

# IRON AGE RITES AND RITUALS IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM  
FROM TÂRGU MUREŞ

7-9 October 2011

Edited by  
**Sándor BERECKI**

**Editura MEGA**  
Târgu Mureş  
2012

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# KILLING THE WEAPONS AN INSIGHT ON GRAVES WITH DESTROYED WEAPONS IN LATE IRON AGE TRANSYLVANIA\*

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**Keywords:** destroyed (bent, folded) weapons, funerary ritual, fourth–first centuries BC, Transylvania, Celts, Thracians

The phenomenon of destruction or intentional deformation of Celtic weapons (especially swords) placed in graves as grave goods or in sanctuaries as votive depositions has often captured the attention of scholars (PLEINER–SCOTT 1993, 161; BUCHWALD 2005, 121, fig. 121), the analyses being affected in detail by super-specialized attempts (RAPIN 1993, 291–298). In Transylvania, the eastern region of the Celtic expansion in the Carpathian Basin, this phenomenon has been little discussed, although this funerary custom associated with Celtic ritual manifestations was recognized and pointed out in the literature a long time ago (PÂRVAN 1926, 626; POPESCU 1944, 655; BERCIU 1970, 84; ZIRRA 1971, 235).

It is true that, in Transylvania during the Late Iron Age, one does not meet exceptional and spectacular situations like those from the Central European area, such as the cemetery of Monte Tamburino, which includes lots of graves with weapons which in the majority are intentionally bent (VITALI 2003, 15, 76, 117, 161, 205, 221, 239, pl. 7/2, 4; 68/12–15; 109/14–16; 153/3, 15; 197/2–3; 213/3–4; 231/10–11, 14), or the West European area – for example, the ritual deposition of cut heads and weapons, including bent swords, from Cailar-Gard (ROURE *ET AL.* 2007, 655), or even the discovery of the deformed weapons in non-funerary dwelling structures as in the fortress of Bourguignon-les-Morey (DUBREUCQ–PININGRE 2005, 674–675, fig. 5/3) or, in the Scandinavian area, such as the deposit from Hjortspring which includes over one hundred weapons, many of them intentionally deformed (BUCHWALD 2005, 188, fig. 276). Despite all this evidence, the archaeological reality of the bent weapons from Transylvania deserve a detailed study, so long as there are opinions which affirm that the weapon deformation in funerary context should be seen as a special feature for the eastern part of the Celtic world together with the Paduan area (ANASTASSOV 2006, 22).

However, the situation of the bent weapons from Transylvania should not be interpreted as an isolated situation, but seen in the totality of the eastern borders of the Celtic world, an area where a lot of such discoveries have been made, such as in southern Poland as from example the early La Tène sword from Iwanowice (PLEINER–SCOTT 1993, 132), Eastern Hungary – the bent sword from grave 5 from Muhi, which indicates an early dating at the end of LT B2 (HELLEBRANDT 1999, 91) –, or Serbia, where some spectacular examples could be found at Odžaci (CZARNECKA 2007, 48–49, fig. 1) or the numerous graves from the Scordiscian cemetery of Karaburma (TODOROVIC 1972, 30–31, 35, pl. 24/9; 34/4).

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\* This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2011-3-0078 (The Archaeological Relevance of Periphery).

Regarding the basic statistics, one can observe that throughout the 150 years of their presence in Transylvania (including Crişana and Banat), to the present some 70 Celtic cemeteries and isolated graves have been discovered (DIETRICH–DIETRICH 2006, 22, fig. 4), a total of about 500 graves (BABEŞ 2000, 135). From the most recent published results 11% of the total number of the graves contained weapons, or 15% of the total number of graves with grave goods (BABEŞ 2001, 516). Almost half of the graves with weapons from Transylvania of the Celtic era (about 27 graves) contained ritually bent weapons (broken or destroyed). Their distribution in the Transylvanian Celtic area is even and all zones are included (Pl. 1/1).

In the inner Carpathian region of Transylvania ten bent Celtic swords were found discovered in ten graves at Aiud, Toarcla, Dipşa, Cristuru Secuiesc, Orosfaia, Silivaş and Band. Excepting grave 2 from Orosfaia which contained a bent late LT C1 Celtic sword (probably the latest bent sword found in a Celtic grave Transylvania) a piece that has been properly studied, documented and published (VAIDA 2006, 303, fig. 14/7), all the other graves were discovered in circumstances where the details regarding the rite and ritual are sparse. In two of the Celtic cemeteries from Aiud area (*Parc* and *the Straub Vineyard*) at least three graves containing bent swords (Fig. 2/1, 18) were discovered by chance at the beginning of the twentieth century (ROSKA 1944, 65, 78, cat. no. 88 b–c, fig. 34/1a–b; 35/2; CRIŞAN 1973, 50, cat. no. 1 b–c). The LT B2 sword (FERENCZ 2007, 74, fig. 2) discovered in 1912 at Aiud–*Parc* (Fig. 1/1) is certainly one of the oldest examples of bent swords in Celtic graves from Transylvania.

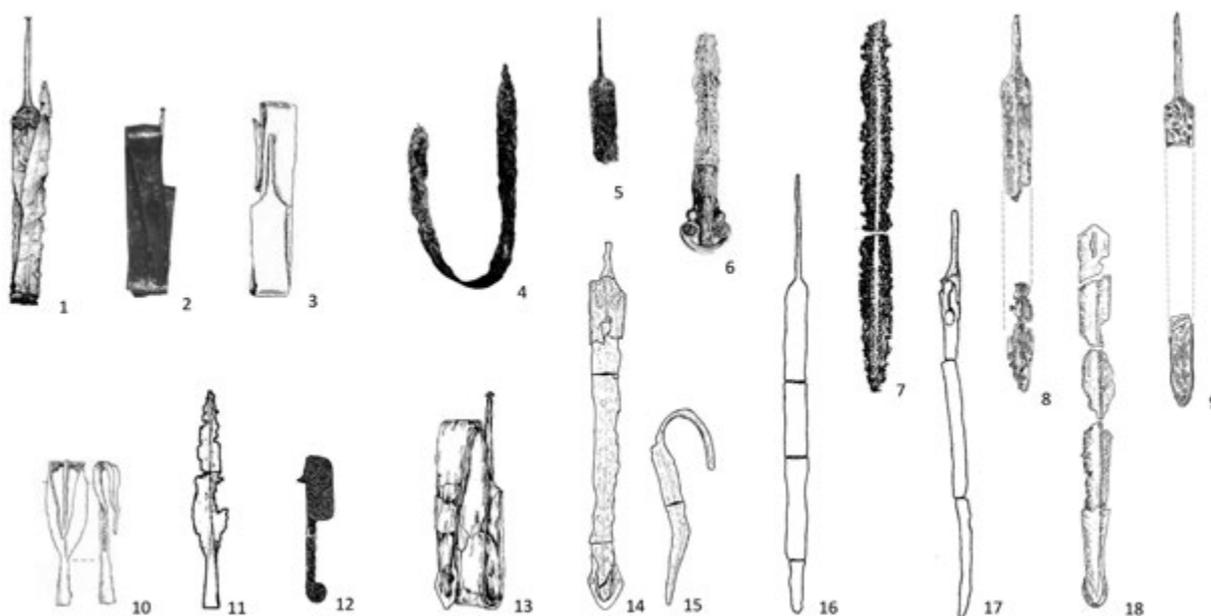


Fig. 1. Bent iron weapons in the Celtic Transylvanian area. 1–9, 13–18. swords; 10–11. spearheads; 12. knife. 1 and 18. Aiud, 2 and 13. Pişcolt, 3 and 10. Tărian, 4 and 5. Dipşa, 6. Săcueni, 7. Silivaş, 8. Cristuru Secuiesc, 9. Curtuiuşeni, 11 and 16. Aradul Nou, 12. Aluniş, 14 and 15. Sanislău, 17. Pecica. Various scales (after FERENCZ 2007; NÉMETI 1989; CHIDIOŞAN–IGNAT 1972; HORED T 1944; CONSTANTINIU 1968; ROSKA 1944; CRIŞAN 1974; PĂDUREAN 1985; ZIRRA 1972).

