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Studii și materiale

XXXIII

Arheologie



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CP 85 - str. Mărăști nr. 8A, 540328

Târgu Mureș, România

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ISSN 1016-9652

EDITURA MEGA

www.edituramega.ro

MUZEUL JUDEȚEAN MUREȘ

MARISIA

STUDII ȘI MATERIALE

XXXIII

ARHEOLOGIE

Târgu Mureș
2013

PREVIOUS VOLUMES

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Peter Anreiter, Eszter Bánffy, László Bartosiewicz, Wolfgang Meid, Carola Metzner-Nebelsick (eds),
*Archaeological, Cultural and Linguistic Heritage. Festschrift for Erzsébet Jerem in Honour of her 70th
Birthday*, 2012, Main Series 25, 633 pp. with BW and colour illustrations ISBN 978-963-9911-28-4
(by **Sándor BERECKI**) 317

ABBREVIATIONS

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AKINAKAI OF KELERMES TYPE: NEW DISCOVERIES IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN BESSARABIA

DENIS TOPAL

Keywords: akinakai, sword, dagger, Kelermes type, Scythian culture, weaponry, Early Iron age

Cuvinte cheie: akinakes, spadă, pumnal, tip Kelermes, cultura scitică, armament, prima epocă a fierului

This article presents some new and previously unknown findings of akinakai from the territory of the Republic of Moldova. These akinakai belong to Scythian culture and could be attributed to Kelermes type. The chronological framework of this type is based on several funeral complexes and determined by 650–600 BC. Distribution of stray finds of Kelermes type swords and daggers allow to reconstruct routes of spread of Early Scythian antiquities in forest-steppes of Don, Volga region and Carpathian basin. Besides that, a special cultural status of this type it is assumed. This supposition is based on such complementary indicators as their presence in burials, the existence of prestige exemplars and representations of such akinakai on other types of archaeological inventory. Also, the bronze model of akinakes (from Medgidia, Romania) is connected with Kelermes type swords and daggers, most likely produced as a decoration of the Scythian anthropomorphic sculpture.

This year marks the 50th anniversary of issuing the well-known monograph on Scythian weaponry, signed by the famous Russian scytho-logist Anna Meljukova (1964). According to A. Alekseev, the classification presented by Meljukova goes back to the ideas of M. I. Rostovtsev and V. A. Gorodtsov.¹ In fact, Vasily Gorodtsov tended to keep to the strict classification criteria, the ideal embodiment of which, in his opinion, were the classification schemes as in natural sciences.

This aspiration to ideal types makes V. Gorodtsov the first archaeological taxonomist (probably, the first not even in Russia, but in the world), because this 'typological method' he substituted to so called 'museum classification'.² Nevertheless, the study of A. I. Meljukova is an example of classification, rather a 'typological'³ than a 'museum' or 'collectible' one,⁴ since in her groups (even allocated by hierarchical principles) are hidden chronological and typological observations. Despite the fact that, the classification of A. I. Meljukova still remains the most common and generally accepted, the attempts to rethink the

classification criteria of Scythian armament do not stop. This is quite natural since, as noticed by Leo Klejn, the idea of the 'best typology' is only 'a mirage' which could be pursued, but never achieved.⁵ The main strategies in classification (as a scientific method) could be divided in two groups: 'empiric' (based on main features of artefacts and allocation in types due to its similarity) and 'positivist' (hypothesis-deductive procedure).⁶ The latter one provides a deductive selection of the features and characters which is determined by only the research objectives, i. e. able to bring it to the typology as a result. This positivist approach could be demonstrated and illustrated on Kelermes type of Scythian akinakai.

Basing on the specific combination of some features of akinakai (like the shape of the hilt, of the blade and the most archaic feature - presence of a bight on the handle) A. Voroshilov defined a new group of Scythian swords and daggers in the forest-steppe zone of the Don region, which he named 'akinakai of Kelermes type'.⁷ The observations of A. Voroshilov under this type of Scythian akinakai were recently supplemented.⁸ Earlier, E.

¹ Gorodtsov 1927, 6 after: Alekseev 1991, 272. Though the references to Gorodtsov's book ('Typological method in Archaeology', 1927) are not presented in the monography written by Meljukova.

² Klejn 2011. I, 648, 652–653.

³ Klejn 1991, 367.

