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SOMMAIRE
CONTENTS
I N H A L T

ÉTUDES

MONICA MĂRGINEANU CÂRSTOIU, De l'architecture hellénistique de Callatis: une expression originale du style ionique	5
STELUȚA GRAMATICU, On the metrology of the city of Istros in the autonomous period	21
GEORGE CUPCEA, Careers in the guard of the Dacian Governor	49
FELIX MARCU, GEORGE CUPCEA, Recent developments in the fort of Bologa and on the northwestern Dacian limes	67
ROBERT GINDELE, Die römerzeitlichen Barbaresiedlungen von Livada/Ciuperceni – <i>Photovoltaik-Anlage GPSP Solaris</i> und Supuru de Sus – <i>Togul lui Cosmi</i> . Neue Angaben bezüglich der rechteckigen Gruben mit gebrannten Wänden aus dem 2.-5. n. Chr. im oberen Theiss-Becken	83
DANIELA TĂNASE, Considerations on the archaeology of the Early Migrations Period in Banat	127
DANIEL-CĂLIN ANTON, Ethnische und chronologische Verhältnisse im Gräberfeld Nr. 3 von Brateiu, Siebenbürgen	153
DANIELA MARCU ISTRATE, Byzantine influences in the Carpathian Basin around the turn of the millennium. The pillared church of Alba Iulia	177

NOTES ET DISCUSSIONS

FRED C. WOU DHUIZEN, The Sea Peoples: superior on land and at the sea	215
ADRIAN BĂLĂȘESCU, VALENTIN RADU, MIHAI CONSTANTINESCU, SORIN-CRISTIAN AILINCĂI, Animal exploitation in Babadag culture. Satu Nou – <i>Valea lui Voicu</i> site (Oltina, Constanța County)	227
EMILIAN TELEAGA, Die La-Tène zeitlichen Grabfunde aus Brateiu, jud. Sibiu, Rumänien. Ein Beitrag zum Grabwesen Siebenbürgens	241
ALEXANDER RUBEL, Afterlife and the living. The Arginusae trial and the omission of burying the dead	277
CORIOLAN HORAȚIU OPREANU, A detachment of the <i>legio VII Gemina Felix</i> at Porolissum. When and why?	299
FLORIN-GHEORGHE FODOREAN, Distances along the Roman roads in the ancient itineraries: from Britannia to Asia. A short comparison	311
CRISTINA MUJA, ADRIAN IONIȚĂ, Sexual dimorphism and general activity levels as revealed by the diaphyseal external shape and historical evidence: case study on a medieval population from Transylvania	319
SERGEY BOCHAROV, ANDREY MASLOVSKY, AYRAT SITDIKOV, The beginning of glazed ceramics production in the Southeast Crimea during the last quarter of the 13 th century – the first quarter of the 14 th century	329
CĂTĂLIN NICOLAE POPA, Late Iron Age archaeology in Romania and the politics of the past	337

ÉPIGRAPHIE

CONSTANTIN C. PETOLESCU, Notes prosopographiques (VIII)	363
RAINER WIEGELS, Zwei gestempelte Silberbarren und ein spätantiker Goldbarren aus Crasna (Rumänien)	371

COMPTE RENDUS

Ion Țurcanu, <i>Antichitatea greco-romană la Nistru de Jos și în teritoriile învecinate</i> , Editura Cartier, Chișinău, 2014, 760 p., 238 fig. (Thibaut Castelli)	377
Ennio Sanzi, <i>Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. Un "culto orientale" fra tradizione e innovazione: riflessioni storico-religiose</i> (I Saggi, 52), Roma, 2013, 398 p. (Florian Matei-Popescu)	378
<i>Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice</i> (serie nouă), X, 2014, București, Editura Academiei Române, 300 p. (Liana Oța)	379

<i>ABRÉVIATIONS</i>	383
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N O T E S E T D I S C U S S I O N S

THE SEA PEOPLES: SUPERIOR ON LAND AND AT SEA

FRED C. WOULDHUIZEN*

Keywords: Sea Peoples, advanced infantry tactics (proto-phalanx), advanced warship (proto-penteconter), military take-over in the Aegean and Levant

Abstract: The period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples in the final stage of the Late Bronze Age caused the breakdown of the at that time current political entities in Greece (the kingdom of Mycenae), Anatolia (the Hittite empire), and the Levant (kingdoms under Hittite and Egyptian sovereignty). The ultimate cause of these upheavals is formed by population movements of bearers of the central European Urnfield culture into the Italian peninsula and central Mediterranean islands, which set in motion the displacement of local populations looking for a better place to stay in the east. The resulting eastward track was not by groups of desperate boat refugees or a bunch of pirates, but by highly organized fighting squads who were superior to the armies and fleets of their adversaries in the eastern Mediterranean because of advanced infantry tactics (proto-phalanx) and maritime technics (proto-penteconter). Only by emulating the Sea Peoples military strategies the Egyptian pharaoh was able to ward off the attack on his realm and survive as the only remaining representative of the ancient Late Bronze Age political entities in the region.

Cuvinte-cheie: Popoarele Mării, tehnici superioare de luptă de infanterie (proto-phalanx), navă de război evoluată (proto-penteconter), ocuparea spațiului egeean și a Levantului

Rezumat: Epoca invaziei Popoarelor Mării, în perioada finală a Bronzului Târziu, a determinat colapsul entităților politice ale epocii din Grecia (Regatul Micenian), Anatolia (Imperiul Hittit) și din Levant (regate sub suveranitate hittită sau egipteană). Cauza principală a acestor răsturnări de putere a fost reprezentată de mișcările de populație ale purtătorilor culturii Câmpurilor de Urne, din Europa Centrală, în Peninsula Italică și în insulele din zona centrală a Mării Mediterane, ceea ce a dus la migrarea populațiilor din aceste zone spre Orient. Această migrare nu a avut loc sub forma unor grupuri disperate de refugiați sau pirați, ci prin grupuri de luptă bine organizate, care erau superioare armatelor și flotelor adversarilor lor din zona est-mediteraneeană, datorită tacticilor de luptă de infanterie superioare (proto-phalanx) și a unor mijloace de navigație evolute (proto-penteconter). Doar prin imitarea strategiilor militare ale Popoarelor Mării, faraonul egiptean a reușit să respingă atacurile și să supraviețuiască ca singura entitate politică a Bronzului Târziu din regiune.

The following observations sparked off from re-reading the oeuvre by Fritz Schachermeyr from the late 1970s and early 1980s, and from recently consuming Yasur-Landau¹ and Emanuel².