The bent sword was also included in the funerary inventory of the so called chariot burials from Cristuru Secuiesc–*Csűrösoldal* (ROSKA 1933, 359–360, fig. 1/1–1a) and Toarcla–*Kuhbüchel* (HORED T 1944, 189, 191, fig. 1/2–3). We do not have much information about the grave from Toarcla, discovered by chance in the second half of the nineteenth century. At Cristuru Secuiesc a grave was also discovered also by chance at the beginning of the twentieth century; the bent sword (Fig. 1/8) seemed to have been placed on the large pottery vessel (urn) in which the cremated bones and the grave goods were found. In this case one can classify this as an in-urned cremation containing a bent weapon as grave goods, – a rather rare association for the region and period we are dealing with here.

Another grave with a cremation in an urn containing a bent Celtic sword (Fig. 1/5) amongst the funerary inventory was discovered by chance in 1910 at Dipşa–*Totenberg* (HORED T 1944, 196, 198, fig. 5/8). It is possible that this grave was a part of a larger cemetery as long as not far from it in a second destroyed grave another ritually bent and broken sword (Fig. 2/4) was recovered (HORED T 1944, 198, fig. 5/3).

Bent swords associated with other weapons formed part of the inventory of the presumed grave from Silivaş (Fig. 1/7), associated with spears and *sica* type fighting knife (ROSKA 1944, 66, 78, cat. no. 96, fig. 38) while the grave from Band–*Omláshegy* / *Dulasvár*, excavated by István Kovács in 1906 was associated with a spearhead (ROSKA 1944, 64, 78, cat. no. 80; LAZĂR 1995, 57, cat. no. VIII.1.b). In both cases, at Silivaş and at Band, only the spears were bent, the rest of the weapons being intact with no sign of any intervention or destruction.

There is a marked north-western nucleus in the valley of the Criş Rivers and Someş Rivers. It should be mentioned that the discoveries made in this area must be connected to those made in the Hungarian Plain. Here, the archaeologically recorded graves containing ritually bent weapons – five graves at Pişcolt, two at Sanislău and one at Tărian – are numerous by comparison to those discovered by chance but which have been recorded (Curtuiuşeni and Săcueni).

At Pişcolt, ritually bent weapons – swords only (Fig. 1/2, 13) – were discovered in five graves, exclusively cremations in pits, belonging both to the early stages of the cemetery – the grave 36 from horizon I, the graves 124, 137 and 207 from horizon II –, and to the final stage – the grave 155 from horizon IV – (NÉMETI 1988, 54, fig. 4/10; NÉMETI 1989, 86, 87, 103, fig. 8/1a–c; 10; 23/3–3a; NÉMETI 1992, 97, fig. 27/3).

Other two ritually bent swords were found in the graves 1 and 3 from Sanislău–*Lutărie*, both incinerations in pit (Fig. 1/14–15). These weapons present traces of contact with fire (ZIRRA 1972, 158–159, fig. 4/1, 5; pl. XLIX/1; L/4–5).

A distinct feature presents the LT C1 grave 34 of incinerations in pit, from the bi-ritual cemetery from Tărian–*Dâmbul lui Ciordaş*. The bent sword from this grave (Fig. 1/3) was pulled out of the scabbard, a very rare case in Transylvania. The iron scabbard, also bent, was placed in the grave above the sword. This grave is remarkable because beside the bent sword a spearhead was also part of the funerary inventory (CHIDIOŞAN–IGNAT 1972, 565, pl. 7/3–8) (Fig. 1/10). Conversely, in other Celtic regions and communities this feature is quite common, as demonstrated by the graves with sword and scabbard separately folded of already mentioned cemetery at Monte Tamburino (VITALI 2003, graves 55, 72, 89, 118, 126, 135).

Two chance finds are to be mentioned beside this important series of graves systematically researched, because they mark the chronological frame of the bent weapons from the graves of this north-western group. The broken sword from the grave discovered between the two World Wars at Săcueni–*Cărămidărie* (ROSKA 1944, 70, cat. no. 127) was very probably previously bent (CONSTANTINIU 1968, 220, fig. 1–2). The preserved scabbard chape (Fig. 1/6) indicates a considerable age of this sword, perhaps even the end of LT B1. The other chronological limit (the final LT C1, if we consider the fibula from the funerary inventory) is represented by the bent and fragmented sword (Fig. 1/9) from the cremation chariot burial discovered by chance at Curtuiuşeni–*Égetőhegy* (ROSKA 1944, 58, 77, cat. no. 30, fig. 14/16).

Between these two groups – the inner-Carpathians Transylvania and the north-western nucleus – it is placed the discovery from Derşida–*Dealul Temeteului*: a grave containing a ritually bent sword, as well as a shield umbo; these pieces belong most probably to the LT C1 period (NÉMETI 1992, 110; NÉMETI–LAKÓ 1993, 77–78, pl. 2/6–7; 3/4–5).

A western nucleus is situated on the lower Mureş valley and in Banat. At Aradul Nou, a spearhead and a blade of sword, both of them ritually bent and broken (Fig. 1/11, 16), were discovered by chance among other grave goods of some destroyed graves (CRIŞAN 1974, 41–42, fig. 7/6–7; 8/3, 9). Another Celtic sword, three times bent and broken (Fig. 1/17) was discovered at Pecica (CRIŞAN 1974, 46, fig. 16/1; 17/1–2). Also a chance find is the bent knife (Fig. 1/12) from Aluniş (PĂDUREAN 1985, 30, cat. no. V. b, pl. 8/2a; LUCA 2006, 23). The only graves containing bent weapons in Banat which have been properly researched are those of the cemetery from Remetea Mare. At least two graves from this cemetery contained bent swords as grave good: grave 1, in which two bent swords were discovered and grave 10 (RUSTOIU 2008, 111, fig. 55–56).

What kinds of weapons were bent? Among the 29 bent or ritually broken weapons, the swords are very important with some 26 examples (90%); the sword is included in almost all the graves in the category of those with bent weapons as grave goods. A recent count of the swords from Transylvania yielded a total amount of 35 examples (BERECKI 2008, 54–55, 68, 62) known from the entire period of the presence of the Celts in this area, from LT B2a (11 swords), LT B2b (10 swords), and LT C1 (14 swords). Even a superficial analysis of these numbers reveals that almost three quarters (almost 75%) of the La Tène swords from Transylvania were bent, representing a significant percentage. In second place after the swords – but much less numerous – are the spearheads: two examples discovered at Aradul Nou (CRIŞAN 1974, 41–42, fig. 7/6; 8/3) and at Tărian (CHIDIOŞAN–IGNAT 1972, 565, pl. 7/6). The list of the categories

of bent weapons ends with a knife, a chance find at Aluniş (PĂDUREAN 1985, 30, pl. 7/2a), that could come have from a destroyed grave, although there is no certainty regarding this (LUCA 2006, 23).

