

CONSIDERATIONS ON MONETARY TREASURES COMPOSED OF CALLATIAN COINS OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

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Cuvinte-cheie: *Callatis, monede, tezaure, monetărie, Dobrogea, perioada elenistică, contramărci.*

Keywords: *Callatis, coins, hoards, workshop, Dobrudja, Hellenistic period, contramarks.*

Rezumat: *Sunt analizate un număr de 14 tezaure monetare de perioadă elenistică. Acestea au fost publicate în bibliografia științifică și au în componență fie numai monede callatiene, fie în asociere cu alte piese bătute în monetării grecești apropiate sau din Regatul macedonean. Sunt urmărite și discutate mai multe direcții de cercetare: cronologia tipurilor monetare și a tezaurelor monetare; asocierea cu alte emisiuni monetare de perioadă elenistică (acolo unde se poate constata acest fapt); implicațiile privind semnificația în mediile grecesc și local din perspectiva contextelor arheologice (acolo unde există); fenomenul reformelor monetare susținute prin contramarcare etc. Studiul tezaurelor monetare aduce noi informații privind perioadele de influență, importanță, depunere și, de la caz la caz, de pătrundere a monedei în spațiu sacru sub formă de depunere votivă. Se poate nuanța unde este posibil o corelație între puterea de pătrundere a monedei și comerț sau sunt simple pătrunderi non-comerciale. Foarte importantă a fost atracția stârnită de documentul monetar, dovadă fiind încrederea acordată de societatea locală ca receptor fie comercial, fie religios, o cale de pătrundere fiind și jaful organizat sau ocazional. Deși nu au o legătură directă cu studiul circulației și distribuției monetare grecești, tezaurele monetare "callatiene" exprimă și pulsul activităților coloniilor în cadrul mult lărgit a ceea ce se numește spațiul propriu general de rezonanță politică și economică, în special în a doua parte a epocii elenistice. Reanalizarea monedelor contramarcate este în măsură să aducă multe noutăți, mai ales din punct de vedere cronologic datorită prezenței lor în siturile autohtone existente în teritoriul istro-pontic, mai ales în cursul secolelor II–I a.Chr., cu puțin timp înainte de impunerea autorității romane.*

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Abstract: *A number of 14 monetary hoards from the Hellenistic period are analyzed. They have been published in the scientific literature and are composed only of Callatian coins, or in association with other coins minted in nearby Greek mints, in the Kingdom of Macedonia etc. Several directions of research are pursued and discussed: the chronology of monetary types and monetary hoards; the association with other monetary issues of the Hellenistic period (where this fact can be ascertained); implications for significance in Greek and local environments from the perspective of archaeological contexts (where they exist); the phenomenon of monetary reforms supported by countermarking etc. The study of monetary hoards brings new information on the periods of influence, importance, storage and, on a case-by-case basis, the penetration of the coin into the sacred space, in the form of a votive deposit. It can be nuanced where a correlation is possible between the power of currency penetration and trade or they are simple non-commercial penetrations. Very important was the attraction aroused by the monetary document, as evidenced by the trust given by the local society as a recipient either commercial or religious, a way of penetration being the organized or occasional robbery. Although not directly related to the study of Greek monetary circulation and distribution, "Callatian" monetary hoards also express the pulse of the colonies' activities in the much wider framework of what is called the general space of political and economic resonance, especially in the second half of Hellenistic period. The reanalysis of countermarked coins, based on the latest research in the field, tends to bring many novelties, regarding their interpretation, especially chronological by their presence in the existing local sites in the Istro-Pontic territory during II-I centuries BC, shortly before the imposition of Roman authority.*

I. Introduction

As the number of hoards composed of Callatian coins beaten in the mint of the autonomous period has increased significantly, a detailed analysis based on clear criteria, which can even constitute separate directions of numismatic and archaeological research, it is increasingly possible. We refer to the repertoire; chronology of monetary types and monetary hoards; association with other Hellenistic monetary issues (where this can be seen); implications for significance in Greek and local environments from the perspective of archaeological contexts (where they exist); the phenomenon of monetary reforms supported by countermarking etc. The margin of our study also has predetermined limits as there are various deficiencies found in the way of publishing monetary hoards, recording information on discoveries (situation mainly due to the absence of strict scientific rules, especially in the case of discoveries from the beginning to the middle of the 20th century). The causes of these deficiencies for all published monetary hoards are objective, but also subjective. And they can lead to deviations from the collection and correlation of information of scientific value.

Also, as we get closer to contemporaneity, we were surprised to find the multiplication of accidental discoveries in relation to those that are made as a result of archaeological excavations. Despite the development of archeological science at a very high level compared to what was known and done in the early 20th century and even in the interwar period. Although we would have been tempted to reduce the involvement in the final conclusions of the information due

to the accidental discoveries, the number and certainty of their findings in the specified points, verified from several sources, forced us to establish a real overview image, as important and suggestive as those that appeared in clear archaeological contexts. A different approach, in the current state of affairs, would decisively eliminate the establishment of relevant and especially incomplete conclusions of our study. Perhaps in time the chance will smile more on archaeological research in the discovery of monetary hoards and the number of those with archaeological contexts will increase exponentially.

As already mentioned, the analysis of the monetary hoards that are composed in whole or only partially of pieces belonging to the Callatian mint of the Hellenistic period may suggest a multitude of information supported, including statistics from the perspective of several research directions. The monetary hoards are presented in the chronological order of the year of discovery, supplementing, where appropriate, the information published so far from the numerous repertoires that contained them.

II. Repertoire of monetary hoards consisting of Callatian coins from the Hellenistic period

1. ION CORVIN (1903)

The first information regarding the discovery from Cuzgun-Ion Corvin (Ion Corvin Commune, Constanța County) was about a monetary hoard that appeared "around" the year 1905, which consisted of about 2,000 silver coins from Apollonia Pontica, Mesambria, Callatis (PICK 1898, p. 97, no. 196-199), Istros and Asia Minor, to which would have been added between seven and twenty electrum staters from Cyzic¹. More recent research in the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities informs us that the discovery was made more precisely during 1903 and that only about 200 coins would have composed the entire hoard. Also, the electrum staters from Cyzic were not part of it².

The hoard is dated to the 4th century BC (330-320 BC)³.

Table I. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the coins of Herakles type (AR) from the hoard Ion Corvin 1903

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	without countermark

¹ VON RENNER 1906, p. 97-106; MOISIL 1913, p. 63, no. 23; MOISIL 1915, p. 120; MOISIL 1923, p. 18; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 101, no. 734 (here appears the reference of the discovery before 1912); POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 61, no. 21; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 91, no. 13; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 229, no. 65.

² VÎLCU 2016; PETAC & VÎLCU 2019, p. 49.

³ MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, p. 42.