Among the so-called Sea Peoples, which raided the eastern Mediterranean during the final years of the Late Bronze Age, and in so doing caused the breakdown of the Mycenaean kingdom and of the Hittite empire, there can be distinguished two groups on the basis of their helmet, namely (1) those wearing a horned helmet and (2) others wearing a “feathered” helmet³. Gustav Adolf Lehmann, the greatest specialist on the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples, is most specific in bringing about a connection between the various types of helmets as depicted in the battle scenes at Medinet Habu on the one hand, and ethnics of the Sea Peoples as mentioned in the corresponding Egyptian texts on the other hand, both dating from the reign of Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC). According to his observations, the horned helmet is associated exclusively with the *Shardana*,

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¹ Yasur-Landau 2012 (with references to Redford 2007 and Jung 2009).

² Emanuel 2012.

³ Schachermeyr 1969, who speaks of “Hörnerhelme” and “Federkronen”.

whereas the “feathered” helmet (“Schilfblatt”-Kronenhelm) is a distinguishing feature of all the other groups of Sea Peoples mentioned, namely *Peleset*, *Tjeker*, *Denye(n)*, and *Shekelesh*⁴.

Now, the *Shardana* with their horned helmets can positively be traced back to the islands of Sardinia and Corsica in the central Mediterranean, where statue-menhirs have been found displaying the characteristic features of the military outfit of the group of Sea Peoples in question, amongst which figures most prominently the aforesaid horned helmets⁵. If correctly associated with “feathered” helmets, a similar case can be put forward with respect to the *Shekelesh*. Of this ethnonym it had already been observed in the relevant literature that it strikingly recalls that of the Italic *Siculi* or *Sicels*⁶. The latter population group ended up in Sicily, the island in the central Mediterranean named after them, but are reported to have inhabited various regions of the Italian peninsula from which they were driven by Umbrians and Opicians or Oscans – speakers of the Osco-Umbrian language group which invaded Italy at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and introduced their Central European Urnfield culture of which the Italian Proto-Villanova, as argued by Kimmig⁷ and others, is a direct offshoot. At this point, it becomes relevant to note that the remains of proto-types of the “feathered” helmet in the form of round rivets (*tutuli*) are traced by Reinhard Jung in Italy, more in specific in a grave at Olmo di Nogara (pit tomb 31) in the Veneto region of northeast Italy⁸ as well as in the region of Apulia of southeast Italy during the period of the Italian Middle Bronze Age which corresponds with Late Helladic I-III A in Greece⁹. This observation leads the author to the following conclusion: “This means that warriors in northern and southern Italy used probable forerunners of the ‘Sea Peoples’ helmets’ one or two centuries earlier than warriors in Mycenaean Greece.”¹⁰ The latter conclusion seems to be particularly well grounded if we relate the given archaeological data with evidence from the historical sources, according to which, as a glance at the map of Lehmann¹¹ shows, *Siculi* are reported for the Veneto region in northeast Italy and “Sikeler” for the region of Calabria adjacent to Apulia in southern Italy!

In his distribution map¹², Jung records the *in corpore* finds of the metal headband of the “feathered” helmet for Lakkithra in Kephallonia, Pórtēs in Elis, Kallithea in Akhaia and Fotoula (= Praisos) in eastern Crete, whereas as examples of depictions of this type of helmet on vases are the catalogued ceramics from Naxos and Kos in the Aegean, Bedemgediği in western Anatolia, Enkomi in Cyprus, and the reliefs at Medinet Habu in Egypt. Note in this connection that both the metal objects and the decorated vases belong to the period of Late Helladic IIIC. To the latter category of evidence, the ceramic one, can be added many more examples. Most important is the so-called “Warrior-Vase” from Mycenae as depicted by Fritz Schachermeyr¹³, which also dates from Late Helladic IIIC and depicts warriors with horned helmets on one side and their colleagues with “feathered” helmets on the other (fig. 1). In addition, this author points to depictions of the last mentioned type of helmet from Tiryns, Lefkandi, and Iolkos in Greece¹⁴. Assaf Yasur-Landau, in his contribution of 2012, further adds more evidence from Mycenae, from Kynos in Greece, Phaistos in Crete, and Beth-Shean and Ashkelon in Philistia¹⁵.

⁴ Lehmann 1985, p. 43. Cf. Lehmann 1985, p. 34-35, note 69: “aus dem Begleittext (...) zu dem Bild einer Gefangenen-Vorführung durch den siegreichen Pharao Med. Habu I Taf 44 ergibt sich, daß auch die Krieger-Stammesgruppen der Danuna und Škrš den für die *Tkr* und Philister charakteristischen Helm mit „Schilfblatt“-Krone tragen.” The association of the *Shekelesh* with the “nach hinten gebogene Mutze” is based on the old reading by Wainwright 1961 of this ethnonym specifying the fifth prisoner of war in Nibbi 1975: frontispiece, which, since Went 1963, actually reads *Šašu*, see Lehmann 1985, p. 42-43, note 85.

⁵ Grosjean 1966, fig. 5.

⁶ Since de Rougé 1867, p. 39.

⁷ Kimmig 1964.

⁸ Jung 2009, p. 93, fig. 8.

⁹ Jung 2009, p. 82-83; Yasur-Landau 2012, p. 35-36.

¹⁰ Jung 2009, p. 83.

¹¹ Lehmann 1985, p. 47.

¹² Jung 2009, fig. 2 on p. 89.

¹³ Schachermeyr 1980, Tafel 31 (= Schachermeyr 1982, Tafel 3).

¹⁴ Schachermeyr 1982, Tafels 4a-d, 5, and 3c; cf. Schachermeyr 1980, Tafels 32-33.

¹⁵ Yasur-Landau 2012, fig. 4, 8, 9, 10, and 13 on p. 29, 31, 32, and 35.

