etnografie, Sfântu Gheorghe
- ANSMN – American Numismatic Society; Museum Notes, New York
- AntCl – L’antiquité Classique, Revue interuniversitaire d’études classiques
- Antik Tanulmányok – Antik Tanulmányok. Studia Antiqua, Eötvös József Collegium, Budapest
- Antiquitas – Antiquitas, Museo Historico Municipal de Priego, Cordoba
- Antiquités Nationales – Antiquités Nationales, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye
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- AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
- APS News – The American Physical Society News
- Apulum – Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- Archaeological Dialogues – Archaeological Dialogues, Cambridge

- Archaeometry – Archaeometry, The Society for Archaeological Science, Gesellschaft fur Naturwissenschaftliche, Associazione Italian di Archeometria, University of Oxford, Willey
- ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
- ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest
- ArchHung – Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
- ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
- ArchRozhledy – Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
- ArheologijaSSSR – Arheologija Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik, Moskova
- ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskiya i Muzej, Sofia
- Arqueología y Territorio Medieval – Arqueología y Territorio Medieval, Universidad de Jaén, Jaén
- Ausgrabungen und Funde – Ausgrabungen und Funde, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte; Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Alte
Geschichte und Archäologie
- BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
- BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,
Frankfurt am Main
- BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes – Paris
- BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara Biblioteca Historica
et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara
- Biblioteca Ephemeris Napocensis – Biblioteca Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria
Artei al Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- Biblioteca Historica Romaniae. Monographies – Biblioteca Historica Romaniae. Monographies,
Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Secția Științe Istorice, București
- Biblioteca Musei Napocensis – Biblioteca Musei Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei al
Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- BJb – Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Bonn
- BMC, I – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, I. Augustus to Vittelius*, London,
1923.
- BMC, II – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, II, Vespasian to Domitian*,
London, 1930.
- BMC, III – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, III, Nerva to Hadrian*, London,
1936
- BMC, IV – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, IV, Antoninus Pius to Com-
modus*, London, 1940.
- BMC, V – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, V, Pertinax to Elagabalus*,
London, 1950.
- BMC, VI – R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, VI, Severus Alexander to
Balbinus and Pupienus*, London, 1962.
- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
- BMTAGiurgiu – Buletinul Muzeului „Teohari Antonescu”, Giurgiu
- Bosporskie issledovanija – Bosporskie Issledovaniya (Études bosphoraines), Académie nationale ukrainienne
des sciences, Simferopol
- BSFN – Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique, Paris
- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BTM Mühely – BTM Mühely, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- Budapest Régiségei – Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- BulBOR – Buletinul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București
- Buridava – Buridava. Muzeul Județean Vâlcea, Râmnicu Vâlcea
- CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie. Asociația ARA, București
- Cahiers des Sciences Humaines – Cahiers des Sciences Humaines, O.R.S.T.O.M. (Agency: France)

- CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal
- CANT – Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, Bucureşti (I – 1995, II – 1997, III - 1999)
- Carpica – Carpica, Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău, Bacău
- CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Bucureşti
- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul “Dunării de Jos”, Călărași
- CCGG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz , Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
- Centaurus – Centaurus, European Society for the History of Science, John Wiley & Sons Ltd
- CerC Ist – Cercetări Istorice, Iaşi
- Chiron – Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
- Chronica Valachica – Chronica Valachica. Studii si materiale de istorie si istorie a culturii, Târgovişte
- Chronométrophilia – Chronométrophilia, La Chaux-de-Fonds
- CICSA – Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, Universitatea Bucureşti, Bucureşti
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1862-.
- CIS – *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881-.
- Classica et Christiana – Classica et Christiana, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine al Facultății de Istorie a Universității „Al.I. Cuza”, Iași
- ClQ – The Classical Quarterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge
- CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
- CNM – Corpus Nummorum Moldaviae
- Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. Série Épigraphique – Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. Série Épigraphique, Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, Fédération de recherche sur les sociétés anciennes, Université Lumière Lyon 2 - CNRS
- Communications – Communications. EHESS/CNRS-Centre Edgar Morin, Paris
- Comparative Criticism – Comparative Criticism, Cambridge University Press
- Corviniana – Corviniana. Acta Musei Corviniensis, Hunedoara
- CRAI – Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
- Crisia – Crisia. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- Critica Storica – Critica Storica, Associazione degli storici europei, Firenze
- CSA – Current Swedish Archaeology, Swedish Archaeological Society
- Current Anthropology – Current Anthropology. University of California, Merced
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d’archéologie « V. Pârvan », Bucureşti
- Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați, Galați
- Das Altertum – Das Altertum, Berlin – Amsterdam – Oldenburg
- Das Mittelalter – Das Mittelalter, UTB GmbH, Stuttgart
- Der Anschnitt – Der Anschnitt, Vereinigung der Feunde von Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau, Bochum
- DHA – Dialogues d’Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
- Die Kunde – Die Kunde. Zeitschrift für niedersächsische Archäologie, Hannover
- DissArch – Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
- DissPann – Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenientes, Budapest
- DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, Bucureşti, 1976.
- Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology
- Documenta Valachica – Documenta Valachica. Studii si materiale de istorie si istorie a culturii, Târgovişte
- Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porțile de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
- EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), Bucureşti, 1994
- EJS – European Journal of Sociology
- Epigraphische Studien – Epigraphische Studien, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Köln
- EphemDAC – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- Ethnic and Racial Studies – Ethnic and Racial Studies, London : Routhledge & Kegan Paul

- EurAnt – Eurasia Antiqua. Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- FI – File de Istorie. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
- Fontes I – V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu, Gh. Ștefan (ed.), Izvoare privind Istoria României, vol. I, București, 1964.
- Fontes II – H. Mihăescu, Gh. Ștefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu (ed.), Izvoare privind Istoria României, vol. I, București, 1970.
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Gerión – Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemlinskog Muzeja u Sarajevo, Sarajevo
- Greece & Rome – Greece & Rome, Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
- HispAnt – Hispania Antiqua. Revista de Historia Antigua (digital journal: <https://revistas.uva.es/index.php/hispaanti>)
- Hesperia – Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- History and Anthropology – History and Anthropology, Taylor & Francis (Routledge)
- History and Theory – History and Theory. Studies in the Philosophy of History, Middletown
- History Compass – History Compass, Wiley-Blackwell
- Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua, Institut držvenih znanosti IVO PILAR, Zagreb
- HNE – M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898.
- HPQ – History of Philosophy Quarterly, University of Illinois Press
- IDR II – G. Florescu, C.C. Ptoleescu, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. II: *Oltenia și Muntenia*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDR III/1 – I.I. Russu, N. Gudea, V. Wollmann, M. Dušanic, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. III/1: *Dacia Superior. Zona de sud-vest*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDRE – C.C. Ptoleescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000.
- IG XII 6.2 – K. Hallof, A.P. Matthaiou, *Inscriptiones Graecae XII 6. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque. Pars 2. Inscriptiones Sami insulae. Dedicationes. Tituli sepulcrales. Tituli Christiani, Byzantini, Iudaei. Varia. Tituli graphio incisi. Incerta. Tituli alieni. Inscriptiones Corassiarum. Inscriptiones Icariae insulae*, Berlin – New York, 2003.
- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IGLN – V. Božilova, J. Kolendo (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure)*, Ausonius, Bordeaux, 1997.
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latinești descoperite pe teritoriul României*, București, 1976.
- IGLS VI – J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie. VI. Baalbek et Beqa'*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 78, Paris, 1967.
- IGLS XVII.1 – J.-B. Yon, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. XVII/1. Palmyre* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 195; Beirut, 2012.
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989.
- Il Mar Nero – Il mar nero: annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916).
- ISSJ – International Social Science Journal
- Interpretation – Interpretation. A Journal of Political Philosophy, Waco
- ISM I – D.M. Pippidi, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, vol. I. *Histria și împrejurimile*, București, 1983.
- ISM II – I. Stoian, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine*, vol. II. *Tomis și teritoriul său*, Bucarest, 1987.
- ISM III – A. Avram, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure*, vol. III. *Callatis et son territoire*, Bucharest–Paris, 1999.
- ISM IV – E. Popescu, *Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure*, vol. IV. *Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis*, Bucharest–Paris, 2015.