2. MANGALIA (1912)

Before 1912, was discovered in a ceramic vessel (pot?) a hoard of eight autonomous bronze Callatian coins, two of which were of the Apollo type (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 227 and 233) and six of the Athena type (PICK 1898, p. 102–104, no. 234, 240–243 and 247), in association with a locally produced bronze pond, weighing 105 g⁴. The latter benefited from publications in the years 1912–1913, very soon after its discovery, and it belonged to the archbishop Raymund Netzhammer (1862–1945)⁵ and the oil company industrialist Leon Ruzicka (1866–1931)⁶. Probably due to an error, its resumption in a repertoire of isolated discoveries and hoards of Callatian coins temporarily and artificially altered its structure. Briefly presented, only one Apollo type coin and seven Athena type coins were mentioned in the hoard⁷. Although discovered in a still romantic period of numismatics and archeology as auxiliary sciences of history, the hoard had the chance to be quite well described and published, even if in stages and by several authors.

The hoard is considered to be dated, according to the bibliography, around 260 a. Chr.⁸, wrong from our point of view. We support its dating around the middle of the 1st century BC due to the presence of Athena type coins.

Table II. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Apollo type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1912

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΟΛΛ	1	? probably without a countermark
ΠΟ	1	? probably without a countermark

⁴ NETZHAMMER 1912, p. 84–86; RUZICKA 1913, p. 295–296; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115, no. 864; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8 where one of the coins belonging to the Athena type is erroneously cataloged at PICK 1898, no. 233; TALMAȚCHI 2006, p. 92, no. 15; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 253, no. 85/1.

⁵ In the pages of the quarterly publication *Revista Catolică*, whose debut belongs to the year 1912, according to NETZHAMMER 1912, p. 84–85; passionate numismatist, with articles dedicated to ancient metrology, the archbishop had a collection of 1.300 autonomous Greek, provincial Greek, Roman, Byzantine and medieval coins, according to ALEXANDRESCU 2007, p. 213–214, note 12.

⁶ RUZICKA 1913, p. 295; RUZICKA 1917, p. 80; had a personal collection of coins collected from the provinces of Moesia and Thrace, created in 1910, according to https://www.biographien.ac.at/oeb1/oeb1_R/Ruzicka_Leon_1866_1931.xml; <https://apis.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/person/43474> (accessed at 18.01.2022).

⁷ POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8, where at PICK 1898, no. 233 it can't be the type Athena, but Apollo yes.

⁸ THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113.

Table III. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Athena type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1912

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
Monogram	1	Without countermark
MOΣXI	1	Without countermark
HPA	1	Without countermark
ΟΛΥΜ	1	Without countermark
ΥΔ Ο	1	Without countermark
EYKAE	1	Without countermark

3. MANGALIA (1935)

In 1935, in connection to occasional excavations, in random conditions, a hoard of 16 standalone Callatis bronze coins was discovered in a ceramic vessel, 15 of which were probably of the Dionysus/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 224) and one of the Athena type⁹. This hoard also benefited from a professional publication for the time of 1944 (almost ten years after its discovery), descriptive for each coin, under the auspices of the Romanian Academy by Constantin Moisil (1876-1958), president of the Romanian Numismatic Society.

The hoard is dated in the bibliography at 260 BC¹⁰, wrong from our point of view. We support its dating during the second half of the second century and around the middle of the first century BC, due to the presence of countermarks on the Dionysos monetary type.

Table IV. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins from the hoard Mangalia 1935

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
EY	3	Artemis (no. 129–131), always on the obverse
EY monogram	1	Indistinguishable countermark printed on the obverse (no. 132)
The name of the magistrate is indecipherable	4	Indistinguishable countermark printed on the obverse (no. 133–136)
EY monogram	1	Without countermark (no. 137)
The name of the magistrate is indecipherable	6	Without countermark (no. 138–139, 141a–141d)

⁹ MOISIL 1944, p. 14–15, no. 129–141; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113, no. 862; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8; TALMAȚCHI 2006, p. 92, no. 15; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 254, no. 85/3; we say that probably 15 pieces are of the Dionysos/wreath type as five of them are very affected by the passage of time and other accidental events.

¹⁰ THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113.

Table V. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Athena type coins from the hoard Mangalia 1935

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
Π...? (ΠΟ ¹¹ , ΠΡΟ ¹² , ...ΠΟ ¹³ ?)	1	Without countermark (no. 140)

4. KARON LIMEN (1940)

From Capul Șabla (Dobrici, Bulgaria) - Karon Limen, discovered before 1940, it comes from a hoard of ten autonomous Callatian bronze coins, one of which is of the Demetra type (Pick 1898, p. 101, no. 225) and nine of the Dionysos wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 100–101, no. 218, general type, but three of the pieces correspond to PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 221, 224 and RUZICKA 1917, p. 88, no. 222d)¹⁴.

If the hoard does not show any countermark on the component coins, it can be dated to the second part of the 3rd century BC, and possibly in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC¹⁵.

Table VI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Demetra type coins from the hoard Karon Limen 1940

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Without countermark

Table VII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins from the hoard Karon Limen 1940

The magistrate name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
EY	1	Without countermark?
Monogram	1	Without countermark?
ΠΟΛΥΙ	1	Without countermark?
No visible magistrate	6	Without countermark?

5. SILISTRA (1947)

In 1947 was found in Silistra (Bulgaria), in a vessel, a coin hoard consisting of nine pieces of silver. These were six posthumous tetradrachmas from Alexander

¹¹ KNECHTEL 1915, p. 11, no. 25; STAMBULIU 2004, p. 52, nr. 219.

¹² RUZICKA 1913, p. 9, no. 243c.

¹³ RUZICKA 1917, p. 88, no. 235a.

¹⁴ POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 51, no. 27; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 89, no. 5; AVRAM & POENARU BORDEA 2010, p. 595; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 159, no. 26.

¹⁵ I could not see any photos of the component coins in the publications, nor did they receive detailed reports.

III (beaten by Mesambria), one drachma from Istros, one from Callatis (probably according to PICK 1898, p. 97, no. 196–199) and a tetradrachma from Seleukos I¹⁶.

The monetary hoard is dated to the years 250–200 BC¹⁷.

Table VIII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Herakles (AR) type coins in the hoard Silistra 1947

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Without countermark

6. MANGALIA (1958)

In 1958, at the intersection of Vasile Pârvan and Constanța streets, an unspecified number of Greek silver coins were discovered in random conditions (unclear from an archaeological point of view), of which 14 quasi-divisional specimens were recovered. These can be described by issuer: four coins from Apollonia Pontica, six coins from Callatis and four coins from Mesambria¹⁸. The coins of Apollonia Pontica are one drachma and three diobols, those of Mesambria are all diobols, to which are added those of Callatis of the Herakles type, all hemidrahmas (according to PICK 1898, p. 98, no. 200, 202 and 204). Given the location of the discovery, we believe it is very possible that the hoard came from a tomb. This finding would result in the addition of a good period of time until the coins have met all the necessary conditions for their holders, to relinquish their market value and to be transformed into objects with a symbolic-religious charge. Some of the parts also seem to have a certain wear, from beating or especially from circulation. So we do not rule out the deposition of all the pieces in the very beginning of the 3rd century BC. The accumulation of the pieces would have been done in time, within the respective family. However, this finding has scientific value only if the deposit comes from, and there is a good chance in this regard, of a funeral complex.