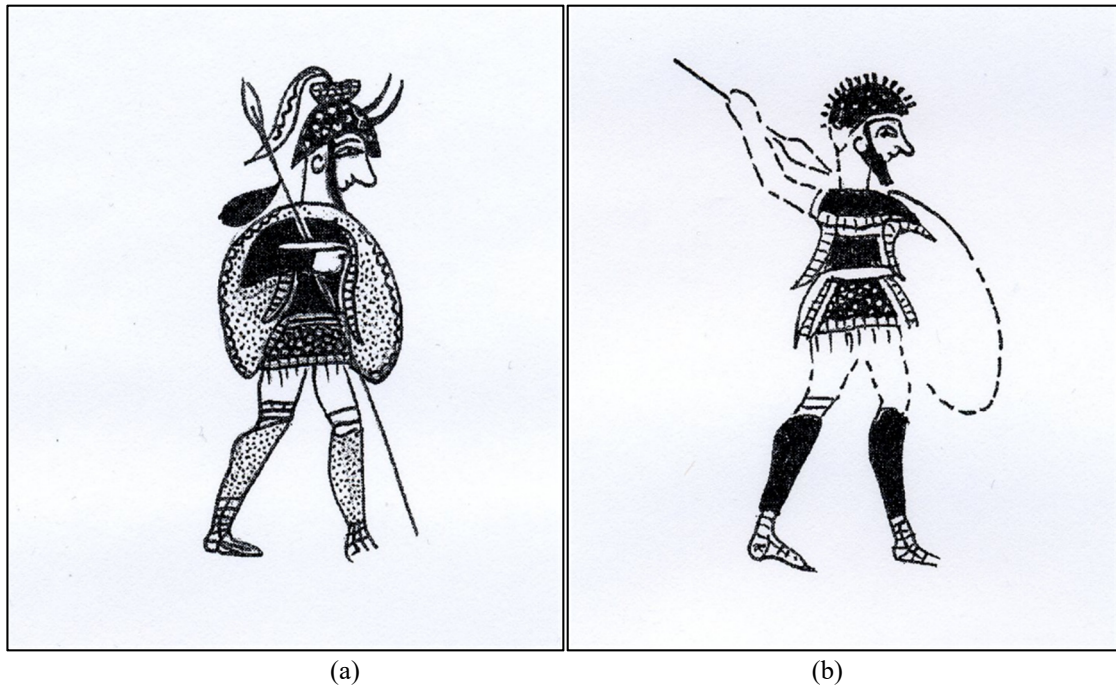


Fig. 1. Warriors from the “Warrior-Vase” from Mycenae with (a) horned helmet and (b) “feathered” helmet (drawings by Jorrit Kelder).

The observations by Schachermeyr concerning the “Warrior-Vase” from Mycenae are, in my opinion, highly relevant from a historical point of view. In the first place, it so happens that we are dealing with infantrymen, whereas in the Mycenaean period the focus of pictorial vases was on charioteers. “So gewinnen wir den Eindruck, daß diese Bildkunst von einem anderen militärischen wie auch sozialen Blickwinkel aus verstanden werden muß, wie die von Mykenisch I bis III B.”¹⁶. “Völlig unmykenisch ist schließlich, daß wir hier mit offenbar repräsentativen Formationen zu Fuß zu tun haben und nicht mehr mit einer Darstellung von Streitwagenschwader.”¹⁷. The military advantage of infantrymen over charioteers makes sense only if we assume, with Schachermeyr¹⁸ that they already fought in a formation later known as the *phalanx*¹⁹. Note, however, that, as duly acknowledged by Schachermeyr, this change is not an absolute one, as even this new type of warrior on foot can be associated with chariots²⁰. Secondly, what is even more important in this connection, is the fact that the military dominant class is in effect that of the Sea Peoples. “So ergibt sich also schon aus der Kriegervase von Mykene der Seevölkercharakter dieser Leute.”²¹. In other words: *the center of the Mycenaean civilization has been the subject of a take-over by the Sea Peoples! Mutatis mutandis*, this same verdict applies to the sites where the *in corpore* evidence of the headband of the “feathered” helmet and the depictions of this type of helmet on vases stem from. This military take-over, then, of Greece, the Aegean, western Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Levant was, as we will see partly, made possible by superior military tactics on land in the form of infantry fighting in a phalanx.

Only against the backdrop of the aforesaid military take-over of the eastern Aegean by Sea Peoples originating from the central Mediterranean it becomes understandable that Mycenaean Greeks or Danaoi, Teukrians from the Troad, and Pelasgians from Crete wear the same type of helmet as the Italic *Shekelesh*

¹⁶ Schachermeyr 1980, p. 155.

¹⁷ Schachermeyr 1982, p. 86.

¹⁸ Schachermeyr 1980, p. 155.

¹⁹ According to Herda 2013, p. 445, the *phalanx* in the strict sense of hoplites fighting in close lines is a Carian invention of the late 8th or early 7th century BC, but on p. 444 he notes that “They [i.e. the Sea Peoples] already used them [the types of armour just specified] to form *compact battle lines* [my italics]”.

²⁰ Schachermeyr 1980, p. 155, Tafel 33 c, e.

²¹ Schachermeyr 1982, p. 85.

in the reliefs at Medinet Habu, where, as we have noted in the above, we encounter them as *Denye(n)*, *Tjeker*, and *Peleset*²².

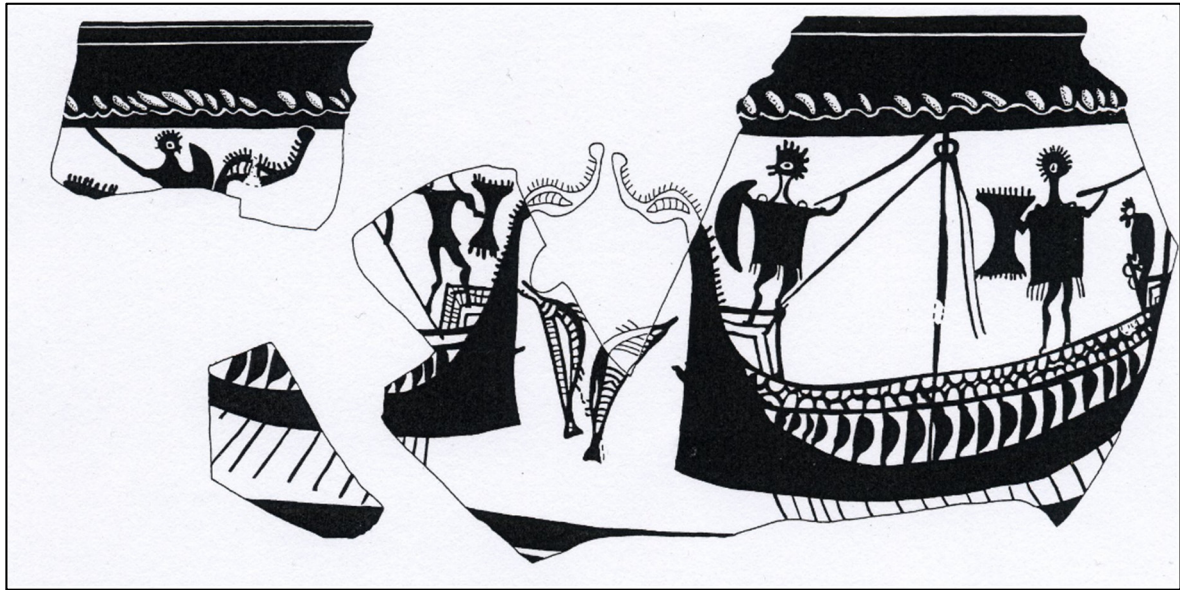


Fig. 2. Fragments of a krater from Kynos with depiction of oared galleys and warriors with “feathered” helmet on the decks (from Mountjoy 2011, p. 485, fig. 2 bottom).

