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A RING WITH A GEMSTONE DEPICTING HERMAPHRODITE FROM THE BALGAT TOMB IN ANKARA

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Keywords: cameo, intaglio, ring stone, Ankara, Galatia, engraved gems, jewellery, Asia Minor, Roman period, amulet and gem

Abstract: This paper focuses on a ring with a sardonyx stone with a depiction of a hermaphrodite carved in the cameo technique. The artefact is a piece from the jewellery collection that constituted an important group among the finds recovered from the Balgat Tomb during a rescue excavation conducted in 1998 by the Directorate of the Anatolian Civilizations Museum. The figure on the ring stone is portrayed in deep sleep on a panther skin. Based on analogies from European museum collections, and common iconographic features, the figure is considered to represent Hermaphrodite, a mythological character widely featured in Greek and Roman art. Recent studies on ring stones revealed that many of the examined pieces were acquired by museums through purchase, with limited or no information available regarding their respective findspots. The known findspot of the ring from Balgat, together with the iconographic details of the figure represented, makes it an exceptional artefact. The dating of the ring stone lies within the 1st century AD, based on its iconographic and stylistic features in correlation with the presence of the other small finds from the tomb, particularly the glass objects.

Cuvinte-cheie: cameo, intaglio, piatră de inel, Ankara, Galata, gemă, bijuterii, Asia Mică, perioada romană, amuleta și piatră prețioasă

Rezumat: Prezentul articol are ca subiect un inel cu piatră din sardonix cu reprezentarea unui hermafrodit realizat în tehnica cameo. Obiectul aparține importantei colecții de bijuterii provenind din mormântul de la Balgat, recuperată în urma săpăturilor de salvare efectuate în 1998 de Direcția Muzeului Civilizațiilor din Anatolia. Personajul este reprezentat dormind pe o piele de panteră. Pe baza analogiilor cu piese similare din colecțiile muzeelor europene și a trăsăturilor iconografice comune, figura este considerată a reprezenta un hermafrodit, personaj mitologic, deseori reprezentat în arta greacă și romană. Studii recente asupra pietrelor de inel au arătat că multe dintre piesele examinate au fost achiziționate de muzee prin cumpărare, informațiile legate de locul de descoperire fiind limitate sau lipsind. Proveniența cunoscută și detaliile iconografice ale figurii fac din inelului de la Balgat un artefact excepțional. Datarea propusă este secolul I d.Hr., pe baza caracteristicilor sale iconografice și stilistice, precum și a corelației cu celelalte piese din mormânt, în special obiectele din sticlă.

INTRODUCTION

Among the finds from the Balgat Tomb¹ is a collection of jewellery that reflects the wealth and refined taste of their owners. These include gold diadems and earrings, as well as rings decorated with gemstones, some of which are semi-precious. This paper will examine one of these ring stones, made from sardonyx and showing a hermaphrodite in the cameo technique (Fig. 1). The figure will first be analysed within the context of mythology, and an attempt will be made to address why the subject represents Hermaphrodite, with the help of comparable published examples.

In Antiquity, amulets and ring stones were believed to ward off evil spirits (apotropaic) or to treat various illnesses (therapeutic), particularly in circumstances deemed to be mysterious. These objects, in addition to their function as jewellery, were also imbued with magical significance: it



Figure 1

was thought that they possessed protective and healing properties, and that the semi-precious stones used as ring stones would cure various diseases. In addition, when they were engraved in *intaglio* and were used as seals, indicating the ownership status of the person to whom they belonged. It was also believed that the mythological scenes and depictions of gods and goddesses from the Greco-Roman world carved on such gemstones would

¹ For studies conducted so far on the Balgat Tomb, see Temizsoy, Demirdelen 1999, p. 24–52; Demirdelen 2000, p. 77–91; furthermore, the Balgat Tomb is mentioned in *Ankara-Roma ve Bizans Dönemi Arkeoloji Mirası* and *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ancyra* by U. Peschlow: Aydın et alii 2005, p. 94, 102; Peschlow 2023, p. 110.

give magical powers to those who carried or wore them². Such stones, referred to as “gem” (Lat. “*gemma*”) in the archaeological literature, are known to have first appeared in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and, through commercial and cultural interactions, became widely used in the Greek and Roman worlds over time, as evidenced by the abundance of surviving examples. Ancient sources also provide information on the use of these stones; Pliny the Elder, for instance, notes that men wore rings and necklaces featuring representations of Harpocrates and other Egyptian deities³. As a result of cultural networks, the use of magical stones⁴ even extended to Islamic societies and can still be observed in the present day⁵.