- ISM V – E. Doruțiu Boilă, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, vol. V. *Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum*, București, 1980.
- IstMitt – Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Istanbul
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija Arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
- JAMT – Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, Springer
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JIES – Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington
- JFA – Journal of Field Archaeology, Boston University, Taylor & Francis
- JMC – Journal of Material Culture, SAGE Publications Ltd.
- JNG – Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Bayerische Numismatische Gesellschaft, München
- JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
- Journal of Value Inquiry – The Journal of Value Inquiry, Springer
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island
- JRAI – Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- JRAI (N.S.) – The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- JRAI-GBI – Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Kadmos – Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik, Berlin
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- La Cultura – La Cultura. Rivista de Filosofia, Letteratura e Storia
- LIMC – Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zürich, 1981-1999
- Lucerna – Lucerna. The Roman Finds Group Newsletter, Stevenage, UK
- Marmația – Marmația, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Baia Mare, Baia Mare
- MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa
- MCA – Materiale și cercetări arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț, Piatra-Neamț
- MFMÉ – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
- MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva – Sk. Petersburg
- MitteilungenBerlin – Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Berlin
- Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft – Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
- MN – Muzeul Național, București
- MonographRGZM – Monographies des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- Montana II – V. Velkov, G. Aleksandrov, *Epigrafski pametnitsi ot Montana i raiona*, Montana, 1994.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău, Bacău
- MSSIA – Academia Română. Memoriile Secției de Științe Iсторice și Arheologie, București
- MusHelv – Museum Helveticum: schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft = Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique = Rivista svizzera di filologia classica, Schwabe-Verlag
- NAC – Numismatica et Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi, Lugano
- Nestor – Nestor, University of Cincinnati, Department of Classics, Cincinnati
- NC – Numismatic Chronicle, London
- NNM – Numismatic Notes and Monographs, New York
- Novensia – Novensia, Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- NZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Wien
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și comunicări, Craiova
- Orientalia – Orientalia, Pontificio Istituto biblico, Roma
- Pact – Pact. Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical, Biological & Mathematical Techniques Applied to Archaeology, Strasbourg
- PAS – Praehistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin

- PAT – Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum
- PAT – D.R. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, Baltimore, 1996.
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M, Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- PCPhS – Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Cambridge
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și Note de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrila”, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și Cercetări de Istorie și Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrila”, Tulcea
- Philosophie – Philosophie, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris
- Phronesis – Phronesis. A Journal for Ancient Philosophy, Leiden
- PIR² – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin–Leipzig
- PNAS – Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Washington DC
- Poetics Today – Poetics Today, Duke University, Columbus, USA
- Polis – Polis. The Journal for Ancient Greek Political Thought, Exeter
- Pontica / Pontice – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- PPS – Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Freie Universität, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- RAN – Repertoriul Arheologic Național (<http://ran.cimec.ro/>)
- RE – *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Stuttgart, 1893-
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l’Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- RES – *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris, 1900-1968.
- RÉSEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- Review of Metaphysics – The Review of Metaphysics. A Philosophical Quarterly, Washington DC
- Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Centrul de Arheologie, Chișinău
- Revista d’arqueologia de Ponent – Revista d’arqueologia de Ponent, Unitat d’Arqueologia, Prehistòria i Història Antiga del Departament d’Història de la Universitat de Lleida, Lleida
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- Révue d’Alsace – Revue d’Alsace, Fédération des Sociétés d’Histoire et d’Archéologie d’Alsace, Colmar
- Revue d’Archéométrie - ArchéoSciences, revue d’Archéométrie, Presses universitaires de Rennes
- Revue du Louvre – La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France, Conseil des musées nationaux (France), Paris
- Revue du Nord – Revue du Nord. Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France, Université de Lille, Villeneuve D’Asco
- RGA – *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin
- RGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Bonn
- Rhetorica – Rhetorica. A Journal of the History of Rhetoric, Berkley
- RI – Revista Iсториcă. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIC, II – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, II, Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, 1926.
- RIC, III – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, III, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London, 1930.
- RIC, IV/1 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Shutherford, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/I, Pertinax to Geta*, London, 1936.
- RIC, IV/2 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherford, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/2, Macrinus to Pupienus*, London, 1938.

