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NOUVELLE SÉRIE

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EN SOUVENIR D'ALEXANDRU VULPE

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

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THUCYDIDES MYTHISTORICUS*

ZOE PETRE**

Keywords: Historiography, Thucydides, tragedy, myth

Abstract: In 1907 F.M. Cornford published *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, about the dramatic construction of Thucydides' *History*. One of the most tragic features of Thucydides' *History* which we may add to Cornford's arguments originates in the fact that the historian and his public, as well as the dramatic poet and his audience, are aware of the end of the narrative. Because they master the whole story, they can hint at a future tragically opaque for those who live the events in their succession, but well-known for their audience. In recent times, the relativism of Hayden White's school has rediscovered Cornford's book.

Cuvinte-cheie: Istoriografie, Tucidide, tragedie, mit

Rezumat: În 1907, F. M. Cornford publica volumul intitulat *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, în care demonstrează că Tucidide își construia episoadele *Istoriei războiului peloponesiac* ca pe tot atâtea mici tragedii. Una din caracteristicile cele mai pregnante care susțin interpretarea lui Cornford este aceea că, asemenea unui autor de tragedii, Tucidide știe cum se va sfârși istoria pe care o narază și face diferite aluzii la acest final – opac pentru cei care trăiesc evenimentele, dar clar pentru istoric, ca și, în cazul mitului, pentru poetul tragic. În ultimele decenii, tezele lui Cornford au fost reluate de istoricii relativști din școala lui Hayden White.

In 1907, one of the most brilliant and promising Cambridge scholars, Francis Macdonald Cornford, published a book which could have started a Copernican revolution in the field of historiography, ancient and modern alike: *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. Could, but did not, because, hailed as delightful more than convincing, the book ended soon half-forgotten.

Born in 1874¹, Cornford studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became lecturer in 1902, and Laurence professor of Ancient Philosophy in 1931. Cornford's books and life were deeply influenced by Jane Harrison (1850-1928) of Newnham College, who was an outstanding scholar among the first generation of women admitted to English university world. Cornford had attended her lectures in 1898 and they soon became close friends, probably even more. He dedicated his *Thucydides* to her. Together with Gilbert Murray, they formed a trio, joined more loosely by Arthur Bernard Cook, the future author of the great Zeus monograph², and James George Frazer, the famous author of the *Golden Bough*³.

* I wrote this version of my contribution concerning the impact of the Attic theatre upon Thucydides and his work in affectionate memory of Alexandru Vulpe, one of the rare archaeologists interested in a deep analysis of the written sources. A Romanian version appeared in the volume *In Fiction We Trust*, edited by C. Partenie and A. Bulai, Iași, 2016, p. 45-58.

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¹ For Cornford's biography and circle, I follow mostly the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography on-line*, s.v. F.M. Cornford (R. Hackforth), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=32571&back>, accessed March and October, 2014.

² Cook 1914-1925.

³ Frazer 1890-1915.

Members of this group, classicists all, looked to the dawn of anthropology and to the Near East studies for identifying influences that marked the Greek culture and religion. In an attempt to get to grips with oriental languages, Cornford, Harrison, Cook, and Frazer were being given Hebrew lessons by Robert Hatch Kennett, the Regius professor in Cambridge. Cornford and Harrison were also learning cuneiforms: a friend recorded how she was presented once with a Plasticine tablet on which Cornford had cut a cuneiform text, translated by Harrison; the inscription celebrated the exploits of her poodle⁴.

The Cambridge Ritualists, as they are known, were active from *ca.* 1900 to 1915, working on the origins of Greek religion and drama. Jane Harrison wrote her famous *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, in part to correct the purely literary approach to Greek mythology and religion that was current in Britain. Her broad conception of their common subject, her sense of mission, and her passionate nature placed her in the centre of the group. Strongly attracted to innovative methods and ideas, she embraced not only anthropology but also Freud's psychology and Durkheim's sociology.

Out of this shared thinking emerged Harrison's *Prolegomena* and *Themis*⁵, Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic, Excursus on the Ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy*, and *Four Stages of Greek Religion*⁶, as well as – besides his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*⁷ – Francis Cornford's *Greek Religious Thought, The Origin of Attic Comedy*⁸, and his masterly *Principium Sapientiae* published posthumously⁹.