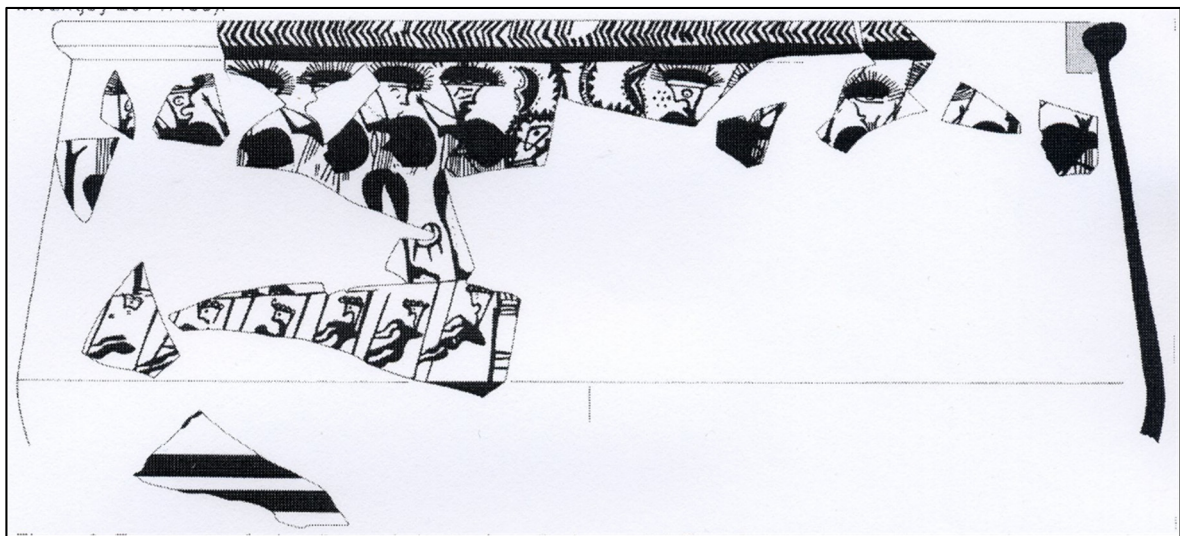


Fig. 3. Fragments of a krater from Bademgediği Tepe in western Anatolia with depiction of oared galleys and warriors with “feathered” helmets on the decks (from Mountjoy 2011, p. 486, fig. 3 bottom).

²² Yasur-Landau 2012, p. 33, also refers to personal names of chiefs wearing the “feathered” helmet, who had been taken captive and were listed in the Medinet Habu monument in the context of year 5 of Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC), discussed by Redford 2007, p. 300. The second name of this list reads *m-š-k-n*, which corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *ma-sà-ka-na* “of the Muski, Muskian” as attested for one of the earliest Early Iron Age texts, Kızıldağ 4, §2, and therefore actually bears testimony of the ethnonym “Phrygian”. Note that the involvement of Phrygians in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples may render useful services in our explanation of the fall of the Hittite empire. The third name of the list reads *m-r/l-y-w*, which strikingly recalls *ma-re-wa* or *ma-re-wo* as attested for Linear B inscriptions from Pylos in Greece and Malia in Crete dating *c.* 1200 BC and cannot be dissociated from personal names like Cretan *Maleos* (Suidas *s.v.*) and Lydian *Mēlas* (Gusmani 1964, *s.v.*), both presumably being based on the Luwian onomastic element *mala-* (as in *Malazitis*, see Laroche 1966, *s.v.*).

However, the military take-over was not only facilitated by advanced tactics on land, it also involved technological advancement at sea, in shipbuilding. The validity of this suggestion was already hinted at by Shelley Wachsmann, who wrote: “Perhaps the prototype of the Sea Peoples’ ships depicted at Medinet Habu was a penteconter”²³. It is to the merit of Jeffrey Emanuel, however, who based himself on the study of Michael Wedde of 1999, that definite proof of the fact that the Sea Peoples indeed already used a prototype of the later *penteconter* or fifty-oared ship. According to Wikipedia “The penteconter (...) was an ancient galley in use since the archaic period.” Much to our surprise, therefore, Emanuel presents depictions on Late Helladic IIIC vases with ships propelled by at least 19 oars at one side (so 38 in total) as in the case of the vase from Kynos, which is topped by two warriors with “feathered” helmets standing on the deck²⁴ (fig. 2), or which either are fitted out with twenty-four vertical stanchions representing twenty-five sections on one side (so 50 in total), as in the case of the pyxis from Tragana²⁵ (fig. 5), or even twenty-seven stanchions on one side (so 54 in sum), as in the case of a larnax from Gazi in Crete – the latter one dating from Late Minoan IIIB²⁶ (fig. 4). Yet another ship-scene with warriors wearing “feathered” helmets on the decks depicted on a partly preserved krater from Bademgediği is unfortunately so badly damaged that the exact number of rowers on one side of each ship cannot be determined with certainty²⁷ (fig. 3). Instead of attributing the differences in the number of rowers to *horror vacui*, as Emanuel does, we may well be dealing here with genuine differences between the individual ships, as the penteconter is still in its developing phase. In any case, the verdict by Wedde that the penteconter was “best suited for raiding, piracy, and sea-based warfare”²⁸, and that the invention of the oared galley was “the single most significant advance in the weaponry of the Bronze Age Mediterranean”²⁹ leaves little doubt about the conclusion that *the Sea Peoples, which in two of the given instances are directly associated with the ship, were not only superior on land but also at sea*³⁰.

We have noted above the presence of population groups originating from the central Mediterranean among the Sea Peoples, namely the *Shardana* from Sardinia and Corsica wearing horned helmets and the *Shekelesh* from various regions of the Italian peninsula wearing “feathered” helmets. To these Italic peoples, in my opinion, can be added the *Weshesh*, the root of which corresponds to *Aus-* in *Ausones*, yet another indication of the *Osci* or *Opici*. It were these latter, together with the Umbrians, who, as we have seen in the above, originated from the region of the Urnfield culture in central Europe and drove the *Siculi* or *Sikeloi* from their original habitats in the Italian peninsula and pushed them into the island of Sicily which ultimately received its name from them.