By and large, the dating of this deposit, if we refer strictly only to the Apollonian and Mesambrian coins, seems to belong to the second half of the 4th century BC. If we take into account the presence of Callatian silver coins, we would focus much more precisely towards the last quarter of the same century. Also, given the wear found in some specimens, we do not rule out the deposition of all parts at the beginning of the 3rd century BC¹⁹.

¹⁶ GERASIMOV 1950, p. 322; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115, no. 870; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 63, no. 53; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 93, no. 19; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 330, no. 140/14.

¹⁷ THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115.

¹⁸ TALMAȚCHI 2017a, p. 287–289, no. 1-14.

¹⁹ TALMAȚCHI 2017b, p. 294.

Table IX. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Herakles (AR) type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1958

The magistrate's name or logo	Number of pieces	Countermarks
W	1	Without countermark
M	1	Without countermark
?	4	Without countermark

7. MANGALIA (1962)

In 1962, on Ștefan cel Mare street, corner with Oituz street, in the southwestern edge of the new Post Office building, during the excavations carried out for the foundations of some blocks of flats, it was discovered in a vessel, at a depth of 2.50 m, a monetary hoard. Originally composed of 50 bronze coins (the coins were initially divided among the workers), 48 specimens belonging to the Demetra /wreath types were recovered (36 pieces according to PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 225) and Dionysos/panther (12 pieces according to PICK 1898, p. 100, no. 217, varying the logo)²⁰. The hoard was saved from extinction and permanent scattering among the workers on the site by M. Niculescu (supervisor at the local museum) and by the numismatist and archaeologist Gh. Poenaru Bordea (1936–2004). The vessel was broken by construction site workers and destroyed very quickly after its complete discovery. Its short description includes the image of an unpolished red jug with a single handle.

The site of the discovery is outside the Hellenistic precinct wall of the city of the autonomous era, although the one who published the hoard did not rule out its discovery inside a possible extramural neighborhood²¹. None of the constituent coins are countermarked, which, along with the actual types of coins, makes it the earliest hoard of bronze coins minted in the Callatian mint, of those known. Also, on the occasion of its publication, Gh. Poenaru Bordea states that the monetary type with Demeter and the wreath of wheat spikes predates the type of Dionysus with panther²². Only the two monetary types were in circulation on the local Callatian market at that chronological moment.

The hoard is considered to be dated in the bibliography around 260 BC²³. In the opinion of Gh. Poenaru Bordea, the hoard would have been buried after 281 and at most until around 260 BC²⁴.

²⁰ POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 103–125; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115, no. 863; PREDĂ 1998, p. 77; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 92, no. 15; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 256, no. 85/7.

²¹ POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 103.

²² POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 114.

²³ THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113.

²⁴ POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 117–188.

Table X. *Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Demetra type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1962*

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΔΙ	36	Without countermark

Table XI. *Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysus/Panther type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1962*

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
Δ and monogram (HP)	5	Without countermark (p. 108, no. 37–41)
Δ and Ω	2	Without countermark (p. 109, no. 42–43)
Δ and O	1	Without countermark (p. 109, no. 44)
Δ and H	4	Without countermark (p. 109, no. 45–48)

8. *PRESLAV (1972)*

In 1972, a monetary hoard was accidentally discovered in Preslav, (Bulgaria), near the present-day city. Unfortunately, it was scattered among the discoverers, and 10 bronze coins were finally recovered, including a Callatian one of the type Dionyssos/wreath (PICK 1898, p. 97, no. 221). The rest of the specimens are Macedonian coins from Philip II (6 pieces) and Alexander the Great (one piece), respectively from Mesambria (one piece) and Dionysopolis (one piece)²⁵.

The hoard can be dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC, but we must keep in mind that it was only partially recovered.

Table XII. *Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Preslav 1972*

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΠΟΛΥΙ	1	Without countermark (no. 10)

9. *POIANA (1985)*

In addition to the discoveries from Dobrudja, it is necessary to add a single appearance listed north of the Danube in the form of the monetary hoard discovered following the archaeological excavations carried out in the Gaetic settlement from Poiana (Nicorești commune, Galați County). It was made in

²⁵ VLADIMIROVA 1980, p. 23–27; JURUKOVA 1970, p. 59–60; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 62–63, no. 46.

1985²⁶, the hoard was found in a small ceramic vessel. Discovered at a depth of -1.60 m, in section N, square 26, in level IV of the settlement. This level belongs to the 3rd-1st centuries BC (more precisely between the beginning of the 3rd century and the first half of the 1st century BC), which is very unhelpful in seeking to establish closer chronological landmarks regarding its penetration. It consists of 32 standalone Apollo bronze coins, all countermarked (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 227 general type)²⁷.

The presence in the Gaetic environment north of the Danube would indicate an uncertain payment made to the local elite, an event that occurred sometime in the 2nd-1st centuries BC²⁸.

Table XIII. Magistrates, the number of pieces and the countermarks present on the coins in the hoard from Poiana 1985.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΣΚΛΑ	3	Hermes (no. 1), star with six rays (no. 2-3)
ΔΗΛΟ	4	Hermes (no. 4-5, 7), star with six rays (no. 4-7)
ΠΟ	2	Hermes (nr. 8-9), star with six rays (no. 8), Demetra (no. 9)
ΗΡΟ	5	Hermes (no. 10-12), star with six rays (no. 10-14)
ΑΠΟΛ	2	Hermes (no. 16), star (no. 15-16)
ΑΠΟΛΛΟ	9	Hermes (no. 17-18, 20-22, 24), star with six rays (no. 17, 19-20, 22-25), Demetra (no. 18, 21)
ΑΘΑ	2	star with six rays (no. 26-27)
ΕΠΙΧΑ	1	star with six rays (no. 28)
ΕΠΧ	3	Hermes (no. 31), star (no. 29-30)
ΕΠΙ	1	star (no. 32)

10. MANGALIA (1994)

A monetary hoard was discovered at Mangalia (Saturn) in 1994, at the "Pelican" restaurant, where archeological research was carried out to prepare the ground for the construction of a high school. Among the funerary complexes researched, dating from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, there is also a tomb made in a simple pit and niche, which had in its inventory a number of four bronze

²⁶ Wrongly appears in Constantin Preda as discovered in 1986, according to PREDA 1998, p. 77.

²⁷ TEODOR, NICU & ȚAU 1987, p. 133-138; MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, p. 140-141; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 124, no. 16; MUNTEANU 2013, p. 363-364; MARIN 2018, p. 87-117.