Harrison and her friends were interested, above all, by the reminiscent primitive ideas present in the works of the poets, historians, and philosophers of the classical age of Greece. That is why they investigated, again and again, the ritual forms they believed to be the origin of these literary creations. Among their core ideas, the notion of rites (*dromena*, "things which were done") performed collectively by a social group, which thereby created and projected their god was crucial. The spring *dromenon*, for instance, conceived dramatically as a conflict between living beings, was represented either as a death-and-rebirth god or as a contest in which one divine being defeated another and emerged victoriously. In Athens, a unique union took place between this ritual and the epic legends, resulting in the creation of Greek tragedy, but the ritual itself lives on in Europe in the springtime mummer plays and carnival festivals.

An excerpt from a lecture on *Hamlet and Orestes* delivered in 1914 by Gilbert Murray will perhaps convey something of the Ritualistic style: *The things that thrill and amaze us in Hamlet or the Agamemnon are not any historical particulars about medieval Elsinore or pre-historic Mycenae, but things belonging to the old stories and the old magic rites, which stirred and thrilled our forefathers five and six thousand years ago, set them dancing all night in the hills, tearing beasts and men in pieces, and giving up their own bodies to a ghastly death, in hope thereby to keep the green world from dying and to be the saviours of their own people*¹⁰.

Thucydides was, for a while, the very centre of interest of all three musketeers, possibly awakened, as usual, by Jane Harrison, who published in 1906 an innovative work, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides*, which reviewed Thucydides' account of the origins of Athens in the light of contemporary archaeological findings¹¹.

Cornford followed her the next year with his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, about Thucydides and tragedy, while Murray published in 1919 a contribution confronting Thucydides and the Attic comedy, *Aristophanes and the war party: a study in the contemporary criticism of the Peloponnesian war*¹².

The most disturbing book among these three was that of Cornford. He was quick to note about it himself: the epithet *mythistoricus* may seem to carry a shade of challenge, or even of paradox. His point was not that Thucydides is unreliable. On the contrary, the historian is 'trustworthy'. However, he is also 'a great

⁴ Stewart 1959; see also Beard 2000.

⁵ Harrison 1903; Harrison 1912.

⁶ Murray 1911; Murray 1912; Murray 1913.

⁷ Cornford 1907.

⁸ Cornford 1914a; Cornford 1914b.

⁹ Cornford 1952.

¹⁰ Murray 1914.

¹¹ Harrison 1906.

¹² Murray 1919.

artist'¹³. *Mythistory* is history cast in a mould of conception, whether artistic or philosophic, which, long before the work was even contemplated, was already inwrought into the very structure of the author's mind¹⁴. Cornford coined even a new term, *infiguration*, for the moulding of facts into myth¹⁵.

A good example of infiguration could be Herodotus' description of the battle of Salamis when compared to Aeschylus' *Persians*, which set a model for the historian. Cornford stresses the distinction between infiguration and invention, which is a way by which a writer joins the dots, so to say, and invents lost connexions and information. Thucydides warns us against invention. But – adds Cornford – *there was one thing against which he does not warn us, precisely because it was the framework of his own thought, not one among the objects of reflection, a scheme contributed ... by the mind itself to whatever was presented from outside*¹⁶.

Thucydides would never have accepted for his own work the name of *Mythistory*. He was the first writer ever to ban far away from the writing of history what he called *to muthodes*, “the romance” – with a depreciative nuance hard to translate; Marcel Detienne succeeded in French, with *le mytheux*¹⁷. For centuries, the epic poetry was considered a historical truth. The historian rejected its veracity and criticised his predecessors openly.

Traditionally, the most important poetic creations – this is a pleonasm, for *poietes* means creator in Greek – were composed for, and performed on ceremonial occasions¹⁸. They had an intrinsic ceremonial character and never lost their original link with religious festivals. Any victory, for instance, either in a competition – as well as in a war – was linked to the blessings of a god. Even the convivial setting that is so rich in lyrics was not only entertainment but also a festival of Dionysus. We identify it now as the omnipresent Song-culture, in which all the citizen were expected to share, to participate, to perform. It was, primarily, an oral and ritual performance, even when its products were eventually written down and so they could reach us today.