A variety of semi-precious stones were employed in the crafting of the ring stones, most commonly agate, amethyst, garnet, chalcedony, carnelian, nicolo, sardonyx, hematite, and jasper. Additionally, glass imitations of the aforementioned gemstones were also used in the creation of amulets and jewellery. These gemstones were mostly engraved in the *intaglio* technique and set into rings, pendants, earrings, and amulets, primarily to serve as charms or protection against the evil eye. Other engraved gems set in brooches, pendants and earrings as well as finger rings were engraved in high relief as cameos. The use of cameo gems likewise persisted not only into the Middle Ages, but even up to the present day⁶.

A total of six ring stones were discovered in the Balgat Tomb, including the one discussed in this paper. Among these, the most striking example is the gold ring with the inventory number 27.5.98, which is set with a gemstone carved in the cameo⁷ technique, and represents the focus of this paper.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ARTEFACT

The sardonyx cameo (Fig. 2) from the Balgat Tomb depicts a figure in a deep sleep lying on a panther skin. The panther’s head is clearly visible beneath the figure’s right arm. The right arm appears to rest on a supporting



Figure 2

object, perhaps a tambourine, and is raised upwards, with the hand positioned beneath the figure’s head. The left hand is holding a seven- or eight-string lyre. The figure’s head is facing the viewer, while the body is presented approximately in three-quarter view, and the feet are shown in profile. The chest is carved with well-defined pectorals and exaggerated muscles, features that are most likely to be encountered on figures depicted on sarcophagi. The body is shown nude with the exception of a loosely draped garment or cloth draped around the lower legs, leaving the left foot exposed. The other end of the garment hangs over the panther skin beneath the figure’s right thigh. Despite the figure’s feminine physique, its male genitalia are explicitly depicted. Thus, the figure was identified as Hermaphrodite.

ANALOGOUS EXAMPLES

A review of the studies and publications on ring stones and amulets has revealed the presence of a number of artefacts bearing depictions of Hermaphrodite. However, it should first be noted that these examples are part of European museum collections as artefacts with unknown findspots, which consequently makes difficult the correct assessment of their dating and place of manufacture. Nevertheless, the numerous depictions of Hermaphrodite indicate that this theme was quite popular in the Roman world. It would therefore be helpful to examine these examples given their similarities with the figure depicted on the tomb find from Balgat. Among these, the first example is a glass gem in the British Museum’s collection, which depicts a reclining Hermaphrodite lying on a rock (Fig. 3). The lower legs of Hermaphrodite are draped in a cloth. The scene also includes Pan and Silenus, with Pan positioned immediately next to the figure and Silenus behind it. The background of the scene is filled with trees⁸. Another gem in the British Museum, made of sardonyx, also features Hermaphrodite (Fig. 4). In this example, Hermaphrodite reclines on a rock covered with the skin of a predatory animal (a lion?). A herm is positioned beside Hermaphrodite, and the branches of a tree complete the scene⁹. The use of a predatory animal

² Konuk, Arslan 2000, p. 97.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. 37/41.

⁴ For more comprehensive information on magical gems, see Michel 2001, p. 1–16.

⁵ Köroğlu 2013, p. 81; Zadeh 2015, p. 235–267; Bohak 2015, p. 268–300.

⁶ Examples of such artefacts made of glass also exist, such as the glass amulet/pendant discovered during the 2022 excavation at the acropolis of Olba. For further information, see Erten, YeğİN 2023.