²⁸ For a commercial payment for products see PREDA 1998, p. 78.

coins of the Athena type, minted in the local Callatian mint.²⁹ They have the same monetary magistrate on the reverse: MOΣX/MOΣXI (PICK 1898, p. 103, no. 240). Although the rest of the tombs are considered to belong to the 2nd-3rd centuries BC, it is very possible that the one containing the funerary monetary hoard was made in the second part of the 1st century BC or more precisely towards the end of it. The funerary complex was oriented east-west, with the dromos facing east and had the funeral chamber blocked with a wall made of limestone blocks bounded with earth. The access was made by dromos, after which the funeral chamber was dug horizontally, in *loess* and blocked with the mentioned wall. The tomb belonged to an adult, with the skeleton facing east-west and the skull facing east. In general, this type of tomb, in analogy with what is known from previous research at Callatis, respects the depth between 3 and 4 m, being as a construction specific to the period between the 4th century BC and 3rd century AD. In the only published material on the respective archeological excavations, it is considered that all the tombs discovered in the resort of Saturn (starting from 200 meters west and north of the Hellenistic precinct), in the mentioned point, belong to the Roman era (2nd-3rd centuries AD). Moreover, 80% of these tombs belong to the Sarmatian population. We consider that we can thus identify, in this situation, a singular tomb, much earlier, which at 100 or 150 years after its excavation, was lost in the great mass of those executed in the context of the appearance in the area of the Sarmatian population and the new adjacent necropolis. For its early character, several numismatic arguments are brought, among which: the fairly good and relatively uniform way of preserving the coins, their issue with the second part of the 3rd century until the middle of the 1st century BC, and their deposition, as relics, cannot exceed a few decades in their new religious significance as fee for *Charon*.

The hoard was deposited as a funerary offering towards the end of the 1st century BC.

Table XIV. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Athena type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1994

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
MOΣXI	4	Without countermark

11. ADAMCLISI (2002)

The first callatian monetary deposit appeared at Adamclisi (Adamclisi commune, Constanța County), was accidentally discovered during 2002 by a local, northwest of the settlement and about 700-800 meters from the Roman-Byzantine fortress, in the direction of the Triumphal Monument. It consists of four Callatian bronze specimens of the Dionysos type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 219, no. 221 and no. 224) and Apollo (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 229)³⁰.

²⁹ TALMAȚCHI & IONESCU 2021, p. 43–54.

³⁰ TALMAȚCHI 2009, p. 193–194, no. 1–4; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 133, no. 3/8.

The hoard, which does not appear to be funerary, can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century and around the middle of the 1st century BC due to the presence of countermarks on coins of the Dionysos monetary type.

Table XV. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2002.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΤΙ	1	Artemis (no. 1), on the obverse
ΠΟΛVI	1	Without countermark (no. 2)
ΕΥ ?	1	Artemis (no. 3), on the obverse.

Table XVI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Apollo type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2002.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΟ	1	Without countermark (no. 2)

12. TUZLA (2003)

On the occasion of digging the foundations for a new construction (holiday house), a deposit of 30–35 autonomous Tomitan and Callatian bronze coins appeared in the residential area of Tuzla (Tuzla commune, Constanța County), in 2003, all being divided among the workers. Subsequently, 10 pieces were recovered. At least two of them are Callatians of the Dionysus/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 100–101, no. 218–224, general type)³¹. The rest are probably Tomitans large module, of the Apollo and Great God type, being in a very precarious state of preservation, which does not allow us to decide definitively whether two more coins could also be autonomous Callatians. There is no information on the existence of a possible archaeological context or any other clue on the spot. This hoard appears to be a small amount of cash brought locally from Tomis or Callatis for commercial purposes or is the end result of a transaction in the market of a *polis*.

The presences of countermarks make us to date this non-funerary hoard during the second half of the 2nd century and around the middle of the 1st century BC.

Table XVII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Tuzla 2003.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Artemis (on the obverse)
?	1	Most likely Hermes (on the obverse)

³¹ TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 94, no. 22; TALMAȚCHI 2017a.

13. ŞİPOTELE (2011)

The monetary hoard is probably discovered in the years 2011-2012, in unclear conditions, by chance, in the vicinity of Şipotele (Deleni commune, Constanța County). It is very possible that it was donated by someone from Şipotele or Adamclisi to the archaeologist Cristian Olariu (the discovery must have come from Şipotele and the surrounding area). It consists of five Callatian bronze coins of the Dionysos/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 220; STANCOMB 2000, pl. IV, no. 75–80, 81?, 86)³².

The hoard, which does not appear to be funerary, can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century and around the middle of the 1st century BC. due to the presence of countermarks on the Dionysos monetary type.

Table XVIII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Şipotele 2011.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΕΠΧ	1	Without countermark (no. 30)
ΠΟΥΛΕ	1	Without countermark (no. 32)
ΕΠΙ	1	Without countermark (no. 34)
Ε	1	Artemis (no. 33), on the obverse
ΕΥ	1	Artemis (no. 31), on the obverse

14. ADAMCLISI (2012)

The second hoard from Adamclisi was discovered in 2012 as a result of archaeological research or through field research. It comes from the Ispanaru point (a former village, now abandoned, about 7 km northwest of Adamclisi). It consists of eight Callatian bronze coins of the Dionysos/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 218, 221, 224; RUZICKA 1917, p. 88, no. 222d), Apollo (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 227 general type) and possible Demetra (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 225 ?)³³.

The hoard, which does not appear to be funerary, can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century and around the middle of the 1st century BC. due to the presence of countermarks on the Demetra and Dionysos monetary types.

Table XIX. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2012.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΤΙ	1	Artemis (no. 23), on the obverse
ΠΟ/ΛΥ	1	Without countermark (no. 21)
ΕΥ	1	Without countermark (no. 22)
?	1	Hermes (no. 24), on the obverse
?	2	Artemis (no. 25–26), on the obverse

³² TALMAȚCHI 2017b, p. 544–543, no. 30–34.

³³ TALMAȚCHI 2017b, p. 542–543, no. 21–28.

Table XX. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Apollo type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2012.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΠΟΛΛ	1	Without countermark (nr. 27)

Table XXI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Demetra type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2012.

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Hermes, spoke wheel and Herakles (no. 28), on the obverse

III. Countermarking of component coins and the chronology of the monetary hoards.

As can be seen from the list of monetary hoards in the previous pages, from the historical Dobrudja come a total of 13 hoards and (or) monetary deposits that consist only of Callatian coins of Hellenistic period, or and Callatian coins of Hellenistic period. To these is added a hoard discovered north of the Danube. Of all these, nine hoards consist only of Callatian monetary issues, in another five they are associated with other coins. Of the 14 hoards listed, only two are discovered during archaeological excavations. However, few of the generally known hoards in the scientific literature benefit from archaeological contexts. Finally, of the 14 hoards, no countermarked piece appears in five of them.

The decision to countermark the coins, following a monetary reform, is the prerogative of a local authority, caused by a local or zonal situation, the lack of available cash or the inability of the city to finance the procurement of enough metal to mint new coins of the types existing at that time. And the countermarking of coins, in fact monetary reforms³⁴, implies their correlation with a market exchange value, in accordance with the interests of the authorities³⁵. Thus, by means of the latter, a coin, which was often out of use, by receiving one or more successive official countermarks, regained market value within that city or territory of influence³⁶. It becomes a brand of origin, easily recognizable³⁷.

This procedure could be applied to local coins or those coming from other issuing centers of the time. And the process ensures an overestimation of some local issues in relation to the currencies of other competing centers³⁸.

The process of countermarking through repeated monetary reforms appeared in the Hellenistic period, when the economic situation of many Greek

³⁴ TALMAȚCHI 2019b, p. 45.

³⁵ HOWGEGO 2006, p. 12–13.

³⁶ PREDA 1994, p. 351–352; CALLATAÏ 2000, p. 119; TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 549.

³⁷ PRICE 1983, p. 7.