Once upon a time, the gods mingled with mortals and gave birth to noble heroes. The aristocratic families traced their lineage back to these heroes, and through them to the gods. The “collective personality” of a city, its identity, friendly ties and mythical kinships, were established by the repetition of tales about the heroic deeds of its founder(s) on ceremonial occasions. The preservation of these traditions was assigned to the memory specialists, the poets. The poets were entrusted with the handing down of “the truth” to posterity; however, this truth could always be reshaped. Poets could always innovate and invent new versions of the past.

The poets' task was to sing of “things that are and that shall be and that were in the past” (Hesiod, *Th.* 38, cf. 32). The epic songs about the Argive expedition against Thebes, or about the Trojan War, as well as the Hesiodic Catalogue, where the genealogies of the gods were followed by the unions of gods and mortals and the births of heroes, were a kind of oral, poetic ancient history. Many poets told their cities' “ancient history”. In the 5th century BC, Panyassis of Halicarnassus, Herodotus' uncle, composed a long poem, *Ionika*, about the foundation of Ionic colonies in the heroic age. Even before, in the 7th century BC, Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia* contained a sketch of the Heraclids returning to the Peloponnesus. Mimnermus' *Smyrneis*, or Semonides' *Early History of the Samians*, are also historical elegies, as are Xenophanes' *Foundation of Colophon* and *Migration of Colophonians to Elea*.

Even the black-figured Attic ware of the 7th-6th centuries BC, or the red-figure vases of the next one, tell mostly stories of the past; the scenes depicted on the vases were not simple *scènes de genre* but functioned as a kind of script for storytelling. Of course, the illustrated vase may also stand by itself, as an ornament of the house or a precious funerary offering, but its ties with the Song-culture of the 8th-5th centuries BC are essential, and we may say that the painted ceramic is part and parcel of this Song-culture.

After the middle of the 5th century BC, however, prose started to compete with poetry for the handing down of tradition. Prose narrated not only the “genealogies of heroes and men” but also the “foundations of cities in ancient times”. Attempts were made to write continuous “histories” of different

¹³ Cornford 1907, VII.

¹⁴ Cornford 1907, XI.

¹⁵ Cornford 1907, XI, p. 133-135.

¹⁶ Cornford 1907, IX, p. 132.

¹⁷ Detienne 1981.

¹⁸ Momigliano 1983.

communities, from their origins down to the present. Herodotus was the first author to consecrate a substantial writing in prose not only to a sequence of events, but to the solution of a historical problem: what was the cause of a war between the Persians and the Greeks, and, even more so, why did it end with the Greeks' victory? To answer these questions, which are essentially "modern" in the 5th century, he told, however, innumerable tales with a charm vivid until today and evoked, in the wake of the epic poets, the high and glorious deeds of the heroes, *klea andron*.

These were the predecessors that Thucydides rejected as unworthy competitors. Educated in classical Athens as an auditor of the sophists, of the great forensic and Hippocratic orators, not less than of the Attic drama, when he decided "to write the war of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, *xunegrapse ton polemon*" (Th. 1.1.1), he started by criticizing any inspiration from the Ionian Epos. To distance himself from Herodotus, he refused even the word *historie*, "research, inquest", used by his predecessor, preferring *xungraphie* instead. *Xungraphie* expresses the materiality of writing: before meaning "to record", it denotes the precise act of drawing the letters on a surface. It points, on the other hand, to an operation of transposing from oral to written. It is a term both reminiscent of an intellectual tradition and related to the contemporary debates. The link with other areas where writing is called *sungraphie* in contemporary texts – for instance, the language of architecture, treaties, and legislation – suggests that Thucydides' choice was meant to stress the written character of his work, as opposed to the orality of the epic poems. On the other hand, he highlighted its close ties with the technical project – like the architect's project, as well as with the written documents of the polis. Above all, *sungraphie* must be confronted with the original, and corrected when necessary. As Momigliano wrote once, you cannot contradict a song¹⁹: a *sungraphie* can be, and frequently is, contradicted.