⁷ Among the cameo works regarded as “worthy of emperors” in the Roman world, perhaps the most famous example is the *Gemma Augustea* by Dioskourides, a renowned cameo artist of the Augustan period. This piece depicts, on the upper register, a seated male figure – presumably Augustus – holding a *lituus* and being crowned with a wreath by Oikoumene, while the lower register features a scene of a *tropaion* being erected. The unique craftsmanship and aesthetic sensibility demonstrated by this artwork can also be discerned in the Balgat cameo piece. The figure reclining on a panther skin, accompanied by a lyre, leaves no doubt that, in terms of style and technique, it belongs to the Early Roman Imperial period.

⁸ Ajootian 1990, LIMC V, p. 281, Fig. 72, the artefact being referred to is included in the British Museum’s catalogue of gems under item number 3768, see Walters 1926.

⁹ Ajootian 1990, LIMC V, p. 277, Fig. 57, the artefact being referred to is included in the British Museum’s catalogue of gems under item number 3482.



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

skin in this piece exhibits a similarity to the example from the Balgat Tomb.

Another gem, crafted from carnelian and located in Munich, depicts Hermaphrodite from a rear perspective. The scene was described as featuring Hermaphrodite wrestling with a satyr; however, no visual representation was provided in the study¹⁰.

¹⁰ Ajootian 1990, LIMC V, p. 278, Fig. 63. No visual representation of the gem was included in this study, and the artefact was discussed solely through written descriptions. The artefact is housed in the coin section of the Bavarian State Coin Collection (Bayerische Staatliche Münzsammlung). Nevertheless, the same study includes numerous statues and sculptural works depicting the wrestling of a satyr and a hermaphrodite, see Ajootian, LIMC V p. 194–195, Fig. 63b–63d.

A carnelian ring stone in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna also portrays Hermaphrodite (Fig. 5) lying on a rock, with one hand holding the head while the other hand rests on one side. Eros is shown gripping a bow with one hand and holding Hermaphrodite's arm with the other. The complementary elements in the scene include a tree, a bird, and a pan flute hanging from the tree branches¹¹. A similar scene is observed on another example in the British Museum, a ring stone carved in onyx featuring Hermaphrodite also (Fig. 6). Based on the visuals and descriptions provided, this figure is depicted in a similar pose, reclining on a rock with one hand supporting its head. The figure's elbow rests on the head of an animal, possibly a predator. Eros is portrayed playing a kithara, while Syrinx appears engaged in playful activity, and Pan is represented lying on some tree branches. The tree in the background completes the scene¹².

Another sardonyx ring stone is held in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris under inventory number 49, and portrays Hermaphrodite reclining on a bed draped with a lion skin and supporting its head with one hand (Fig. 7). The composition includes two Erotes, with the background

¹¹ Ajootian 1990, LIMC V, p. 281, fig.73, the artefact being referred to is on display at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna in gallery IX B under inventory number 1346.

¹² Ajootian 1990, LIMC 5, p. 281, fig.73d, the artefact being referred to is included in the British Museum's catalogue of gems under item number 3481, see Walters 1926.

once again completed by depictions of trees¹³. The characteristics of these artefacts, including the type of stone used in their creation, the animal skins incorporated into the composition, and the depiction of Hermaphrodite reclining in a tired -or perhaps inebriated- pose, exhibit similarities with the ring stone from the Balgat Tomb. Furthermore, while the catalogue entries in the LIMC indicate the existence of other ring stones featuring depictions of Hermaphrodite accompanied by figures of Eros, no visuals were provided regarding them¹⁴.

Based on these analogous examples, it can be argued that the figure carved in the cameo technique on the sardonyx ring from the Balgat Tomb is also a depiction of Hermaphrodite and thus can be regarded as representative of a group recognized by the various examples mentioned above.