Now, the influence of the Osco-Umbrian Urnfield immigrants into Italy on the Sea Peoples has been tremendous. In the first place, the boat type with bird-head devices at both bow and stern, as depicted in the reliefs of Medinet Habu, is of typical Urnfield type. Secondly, the Handmade Barbarian Ware (HBW), which turns up in the eastern Mediterranean region from the time of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples onwards, has been attributed to either a Balkan or an Italian origin. Thirdly, the type of sword known as Naue II is of European Urnfield origin. And in the fourth place, finally, the popularity of the rite of cremation from the time of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples onwards, and particularly their burials in urnfields, as at Hamath in North Syria, also can be attributed to European Urnfield customs.

²³ Wachsmann 1998, p. 174.

²⁴ Emanuel 2012, fig. 2.

²⁵ Emanuel 2012, fig. 6. Cf. Wachsmann’s (1998, p. 137) remark in connection with the Tragana-ship: “the stanchions from twenty-five rower’s stations suggesting the artist depicted a penteconter”.

²⁶ Emanuel 2012, fig. 5.

²⁷ Emanuel 2012, fig. 3.

²⁸ Wedde 1999, p. 470.

²⁹ Wedde 1999, p. 465.

³⁰ Note in this connection that the depiction of *armed warriors fighting with each other from the decks* of the ships, as depicted in our fig. 2 and 3, is a novelty typical for ship scenes on pottery from the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples at the end of the Bronze Age. Before this period, ships may have been used for the *transportation* of military contingents only (cf. Linear B *o-ka* = Greek *ὄλκάς* “ship for transportation”). The Egyptian pharaoh Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC) seems to have adapted his nautical tactics to the latest developments; in any case we read in his inscription of year 8 of his memorial at Medinet Habu: “for they [i.e. the warships, galleys, and coasters just mentioned] were manned completely from bow to stern with valiant warriors, with their weapons” (Edgerton, Wilson 1936, p. 53-56).

As far as language is concerned, it may reasonably be argued though that it cannot be proved that the *Shardana* and *Shekelesh* spoke a Ligurian or Old Indo-European type of vernacular³¹. This in contrast to the *Weshesh*, who, if their identification with the *Ausones* applies, rather belonged to the Osco-Umbrian language group. This language group is characterized by the labiovelar shift to labials or dentals, which, after the Mycenaean era, also affected the Greek language and that of the Luwian dialects, Lydian (relative pronoun *pi-*) and Lycian (relative pronoun *ti-*) in western Anatolia. In this sense, then, the take-over by the Sea Peoples in these regions indeed did spark off in the realm of linguistics. Definite proof of speakers of Osco-Umbrian among the Sea Peoples is provided by the decipherment of an Eteo-Cretan inscription from Praisos on the basis of this particular language group by Luuk de Ligt³² – Praisos, as we have noted in the above, being one of the places in which a metal headband for the “feathered” helmet has been found.



Fig. 4. Depiction of a ship with twenty-seven stanchions on a larnax from Gazi in Crete (from Wedde 2000, no. 608).

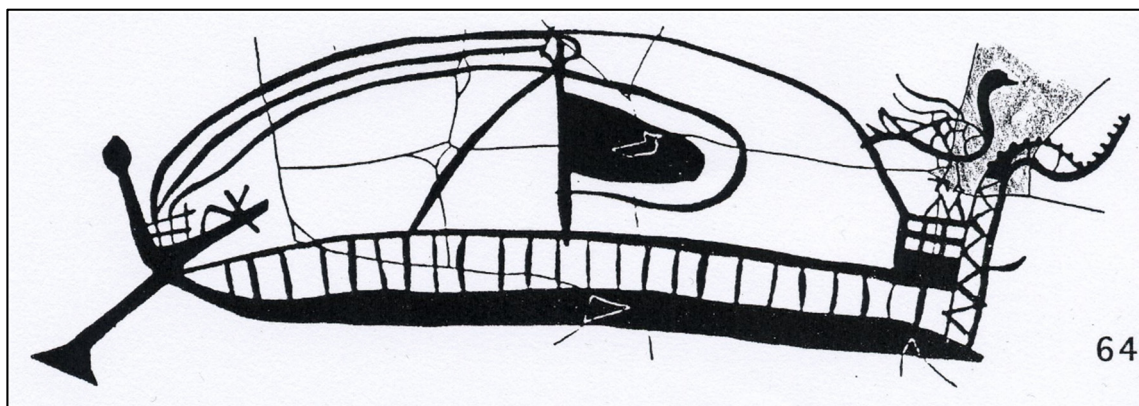


Fig. 5. Depiction of a ship with twenty-four stanchions on a pyxis from Tragana near Pylos (from Wedde 2000, no. 643).

³¹ Sergent 1995, p. 76-77.

³² de Ligt 2008-2009.

Addendum

Since 2010, some important works dedicated to the Sea Peoples have appeared, a reference to which I have made in the bibliography following below. In this addendum I would like to comment briefly on these most recent publications on the topic, and highlight what, in my opinion, is most relevant.

In the introduction to their collection of papers of 2013, Ann Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann distinguish three explanatory models currently in use concerning the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples, in particular insofar the appearance of Late Helladic IIIc[1b] pottery in the Levant is concerned³³:

- (1) elite emulation (Susan Sherratt);
- (2) migration from Cilicia and the Amuq valley (Killebrew); and
- (3) migration from the Aegean, not including Crete (Assaf Yasur-Landau).

The “emulation theory” completely ignores the ominous evidence of discontinuity in the coastal region of Canaan during the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age as represented by destruction layers at Askelon, Asdod, and Tel Miqne-Ekron³⁴. The view that the immigrants of southern coastal Levant, later addressed as Philistine, originate from Cilicia and the Amuq valley does not account for the fact that these two regions are only stepping stones in the migrational process in its entirety, of which the true nature is, by and large, reflected in the Egyptian texts relating that “a camp (was set up) in one place in Amor” before the final attack on Egypt itself and/or the Levantine region under its control³⁵. The model, as proposed by Yasur-Landau³⁶, whose focus is on kitchen ware and weaving methods, in line with Stefan Burmeister’s theoretical framework³⁷ for the distinction of migration in the archaeological sources, is in my opinion only partly valid. Considering the Late Helladic IIIc1b evidence from Crete for “antithetic horns” and “bird looking backwards” in the repertory of decoration motifs on pottery³⁸, the latter island should not be excluded from the range of possible places of origin of groups among the Sea Peoples. Furthermore, the reduction of the region of origin to the Aegean fails to acknowledge the evidence of participation of groups from the central Mediterranean among the Sea Peoples, *in casu*: the *Shekelesh* “Sicels”, *Sherden* “Sardinians”, and *Weshesh* “Oscans or Ausonians”. In the archaeological record, the evidence for these groups entails bird-head devices on bow and stern of the boats, Handmade Burnished Ware, cremation in urnfields, Naue II swords, and the progressive replacement of bronze by iron as the metal for weapons (see above).