³⁸ MØRKHOLM 1982, p. 298–300.

cities was in decline³⁹, situation also valid for the three West Pontic colonies of Dobrudja. On the west and north-west coasts of Pontos Euxeinos, countermarking was preferred for bronze coins⁴⁰.

Most of the monetary hoards composed of all or part of Callatian coins consist of countermarked coins, most of which are in a poor state of preservation. Why the vast majority of Callatian coins discovered in monetary hoards are countermarked? Because their establishment belongs to a late stage in the functioning of the local currency, when on the local market there were massive, if not all, only such pieces. A cause of the poor condition of the coins is also due to the countermarking process. Due to the mechanical pressures exerted on the countermarking coins, most of the time the reverse is totally destroyed from an iconographic point of view. We also add the "crack" of the pill of the respective coin, which leads to a sharp angle away from the edges of the coin⁴¹. In some cases there is no connection between the circulation of the parts and their preservation pattern, as their obverse looks quite good.

The countermarks on the hoard coins are apparently chaotic. However, depending on the type, some positioning "patterns" can be identified for certain countermarks. This means choosing a position in the monetary field, an action that was soon abandoned with the printing of one or more countermarks in later stages of monetary reform. On the coins of the Dionysos/wreath type we find the countermarks with Artemis (in Mangalia 1935, Adamclisi 2002, Tuzla 2003, Şipotele 2011 and Adamclisi 2021) and with Hermes (Tuzla 2003 and Adamclisi 2012); on the Apollo type appear Hermes countermarks (Poiana 1985), star with six rays (Poiana 1985) and Demetra (Poiana 1985); on the possible Demetra type, appear the countermarks with Hermes, 6-ray star and Demetra (Poiana 1985). On the Dionysos/wreath type, the countermarks appear only singular, one per coin, never cumulated. On the Apollo type, the countermarks appear either singly, two or three (sometimes overlapping or partially intersecting). On the coin belonging to the Demetra type appear all three countermarks cumulated on a single copy. The appearance sometimes of a single countermark or of two or three can also be explained by the printing of coins in various ways, namely it is not absolutely necessary that the same coin supply in its entirety to be repeatedly subjected to this process. A previously unmarked coin that came back to the city from an environment outside of it could only be printed in a second or third countermarking stage in that city. Also, the idea that if, for example, three countermarks are present, one of which is local, the second belongs to a neighboring city and the third could not be required to belong to the same neighboring city, is in our opinion an insufficiently analyzed interpretation⁴². As

³⁹ For the similar situation of the Seleucid Kingdom see at MATTINGLY 1998, p. 237–243.

⁴⁰ TALMAŢCHI 2008, p. 157; For the mint from Olbia also see STOLBA 2005, p. 395–403; for the Odessa mint we find information at TOPALOV 2004, p. 52–67, LAZARENKO 2004 a, p. 33–51 and LAZARENKO 2004 b, p. 139–149; for those from Mesambria and Apollonia Pontica at LAZARENKO 1999, p. 28–34; LAZARENKO 2004–2005, p. 143–163; or about all three mints at TOPALOV 1997.

⁴¹ TALMAŢCHI 2006b, p. 810; TALMAŢCHI 2019b, p. 44.

⁴² MARIN 2018, p. 106.

mentioned, the phenomenon of coin countermarking in the western part of Pontos Euxeinos, beginning in the last quarter of the 2nd century and in the first half of the 1st century BC, sometimes involved even 2–3 stages of monetary reform⁴³. And then that respective coin could end up being used in the market of a neighboring city in the case of the last two countermarks, benefiting from countermarks other than those of the incipient issuing monetary workshop. On the other hand, it is very true that these coins circulated massively in the internal markets of the cities of Istros, Tomis, Callatis and Dionysopolis until they reached various forms in the local environment⁴⁴. The capture of some chronological details regarding the reported monetary reforms can be identified from the study of some votive deposits discovered near Sarmizegetuza Regia. Thus, the funerary deposit, for sacred votive purposes, of the monetary deposit discovered at Costești (Hunedoara county), brought by robbery by representatives of the Dacian army in the campaign west and northwest of Pontos Euxeinos, indicates the immediate period after the middle of the 1st century BC⁴⁵. This means that in the middle of the 1st century BC, countermarked local currencies circulated on the domestic monetary market in Istros following repeated monetary reforms. Another monetary deposit composed of countermarked Histrian bronze coins discovered in Călan (Hunedoara county), also in Transylvania, does not help us in our approach as there is no relevant archaeological context⁴⁶.

Funeral hoards or monetary deposits, deposited with religious significance, must be subject to special analysis. In general, the dating of closed funerary complexes was done in the Romanian archaeological research, primarily through the prism of coins and quite a bit based on the rest of the archaeological inventory⁴⁷. Not infrequently, there was a glaring discrepancy (which escapes the publisher of those archaeological funerary discoveries, in the absence of knowledge of ancient numismatics or only superficial ones) between the dating of other inventory pieces (ceramic, glass, metal, etc.) and that of coins. Thus, many questions can be raised in determining the relatively exact chronological moment of burial or cremation of the deceased. They can be coins that have been in circulation for a long time since they were issued and are then used as relics for magical and religious purposes. Consequently, the dating remains from a scientific point of view permanently susceptible to re-evaluation, with the development of specialized research on the different categories of archaeological and numismatic objects identified in funerary contexts. And there is another very important thing necessary in solving these issues: the scientific collaboration between the archaeologist and the numismatist in order to elucidate the possible chronological differences between the components of the funerary inventories.

⁴³ TALMAȚCHI 2006b, p. 813.

⁴⁴ MARIN 2018, p. 107.

⁴⁵ GĂZDAC 2018, p. 60.

⁴⁶ GRĂMĂȚICU & OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2005, p. 25–36; the only indication concerns its discovery in the vicinity of the future Roman settlement of Ad Aquas (Aqua).

⁴⁷ This finding is based on the way in which the chronological elements were established for the pre-Roman tombs in the Tomitan necropolises, in the research carried out in the middle of the last century, according to BUCOVALĂ 1967, *passim*.

Another aspect that needs to be carefully managed in scientific research at these funeral deposits is how we tend to establish chronological elements of some monetary types within the monetary activity only on the basis of the presence or not of some types of monetary types. And the chronological interpretation of isolated monetary discoveries can sometimes be undesirable for accuracy⁴⁸. It should not be avoided that the selection and presence of monetary types in these hoards is not made objectively by the local economic and commercial market, it is made subjectively by the family of the deceased. An important part of them is gathered in stages for such unfortunate events by the respective families. As can be seen, hoards or funerary monetary deposits should not be absolutized in the establishment and rewriting of certain monetary chronologies, the categorical consideration of issues as concomitant in circulation, the study of the emission density at certain stages of activity in the local Greek mint. The very presence of specimens in contexts much later than the approximate known time of the beating in the mint requires special attention and an inevitable caution in their use as a chronological standard in the closed funeral inventory. Perhaps from this perspective they should be avoided *ab initio* etc. By virtue of some obvious aspects, it would be desirable to use for such purposes those discovered outside the framework of necropolises. Returning to the monetary types present in the composition of the listed Hellenistic hoards, we summarize some chronological data on the dating of these iconographic types.