CONCLUSION

In the context of Greek and Roman mythology and iconography, Hermaphrodite, derived from the name Hermaphroditus, represents a mythological character who embodies the traits of both sexes. According to mythological accounts, Hermaphroditus was the child of Hermes and Aphrodite and played an important role in the stories of Salmacis¹⁵. The first appearances of this figure in Greek art are found in written sources and epic narratives from the 4th century BC. Beyond these texts, the figure was frequently depicted across many art forms in Greek and Roman cultures. In addition to being a popular subject in sculptures, figurines, mosaics, and other works, Hermaphrodite was also featured on jewellery items such as stone rings.

This paper examined the ring stone featuring a depiction of Hermaphrodite in the context of its iconography and various analogous examples. In comparison to the analogous gems in various museums and collections across Europe of unknown origin, the Balgat find is undoubtedly of great significance, with a secure origin and archaeological context (Fig. 8). This distinction provides the opportunity for more concrete conclusions regarding the artefact and its



Figure 8

context. Furthermore, it offers valuable clues for dating the ring stone and the structure in which it was found.

An examination of the scenes depicted on the aforementioned gem examples revealed that Hermaphrodite was often portrayed in the company of mythological characters such as satyrs, Syrinx, Silenus, and Eros, set against pastoral backgrounds. However, the artefact from Balgat presents a plainer composition and features a solitary Hermaphrodite, without any of the accompanying figures mentioned before.

The ring stone and the other objects recovered from the Balgat Tomb offer significant insights into the social status, aesthetic values, and artistic development of Ankara during the Early Roman Imperial period. The ring stones, part of the group of jewellery and adornments, also serve as important representatives of this aesthetic understanding. The execution of the figure on the ring stone, in terms of style and iconography, characterizes an elite and a sophisticated artistic approach that developed under the influence of the Roman Empire, rather than locally.

The mastery of the iconography as well as the skill in the execution of the figure makes the Balgat artefact a notable example of the artistic taste and creativity of the Roman Imperial period. Given the number of choice and valuable finds recovered, it is plausible that the tomb belonged to a notable provincial governor or an individual of high status of the city. It is equally likely that the cameo ring in question was worn by such an elite individual.

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- ¹⁴ Ajootian 1990 LIMC V, p. 281, fig.73a is on display at the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris under item no. 272 and inventory no. 48; the no. 73b is included in the British Museum's catalogue of gems under item number 3878, see Walters 1926.
- ¹⁵ According to the myth, Hermaphroditus was nurtured by naiads in the forests of Mount Ida. This remarkably handsome youth, upon arriving at a lake in the region of Caria, catches the eye of the lake's nymph, Salmacis, who immediately falls in love with him. When he enters the lake, Salmacis embraces him and prays to the gods that their bodies may never be separated. Her prayer is granted, and both the female and male sexes merge into one body, becoming Hermaphrodite. The depiction of both female and male traits together in works of art has its origins in this mythological background. For more details, see Erhat, 1972, p.140–141.
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ABREVIERI / ABRÉVIATIONS / ABBREVIATIONS

AAC – Acta Archaeologica Carpatica, Kraków
ACMI – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
ACMIT – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaMM – Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
ActaMT – Acta Musei Tutovensis, Bârlad
AIGR – Anuarul Institutului Geologic al României, București
AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology
Alt-Thüringen – Alt-Thüringen : Jahresschrift des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Thüringens
Aluta – Aluta. Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc Sfântu Gheorghe
Anatolia Antiqua – Anatolia Antiqua. Revue internationale d'archéologie anatolienne. Institut Français d'Etudes anatoliennes d'Istanbul
Anatolica – Anatolica. The Netherlands Institute for the Near East in Leiden
AnB – Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
AncNearEastSt – Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Leuven, Belgia
Angustia – Angustia. Arheologie, Etnografie, Sfântu Gheorghe
Anmed – Anmed. Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri, Antalya, Turcia
Antiquity – Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology, University of York
AnUCraiova – Analele Universității din Craiova, Craiova (seria Istorie)
AO – Arhivele Olteniei
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Archaeol Anthropol Sci – Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences
ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArchÉrt – Archaeológiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchHung – Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
Area – Area. Royal Geographical Society, London
Argesis – Argesis. Muzeul Județean Argeș. Pitești
ArhDIUkrajn – Arheologija i Danija Istorija Ukraini, Institut Arheologij NAN Ukrainj, Kijv
ArheologijaKiiv – Arheologija. Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukraini. Institut arheologii, Kiev
ArheologijaSSSR – Arheologija SSSR. Svod Archeologičeskih Istočnikov, Moscova
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
ArhPrevMoldova – Arheologia Preventivă în Republica Moldova
BA – Biblioteca de Arheologie, București
BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports. International Series, Oxford
BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes-Paris
BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
BibIstroPontica-A – Biblioteca Istro-Pontica. Seria Arheologie, Tulcea
BibIMemAnt – Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis, Piatra-Neamț
BibIThrac – Bibliotheca Thracologica, București
BMC – *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Londra; II, *Vespasian to Domitian*, 1930; IV, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, 1968; V, *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, 1950 (H. Mattingly)
BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice
BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
BOR – Biserica Ortodoxă Română
BSA – British School at Athens, Athens
BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
BSPF – Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, Paris
BSSC – Buletinul Societății de Științe din Cluj
CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău, Bacău