In connection with Killebrew’s model, it may be stressed that both Cilicia and the Amuq valley, characterized by the introduction of Late Helladic IIIc ware at the time the distribution of which is visualized by G.A. Lehmann³⁹, are settled by a group of Sea Peoples. The Cilicia is settled by *Akhaians* from Greece, and hence it is subsequently called *Hiāwa*, whereas its ruler is specified by the ethnic adjective *Hiāwana-* “Akhaian” as evidenced in a Luwian hieroglyphic text of later date (Çineköy). Furthermore, the Amuq valley, as duly stressed by Itamar Singer⁴⁰, is settled by a group of *Peleset* “Philistins” from Crete or western Anatolia and hence its rulers are specified by the ethnic adjective *Patisàtināzā-* (Aleppo 6, §1) or *Watisàtināzā-* “Philistine” (Meharde §2) or the land is straightforwardly called *Wata,sàtinà-* “Philistine” (Sheizar §1) in Luwian hieroglyphic texts of later date, again⁴¹. Note that in both of these instances the immigrants were not numerous enough to impose their language on the local population, but adopted the – in the case of the Amuq valley dominant – local vernacular, Luwian, in like manner as the Philistines in Canaan went over to the local Semitic language.

³³ Killebrew, Lehmann 2013, p. 14.

³⁴ See Barako 2013, p. 41, and Killebrew 2013, p. 85; for Askelon, see Dothan, Dothan 1992, p. 42.

³⁵ Edgerton, Wilson 1936, p. 53-56.

³⁶ Yasur-Landau 2010.

³⁷ Burmeister 2000.

³⁸ Schachermeyr 1979, p. 160, Abb. 41a.

³⁹ Lehmann 2013, p. 318-319, fig. 13 and 14.

⁴⁰ Singer 2012.

⁴¹ Woudhuizen 2015, p. 295-297.

Eric Cline in his well-written and highly readable book of 2013, by its mere title *1177 B.C.*, disseminates the wrong impression that the upheavals of the Sea Peoples are restricted to only one year. In actual fact, there can be distinguished two phases in the attack on Egypt or its Levantine territory, one during year 5 and the other during year 8 of Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC), that is to say 1179 BC and 1176 BC in terms of absolute chronology. And this is only the final phase of a process which starts many years before, with the destruction of Pylos in mainland Greece, *c.* 1200 BC, and that of Ras Shamra-Ugarit in 1192 BC – if, for simplicity’s sake, we leave out the Libyan war of year 5 of Merneptah or 1208 BC in terms of absolute chronology, in which groups of the Sea Peoples feature prominently as mercenaries on the Libyan side. Another weakness of the book is that Cline does not address the question of the origin of the various groups among the Sea Peoples at all, and it therefore should not surprise us that we will be looking in vain for a distinctive archaeological category like Handmade Burnished Ware, which is not mentioned at all. It should be realized in this connection that, as long as the problem of the origin of the various groups of the Sea Peoples is not properly answered, the impact of possibly other explanatory factors for the demise of the Late Bronze Age empires in Greece and Anatolia cannot be determined with any confidence.

In reaction to Yasur-Landau 2010, who on p. 289 claims that the Philistine toponyms Gath, Askelon, and Ekron are continuous from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, and on p. 334 even goes as far as to claim such a continuity for all site names of the Philistine pentapolis, it deserves attention that in reality Gaza (*g-3-d3-t3-w*) and Askelon (*i-s-q-3-rw-n-3*) are mentioned in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts dating from the reigns of Tuthmosis III (1479-1425 BC) and Amenhotep III (1427-1400 BC) respectively, onwards⁴², whereas Gath, in form of *Gimtu*, features in the El Amarna texts mainly dating from the reign of Akhenaten (1352-1336 BC)⁴³. As opposed to this, Asdod first turns up, in form of *i-is-s-y-d-y-d-y*, in the Onomasticon of Amenope, *which postdates the take-over of the Canaanite coastal region by the Philistines*⁴⁴. The same verdict may well apply to Ekron as well, in which case it comes into consideration as a typical Philistine place-name derived from Proto-Indo-European *aker-* “high”.

Furthermore, against the backdrop of Yasur-Landau’s fig. 6.8, no. 3⁴⁵, which depicts an Egyptian scarab from Tell el-Far’a (South) with a Philistine commander in front of an Egyptian deity, it must be admitted that the Mycenaean type of chamber tombs discovered at this site are likely to be ascribed to *Egyptian mercenaries* of Philistine or, more in general, Sea Peoples’ background, because, in contrast to the region of the Philistine pentapolis, that of Tell el-Far’a (South) remained within the Egyptian sphere of influence⁴⁶.

A really sensational contribution to the field of Sea Peoples’ studies is formed by Shelley Wachsmann’s latest book on the Gurob ship-cart model⁴⁷, to which my attention was drawn by a review of Jeffery Emanuel⁴⁸ – a reference which, in turn, I owe to the kind interference of my friend and colleague Jorrit Kelder. In his discussion of this ship-cart model, Wachsmann positively identifies the type of ship as a fifty-oared *pentekonter*⁴⁹, with bird-head stem just like the ships of the Sea Peoples, and dates it on the basis of the relevant parallels on Late Helladic IIIB-C vases to the late 13th or early 12th century BC⁵⁰. But what is more, in his attempt to finding an explanation for the Gurob model he associates it with evidence for foreigners at Gurob during the Ramesside era of *European Urnfield* background, which is also attested for Hama in North Syria and, in his opinion, most likely to be attributed to the *Weshesh*⁵¹. This observation strikingly coincides with my identification of the *Weshesh* as Ausones or Oscans (see above), who originated from Urnfield Europe, and whose invasion into the Italian peninsula uprooted the local population, in particular the *Shekelesh* or Sicels, and in this manner set into motion a process that ultimately

⁴² Helck 1971, p. 304; cf. Gardiner 1947, 191*, no. 264; 190*, no. 262.

⁴³ Moran 1992, p. 334 = EA 290, ll. 5-13.

⁴⁴ Gardiner 1947, 191*, no. 263.

⁴⁵ Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 211, fig. 6.8, no. 3.