Thus, we can note the existence of three categories of bent weapons in Celtic burials from Transylvania: the sword, the spearhead and the knife. It must be underlined that the three bent elements were never found associated in the same sealed context. Only the sword and the spear (both of them bent) are associated in a single context: the grave 34 (cremation in a pit) in the cemetery from Tărian (CHIDIOŞAN-IGNAT 1972, 565, pl. 7/3, 6–8). In other situations, when the sword is placed in the grave together with the spear (sometimes even two spears) and a knife, only the sword is bent, spear (spears) and the knife being intact. This funerary rite can be observed in the cemetery from Pişcolt, in the case of the graves 36 (NÉMETI 1988, 54, fig. 4/8–10), 124 (NÉMETI 1989, 86, fig. 8/1–3) and 155 (NÉMETI 1992, 97, fig. 27/3–4), all of them being cremation burials, but also in other sealed contexts: examples are the graves 1 and 10 from Remetea Mare (bent swords and intact spearheads, knife and umbo: RUSTOIU 2008, 111, fig. 55–56), grave 2 from Orosfaia (folded sword and intact spearhead, umbo and even an arrowhead: VAIDA 2006, 303, fig. 14/7; FERENCZ-VAIDA 2010, 310–311, pl. 4) all of them highlighting the unique character of the grave 34 from Tărian.

Not only bent weapons were deposited as grave goods in cremation graves. There are a few other cremation graves from Celtic cemeteries from Transylvania that contain edged household tools that were bent before being put next to the cremated bones. In grave 5 (a cremation in a pit) from the cemetery of Apahida – on the basis of the ornaments found in it, a grave belonging to a woman –, three little iron bent knives were found (ZIRRA 1976, 135, fig. 5/5–7a). It is also interesting that grave 158 belongs to the last horizon of the cemetery from Pişcolt (also a cremation in a pit), in which the spearhead was intact, but the iron shears found with it were bent (NÉMETI 1992, 97, fig. 28/5). In other contexts and cultures such household iron tools put bent in graves occur up to the Roman period: the grave 25, belonging to a woman, from the cemetery of Aica di Fie (Völser Aicha) dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, contained a ritually bent and broken needle (ROSADA-DAL RI 1985, 241, pl. 14/25/432).



Fig. 2. Pattern of bent/folded Celtic iron sword in Transylvania: 1. once; 2. twice; 3. three times; 4–5. four times. 1. Aiud, 2. Pişcolt, 3. Tărian, 4. Orosfaia, 5. Remetea Mare. Various scales (after FERENCZ 2007; NÉMETI 1989; CHIDIOŞAN-IGNAT 1972; VAIDA 2006; RUSTOIU 2008).

How were they bent? The answer to this question might be considered to be of lesser importance, but there are some details that sometimes may reflect well defined behavioural characteristics, specifically ritual features for a certain group of people. Thus, in our area of interest, the sword is ordinarily bent once to three times (Fig. 2/1–3). Only two exceptions were documented: in the case of the grave 2 from Orosfaia (Fig. 2/4), in which the sword was bent – in fact rolled – four times (VAIDA 2006, 303, fig. 14/7), and also the sword from grave 10 of Remetea Mare cemetery (RUSTOIU 2008, 111, fig. 56/M10) (Fig. 2/5). In the cases when the scabbard was present, the sword and the scabbard were bent together, the sword being kept inside the scabbard. Such swords bent in their scabbard were discovered at Aiud, Band, Curtiuşeni, Orosfaia, Sanislău and Pişcolt. There is an important exception at Tărian, where the sword

and the scabbard were separately bent. In the cremation grave 34 from this cemetery, right next to the cremated bones of the dead was firstly laid the sword bent three times. Then its scabbard bent four times was put on the sword (CHIDIOȘAN–IGNAT 1974, 565, pl. 7/3, 7–8). Other graves where it seems that the sword and the scabbard were perhaps separately bent are those from Toarcla and Derșida. Regarding the spearheads from Aradul Nou and Tărian it must be said that they have been bent in two halves in the middle. In fact the sword from Aradul Nou was discovered broken in two halves due to having been bent (CRIȘAN 1974, 41–42, fig. 7/6; 8/3).

Why were these weapons bent? Obviously this is the most difficult question to answer in a coherent and definitive manner. Throughout time and varying from one author to another there are many and varied explanations, each of them having its own weakness. Some comprise a profane view by explaining the folding, bending, breaking and destruction as being due to practical reasons: long weapons like swords were too big to fit the pit of the cremation graves. Additionally, in this way (making the weapon impossible to be used by destroying it in front of all those participating in the funerary ceremony) would prevent a possible robbery of the grave where the aim would be to take away the valuable weaponry (PINTER 2001, 56–58). Other more elaborate explanations lead to an area more difficult to be explored because it involves behaviour related with the individual character of the weapons and elements of ritual belonging to the sphere of superstition (BERECKI 2006, 64), as well as of mystical and religious motivations, the investing of the weapon with supernatural and magical powers. In this case the sword being considered an extension of the warrior's arm during the battle and thus being part of his body which, together with the body, was consequently 'killed' (RUSTOIU 2008, 91).

Regarding chronology, it has been noted that the graves date from LT B2 (or possibly the end of LT B1 as in the case of Săcueni) until the end of LT C1 (Curtuiușeni, Orosfaia). Where documented and recorded, the funerary rite of the graves having bent weapons as grave goods was always cremation, usually cremation in a pit, a feature already outlined for the case of the cemetery at Pișcolt (NÉMETI 1993, 119); though this is uncertain in the case of discoveries made by chance, such as those from Dipșa and Cristuru Secuiesc. However, in Transylvania bent weapons are never present in inhumation graves. This may just be a regional peculiarity, since in other areas of Celtic Europe, like the Boian territory south of Po River, around Bononia, inhumation graves with bent weapons as grave goods are not at all a rarity: for instance Benacci graves 121 and 953 from the cemetery at Certosa (VITALI 1992, 141, 292, 285, 288, 294), or the grave 89 at Monte Tamburino (VITALI 2003, 161, pl. 153/3, 15).

In the archaeological literature, ritual bending of the weapons deposited in graves as grave goods or in other contexts as offerings is a custom that belongs exclusively to the Celts; this is a common 'topos'. Though there most remain doubt regarding this idea as long as the Thracian Getae, the south-eastern neighbours of the Celts from Transylvania, also used this funerary ritual (Pl. 1/2). Bent weapons were discovered in Thracian Getae graves starting from the end of the Early Iron Age. Weapons ritually bent were also discovered in graves from the barrow cemetery with cremations from Ferigile dated to the second quarter of the first millennium BC (Fig. 3/1–4): one *akinakes* in barrow 44 grave 1, three knives for fight in barrow 53 and barrow 4 grave 1, and spearheads in barrow 136 and 'zone 1' (VULPE 1967, 110, 137, 180, pl. 15/4; 17/10–11, 16; 20/9, 12). The most spectacular piece is the *akinakes* type sword from the barrow 44 grave 1 (Fig. 3/1), which, after being bent many times was stung in the ancient soil beside the cremated bones of the dead, before the barrow was built (VULPE 1967, 133, pl. 15/4). A spearhead ritually bent was found in another cemetery belonging to Ferigile group researched in the Danube area, at Eșalnița-Mala (Fig. 3/6) dating back to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (*Comori arheologice* 1978, 79, 96, R. 282). The custom of depositing bent weapons in graves can be observed in the Getic world from the Lower Danube during the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. Ritually bent spearheads are predominant. They are present both in the ordinary Getic graves like those from Daia (RĂDULESCU 1966, 265–266, fig. 1–3) (Fig. 3/8) and Pleven (TABAKOVA-CANOVA 1964, 46–48, fig. 1–3) (Fig. 3/11), and in the 'princely' ones: the grave from Peretu (Fig. 3/7) is a good example of such an ostentatious burial (MOSCALU 1989, 138, fig. 4/9). The bent spearheads from Poroschia (MIREA-PĂTRAȘCU 2006, 21, 43, fig. 46) (Fig. 3/10) and Zimnicea (SPĂNU 2003, 9, n. 41, fig. 8) (Fig. 3/9) were probably part of the funerary inventory of graves which have been subsequently robbed and destroyed.