- CCA – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași
- Cerclst – Cercetări Istorice, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
- Cumidava – Cumidava. Culegere de studii și cercetări. Muzeul de Istorie Brașov
- Current Anthropology – Current Anthropology. University of California, Merced
- Dacia – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'archéologie « V. Pârvan », Bucarest
- Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
- DHA – Dialogues d'histoire ancienne, Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité
- DissArch – Dissertationes Archaeologicae. Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
- Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology, Ljubljana
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- FolArchPoznan – Folia Praehistorica Posnaniensia, Instytut Archeologii, Poznań
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt
- Hill¹ – P.V. Hill, *The dating and the arrangement of the undated coins of Rome, A.D. 98–148*, Londra, 1970
- Hill² – P.V. Hill, *The coinage of Septimius Severus and his family of the mint of Rome, A.D. 193–217*, Londra, 1964
- HOMO – HOMO. Journal of Comparative Human Biology, Stuttgart
- Howgego – C. J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks. Studies in the provincial coinage of the Roman empire*, Londra, 1985
- Human Evolution – Human Evolution, International Institute for Humankind Studies and University of Florence
- IJO – International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
- JAMÉ – A nyíregyházi Józsa András Múzeum Évkönyve
- JAnat – Journal of Anatomy
- JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science
- JDAI – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- JFS – Journal of Forensic Sciences
- JHE – Journal of Human Evolution
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – The Journal of Roman Studies
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- KST – T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, I. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, Ankara, Mayıs 1979 [Republic of Turkey, General Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Museums, first Turkish annual meeting for the results of excavations, Ankara, May 1979] (1979–2020).
- LRBC, I – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 394–498*, Londra, 1965; I, *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324–346* (P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent)
- LRCW – Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry
- MAIASP – Materialy po Arheologii i Istorii Antičnogo i Srednevekovogo Pričernomor'ja (Материалы по Археологии и Истории Античного и Средневекового Причерноморья), Nižnevarovsk.
- Marisia – Marisia. Studii și materiale. Arheologie – Istorie – Etnografie, Târgu Mureș
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț
- MHÁS – Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei, Miskolc–Budapest–Szeged–Szombathely
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- MPR – I. Barnea, Les monuments paléochrétiens de Roumanie, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di archeologia Cristiana 6, Città del Vaticano, 1977
- Musaica – Musaica Archaeologica, Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Bratislava
- Olba – Mersin University Publications of the Research Center of Cilician Archaeology, Mersin, Turkey
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și Comunicări, Craiova
- Pallas – Pallas. Revue d'Etudes Antiques, Toulouse
- PATABS – *Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea*
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Münster
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
- Pontica – Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța

- PZ – Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin-Mainz
- Quaternary International – Quaternary International. The Journal of the International Union for Quaternary Research
- RAASI – Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare, Institutul de Cercetări Bioarheologice și Etnoculturale, Republica Moldova
- Radiocarbon – An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research, Cambridge
- RAN – Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise, Montpellier
- RCRF – Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum
- Recueil – W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I-IV, Paris, 1904–1912
- RevArh – Revista Arheologică, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Chișinău
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- RGZM – Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Londra. II, *Vespasian to Hadrian*, 1926; III, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, 1930; IV.1, *Pertinax to Geta*, 1968 (H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham); IV.2, *Macrinus to Pupienus*, 1938; IV.3, *Gordian III – Uranius Antoninus*, 1949 (H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Sutherland); VII, *Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313-337*, 1966 (P.M. Bruun)
- RIC, II².1 – I.A. Carradice, T.V. Buttrey, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, II.1, *Vespasian to Domitian*, Londra, 2007 (ediția a II-a, revizuită)
- RossArch – Rossijskaya Arheologiya. Institut arheologii Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Moskva
- RPC III – M. Amandry, A. Burnett, J. Mairat, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, III, *From Nerva to Hadrian (AD 96–138)*, Londra / Paris, 2015; versiune online https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=3
- RPC IV.1 – V. Heuchert, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, IV.1, *From Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192): Cyrenaica to Bithynia-Pontus*, online (2005); https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=4
- RPC V.3 – A. Burnett et alii, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, V.3, *From Pertinax to Macrinus (AD 193–218): Lycia-Pamphylia to Egypt*, online (2024); https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=10
- RPC VI – D. Calomino, A. Burnett, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, VI, *From Elagabalus to Maximinus Thrax (AD 218–238)*, online (2017, 2022); https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=11
- RPC VII.2 – J. Mairat, M.S. Butcher et alii, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, VII.2, *From Gordian I to Gordian III (AD 238–244): all provinces except Asia*, Londra / Paris, 2022; versiune online https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=14
- RPC VIII – J. Mairat et alii, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, VIII, *Philip I (AD 244–249)*, online (2020); https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=15
- SA – Sovetskaja Arheologija, Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Arheologii, Moskva
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București
- SEAT – Studien zur Eisenzeitlichen Archäologie Thrakiens, Rahden/Westphalia
- Simpozion Chișinău 2004 – *Simpozion de numismatică organizat cu ocazia comemorării Sfântului Ștefan cel Mare, Domn al Moldovei (1504–2004)*, Chișinău, 29 septembrie – 2 octombrie 2004. *Comunicări, studii și note*, București, 2007.
- ŚląskieSprawArch – Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Wrocław, Polonia
- SMMIM – Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară, București
- SNG-ANS, *Macedonia I – Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Part 7, Macedonia I: Cities, Thracio-Macedonian tribes, Paeonian kings*, New York, 1987
- SNGCop 5 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish Royal National Museum*, Copenhaga, 1942-1969 (serie reeditată); V, *Ionia, Caria and Lydia*, West Milford, 1982
- SP – Studii de Preistorie, București
- SprawArch – Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Warsaw
- StArchBrno – Studia Archaeologica Brunensia, Masaryk University, Brno
- Starinar – Starinar. Arheološki institut Beograd
- StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Seria Istorie, Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești
- StMatTârguMureș – Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
- StratumPlus – Stratum Plus, Școala Superioară de Antropologie, Chișinău, St Petersburg, București
- Studia Hercynia – Studia Hercynia. Journal of the Institut of Classical Archaeology, Univerzita Karlova, Cehia
- Studia Praehistorica – National Archaeological Institute with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
- Syria – Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire. Institut Français du Proche-Orient
- Terra Sebus – Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis, Anuarul Muzeului Municipal „Ioan Raica”, Sebeș
- Th-D – Thraco-Dacica, București

Transylvanian Review – Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca

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

UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn

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

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

Varia Anatolica – Varia Anatolica. L'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, Istanbul

Vărbănov I – I. Vărbănov, *Greek imperial coins and their values (the local coinage of the Roman Empire)*, I, Dacia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, Burgas, 2005

Vărbănov II – I. Vărbănov, *Greek imperial coins*, II, Thrace (from Abdera to Pautalia), Burgas, 2005

WorldA – World Archaeology

ZAM – Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, Bonn

Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica, Arad