⁴⁶ Bietak 1993, 295, fig. 4.

⁴⁷ Wachsmann 2013.

⁴⁸ Emanuel 2014a.

⁴⁹ Wachsmann 2013, p. 202.

⁵⁰ Wachsmann 2013, p. 28.

⁵¹ Wachsmann 2013, p. 188-190.

resulted in the so-called upheavals of the Sea Peoples. To the identification of the ships of the Sea Peoples as *pentekonters* may be added the revolution in sailing technology which marks these ships, according to the detailed analysis by Emanuel as presented in his contribution to *Aegean Studies* 1⁵² – to which my attention was kindly drawn by Jorrit Kelder, again.

Finally, mention should be made of the publication of the papers of the conference on the theme “Cyprus, The Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean”, which is edited by Timothy Harrison⁵³. In this particular case my attention was kindly drawn to one of the papers included by my friend and colleague Jan de Boer. Two points may be highlighted: (1) Donald Redford, in my opinion, rightly stresses that the *Tjekker* should be distinguished from the *Šikalayu* as mentioned in an Ugaritic letter, the latter of which are more plausibly equated with the *Shekelesh*⁵⁴, and (2) Lione du Piêd acknowledges that handmade barbarian (or burnished) ware is not only attested for Tell Kazel but possibly also for Ras el-Basit and Ras Ibn Hani⁵⁵, which, alongside the evidence from Hama, in my opinion, further underlines the presence of population groups originating from the European Urnfields in the region.

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⁵² Emanuel 2014b.

⁵³ Harrison 2006-2007.

⁵⁴ Redford 2006-2007, p. 11.

⁵⁵ du Piêd 2006-2007, p. 180.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen–Berlin
- ABSA – The Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens
- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpatica, Kraków
- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- Acta Classica – Acta Classica. Journal of the Classical Association of South Africa, Pretoria
- ActaHistHung – Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
- ActaTS – Acta Terrae Septemcastrens. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European, Sibiu
- AÉ – L'Année Épigraphique, Paris
- Aegean Studies – Aegean Studies. Aegeus - Society for Aegean Prehistory, Athens
- AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
- Aevum – Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche. Vita e Pensiero – Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
- Agria – Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis. Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger
- AHA – Acta Historiae Artium. Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- AHB – The Ancient History Bulletin (digital version only: <http://ancienthistorybulletin.org/>)
- AHR – The American Historical Review, Bloomington
- AIIA (Cluj-Napoca) – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca
- AInf – Archäologische Informationen, Mitteilungen zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Bonn
- AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
- AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
- AJN – American Journal of Numismatics. American Numismatic Society, New York
- AJPh – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
- AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
- Am. J. Phys. Anthropol. – American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Journal of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/\(ISSN\)1096-8644](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)1096-8644))
- 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
- ANarch – Archäologisches Nachrichtenblatt, Berlin
- AnB (S.N.) – Analele Banatului (Serie Nouă), Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- AnSt – Anatolian Studies. British Institute at Ankara, Ankara
- Antaeus – Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- Anthropology Today – Anthropology Today. Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham, UK
- AntOr – Antiguo Oriente: Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente. Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina Santa María de los Buenos Aires
- AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
- AO Moskow – Arheologičeski Otkritja, Moskva
- Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- ArchA⁵ – Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle
- Archaeol. Rev. Camb. – Archaeological Review from Cambridge. University of Cambridge, Cambridge
- Archaeologia – Altum castrum online. Mátyás király Múzeum, Visegrád
- Archeometriai Műhely – Archeometriai Műhely a Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat interdiszciplináris kutatásokkal foglalkozó vitaülés-sorozata, Budapest
- ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest

- ArchHung – *Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest
- ArchKorr – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, Mainz
- ArchPolski – *Archeologia Polski*, Wrocław – Warszawa
- ArchRozhledy – *Archeologické Rozhledy*, Praha
- ArhMed – *Arheologia Medievală*. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhVestnik – *Arheološki vestnik*, Ljubljana
- AȘUI – *Analele Științifice ale Universității “Al. I. Cuza” din Iași*, Iași
- Athenaeum – *Studi di Letteratura e Storia dell’Antichità* pubblicati sotto gli auspici dell’Università di Pavia, Pavia
- AVANS – *Archeologické Vyskumy a Nálezy na Slovensku*, Nitra
- Banatica – *Banatica*. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
- BARBrSer – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, Oxford
- BARIntSer – *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, Oxford
- BayVgBl – *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*. Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit dem Bayerischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und der Archäologische Staatssammlung, München
- BCH – *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athènes–Paris
- BÉ – *Bulletin Épigraphique*, Paris
- BerRGK – *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main
- BIAUL – *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology (University of London)*, London
- BIDR – *Bulletino dell’Istituto di Diritto Romano*, Roma
- BJb – *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn*, Bonn
- BMN – *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca
- Britannia – *Britannia. Journal of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*, Cambridge
- BSNAF – *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, Paris
- BSNR – *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, București
- BUFM – *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas*, Wilkau-Haßlau - Langenweißbach
- Byzantina (Thessalonic) – *BYZANTINA. Annual Review of the “Byzantine Research Centre”*, Thessalonic
- Byzantinoslavica – *Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des Études Byzantines*, Slovanský ústav Akademie věd ČR, Praha
- C&M – *Classica et Mediaevalia: Danish Journal of Philology and History*, Aarhus
- Caiete ARA – *Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie*. Asociația ARA, București
- CCA. Campania – *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România*, București
- Chiron – *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, München
- CICSA – *Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice*, Universitatea București, București
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CN – *Cercetări Numismatice*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- ComArchHung – *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest
- CQ – *The Classical Quaterly*, The Classical Association, Cambridge
- CRAI – *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris
- Crisia – *Crisia*. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- CSCA – *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*. University of California, Los Angeles
- Current Anthropology – *Current Anthropology*. University of California, Merced
- CW – *Classical World*. Temple University, Philadelphia
- Dacia – *Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie*, București
- Dacia N.S. – *Dacia (Nouvelle Série)*. *Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne*. Académie Roumaine. Institut d’archéologie « V. Pârvan », București
- DIR, C, I – *Documente privind Istoria României, sec. XI–XIII, C, Transilvania, I (1075–1250)* (eds.: I. Ionașcu, L. Lăzărescu-Ionescu, B. Cămpina, E. Stănescu, D. Prodan, M. Roller), București, 1951.