Comparing the archaeological evidence specific for the two worlds of the Celts and the Getae, it clearly follows that the only important difference between them is that among the Thracio-Getic communities the most significant bent weapons are spears and not swords. It is obvious that this selection does not belong to a specific funerary custom, so much as is due to a different style of fighting and to a different

suite of arms of Thracian warriors for whom the spear was the first choice. Despite this, the bent sword is present in Thraco-Getic burials: the *akinakes* from Ferigile has already been mentioned. In addition, in grave 3b2 (a slab constructed cist grave containing a cremation burial) from the cemetery at Enisala was also discovered an iron sword bent to fit the inner walls of the cist (SIMION 1971, 110, fig. 27/b; pl. 11). From a chronological viewpoint, the ritually bent swords discovered at Dragoevo (Fig. 3/5) are placed between the discoveries from Ferigile and those from Enisala; at Dragoevo was discovered at least one bent Greek-type sword dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, a type which survived in the Getic world until the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (MĂNDESCU 2010, 175); however, the reason for its bending remains still unclear (ritual deposit?, cult place?, grave?) (BUJOKLIEV ET AL. 1995, 35, cat. no. 1).

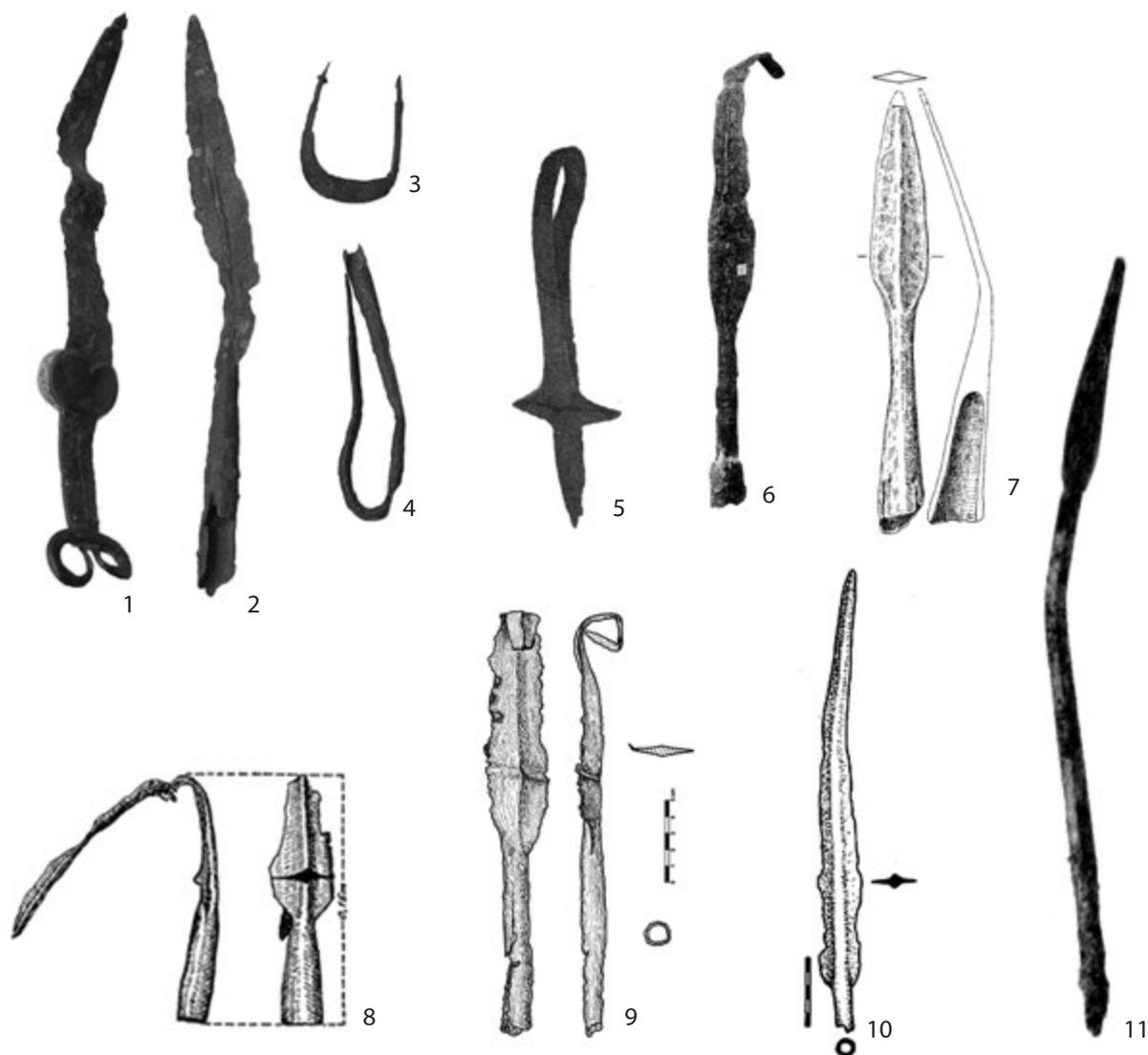


Fig. 3. Bent iron weapons in the Thracian area. 2, 4, 6–11. spearheads; 1, 5. swords; 3. knife. 1–4. Ferigile, 5. Dragoevo, 6. Eșalnița, 7. Peretu, 8. Daia, 9. Zimnicea, 10. Poroschia, 11. Pleven. Various scales (after BUJOKLIEV ET AL. 1995; *Comori arheologice* 1978; MOSCALU 1989; RĂDULESCU 1966; SPĂNU 2003; MIREA-PĂTRAȘCU 2006; TABAKOVA-CANOVA 1964).

It may, however, be too easy to assume that the Celts who arrived in Transylvania in the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC borrowed this funerary custom from the neighbouring Thracian population. Some older opinions on this subject (BERCIU 1970, 84) have suggested this theory. The proof that this cannot be supported is the existence of Celtic graves containing ritually bent weapons along the whole extent of their movement to east. The iron sword having a characteristic 4<sup>th</sup> century BC hilt (RAPIN 1999, 51, fig. 8/1) and the blade bent twice, discovered at Szendrő which has been known for a long time (PÁRVAN 1926, 436, fig. 322) is proof that in the Early La Tène period the eastern Celts used ritually to bend their swords.

Another group of graves in which bent weapons have been found in Transylvania belong to the post-Celtic horizon and extend into the middle Mureş valley (Pl. 1/3). In all the cases where the funerary rite has been recorded, this is cremation. The first graves to be discussed in this context certainly belong to the supra-regional and supra-ethnic horizon conventionally called the Padea–Panagjurski Kolonii (2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC), in which the Dacians played an important role. Of note is the graves (probably two in number) from Teleac, from which a spearhead and a *sica* (Fig. 4/1–2), both ritually bent, were recovered (MOGA 1982, 87–91, fig. 1–2). Also must be mentioned the grave from Blandiana, where the spearhead was intact, unaffected by ritual intervention, while the *sica*-type dagger seemed to be intentionally bent (Fig. 4/3). Even if the evidence of this dagger's intentional bending might be doubted, there is further evidence that an iron bit was certainly ritually bent in the grave from Blandiana (CIUGUDEAN 1980, 428, fig. 3) (Fig. 4/4). The marked bending of the central element of this bit cannot have been accidental. The grave discovered at Ighiu in 1885 probably belongs to the same category as the two previously mentioned graves, because in the pottery vessel used as funerary urn was placed a bent iron spearhead (MOGA–CIUGUDEAN 1995, 110, cat. no. 93.3).