⁴ Gorelova – Haslavskaja 1991, 61.

⁵ Klejn 1991, 103–105.

⁶ Klassifikacija 2013, 141–142.

⁷ Voroshilov 2009, 40; Voroshilov 2011, 157; Voroshilov 2013, 91.

⁸ Topal – Brujako 2012, 134–141; Denisov 2012, 66–67; Shelekhan 2013, 137–138.

Černenko proposed this term (Kelermes type) for the description of massive 'butterfly-like' hilts and suggested as a model the sword from Kelermes burial (Kuban region).⁹ Later, M. Pirtskhalava attributed to 'so called Kelermes type' a group of akinakai from Tlia necropolis, Georgia.¹⁰ Now the fact that Kelermes type is a historiographical phenomenon could be affirmed and it is used widely like the other types of Scythian akinakai, for example – Marychevka type,¹¹ Chertomlyk type¹² and Solokha type.¹³ To the present, we can count about 30 akinakai with the bight on handle and 10 of them come from a well-defined archaeological context and therefore have a precise chronological position due to connection with archaeological context (*Pl. 2*). Besides these, one could include into this group about 20 other finds which display very close technological and design features, such as shape of triform handle, massive 'butterfly-shaped' hilt (rarely 'heart'- and 'kidney'-shaped), and the blade with two almost parallel edges and median rib, could be added to this group.

Modern archaeology evaluates the problem of stray finds differently, sometimes stray finds have not been regarded as useful in any interpretation. Nevertheless, careful use of data based on stray finds may give some positive results.¹⁴ So, the transformation of finds without any context into the archaeological record is an important scientific problem. In our case, the information about spreading to the West of the Dniester river of Kelermes type akinakai was essentially supplemented by a group of stray finds. An iron sword relatively well preserved was found in the forest near Vatici village (Republic of Moldova, Orhei district). Besides that, another similar akinakes came also from Orhei district – near Susleni village. Even though, akinakes from Vatici was published in a special paper in Russian,¹⁵ I consider it is necessary to include the description of this item here. The total length of this akinakes was about 49 cm (the preserved length is 47,5 cm). The cross section of the blade is rhombic, the edges are parallel having a median rib about 20 cm. The blade's length probably was about 39 cm, the width varies from 4 cm (near the hafting

plate) to 3,5 (in the middle). The hilt is triform, consisting from three shafts, and the central one is rhombic, the length from the pommel to the hafting plate is 8,5 cm, the width is 3 cm, the thickness is 1 cm. The dimensions of butterfly-like hafting plate are 7×4,8 cm, the dimensions of massive pommel are 5,5×2 cm. Under the pommel an iron bight was attached with outside diameter about 1 cm.

Another original akinakes was found not far from the Susleni village (Republic of Moldova, Orhei district) (*Pl. 1/2; 4/11*). This item is already the fourth akinakes reported from the Orhei district: the other three have been found in Vatici (see above), Lukaševka¹⁶ (now Lucășeuca) and Butuceni fortified settlement.¹⁷ Despite the presence of the bight on the handle, this exemplar differs genuinely from akinakes from Vatici. For example, it's pommel is more elongated, it's handle is not triform, but has only two massive shafts on the edges. The form of hafting plate is heart-like, so the edges of plate are more rounded and facing down. The preservation of this exemplar is excellent (what is typical for the majority of Early Scythian akinakai), the total length is 51 cm. The cross section of the blade is also rhomboid, the edges are parallel and the blade has also the median rib which occupies about two thirds of the length (25 cm). The length of the blade is 38 cm, the width varies from 3,7 to 3,8 cm. The hilt's length is 8 cm (from the pommel to the hafting plate), the width is 2,7 cm, the thickness of shafts is about 1 cm. The dimensions of hafting plate are 6,5×3,9 cm and the pommel is 7×1,5 cm (thickness is 1,2 cm). Under the pommel an iron girdle with the bight is attached (diameter is 0,8 cm, the thickness is 0,5 cm). The form of hafting plate, the design of pommel are not so typical for Kelermes type, as for some bimetallic exemplars, for example, from Stepnoj,¹⁸ grave 85 from Tlia

⁹ Černenko 1980, 11.

¹⁰ Pirtskhalava 1995, 56.