- Dolgozatok Cluj – Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
 Dolgozatok Szeged – Dolgozatok a M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Archaeologiai Intézetéből, Szeged
- EJA – European Journal of Archaeology. European Association of Archaeologists (<http://e-a-a.org/eja.htm>)
- Elbinger Jahrbuch – Elbinger Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift der Elbinger Altertumsgesellschaft und der städtischen Sammlungen zu Elbing, Elbing (1920-1941)
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
- Études Celtiques – Études Celtiques, Paris
- Evol Anthropol – Evolutionary Anthropology. Duke University, Durham NC
- FBW – Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart
- FHDR I-II – H. Mihăescu, G. Ștefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V.C. Popescu (eds.), *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, București, 1964–1970
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- FontesArchPosn – Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses, Poznan
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- Glasnik SAD – Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Belgrad
- H-Soz-u-Kult – Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften (<http://www.hsozkult.de/>)
- HambBeitrA – Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie. Universität Hamburg, Hamburg
- HCT – A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1945-1981.
- Hermes – Hermes. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- HistoriaBuc – Historia, București (<http://www.historia.ro/revista#>)
- HOMÉ – A miskolci Hermann Ottó Múzeum évkönyve, Miskolc
- Homo – HOMO. Journal of Comparative Human Biology. Australasian Society for Human Biology, Elsevier Press (<http://www.journals.elsevier.com/homo/>)
- HZ – Historische Zeitschrift, Akademie Verlag GmbH, Berlin
- IDR – *Inscriptiile Daciei romane*
- IDRE – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000
- IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- Il Mar Nero – Il mar nero : annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptii Latine din Dacia*, București, 2005
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- Int J Osteoarchaeol – International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
- JAMÉ – A Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
- J.Archaeol.Sci – Journal of Archaeological Sciences, London – New York
- JDAI – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- JEA – Journal of European Archaeology, former name of EJA
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- J. Hum. Evol. – Journal of Human Evolution, Elsevier Press (<http://www.journals.elsevier.com/journal-of-human-evolution/>)
- JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island

- JRA SS – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, Portsmouth, Rhode Island
 JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
 JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
 Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
 KölnJb – Kölner Jahrbuch. Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, Köln
 Közlemények – Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
 Kuhn-Archiv – Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Landwirtschaftliches Institut, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Landwirtschaftliches Institut, Halle
 Lethes – Lethes. Cadernos Culturais do Limia, Centro Cultural Popular do Limia, Ourense
 LSJ – H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon Press (9th edition), 1940.
 Lucentum – Lucentum. Universidad de Alicante, Alicante
 Lumea veche – Lumea Veche, Revistă de umanioare, București
 MAGW – Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Wien
 MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
 Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș
 MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa
 MatArch – Materiały Archeologiczne, Kraków
 MatArchNovHuty – Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty, Nova Huta
 Materiały Starożytne – Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnosredniowieczne, Warszawa
 MCA – Materiale și cercetări arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
 MCV – Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez. Casa de Velázquez, Madrid
 MFME – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
 ML – R. Meiggs, D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford, OUP, 1969
 Mnemosyne – Mnemosyne, A Journal in Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden
 MSROA – Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego, Rzeszów
 Mus.Afr. – Museum Africum. West African Classical Association, University of Ibadan – Department of Classics, Ibadan
 Nor.Arch.Rev – Norwegian Archaeological Review, Taylor & Francis
 NumZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Wien
 OMNI. Revue internationale de numismatique – OMNI. Revue internationale de numismatique, L’association OMNI (Objets et Monnaies Non Identifiés) – <http://www.identification-numismatique.com/> (<http://www.wikimoned.com/omni/>)
 Palaeontologia Electronica – Palaeontological Association, England
 Pallas – Pallas. Revue d’Études Antiques. Université de Toulouse le Mirail, Toulouse
 PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
 PAPHs – Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
 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
 Peuce – Peuce. Studii și Note de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea
 Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și Cercetări de Istorie și Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea
 Phoenix – Phoenix. Classical Association of Canada, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario
 PIR² – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig
 PLRE – *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 3 vol., 1971, 1980, 1992

- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993
- Pomorania Antiqua – Pomorania Antiqua, Gdańsk
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Prace i Materiały – Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Łódź
- Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society – Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
- PV – Přehled Výzkumů, Brno
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Freie Universität, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- RadVM – Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad
- Raport ... – Raport, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa. National Heritage Board, Warszawa
- RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Stuttgart, 1893 –
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- RechsArch – Recherches Archeologiques, Kraków
- RégFüz – Régészeti Füzetek. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București.
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- RevMédVét – Revue de Médecine Vétérinaire. Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire de Toulouse, Toulouse
- RFE/RL East European Perspectives – Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty
- RH – Revue Historique. Presses universitaires de France, Paris
- RhM – Rheinisches Museum. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Universität zu Köln, Köln
- RI S.N. – Revista Istorică. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIC – *Roman Imperial Coinage*, London
- RM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, Rom
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006
- RocznMuzGórnyBytom – Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu, Bytom
- RRH – Revue roumaine d'histoire. Academia Română, București
- RRHA – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Série Beaux-Arts. Academia Română, Institutul de Istoria Artei „G. Oprescu”, București
- RRSE – Revista Română de Studii Eurasiatice. Centrul de Studii Eurasiatice, Constanța
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea “Al. I. Cuza”, Iași
- Sargeția – Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva
- Sautuola – Sautuola. Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología “Sautuola”, Santander
- SCIM – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Medie. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie vecie (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 Mediterranea – Scripta Mediterranea. Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto
- SHA – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
- SIB – Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara, Timișoara
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
- SMIM – Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei – Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
- SpisyArch – Spisy Archeologického Ústavu v Brně, Brno
- SprawArch – Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Kraków
- ŚSA – Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Wrocław
- StComSatuMare – Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- ŠtudZvesti AÚ SAV – Študijné Zvesti. Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra

- Syria – Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologi., Institut français du Proche-Orient, Paris
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Tibiscum – Tibiscum. Studii și comunicări de etnografie-istorie. Muzeul Caransebeș, Caransebeș
- TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
- Transilvania – Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania, Sibiu
- Transylvanian Review – Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca
- Ub. I – *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I* (eds.: F. Zimmermann, C. Werner), Hermannstadt, 1892.
- Ub. II – *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II* (eds.: F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Müller), Hermannstadt, 1897.
- Váci Könyvek – Váci Könyvek. Tragor Ignác Múzeum, Vác
- VP – Východoslovenský Právek, Košice
- Wiadomości Arch. – Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Bulletin Archéologique Polonais, Warszawa
- WJA – Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Würzburg
- ZA – Zeitschrift für Archäologie, Berlin
- Zborník SNM ... , Archeológia ... – Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea. Archeológia, Bratislava
- Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Muzeul Județean Arad, Arad
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
- ZRG – Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung, Köln