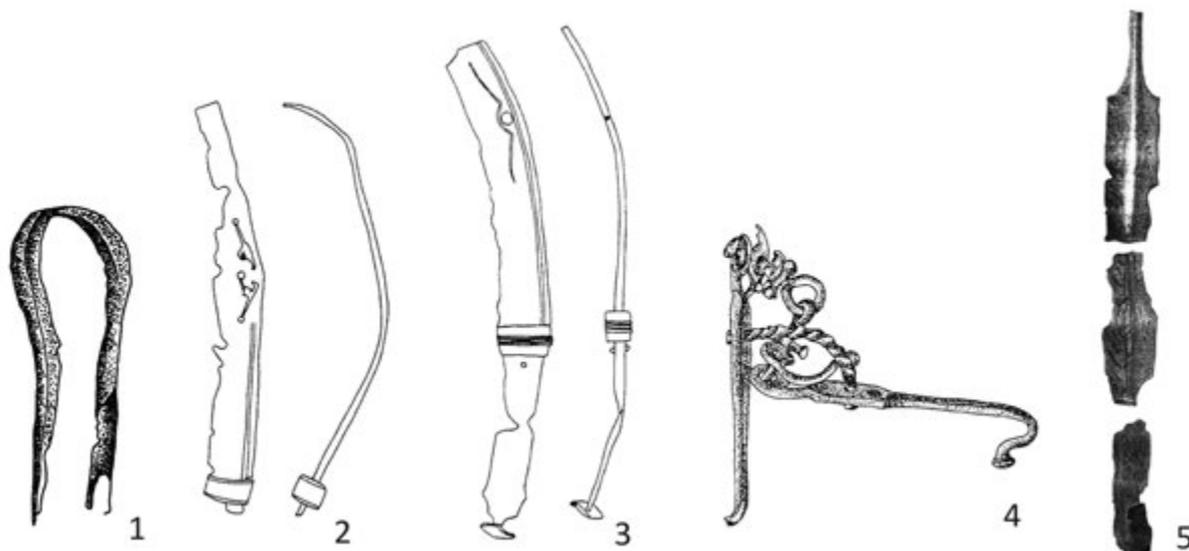


Fig. 4. Bent iron weapons in the post-Celtic Transylvania. 2–3 *sica*; 1. spearhead; 5. sword; 4. bit. 1–2. Teleac, 3–4. Blandiana, 5. Craiva. Various scales (after RUSTOIU 2008; POPA 2008).

The bending of the weapons put in the graves of the Padea–Panagjurski Kolonii horizon was a frequent custom in the whole Danube area on both sides of the river thus the discoveries from Transylvania, though peripheral, are no different from the graves of the Northern Balkan nucleus.

In an earlier chronologic horizon (the middle/the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century), corresponding to LT C1 and the transition to LT C2, and more obvious especially to the south of the Danube, have been exclusively found bent swords that remind us of the characteristics of the Celtic world. The bent sword from a warrior grave at Plovdiv, from the Hellenistic cemetery of Philippopolis (MEGAW 2004, 100) is a good example. Though they were found in late complexes, the bent swords from the graves from Ruse (ANASTASSOV 2007, 169, 171, pl. 2), Kazanlák (GETOV 1962, 41–42), Novo Selo (ANASTASSOV 2006, 29, pl. 2), Kamburovo (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR 1948, 31) and barrow 6 from Kálnovo (BUJOKLIEV *ET AL.* 1995, 36, cat. no. 6) complete the general picture. There are also bent swords to the north of the Danube, in Oltenia, for example at Perişor (ZIRRA 1971, 234, n. 303), Turnu Severin (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR 1948, 29, pl. IV/13), Dobrosloveni (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR 1948, 24, pl. V/12), Sărata (BONDOC 2011, 291, fig. 1/1), grave 1 from Corlate (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR 1948, 22, pl. II/1). A similar bent sword was strangely found on the Pontic littoral, in the cemetery of Callatis, in a grave considered to be that of a mercenary warrior (RUSTOIU 2000, 277–279, fig. 1/1).

Many cremation graves are recorded in Oltenia (LT C2/beginning of LT D1) where the ritually bent spearhead usually bearing traces of contact with fire is the only weapon among the grave goods: Gruia (ZIRRA 1971, fig. 21/10; SÎRBU 1993, 77), Slatina–Crişan (SÎRBU 1993, 78), Călăraşi (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR 1948, 18, pl. I/4) and grave 2 from graveyard at Corlate (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPŞOR 1948, 22–23, pl. II/5), etc.

The association of sword and spear, both of them bent, was attested in the graves from Balta Verde (SÎRBU 1993, 78) and Gogoșița (NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR 1948, 25, pl. IV/2, 4–5). In other case, the bent spear is associated with a *sica*, also bent. Graves of this type include those from Rastu (TUDOR 1968, 517–520, fig. 1–3; SÎRBU 1993, 79, fig. 18; BÖRANGIC 2009, 48–49, cat. no. 21–23) and Dubova (SPÂNU 2002, 84, fig. 1/2–3).

Though rarely, there are cases in which the whole assemblage was burned and ritually bent before being put into the grave. Such a cremation burial is one from Cornești, where there were discovered a sword, a *sica*, a spearhead and a shield umbo, all distorted and showing traces of burning (POPESCU 1963, 408, 410, fig. 1–4; SÎRBU 1993, 78). As can be seen, the majority of the burials containing weapons ritually bent from Oltenia are isolated graves, but there is a notable cemetery at Turburea-Spahii, where nine graves from the total of 29 contained weapons (swords, knives, spears) most of them burned and bent or broken (BABEȘ 2000, 137).

It is certain that Oltenia presents a lot of viable analogies for the graves containing bent weapons from Teleac, Blandiana and Ighiu. Unfortunately, like the graves from Transylvania, the majority of the weaponry discovered in the graves from Oltenia dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC – about 30 spots, according to a recent study (BABEȘ 2000, 137) – are chance finds, without complete information about their grave.

There are clues supporting the view that beginning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, this occurrence of the custom of bending the weapons and putting them into graves is recorded over a much larger area of Europe. Thus, the situation in the Lower Danube and in Transylvania is similar to the one from the Po–Este Basin (the Celtic area of the Veneti), where starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and along the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC cremation is general and swords placed in the grave are ritually bent. The assemblage is completed by the spearhead and the shield umbo. Previously, in the older graves found in this region, all of them inhumations, the sword was placed intact on the right side of the dead warrior (CAPUIS 1993, 227, 231–232).

Returning again to the situation in Transylvania, we will focus on the last two graves containing bent weapons belonging to the pre-Roman period. These are Dacian burials dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Both of them are situated in the proximity of two important Dacian centres of power, Cugir and Craiva. One of the four barrow graves from the south western slope of the fortress from Cugir (barrow IV, a cremation grave) contained, beside an intact *sica*, a spearhead ritually bent (CRIȘAN 1980, 82; SÎRBU 1993, 72; POPA 2004, 116). Many weapons and items of warrior's equipment were also discovered in barrow II and III from a group at Cugir (POPA 2004, 115, pl. 11–12/9–10). However, we do not have enough evidence to establish if other weapons found here, except the spear from the barrow IV, were ritually bent. Regarding the sword bent and broken in three fragments from Craiva (Fig. 4/5), it must be said that it belongs to an ensemble of pieces (probably the inventory of a grave) discovered by chance at the bottom of Piatra Craivii, on which peak the Dacian fortress is found. For a long time this sword was considered to be an part of grave goods from a Celtic burial (ROSKA 1944, 60, cat. no. 51, fig. 23/1–3; CRIȘAN 1973, 55, cat. no. 16), but a recent study have convincingly proved that, although it belonged to a Celtic type, this sword was a part of a funerary inventory of a Dacian burial from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC and thus closely related to the fortress situated in the vicinity (POPA 2008, 357–365, pl. 2/1).