Gh. Poenaru Bordea considers the beginning of the Callatian workshop sometime between about 330 and the end of the 4th century BC, maybe until 281 BC⁴⁹. The same researcher also provided a chronological order of the monetary types of Callatis, as follows: Herakles (AR), Dionysos on the obverse and panther on the reverse, in parallel to Demeter on the obverse and the spike wreath on the reverse⁵⁰. Next, in parallel, are the types Apollo and Dionysos with a wreath on the reverse. The following are the types of Artemis, Hermes and

⁴⁸ See the dating of a tomb discovered in the Hellenistic necropolis of Tomis in the middle of the 1st century BC, based on the rite, ceramic and glass elements, including a coin of the Apollo type used as a pendant, according to BUCOVALĂ 1975, p. 387; the fact that the piece was used as a pendant removes it from the area of monetary circulation, from the physical economic and commercial space, transferring the weight of its meaning to the religious domain. That currency belongs, at one point, to another sphere of interest (probably from the beginning of the first quarter of the 1st century BC. or a little earlier), in this case as an element of adornment (during the person's life) and subsequently transformed (after the person's death) into a funeral inventory. Both forms require a long period of inactivity of the former currency. From our point of view, the coin was taken out of use before it could be countermarked, which indicates a period before the middle of the 2nd century BC (but are known, for example, in Apollo type hoards and specimens that have escaped for one reason or another from countermarking, the rest of the component pieces being printed); then its state of preservation indicates a significant circulation for the next half century; then it was a pendant; From our point of view, the tomb may date back to the first half of the 1st century BC., probably around the end of the first quarter of this century.

⁴⁹ POENARU BORDEA 1997, p. 60–61.

⁵⁰ POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 115.

Herakles, the last being Athena⁵¹. Constantin Preda considered the beginning of the Callatian mint with the Herakles type printed in silver, sometime between the middle of the 4th century BC and the year 313 BC⁵². In the case of bronze issues, he proposed dating the monetary types with Demeter and Dionysus in the first half of the 3rd century BC, without ruling out the possibility of their issuance as early as the end of the 4th century BC⁵³. Regarding the monetary types Herakles (AE), Apollo, Athena, Artemis and Hermes, suggested their issuance from the end of the 3rd century BC to the middle of the 1st century BC. A probable fact is that most of them were issued mainly in the 2nd century BC and in the first three decades of the 1st century BC⁵⁴, when, with the military action of Burebista king, the activity of the mint of the autonomous epoch would have ended⁵⁵. We note the suggestion, as a working hypothesis, regarding the later dating of the bronze emissions of the Apollo type, considering their penetration in the North-Danubian autochthonous environment from the second half of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BC⁵⁶. William Stancomb offered suggestions on the chronology of the different monetary types issued by the city in the autonomous age, without giving arguments in favor of his proposals⁵⁷. Among them, he established as the period of issue for the Apollo type the years 150–100 BC, a hypothesis later taken over by Steluța Marin (who truly supports the circulation of Callatian coins of the Apollo/tripod type and in the first half of the 1st century BC or, more broadly, in the 1st century BC⁵⁸). In fact, in 2017, analyzing the monetary hoards discovered at Adamclisi (2002/2012 and Șipotele 2011), we specify the possibility that this monetary type will be beaten at Callatis with the 2nd century, around the middle of this century, benefiting by countermarking of a long circulation, including in the Gaetic environment during the 1st century BC⁵⁹.

Given all the information presented above, we will try to establish a chronological enumeration of the Hellenistic hoards that are composed and or only of autonomous Callatian coin. Thus, this would be the next:

- during the 4th century BC the hoard Ion Corvin 1903 would sign up;
- at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC the hoard Mangalia 1958;
- during the 3rd century BC the hoards from Silistra 1947 and Mangalia 1962 would have been buried (there are no countermarks on coins);
- during the 3rd-2nd centuries BC the Karon Limen hoard was hidden (there are no countermarks on coins), respectively for the end of the 3rd century and the 2nd century BC. Preslav's 1972 hoard would sign up;
- during the 2nd-1st centuries BC belongs to a massive group of hoards: Mangalia 1935 (coins with countermarks), Poiana 1985 (coins with countermarks),

⁵¹ POENARU BORDEA 1997, p. 61.

⁵² PREDĂ 1998, p. 74.

⁵³ PREDĂ 1998, p. 75.

⁵⁴ PREDĂ 1998, p. 76.

⁵⁵ PREDĂ 1998, p. 76.

⁵⁶ PREDĂ 1998, p. 78.

⁵⁷ STANCOMB 1996, p. 155–157.

⁵⁸ MARIN 2018, p. 87–88, p. 105.

⁵⁹ TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 548–549.

Adamclisi 2002 (coins with countermarks), Tuzla 2003 (coins with countermarks), Şipotele 2011 (coins with countermarks) and Adamclisi 2012 (coins with countermarks);

- during the 1st century BC is integrated the hoard Mangalia 1994 (only Athenian type coins).

The chronological revaluation of the coins of the autonomous Greek period, which has on their surface one or more countermarks, clear traces of the development of monetary reforms caused by monetary crises, is becoming a field of research in full swing, very little researched so far to the true scientific value, undeservedly. The phenomenon of monetary countermarking is specific to a period that begins with the second half of the 2nd century and continues until the middle of the 1st century BC, i.e. around a century with small interruptions.

IV. Association with other monetary issues of the Hellenistic period.

Within the repertoire of monetary hoards composed of coins beaten in the Callatian mint during the Hellenistic period several compositional variants can be found.

The hoard's containing Callatian coins in association with coins of other issuing centers are a total of five indexed (Ion Corvin 1903; Silistra 1947; Mangalia 1958; Preslav 1972 and Tuzla 2003). Among them are three associations between bronze and silver coins (Ion Corvin 1903; Silistra 1947; Mangalia 1958), and two hoard's consist exclusively of bronze coins (Preslav 1972 and Tuzla 2003). Those of AR/AE presents associations of Callatian drachmas and hemidrachmas with silver coins from Apollonia Pontica/Mesembria/Istros and from Asia Minor; or with posthumous tetradrachmas from Mesambria/tetradrachma Seleukos I and drachma from Istros; or with Apollonia Pontica/Mesembria. Those that are composed only of bronze coins present associations of the type Dionysos/wreath with posthumous issues from Macedonia (Philip II and Alexander III) / Mesembria and Dionysopolis or with pieces from Tomis (types Apollo and Great God).

Then a number of nine hoards consist exclusively of Callatian bronze coins of the types Demetra, Dionysos/Panther, Dionysos/Ivy Wreath, Apollo and Athena. Whether un-countermarked or countermarked, they are part of hoards made up entirely of local monetary issues. Some of the types known to be beaten also in the local mints as Herakles (AR and AE), Artemis and Hermes do not appear. Coins of the late Artemis and Hermes types are however sporadic in isolated discoveries, even relatively chaotically positioned at known points, which do not indicate a direction, but a random movement of the human element in the area.