Thucydides lived and wrote at the very edge of a new intellectual world, which was in many ways different from the traditional poetic culture of the previous centuries. It does not mean that Cornford was wrong, as seem to think some of my colleagues even today. On the contrary, as Cornford convincingly found out, Thucydides' work contains a flat refusal of the Song-culture, as it represents the main competitor against the epic tradition. In his view, whatever the history was to be, it was not to be like Herodotus', and it was to draw no inspiration from the tradition of Ionian Epos. But historical prose needed, however, a referee, so Thucydides turned to drama, the only other developed form of literature then existing which could furnish a hint for the new type to be created²⁰.

Cornford's most convincing example of this "ineradicable and unperceived" pattern which imposes upon Thucydides' writing a dramatic cast may be that of the fate of the Spartan regent Pausanias, as described in his first book (Th. 1.132-133). Pausanias boasts of his power; the very day after the victory against the Great King, he plans to marry his daughter; he transgresses all Spartan rules and behaves like a Persian king himself. He keeps his fellow-citizens at a distance, becomes difficult to access, and displays an irascible temper. Any dramatic poet would qualify such behaviour as *hubris*.

Pausanias is recalled at Sparta, where the ephors are worried by his behaviour, but the evidence against him is insufficient. In the most tragic way, he then provides himself the proof, by writing a letter to the Persian king to whom he explains his designs, and ends his epistle by asking the execution of the bearer. The messenger becomes suspicious, opens the letter, and shows it to the authorities at Sparta. The ephors hide behind a partition and overhear the conversation between Pausanias and the messenger in a full and damning avowal of the suspect's plans. The ephors try to apprehend him, but Pausanias seeks asylum in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, where the angry Spartan mob kills him with stones thrown through the ceiling.

This is not the sort of thing that Thucydides objects to as "mythical", writes Cornford; it is not fabulous, not the embroidery of a mere poetical invention; and so he reports it all in perfect good faith. What does not strike him, and what does strike us, is that the story is a drama, framed on familiar lines, and ready to be transferred to the stage without the alteration of a detail²¹.

What is "mythistory" in Thucydides' history, then, is, in Cornford's opinion, this dramatic construction which reads the facts as a tragedy. "The passions are internal tempters from God; and temptation (*Peitho*) also

¹⁹ Momigliano 1981, p. 21.

²⁰ Cornford 1907, p. 136-137.

²¹ Cornford 1907, p. 153.

comes externally as incarnate in another person, e. g. Clytemnestra. Examples of this conception from History: Miltiades at Paros, Pausanias at Plataea. Elpis, one of these dangerous, tempting passions, is thought of as incarnate in Cleon, who acts as Peitho, or Apatē, to Athens, when she has been intoxicated by Fortune at Pylos”²².

Cornford was right. Thucydides writes as a tragic poet in many ways – those highlighted by Cornford, but also some crucial others. At the beginning of the 20th century, when he wrote his book, the general understanding of the ancient drama was not what it became in the last decades; the tragic plot as it is deciphered now by the contemporary scholars is even more akin to Thucydides’ manner of writing history.

One of the primary affinities between tragedy and Thucydides’ history has its origin in the fact that both the authors in the two genres and their audience are aware of the end of their story. Usually, before finishing to write, the contemporary author may not know step by step where his or her hero is going. Anyhow, the reader does not know it – at last when he or she does not go to the last page in a hurry. The myths, on the contrary, are known in advance, at least in their main lines, which is why the tragic poet has a complete knowledge of the end of the story since the first word of his drama. That is why he seems to view the plot from very high above, with a superior and comprehensive vision, in sharp contrast with the narrow and misleading perspective of the *dramatis personae* who are not seers as Tiresias or Calchas. Not only the poet, but – at least in general terms – his audience can follow him in the game of pre- and post-diction. This knowledge of the future bestows upon both author and audience a kind of prophetic omniscience, tragically lacking in the case of the protagonist.

Let’s consider the *Funeral Oration* attributed to Pericles (Th. 2.34-46). Majestic and luminous, this passage is immediately followed by the grim description of the plague. Paul Demont rightly connects the Thucydidean *loimos* with the tragic theme of a “plague” as a counterpart of human *hubris*²³ (Th. 2.48-54). The Melian dialogue (Th. 5.85-111), a monument to the scornful and cynical imperialism of the Athenians, is immediately followed by the catastrophic Sicilian expedition (Th. 6.1), and so on. I know only too well that my observation stirs up the enduring debate about the chronology of the composition of Thucydides’ work, which I am ready to confront, but not here, and not today. As Kurt Raaflaub argued in a recent paper, Thucydides’ account presupposes knowledge of the outcome of the war. This knowledge is a shaping factor of the description and the main reason for the past to be useful and significant for future audiences²⁴.