The situation of the graves containing bent weapons placed next to the big centres of power at Cugir and Craiva is not exceptional in the Getic and Dacian world. Such graves are also attested outside Transylvania. Thus, next to the big *dava* from Popești situated to the south of the Carpathians a sword folded in two was put in a cremation grave under barrow 4 (VULPE 1976, 201, fig. 13; SÎRBU 1993, 73, fig. 10/4). On the northern side of the Dacian territory, in the two cemeteries, Serednij Gunok and Chellenica, situated next to the important fortified centre of Mala Kopanja were discovered many cremation graves of warriors from the middle and the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; their grave goods included a variety of weapons – ritually bent: *sica*, swords, spearhead (KOTYGOROSHKO 2009, 281–283, fig. 2/1; 3/2; 4/2–3).

Such burials of warriors containing weapons ritually bent are relatively numerous in the culture having an important Dacian component situated in the upper Dniester valley (the area of the so-called Lipitsa culture) and the upper basin of Tisza River. The most relevant factor regarding the Lipitsa culture is represented by the cemetery of Zvenigorod-Goeva Gora, where cremation flat graves are prevalent. The predominant Dacian elements are mixed with the Przeworsk elements as is demonstrated by the pottery forms. There are three cremation graves in that cemetery (dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) that contain ritually bent weapons: graves 8 (a bent sword next to an intact spearhead), 15 (under the urn, a spearhead stung

into the soil and a bent sword, while in the urn a bent fighting knife was found) and 16 (a bent spearhead) (SHCHUKIN 1989, 283–284, pl. 11/8, 13; SÎRBU 1993, 80, fig. 19/2, 14; 20/23). In the same area is situated the Dacian grave from Lucha (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) that contains a bent spearhead (SHCHUKIN 1989, 282). On the other side, in the area of the upper basin of Tisza River is attested, starting to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, an archaeological culture created by a mixture of ethnics and populations (Dacians, Celts, Przeworsk elements). Here, in the cemetery from Zemplin (the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), a ritually bent sword was placed in the grave 128 (SÎRBU 1993, 81, fig. 22/4).

Returning to the case of Transylvania in the post-Celtic period, in the five sites which include discoveries of graves containing weapons ritually bent, five (or six) such weapons were found (three spearheads, one or two *sica* and one sword) and also a bit. The ratio of swords to spears by comparison to the Celtic era is now reversed. The ratio of 3:1 during the post-Celtic era suggests of course a radical change of the weapons favoured and of the importance of each weapon element. And even more than this, the predominance of bent spearheads recalls the customs of the Thracian world, so that it is easy to deduce what were the conditions and the influences surrounding this new fashion in weaponry.

A succinct view of the funerary customs in the barbarian Europe in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, reveals not only that the Celts and the Dacians used to ritually bend their swords as part of the burial ritual, but also especially the German populations from North. The examples could be followed in Scandinavia, where there are attested even graves containing double sets of weapons (swords) ritually bent, like those situated next to Langå, in Fyn island (four bent swords) or grave 2 from Övre Ålebäck, in Öland (CZARNECKA 2007, 53, fig. 5).

Southern of it, in the Oksywie culture, from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the ritually bent swords represent a usual presence in the funerary inventory, as represented by the graves from Warszkowo, Buczek, Oleszno, Dębczina (SHCHUKIN 1989, pl. 13/III.27, 37, 43; 14/15, 31); sometimes as well as the bent swords were found spearheads, also deformed, destroyed as in the cremation graves from Gdańsk Nowolipki and Bolszewo or in the grave 1/1883 from the cemetery of Rządź (CZARNECKA 2007, 53, fig. 4).

We have already mentioned the preference of the ethnic elements of the Przeworsk culture for the ritual 'killing' of the weapons, especially swords (LIANA 1968, 381–383). Thus we have noted the destroyed weapons in graves consisting of cremation in a pit; this kind of grave goods is documented from the first phases of this culture, during LT C2 (SHCHUKIN 1989, 41, 46, pl. 8/11). This feature was maintained during the entire period of the Przeworsk culture, even at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD placing the bent swords in the graves was still 'in fashion' (SHCHUKIN 1989, 28). A spectacular example is the inventory of the grave from Kortynca, dating to the advanced phase of the Przeworsk culture (LT D2): two swords in scabbards ritually bent, also two bent spearheads and other intact weapons (CZARNECKA 2007, 51, fig. 3). In the Vistula Basin, in the graves of the Chełmno Group situated at the interface of the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures, bent swords are also present (SHCHUKIN 1989, pl. 13/II.14) so it was also in the Grossromstedt-Kronwinkl horizon, LT D2, the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (SHCHUKIN 1989, 265, pl. 4/15). Further to the south, closer to the region which has been our main concern in this article, a bent sword placed in the grave was found in the area of the Poienești–Lukaševka Bastarnian culture, in grave 29 from the cemetery at Borosești (BABEȘ 1993, 114, 186, Taf. 5/c–d).

The provincial Roman world was also familiar with these funerary practices. In a cremation grave from Neeritter in the Netherlands, probably belonging to a veteran of an auxiliary unit, buried in the manner of the local ritual and dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the sword was intentionally bent (ROYMANS 1996, 35, 105, cat. no. 23, fig. 9). In the middle and lower Rhine valley, in the territories where the Batavi, Cugerni and Treveri lived in the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, a lot of bent and destroyed Roman weapons (*gladii*, helmets) were deposited in cult places such as that from Empel (ROYMANS 1996, 35).

The ritual bending of weapons put in graves proves to be a habit of the funerary rituals extending in various regions over a considerable period of time as represented in various cultures. Much later than the chronological framework considered here, when both the Celts and the Thracian had quitted the stage of Balkan history, bent swords are still sporadically attested in the funerary inventory of the graves of the various peoples who populated large areas of this zone.

A ritually bent sword is part of the assemblage of the inhumation grave 169 from Mihălășeni (Sântana de Mureș–Cerneahov culture). The presence of the bent sword on the right side of the dead from Mihălășeni, a Nordic-featured man, was considered to be reminiscent of the Vandal culture (ȘOVAN 2009, 196). Also the Sarmatians were not complete strangers to this ritual. This is proved by the grave from Vaskút (dating to the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), which contains a ritually bent double bladed iron sword

(MUSCALU 2009, 197, fig. 7/4). The ritual was also performed by the Gepidae. Ritually bent swords were discovered in the Gepidian graves from Ártánd–Nagyfarkasdomb (the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century), as well as being discovered in some graves from the cemetery from Csongrád (BIERBRAUER 2006, 180, fig. 8/3). Like events in a never-ending story, there are similar examples in the Middle Ages: the bending of the sword was a ritual practice performed by the Franks and Alamanni, and also sporadically by the Hungarians (PINTER 2001, 53).