The identified associations are as follows:

- general types Demetra and Dionysos/panther;
- general types Demetra and Dionysos/wreath;
- general types Dionysos/wreath and Athena;
- general types Dionysos/ wreath and Apollo;
- general types Apollo and Athena;
- general types Demetra, Dionysos/ wreath and Apollo.

Finally, we find two hoards that have only a Callatian monetary type such as either Dionysos/wreath, or Apollo and only Athena.

Of the 14 hoards indexed, we know for sure that only in five situations was also a ceramic vessel containing that discovery. Even if it is known for some hoards that they have not been fully recovered, from what is known today scientifically published, we note that being part of them a total of around 140–150 pieces (AR and AE).

V. The directions of penetration and the significance of the currency in the Greek and local environments

The circulation and penetration of monetary issues from Callatis during the 4th–1st centuries BC can be traced in stages by geographical areas in close correlation with the commercial directions developed by the colony in different chronological phases. What is noteworthy in the case of isolated discoveries, in the mentioned period, is the predilection to spread mainly the bronze coins of the fortress, which have an overwhelming proportion if we look at the totality of all published discoveries⁶⁰.

With the exception of a single hoard discovered in the north of the Danube, all the others appear in the area of mainland Dobrudja (territory divided today between Romania and Bulgaria).

During the 4th–3rd centuries BC Herakles silver coins are found isolated or in hoards inside the city, in the nearby countryside and in the south and southwest of the Pontic territory. Some of the hoards discoveries indicate a well-known direction of merchants to move south and west of mainland Dobrudja, according to the isolated discoveries and especially the hoards from Karon Limen and Silistra. There is also an exception in the specified areas, being identified a Callatian drachma in a hoard discovered in southeastern Bulgaria in association with posthumous tetradrachmas of the type Alexander III⁶¹.

In the 3rd–1st centuries BC two are the main directions of penetration of the Callatian bronze monetary document⁶². The first contains the northeastern, southern (between Tomis and Odessos) and south-western areas of Dobrudja. These trade directions are intensively used in the context of the development of the local economy, becoming vital for ensuring the prosperous economic-commercial flow (especially the southwest). The north-eastern and south-western areas of the Dobrudjan territory preserve numerous archeological vestiges, rich from a historical and cultural point of view. We know of many attestations of the presence of a Greek or heavily Hellenized population, along with a local, mostly Gaetic. The presence of communication routes coming from the Greek cities on the Pontic coast and the connection with the main Danube link, favored the development of relations with the local Gaetic communities located in open or fortified settlements. Imported Greek materials are numerous (especially various ceramic shapes, including amphorae in particular). They are mainly found on the

⁶⁰ TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 40; MUNTEANU 2013, p. 362–363; TALMAȚCHI 2019a, p. 143.

⁶¹ TALMAȚCHI 2019a, p. 142.

⁶² MUNTEANU 2013, p. 363; TALMAȚCHI 2019a, p. 143.

land trade routes that cross the region.

The Demetra type is discovered inside the city, inside the city *chora* or at the border of the neighboring colonies, in the southern continental space of Dobrudja, respectively occasionally inside them or in their immediate vicinity. There are also some discoveries in the north of the region located on the banks of the Danube in the area of some fords. Regarding the hoards, coins of this type appear in a discovery made at Karon Limen (Balchik, Bulgaria), to which is added the hoard discovered in 1962 in Mangalia. The monetary type with Dionysos/panther seems to have had a short issue, with a reduced circulation at the level of the city square, being known a single isolated discovery outside the *chora* and the Callatian *polis*, at Adamclisi (Constanța County)⁶³.

The coins of the types Dionysos/ivy wreath and Apollo/tripod seem to be some of the most widespread specimens, which also contributed to the spread of the religious symbols of the city in different environments south of the Danube. Along with those of Callatis, the hoards are numerous and can be grouped as follows: two in Mangalia, three in southwestern Dobrudja and one on the border of Callatian and Tomitan territories. The local square of the fortress is established for the 3rd-2nd centuries BC. in a reservoir for accumulations in hoards of Callatian pieces. In the southwest of the Dobrudja area we mention the hoards discovered at Adamclisi and one at Șipotetele (Constanța County). The vast majority of Callatian coins present in the respective hoards (except for the Apollo type) are countermarked (once, two or three times) and, as a result, their dating can be done in the second half of the 2nd century BC (especially its last quarter) and especially in the first half of the 1st century BC⁶⁴. The concealment of these low-value monetary deposits is attributed to economic and non-economic factors. That is, there may be small payments made with the movement and sale of products in the local environment, or they remain locally due to external pressure or it may even be an accidental loss. They were relatively small, however. This southwestern area of Dobrudja is rich in archeological and numismatic discoveries⁶⁵, which individualizes it through its peculiarities. The transition and the leap to Callatis from the production of silver to bronze coins express the need to sustain the economic and commercial effort manifested in the territory of influence and outside it, in other resonant spaces, more and more distant. In our opinion, the city of Callatis is the most involved colony from an economic, commercial and monetary point of view, for the southern and south-western area, beginning with the 3rd century BC (especially from the end of the first half and the beginning of the second). And this situation will continue in the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century BC, with or without commercial products⁶⁶.

The penetration of Callatian bronze coins in the mentioned areas is due to the confidence enjoyed by the prosperous economy of the city in the preferences of the locals⁶⁷. Bronze coins, of the same monetary type, repeatedly counter-

⁶³ TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 540–541, no. 18.

⁶⁴ TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 40.

⁶⁵ MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA & CHIRIAC 2000, p. 442–443, 447, no. 1–5.

⁶⁶ TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 19.

⁶⁷ TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 551–552, with all the bibliography of the discoveries.

marked, are found in contexts much later than their actual period of issue in the polis. This is a proven fact for autochthonous spaces, far from the source of the beating. The penetration of Callatian bronze coins is also due to the confidence enjoyed by the products and the prosperous trade of the city in the preferences of the natives. Our previous analyzes of the circulation of autonomous Callatian coins in *chora* and other geographical areas⁶⁸ indicated us a certain "predilection" for the appearance of discoveries along a possible "trade route" which connected the Doric colony with the south-western part of the Dobrudjan territory⁶⁹. More precisely, I had identified as a possible end of this circulation the transit and trade space located in the area of the current locality Silistra (Bulgaria), which would suggest a possible commercial and economic direction of special interest for the Callatian polis during the 4th–1st centuries BC⁷⁰. Also, such monetary appearances were made, in an overwhelming proportion, near some well-known local settlements. The Dorian city had trade relations not only with the Gaetic population, but also with various forms and political and military structures in the area. An example of this is the important Scythian community. And the Callatis mint is one of the most important (along with Dionysopolis and Tomis) possible sources for "Scythian-type" issues, generally dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC⁷¹. We note in the ensemble of monetary hoards the one discovered in Preslav, southwest of Varna, it is a real exception in our list. It may also have a commercial side or it could be an accidental loss. The association of coins from Dionysopolis and Mesambria is explained by the existence of a bronze money supply in the area, along with Macedonian coins.

Finally, the last bronze coins of the main types from Callatis and which contribute to the composition of the known hoards are those with Athena. Coins depicting Athena on the obverse enjoyed a rich circulation isolated. The concentration areas remain mainly connected to the internal market of Callatis and its rural territory, the area of the fords crossing to the north of the river and to the south-west of Dobrudja. The only hoards that present coins from this last group of Callatian types are those mentioned as discovered at Mangalia.