In the epic world, this kind of omniscience is the distinctive attribute of the Muses, who are the only masters of total recall, as Gregory Nagy has named this marvellous quality of the epic song²⁵. If they so please, the muses may endow the poet with the capacity of recalling the past in every detail. In contrast, in the tragic theatre, the author himself takes the role of Mnemosyne and her offspring implicitly, because he knows how the story will end, and may build his drama as an inexorable advancement to the tragic *finale*.

Therefore, one of the most powerful tools for stressing the dramatic character of the plot is the staging of recurrent and fragmentary revelations, of words and deeds which incidentally predict the future in ways the protagonist does not and cannot understand. Invariably, these words hide a grim and dangerous, often fatal ending for the very person who utters them but are transparent and fearful only for the audience. A classic is the episode from *Oedipus Rex* in which Oedipus vows to punish with his own hand the murderer of Laius (S. OT, 132-146). Sophocles knows, and the audience knows too, that the King has just doomed himself, but Oedipus does not know it and goes on as if he were innocent and happy²⁶.

The Greek historian is also aware of the end of his narrative. Thucydides’ work presupposes in fact both a writer and a reader who know the end of the story, and who can understand any enigmatic allusion to the disasters to follow. Because the historian masters the whole of the narrative, he can hint – as Thucydides does so often – at a tragically opaque future for those who live the events in their day by day succession. He shares this enigmatic knowledge, the logic of post-diction, with his readers, who are his

²² Cornford 1907, p. 153-173.

²³ Demont 2013, p. 73-74.

²⁴ Raaflaub 2013.

²⁵ Nagy 2013.

²⁶ Vernant 1970.

accomplices against the *dramatis personae* of the past, be it factual or mythical; this complicity permeates the tragedies as well as the *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

*

* *

Although highly original and stimulating, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* was, even since its publication, the least successful of Cornford's books. An anonymous review in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* noted that "Mr. Cornford has written a most brilliant essay, but cannot be said to have penetrated below the surface of his subject"²⁷. An extensive review article in the *Classical Quarterly* concluded that "Cornford had invested the conclusions of a rationalist with all the charm of a mythistorian", which was supposed to be a token of dubious scholarship²⁸.

A well-known paper published in the seventies by Colin Macleod, *Thucydides and tragedy*²⁹, does not cite Cornford's book at all. The author identifies quite a lot of Thucydidean parallels with tragedy, only to flatly denying them at the very end of his paper. Here we can learn that the tragic poets, as well as the great historian, were under the spell of Homer, a fact that for him is the *alethestate prophasis*, to speak like Thucydides himself, the truest explanation for their shared tragic sensitivity. Hanson's Thucydides emphasises war as tragedy, but, although this view recalls Francis Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus* on the connections between Thucydides' history and Athenian tragedy, Cornford is not cited³⁰.

Even when Cornford's Thucydides is remembered, which is rather an exception, it is more a lip service than a real debate about his ideas. One of the rare exceptions in the 60's that I know about is Pierre Vidal-Naquet's section about the Peloponnesian War, published in the daring and innovative *Encyclopedia Universalis* under the title *La guerre tragique*, "The tragic war", with an explicit praise of Cornford's *Mythistoricus*. Another one is an excellent paper, *Thucydides Tragedian*, published in 1978 by Kieran Egan, in a book about the philosophy of history³¹.

I do not think we should be too surprised by the cold reception of Cornford's arguments. Thucydides' harsh rejection of the work of his predecessors created the illusion of a "scientific" manner of writing history. Thucydides was the first historian who started the war against the intrusion of myth in the writing of history. In contrast with the poets and logographers who entertained their audiences, his text was a *ktema eis aei*, a blueprint, a template for future governance. For long centuries – in fact, from the very moment of his death – Thucydides was proclaimed to be THE historian, the only one, the paradigm and inspiration for all his followers who seek a perfect objective method and style in writing history. So how could we admit that our paradigmatic ancestor, the best of the historians ever, had been a "Mythistorian"? How to conceive that he was not engaged – as we hope to be – in the scientific enterprise of deriving universal laws from his study of particulars, but was involved instead in the poetic enterprise of selecting and moulding particulars to body forth *a priori* truths? The confusion between his mistrust of myth and the rigid academic methodology of the age of Wilamowitz, Ranke, and Mommsen was happily deconstructed by Nicole Loraux in a paper with the ironic title *Thucydide n'est pas un collègue*³². Her conclusion was not unanimously hailed, far from it.