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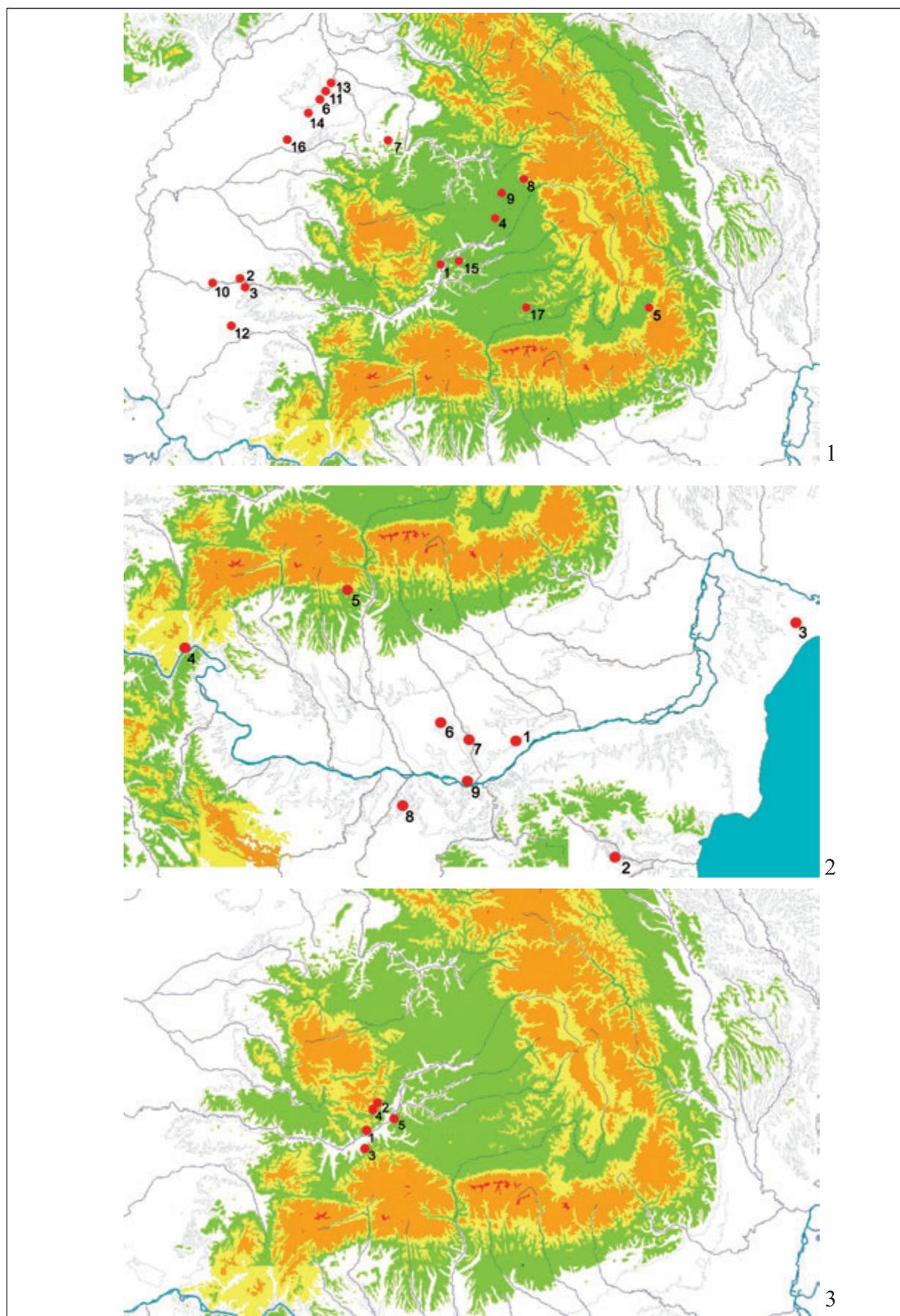


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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ActaAA</i>	Acta Antiqua et Achaologica, Szeged
<i>ActaArchHung</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
<i>ActaArch Carpatica</i>	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Academia Scientiarum Polona Collegium Cracoviense, Kraków
<i>ActaArch København</i>	Acta Archeologica, København
<i>ActaB</i>	Acta Bernensia, Bern
<i>ActaMN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ActaMP</i>	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
<i>ActaTS</i>	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
<i>ActaUL</i>	Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Archaeologica
<i>AFN</i>	Archäologische Forschungen in Niederösterreich
<i>Agria</i>	Agria, Annales Musei Agriensis / Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (1982), Eger
<i>AIH</i>	Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon / Archaeological Investigation in Hungary, Budapest
<i>AJB</i>	Das archäologische Jahr in Bayern
<i>Alba Regia</i>	Alba Regia, Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
<i>Analele Banatului</i>	Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
<i>AnnalenWien</i>	Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien
<i>Angustia</i>	Angustia, Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>AnthrKözl</i>	Anthropológiai Közlemények, A Magyar Biológiai Társaság Embertani Szakosztályának folyóirata, Budapest
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
<i>ArchAustr</i>	Archaeologia Austriaca, Wien
<i>ArchBaltica</i>	Archaeologia Baltica, Vilnius
<i>ArchBulg</i>	Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
<i>ArchČechách</i>	Archeologie ve středních Čechách
<i>ArchE</i>	Archäologie in Eurasien, Mainz am Rhein
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
<i>ArchHung</i>	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest
<i>ArchIug</i>	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
<i>ArchKorr</i>	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum in Mainz
<i>ArchKözl</i>	Archeologiai Közlemények
<i>ArchPol</i>	Archeologia Polona
<i>ArchRoz</i>	Archeologické Rozhledy, Prague
<i>ArchS</i>	Archäologie in Salzburg
<i>ArhMold</i>	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<i>ArhPregl</i>	Arheološki Pregled, Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije
<i>ArhRR</i>	Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb
<i>ArhVest</i>	Arheološki vestnik (Acta Archaeologica), Inštitut za arheologijo, Ljubljana
<i>Arrabona</i>	Arrabona, a Győri Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>ASF</i>	Archaeologia Slovaca Fontes, Bratislava
<i>ASM</i>	Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae
<i>AuF</i>	Ausgrabungen und Funde, Nachrichtenblatt der Landesarchäologie
<i>Balcanica</i>	Balcanica, Beograd
<i>Banatica</i>	Banatica, Muzeul de istorie al județului Caraș-Severin, Reșița
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
<i>BAW</i>	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München
<i>BCȘS</i>	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești, Alba Iulia