Naturally, we say that most of the bronze monetary deposits are recorded as discovered in Mangalia (five), being "amounts" that were part, for the most part, of the monetary circulation in the internal market of the city.

The second main direction of penetration of Callatian coins is found in the territories north of Danube, in Wallachia and in the south of Moldova. These areas, until the 3rd century BC, had been under the economic and commercial influence of Istros, but its economic situation deteriorated and it could no longer support the former strategic commercial directions. The isolated discoveries are made in several local centers located on or near the course of some tributaries of Danube, deep inside the local communities. The way in which these coins enter should be looked for in the circulation of merchants or in general of Greek citizens (kept as change in their pockets), being almost excluded as a means in

⁶⁸ TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 39–40.

⁶⁹ TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 551–552.

⁷⁰ TALMAȚCHI 2002–2003, p. 396.

⁷¹ TALMAȚCHI 1999, p. 312; TALMAȚCHI & ANDREESCU 2008, p. 460.

local payments, and so with a limited real use. The only hoard composed of bronze coins discovered in this area was made in Poiana, where the presence on the component coins of no less than 10 Callatian monetary magistrates is to be recorded.

Both monetary types (Apollo and Dionysos) seem to have had a long issue, as evidenced by the large number of specimens listed. The depiction of Apollo on the obverse of the Callatian bronze coins was a commercially effective choice for the city authorities, as the coinage also enjoyed widespread circulation in the countryside and in the local environment south and north of the Carpathians.

Of the 14 hoards indexed, only two are discovered during archaeological excavations. However, few of the generally known hoards in the scientific literature benefit from archaeological contexts. From our point of view, in the existing situation, we consider a real gain at least the separation between those discovered in a non-funeral context (or at least some suspected based on relatively certain circumstantial arguments) and those discovered in a funeral context.

As we have seen above, most of these hoards are non-funerary. But this ascertainment is made in the context in which, however, a small part belongs to uncertain circumstances, the discovery data being relatively ambiguous. Either they come from the trade carried out on the internal market of the city of Callatis, or they come from possible commercial transactions from *chora* and possibly even further, for example to the southwest of the Dobrudja area. Whether buried in a local emergency, in the context of military or looting/robbery events.

Funeral hoards or monetary deposits, deposited with religious significance, are to be recorded in at least two situations, both found in Mangalia. One of the hoards was discovered after archeological excavations (1994), the other accidentally (1958). For the one discovered in 1994, although it appears in a funerary area specific to the Sarmatian population from the 2nd-3rd centuries BC, it probably comes from a tomb that is very likely to have been made in the second part of the 1st century BC or even towards the end of it. He was severely affected by the late necropolis. For the second one, discovered in 1958, there is only the suspicion that it came from a tomb. As already mentioned, the selection of some monetary types in this hoard is not made by the local economic and commercial market. Prolonged operation on the local market of some specimens may help their subsequent use as relic objects for magical-religious purposes, they are already coins avoided locally, including due to the state of preservation.

The discovery of some monetary hoards (in Călan and Costești, in Transylvania), respectively of some isolated appearances (Costești in the area of temples, in the courtyard of the fortification, near the towers, etc.), following the archeological researches, of countermarked bronze coins from a few late monetary types of the Istros city helps us by analogy to understand the loss of monetary value for countermarked bronze coins from a West Pontic Greek mint. In Costești hoard we have eight specimens of the Apollo type and five of the Apollo on omphalos type. All this coins, by countermarking (there are two and three countermarks with the heads of the gods Helios, Hermes, Apollo and Athena), prove that they were subjected to repetitive monetary reforms that took

place on the Histrian monetary market in a period chronologically synchronous with that of the reign of Burebista king⁷². In 2002 a small bronze coin hoard was found at Călan (Hunedoara County), consisting of 11 specimens, all Histrian pieces: ten belong to the type Apollo and one of the type Apollo on omphalos. All the coins of the hoard are countermarked (there are one and two countermarks with the heads of the gods Helios, Hermes and Athena)⁷³.

It was also concluded that these coins arrived quite quickly in the Transylvanian environment with the return of the Dacian army after the campaign on the west coast of Pontos Euxeinos in the area of fortifications specific to the Orăștie Mountains, near the capital the capital Sarmisegetuza Regia, sometime between 55 and 48 BC⁷⁴. One of the possibilities of using these coins in the new environment was the votive one, as indicated by the Costești hoard deposited in a tomb in a sacred context⁷⁵. This role taken over by the Histrian coins, through their presence in sacred contexts, corresponds to a practice or phenomenon well known in the Dacian world specific to the 2nd-1st centuries BC⁷⁶. All this research certifies the loss of their economic role and the gain of the religious symbol⁷⁷. It is possible that some Callatian discoveries were intended for religious practices in the local environment as well.

VI. Instead of conclusions

Updating the subject and completing the information, ordering and interpreting the known materials, as well as listing a significant number of older and newer discoveries for the pre-Roman period of operation of the Callatian mint is one of the desiderata of our research topic. A careful study of the monetary hoards consisting in whole or in part of silver and bronze coins of the types minted at Callatis in the Hellenistic period brings new information especially on periods of influence, importance, storage and, case by case, the penetration of coin in sacred space, in the form of a votive deposit. In addition to the obvious evidence, some speculation can be made based on consistent scientific analogies. We can thus nuance where possible a correlation between the power of currency penetration and trade or are simple non-commercial penetrations. The attraction aroused by the monetary document was very important, as evidenced by the trust given by the local society as a recipient, either commercial or religious, a way of penetration being the organized or occasional robbery. Although not directly related to the study of Greek monetary circulation and distribution, "Callatian" monetary hoards also express the pulse of colonial activities in the much broader framework of what is called the general space of

⁷² GĂZDAC 2018, p. 57–58.

⁷³ GRĂMĂȚICU & OBERLÄNDER TÂRNOVEANU 2005, p. 25–29.

⁷⁴ GHEORGHIU 2005, p. 54; GRĂMĂȚICU & OBERLÄNDER TÂRNOVEANU 2005, p. 32.

⁷⁵ GĂZDAC 2018, p. 58–59.

⁷⁶ SÎRBU & BODO 2011, p. 207–218; about the use, for analogy and in the Celtic world, of the ritual presence of coins in sanctuaries, see GRUEL 2005, p. 301–319.

⁷⁷ GĂZDAC 2018, p. 59.

political and economic resonance, especially in the second half of the Hellenistic era.

The reanalysis of countermarked coins, based on the latest research in the field, tends to bring many novelties, regarding their interpretation, especially chronological by their presence in the existing local sites in the Istro-Pontic territory shortly before the imposition of Roman authority, especially during 2nd-1st centuries BC. This is a period in which the temporary structure of the stage of Greek-indigenous relations was on a relatively stable road, located on a thin line between "order" and "disorder". But, obviously, the dynamic character of the human societies known in Dobruja in the 2nd-1st centuries BC, has been constantly transformed, has been changed for the benefit of some or others.

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