¹¹ Ismagilov 1981, 126; Vasiliev 2001, 35; Ismagil – Sungatov 2004, 127; Denisov 2010, 227.

¹² Grakov 1947, 104; Guljaev 2009, 147.

¹³ Agulnikov et al. 2013, 274; Topal 2014.

¹⁴ Juodagalvis 2002; Johanson 2006.

¹⁵ Topal – Brujako 2012, 134–135, fig. 1/2.

¹⁶ Sergeev 1961, fig. 3. It is advisable to note that the article by G. Sergeev provided a historiographical error. So, in this publication were mixed up the descriptions of figures of stray find from Lukaševka and grave from Suruceni. Nevertheless, it was included in *Errata* on the last page of issue, this mistake continues to be repeated (see: Lapushnjan 1979, fig. 42; Meljukova 1979, fig. 33/5; Stepi 1989, fig. 27/33; Brujako 2005, fig. 37/11; 43/1).

¹⁷ Nikulitse 1977, fig. VIII/4. There is a reasonable doubt in this topographical attribution, because this akinakes is published in monography of Lapushnjan as 'a stray find from Trebujeni' (Lapushnjan 1979, 115, fig. 43), so the connection of this item with Getian fortified settlement of 4th–3rd c. BC is not so unobvious. Besides, due to archaic design of this akinakes and the general absence of Scythian swords and daggers on Getian settlements, this location looks too unconvincing.

¹⁸ Vinogradov 1974, 259.

necropolis¹⁹ or Orbeasca de Sus.²⁰ Perhaps this proximity to early bimetallic exemplars could explain the unusual design of the hilt (made from shafts) which imitates frame bronze hilt. A fortiori, some examples of such 'technological rethinking' of Caucasian ideas in the West are known already from the Pre-Scythian period, including cold arms.²¹

The chronological frames of Kelermes type could be based on a group of complexes from Caucasus and Dniepr region. A special attention deserves the eponymous find – a prestige sword from burial 1 of Kelermes, excavated in 1903 by G. Schultz (*Pl.* 3/7–7a) and very close analogy from Litoj burial (*Pl.* 3/9–9a), near actual Kirovograd, investigated in 1763 by A. Melgunov²² (this discovery was called after his name: Melgunov burial mound or Melgunov hoard).²³ The date of Kelermes complex with sword sometimes varied from middle 7th c. BC²⁴ to 7–6th c. BC,²⁵ second half of 6th c. BC²⁶ or 6–5th c. BC,²⁷ or even the 1st half of 4th (sic!) c. BC (as it was dated by the author of the first publication E. Pridik, basing on the analysis of 'artifacts of Ancient East, Scythian and Greek origin').²⁸ At the same time, *terminus ante quem* of '650–625 BC' introduced by A. Ivantchik²⁹ seems to be the most appropriate. V. A. Kisel also proposes even lower dating of Kelermes and Melgunov swords – 675–625 BC,³⁰ basing on the analogies of ornament in the form of a triangles and the curved leaves on Urartian relief from Adilcevaz of 680–645 BC.³¹ Besides this, other sword, also provided with the bight on the hilt from Kelermes is well-known (*Pl.* 3/10).³²

Recently some new akinakai of Kelermes type appeared from the investigations of Vladimirovskij cemetery (near Novorossiysk, Russia) – from grave 28 (*Pl.* 3/8) and 135 (*Pl.* 3/3).³³ Both

of the exemplars are characterized by triform handle with the bight and massive butterfly-like hafting plate. Unfortunately, this material was presented selectively; furthermore, the cemetery was generally dated by late 7th – early 6th c. BC. However, the iron cheek-piece from the grave 28³⁴ has wide analogies from earliest barrows from Kelermes of 650–625 BC.³⁵ Besides, iron bit from the grave 135³⁶ is almost an exact copy of iron bit from burial 41 of Fars cemetery, which is also synchronous to Early Kelermes group of middle 7th c. BC.³⁷