- RIC, IV/3 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherford, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/3, Gordian III-Uranius Antoninus*, London, 1949.
- RIC, V/1 – P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, V/I*, London, 1927.
- RIS – E. Weber (ed.), *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark*, Graz, 1969.
- RIU III – L. Barkóczi, S. Soproni, *Die römische Inschriften Ungarns, 3. Liefereng: Brigetio (Fortsetzung) und die Limesstrecke am Donauknie*, Budapest–Bonn, 1981.
- RMD – *Roman Military Diplomas*, London, I (M.M. Roxan, 1978), II (M.M. Roxan, 1985), III (M.M. Roxan, 1993), IV (M.M. Roxan, P.A. Holder, 2003), V (P.A. Holder, 2006)
- RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monamente istorice și de artă, București
- RPC I – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage, I. From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*, London – Paris, 1992.
- RPC II – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage, II. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)*, London – Paris, 1999.
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași
- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie, București
- Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizatiei Dacice și Romane, Deva
- SchwNumRu – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Bern
- Science – Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington DC
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scripta Valachica – Scripta Valachica, Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
- SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979-1980, Amsterdam 1979-2005, Boston 2006-
- Semitica et Classica – Semitica et Classica. Revue internationale d'études orientales et méditerranéennes. International Journal of Oriental and Mediterranean Studies, Paris – Turnhout
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
- SMA – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Series
- SNG Copenhagen 2 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen*. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, Volume 2. Macedonia and Thrace, reprint of original edition, New Jersey, 1981.
- SNG BM Black Sea – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume IX, British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea*, London, 1993.
- SNG Stancomb – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume XI, The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea Region*, Oxford, 2000.
- Southwestern Journal of Anthropology – Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago
- SP – Studii de Preistorie, București
- Starinar – Starinar, Arheologskog Instituta, Belgrade
- StCl – Studii Clasice, București
- StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Pitești
- StComBrukenthal – Studii și Comunicări, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
- StComSatuMare – Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- Stratum plus – Stratum, Vysshaya Antropologicheskaya Shkola, Chișinău
- Studio Palmyreńskie – Studio Palmyreńskie, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- Studio Troica – Studio Troica, Universität Tübingen, University of Cincinnati, Mainz am Rhein
- Südost-Forschungen – Südost-Institut München, Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut (Berlin, Germany), Leipzig
- Symbolae Osloenses – Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies, Oslo
- SympThrac 1 – *Symposia Thracologica*, I, Institutul de Tracologie, Craiova, 1983
- SympThrac 2 – *Symposia Thracologica*, II, Institutul de Tracologie, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, 1984
- SympThrac 5 – *Symposia Thracologica*, V, Institutul de Tracologie, Miercurea Ciuc, 1987

- SympThrac 7 – *Symposia Thracologica*, VII, Institutul de Tracologie, Tulcea, 1989
- Terra Sebus – *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeş
- The Antiquaries Journal – *The Antiquaries Journal*, Society of Antiquaries of London
- Theory, Culture and Society – *Theory, Culture and Society*, Universitz of London, London
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- UPA – *Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie*, Bonn
- Valachica – *Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii*, Târgoviște
- VDI – *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, Moskva
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- ZfN – *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin
- ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn
- ZSav – *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung*, Wien