An important shift came for Cornford's book with the publication, in 1973, of Hayden White's seminal work, *Metahistory* – a word coined by Northrop Frye but largely used by and after White. In his book, White does not cite Cornford, but he cites Thucydides instead, mostly when discussing Hegel and his philosophy of history. His followers, however, will rediscover at last *Mythistoricus* as an illustrious precedent. Quoted, if still seldom read, Cornford's book won, at last, some of the notoriety that its brilliance deserves.

For Thucydides, as well as for his followers, the general idea is that what distinguishes "historical" from "fictional" stories is only their content, not their form: the content of historical stories are real events, events that happened in real life, rather than imaginary events invented by the narrator. Fictional stories are

²⁷ *** 1907.

²⁸ Postgate 1907, p. 318.

²⁹ Macleod 1983.

³⁰ Hanson 2005.

³¹ Egan 1978, p. 63-92. I thank most warmly professor Egan for the kind generosity and promptitude with which he answered my plea and sent me a copy of his paper.

³² Loraux 1980.

demoted to the realm of fiction, while historian's stories are sanctioned by the very institution of history. And, because the stories produced in this way are "history", and because their consecrated form leaves no room for either doubt or alternative readings, they cannot be anything but "true". The story told in the narrative may be only a *mimesis* of the story lived in some region of history, but, as long as it is an accurate imitation, it is to be considered a truthful account thereof.

In the traditional view, insofar as it resembles the events of which it is a representation, the simulacrum can be taken as a veridical account. In an essay of 1967 on "The Discourse of History", Roland Barthes, a forerunner of White's ideas, went against this *communis opinio* about the writing of history as naturally and innocuously narrative. Barthes refused to admit that the form of the historical discourse, the narrative, adds nothing to its content; on the contrary, in his view, history is not a faithful representation of the past, but rather a simulacrum of the structure and processes of the reality³³. In the "Introduction" to *Metahistory*, White went even farther, declaring that his aim was not only to critique the reigning Rankean paradigm of "history", but to free contemporary historians, and historiography altogether, from the "burden of history", for the sake of a morally responsible future. For that, he intended to treat the historical work as what it most manifestly is – a literary artefact, a verbal structure in the form of a prose narrative, which purports to be a model, or an icon, of past structures and processes, in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them³⁴.

White confronted the historians with a radical subversion of their own profession, reduced, as it were, to a subspecies of storytelling. Of course, it is not without a price that the historian tells the past. But does s/he do only that? The most important problem raised by the critics of White is, of course, that of the relation between historical writing and the events and structures of the past. Arnaldo Momigliano, for instance, accused White, not without reason, of having "eliminated the search for truth as the main task of the historian, abandoning the reality principle for the pleasure principle"³⁵. Paul Ricoeur, who noted "the importance of White's pioneering work" and defended him from many criticisms, also voiced doubts "regarding the capacity of this rhetorical theory to draw a clear line between historical and fictional narrative"³⁶. Roger Chartier also criticised White for the absence of references to the "operations proper to the discipline", such as the production of hypotheses and the verifying of results³⁷.

White's over-schematization, in particular the associations that he postulates between four historians, four philosophers, four plots, four tropes, four explanations and four ideologies as if we lived in a world of Pythagorean tetrads, were quickly sanctioned by his critics. However, this is only a matter of stylistics. The main problem is that, from White's perspective, the kind of understanding provided by the historian "is no different from that provided by the writer of fiction". Such an identification ignores that historiography is "an evolving system of argument, exchange, criticism and self-criticism" rather than "a collection of colliding, uncommunicating, and incommensurable world-views"³⁸.