Likewise from Caucasus a complex comes from Tlia cemetery (grave 164) with an akinakes with the bight under straight pommel (*Pl.* 3/5).³⁸ The scabbard of this sword ends with a zoomorphic cap. It is necessary to mention the long sword (88 cm) with a bight under the pommel,³⁹ discovered in the layers of Karmir-Blur fortified settlement in Armenia (*Pl.* 3/11), terminus ante quem of its destroying is middle 7th c. BC.⁴⁰ The Caucasian group could be extended with a sword from the grave 4, discovered in 1952 near Mineralnye Vody, Stavropol'⁴¹ (*Pl.* 3/6) with an amorphic ledge under the pommel, which also could be interpreted as remains of bight.⁴² Two complexes with Kelermes type akinakai come from Georgia – grave 102 near Bazaleti⁴³ (*Pl.* 3/2) and grave 110 from Varsimaantkari⁴⁴ (*Pl.* 3/4). The exact chronology of these complexes could not be fixed, but in catalogue of exhibition of 2001–2002 'Georgia. Treasures from the Land of the Golden Fleece' the sword from Bazaleti was dated by 7th c. BC, and the exemplar from Varsimaantkari – by 6th–5th (sic!) c. BC.⁴⁵ A sword with a bight on the

¹⁹ Tekhov 1980, 223, fig. 3/7.

²⁰ Vulpe 1990: 36, Taf. 5/25.

²¹ Topal – Brujako 2012, 134.

²² History of this discovery is circumstantially presented by Irina Tunkina (Tunkina 2007, 195–202).

²³ Pridik 1911, 1–2.

²⁴ Alekseev 1992, 52, 96; Alekseev 2003, 295; Ivantchik 2001, 282.

²⁵ Artamonov 1966, 18, 91; Il'inskaja – Terenozhkin 1983, 104; Murzin 1984, 19–20.

²⁶ Rostovtsev 1925, 312.

²⁷ Rostovtsev 1926, 240.

²⁸ Pridik 1911, 21.

²⁹ Ivantchik 2001, 282.

³⁰ Kisel 2003.

³¹ van Loon 1990, pl. XX, after Kisel 2003.

³² Mantsevich 1969, fig. 2/1; Galanina 1994, fig. 5; Galanina 1997, cat. 4.

³³ Shishlov et. al. 2007, fig. 3/5–6.

³⁴ Shishlov et. al. 2007, fig. 4/9.

³⁵ Galanina 1997, 16–17, 53–54, 83, 120, fig. 33. Iron cheek-pieces with three loops belong to the most prevalent types in Early Scythian culture on Caucasus (about 130 ex.). According to analysis of S. Makhortykh, its chronological framework could be determined by middle 7th – first decades of 6th c. BC (Makhortykh 2013, 275).

³⁶ Shishlov et. al. 2007, fig. 4/2.

³⁷ Leskov – Erlikh 1999, 74, fig. 39/7.

³⁸ Tekhov 1980, fig. 12/2.

³⁹ Piotrovskij 1959, 177, fig. 6; Kossack 1987, 67, Abb. 25/1. The similarity of this akinakes with swords from Kelermes and Melgunov was shown by the author of discovery. B. B. Piotrovskij 1959, 177.

⁴⁰ Ivantchik 2001, 59–61.

⁴¹ Egorov 1955, fig. 20/1.

⁴² Nonetheless, this important detail was not mentioned by author of publication (Egorov 1955, 57), though K. F. Smirnov drew attention to it (Smirnov 1961, 11).

⁴³ Georgien 2001, Kat. 383; Mehnert 2008, 119, Taf. 53/13.

⁴⁴ Georgien 2001, Kat. 382; Mehnert 2008, 156, Taf. 85/7.

⁴⁵ It seems that G. Mehnert is also agree with these dates, noting however, that chronology of Bazaleti sword 'was based on outdated typology of A. I. Meljukova' (Mehnert 2008, 69, 82).

handle was found in the grave 1 of barrow 6 near Yasnozorje village (Cherkasy region, Ukraine)⁴⁶ (Pl. 3/1) with its total length of 44 cm. According to the authors of this discovery, most of the grave goods have analogies in 2nd half of 7th c. BC, for example, bilobate arrowheads of Kelermes type, bits with stapes-like endings, bronze pendants etc. Basing on these analogies the terminus post quem of Yasnozorje grave was established as middle 7th c. BC, that is to say 2nd half of 7th c. BC.⁴⁷