<i>Beiträge UFM</i>	Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas, Weissbach
<i>BerRGK</i>	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
<i>BHAUT</i>	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis
<i>BMA</i>	Biblioteca Mvsei Apvlensis, Alba Iulia
<i>BMAK</i>	Biblioteka Muzeum Archeologicznego w Krakowie
<i>BMBistrița</i>	Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița
<i>BMM</i>	Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica, Târgu Mureș / Cluj Napoca
<i>BMMK</i>	Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleménye, Békéscsaba
<i>BMP</i>	Bibliotheca Mvsei Porolissensis, Zaláu
<i>BT</i>	Bibliotheca Thracologica, București
<i>CA</i>	Cercetări Arheologice
<i>CAJ</i>	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
<i>Carpica</i>	Carpica, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă „Iulian Antonescu“, Bacău
<i>CCA</i>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
<i>ComArchHung</i>	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
<i>Corviniana</i>	Corviniana, Acta Musei Corviniensis, Hunedoara
<i>Crisia</i>	Crisia, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
<i>CurrA</i>	Current Anthropology
<i>ČUsŠ</i>	Časopis Učené Společnosti Šafářkovy, Bratislava
<i>Dacia (N. S.)</i>	Dacia, Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.), Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
<i>DissPann</i>	Dissertationes Pannonicae, ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestinensis provenientes, Budapest
<i>DMB</i>	Dissertationes et Monographiae Beograd
<i>DolgKoložsvár (Ú. S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Koložsvár
<i>DolgSzeged</i>	Dolgozatok, Szeged
<i>EA</i>	Eurasia Antiqua, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
<i>Ea-online</i>	European archaeology – online ( <a href="http://www.archaeology.ro">www.archaeology.ro</a> )
<i>ÉC</i>	Études Celtiques, Paris
<i>EMÉ</i>	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj–Napoca
<i>ET</i>	Etudes Tuloises, Toul
<i>FAP</i>	Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses
<i>FAPos</i>	Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses
<i>FHA</i>	Fontes Historiae Antiquae, , Poznań
<i>FolArch</i>	Folia Archeologica, a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve, Budapest
<i>FÖ</i>	Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien
<i>FS</i>	Fundberichte aus Schwaben, Stuttgart
<i>Germania</i>	Germania, Frankfurt am Main
<i>Glasnik SAD</i>	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Beograd
<i>Glasnik ZM</i>	Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu
<i>Hierasus</i>	Hierasus, Muzeul Județean Botoșani
<i>HOMÉ</i>	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, Miskolc
<i>HOMO</i>	HOMO, Journal of Comparative Human Biology
<i>IA</i>	Internationale Archäologie, Buch am Erlbach, Espelkamp, Rahden/Westf.
<i>IPH</i>	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
<i>ISPRS</i>	International Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing – International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences
<i>Istros</i>	Istros, Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila
<i>JAA</i>	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, Amsterdam
<i>Jahrbuch Liechtenstein</i>	Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein, Vaduz
<i>Jahrbuch Mecklenburg</i>	Jahrbuch für Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg
<i>Jahrbuch RGZM</i>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz

<i>JahrOM</i>	Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines, Linz
<i>JAMÉ</i>	A Nyíregyházi Jóna András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
<i>JAS</i>	Journal of Archaeological Science, London
<i>JBAA</i>	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of European Archaeology, Durham, UK
<i>JPMÉ</i>	A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve, Pécs
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JSP</i>	Journal of Sedimentary Petrology
<i>KÖK</i>	Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Kismonográfiák, Budapest
<i>Közlemények Kolozsvár</i>	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Cluj
<i>Litua</i>	Litua, Muzeul Gorjului
<i>MAB</i>	Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, Kraków
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
<i>Marmatia</i>	Marmatia, Anuarul Muzeului Județean Maramureș
<i>MatArch</i>	Materiały Archeologiczne, Kraków
<i>MatStar</i>	Materiały Starożytne (i Wczesnośredniowieczne)
<i>MAZ</i>	Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift
<i>MBVF</i>	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München
<i>MCA</i>	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
<i>MFME</i>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
<i>MittAGW</i>	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien
<i>MittAIUAW</i>	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
<i>MKCSM</i>	Múzeumi kutatások Csongrád megyében
<i>ΜΩΜΟΣ</i>	ΜΩΜΟΣ, Öskoros Kutatók Összeövetelének konferenciakötete
<i>MPK</i>	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Viena
<i>MSVF</i>	Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Marburg
<i>NMMÉ</i>	Nógrád Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve
<i>OIAS</i>	Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae
<i>OJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>OpArch</i>	Opuscula Archaeologica, Arheološki zavod, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu
<i>ÖAW</i>	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien
<i>Ősrégészeti levelek</i>	Ősrégészeti levelek / Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest
<i>PA</i>	Patrimonium Apulense, Alba Iulia
<i>PamArch</i>	Památky Archeologické, Praha
<i>PAS</i>	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin, Kiel, München
<i>PB</i>	Patrimonium Banaticum, Timișoara
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München / Stuttgart
<i>Peuce</i>	Peuce, Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale Tulcea, Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie, Tulcea
<i>Prace Łodz NK</i>	Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Numizmatyczna i Konserwatorska
<i>Prace Łodz Arch</i>	Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Numizmatyczna i Konserwatorska
<i>Pontica</i>	Pontica, Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța
<i>PPP</i>	Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology
<i>PPS</i>	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, London
<i>Prilozi IAZ</i>	Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju iz Zagreba
<i>PrzArch</i>	Przegląd Archeologiczny, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk
<i>PZ</i>	Praehistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin
<i>PUD</i>	Publications de l'Université de Dijon, Paris
<i>RadMV</i>	Rad Muzeja Vojvodine
<i>RAO</i>	Revue archéologique de l'ouest, Rennes
<i>RAP</i>	Revue archéologique de Picardie, Amiens
<i>RBPA</i>	Regensburger Beiträge zur Prähistorischen Archäologie

<i>RégFüz</i>	Régészeti Füzetek, Budapest
<i>RevBis</i>	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
<i>RevMuz</i>	Revista Muzeelor, București
<i>RGF</i>	Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Mainz / Berlin
<i>RGZM</i>	Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Monographien, Bonn / Mainz
<i>RoczK</i>	Rocznik Kaliski
<i>Sargetia</i>	Sargeția, Buletinul Muzeului județului Hunedoara, Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
<i>Savaria</i>	Savaria, a Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője, Szombathely
<i>SBA</i>	Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Bonn
<i>SBHM</i>	Schriften des Bernischen Historischen Museums, Bern
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
<i>SHN</i>	Studia Historica Nitriensia
<i>SMA</i>	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>SlovArch</i>	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
<i>SMMK</i>	Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
<i>SNMB</i>	Sbornik Narodnog Muzeija Beograd
<i>SNMP</i>	Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, řada A – Historie / Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, Series A – Historia, Praha
<i>SpecNova</i>	Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesien- sis de Jano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
<i>SprArch</i>	Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Kraków
<i>SSUUB</i>	Schriften des Seminars für Urgeschichte der Universität Bern
<i>Starinar</i>	Starinar, Arheološki institute, Beograd
<i>StCom Satu Mare</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
<i>StCom Sibiu</i>	Studii și Comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu
<i>StudiaUBB</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca
<i>Studii</i>	Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie
<i>Študijné zvesti</i>	Študijné zvesti, Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra
<i>Swiatowit</i>	Swiatowit, Rocznik katedry archeologii pierwotnej i wczesnosredniowiecznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
<i>SymThrac</i>	Symposia Thracologica, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București
<i>TAT</i>	Tübinger Archäologische Taschenbücher
<i>Thraco-Dacica</i>	Thraco-Dacica, Institutul de Tracologie, București
<i>UPA</i>	Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
<i>VAMZ</i>	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu
<i>VDBMB</i>	Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum
<i>VMMK</i>	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei
<i>VKGLBW</i>	Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg
<i>VMUFP</i>	Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam
<i>VNMW</i>	Veröffentlichungen aus dem Naturhistorischen Museum, Wien
<i>VSADS</i>	Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Amtes für Denkmalpflege Stuttgart
<i>VsP</i>	Východoslovenský pravek, Archeologický ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra
<i>VTLF</i>	Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck
<i>VVSM</i>	Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg, Marburg-Espelkamp
<i>WA</i>	Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, Warsaw
<i>WArch</i>	World Archaeology, Oxford, Oxbow
<i>WFA</i>	Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie, Wien
<i>WissSchrN</i>	Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe Niederösterreich
<i>WMBH</i>	Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina, Wien
<i>WPZ</i>	Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift, Wien
<i>WZGK</i>	Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst
<i>Zalai Múzeum</i>	Zalai Múzeum, Közlemények Zala megye múzeumaiból, Zalaegerszeg
<i>Zborník SNM</i>	Zborník Slovenského Národného múzea, Bratislava
<i>Ziridava</i>	Ziridava, Muzeul Arad