Finally, in a prestigious conference on representations of the Holocaust, White himself had to admit that competing narratives can be compared and criticised starting from their "fidelity to the factual record"³⁹. We probably should accept that Thucydides' *History* cannot be at the same time both the brilliant narrative of the Peloponnesian War AND the factual record of the years 431-404 BC in Greece. Here do I rest my case.

³³ Barthes 1967; see also Barthes 1968.

³⁴ White 1973, p. 124; see also White 1992, p. 37-53.

³⁵ Momigliano 1981.

³⁶ Ricoeur 2004, p. 253.

³⁷ Chartier 1993, p. 133-142.

³⁸ Gossman 1989; Burke 2013.

³⁹ White 1992.

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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 Tutovens, Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
ActaPraehArch – Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin
ActaTS – Acta Terrae 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, Pittsburg
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
Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham
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 für Naturwissenschaftliche, Associazione Italiana di Archeometria, University of Oxford, Wiley
- 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 Arheologičeskija i Muzej, Sofia
- Arqueologia y Territorio Medieval – Arqueologia 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 Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara
- Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis – Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei al Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae. Monographies – Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae. Monographies, Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Secția Științe Istorice, București
- Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis – Bibliotheca 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 Commodus*, London, 1940.
- BMC, V – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, V, Pertinax to Elagabalus*, London, 1950.
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- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
- BMTAGiurgiu – Buletinul Muzeului „Teohari Antonescu”, Giurgiu
- Bosporskie issledovanija – Bosporskie Issledovanija (Études bosporaines), 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, București (I – 1995, II – 1997, III - 1999)
 Carpica – Carpica, Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Julian Antonescu” Bacău, Bacău
 CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
 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
 CercIst – Cercetări Istorice, Iași
 Chiron – Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
 Chronica Valachica – Chronica Valachica. Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
 Chronométriphilia – Chronométriphilia, La Chaux-de-Fonds
 CICSA – Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, Universitatea București, București
 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
 CIQ – The Classical Quaterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge
 CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
 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 », București
 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 Freunde 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 – Disertationes 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)*, București, 1976.
 Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology
 Documenta Valachica – Documenta Valachica. Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
 Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porțile de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
 EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), București, 1994
 EJS – European Journal of Sociology
 Epigraphische Studien – Epigraphische Studien, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Köln
 EphemDAC – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma
 EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
 Ethnic and Racial Studies – Ethnic and Racial Studies, London : Routledge & 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 Sarajevu, 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 društvenih 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. Petolescu, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. II: *Oltenia și Muntenia*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDR III/1 – I.I. Russu, N. Gudea, V. Wollmann, M. Dușanic, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. III/1: *Dacia Superior. Zona de sud-vest*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDRE – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000.
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- 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
- MFME – 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-Aegyptischen 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
- MSȘIA – Academia Română. Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice 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 Gavrilă”, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și Cercetări de Istorie și Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, 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 – Révue 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 Istorică. 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. Shutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/1, Pertinax to Geta*, London, 1936.
- RIC, IV/2 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/2, Macrinus to Papienus*, London, 1938.

- RIC, IV/3 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/3, Gordian III-Uranus Antoninus*, London, 1949.
- RIC, V/1 – P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, V/1*, London, 1927.
- RIS – E. Weber (ed.), *Die römischen 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. Monumente 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 Civilizației 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
- Studia Palmyreńskie – *Studia Palmyreńskie, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology*, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- Studia Troica – *Studia 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
- ThesCRA* – *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum: I-II (2004), III-V (2005), VI (2011), VII-VIII (2012), Index (2014)
- The Numismatist – The Numismatist, The American Numismatic association
- Thracia – Thracia, Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, Institut po trakologia, Serdica
- Thracia Pontica 4 – M. Lazarov *et alii* (eds.), *Thracia Pontica. Quatrieme Symposium International, Sozopol 6-12 Octobre 1988*, Sofia, 1991.
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucureşti
- TIR – Tabula Imperii Romani, Romula-Durostorum-Tomis, Bucarest, 1969.
- TPAPhS – Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- TÜBA-AR – Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi
- Tyche – Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Wien
- Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
- Tyragetia International – Tyragetia International, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
- Valachica – Studii şi cercetări de istorie şi istoria culturii, Târgovişte
- VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
- World Archaeology – World Archaeology, Taylor & Francis
- ZfE – Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin
- ZfN – Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
- ZSav – Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung, Wien