The number of findings associated with well-dated complexes or context is much lower than stray finds. We know just several stray finds from Dnieper region. So, E. V. Černenko mentions a group of akinakai with bight on the handle from Museum of Dnepropetrovsk (Pl. 4/15),⁴⁸ Kiev State Museum (Pl. 4/11), Museum of Poltava (Pl. 4/17).⁴⁹ Another dagger is stored in the Museum of Dnepropetrovsk, and its provenance is probably connected with the territory of Dnepropetrovsk city (Pl. 4/19), i.e. on the frontier between steppe and forest-steppe regions.⁵⁰ The most northern find comes from Kiev-Vetrjanye Gory⁵¹ (Pl. 4/13). A big group of stray finds of akinakai with bight on the triform handle concentrates in forest-steppes of Volga–Don interfluvies (Pl. 2). The dagger with broken blade (the cross section is rhombic form) with median rib and triform shaft handle was found near Staroe Zakharkino (Penza region, Russia)⁵² (Pl. 4/14). A sword from Museum of Chaplygin was found up North to the city (Pl. 4/6), on the right bank of Ryasa river, in front of ‘Petropavlovskaya pustyn’ monastery.⁵³ In 1980 a sword with the blade with parallel edges and apparently with remains of the bight on handle⁵⁴ (Pl. 4/7) was found near Krasnyi Log.⁵⁵

An akinakes is stored in Tambov local museum, and it was found in Tambov region (Pl. 4/3)⁵⁶ with broken bight on a handle.⁵⁷

From Saratov region come two akinakai of Kelermes type: near Vladykino⁵⁸ (Pl. 4/2) and from Arkadak museum⁵⁹ (Pl. 4/1). In Voronezh region, near Yaman, in 2010 was found an akinakes with broken bight⁶⁰ (Pl. 4/4). The same article by A. Voroshilov provides a drawing and description of a dagger from Kursk region local museum (Pl. 4/10), which was found in this region.⁶¹ Its handle consists of three shafts, rounded on the edges and the central of rhombic form.⁶² Besides that, another early Scythian sword with the bight under the handle is known in Kursk region – from Klyuch⁶³ (Pl. 4/5). The hilt of the sword with the bight from Borisoglebsk (Pl. 4/16) ends with antennae (or, rather volutes),⁶⁴ that is not so typical for the majority of Kelermes type akinakai.⁶⁵ Also, here is worth mentioning the broken sword from Yulovskaja volost, Volsk county,⁶⁶ now Saratov region (Pl. 4/18).⁶⁷ Actually the most eastern finding of Kelermes akinakes could be considered a recently published sword from Isakly museum,⁶⁸ Samara region (Pl. 4/8). Its total length is 51,5 cm, the handle is triform, the hafting plate is butterfly-shaped and under the pommel there is a narrow iron sleeve with a small bight. Other swords and daggers to East of Volga (i.g. Argajash, Lugovsk cemetery, Ushbiyik)

⁴⁶ Kovpanenko et al. 1994, 53, 55, fig. 6/1.

⁴⁷ Skoryj 2003, 35.

⁴⁸ L. N. Golubchik affirms that this dagger corresponds to the old collection of the museum and belongs to a group of stray finds of Bakhmut county of Ekaterinoslav province (now Artemovsk, Donetsk region). It's interesting that, besides the bight under the pommel was made an opening (Golubchik 1986, 80, fig. 2/1), probably after the bight was broken (Shkurko 1962, 98). A. I. Shkurko determined *terminus ante quem* as ‘middle 6th c. BC’ (Shkurko 1962, 100).

⁴⁹ Shkurko 1962, 98–99, fig. 3; Černenko 1980, 12, fig. 6/1–2, 4.

⁵⁰ Shelekhan 2013, 136, fig. 1.

⁵¹ Belozor – Skoryj 1985, 255, fig. 1.

⁵² Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, 239–240, fig. 1/4.

⁵³ Klovov 1996, 126, fig. 4/1.

⁵⁴ The authors of the first publication mistakenly attributed this exemplar and basing on analogies from Čertomlyk, Durovka and Chastye Kurgany (by oval pommel) dated by 4th–3rd c. BC.

⁵⁵ Kornjushin – Puzikova 1995, 32.

⁵⁶ Another find from Tambov region (Umyot museum) was mentioned by A. N. Voroshilov in his report on the Conference of young scientists in Moscow (Voroshilov 2013, 92).

⁵⁷ Klovov – Moiseev 1999, fig. 6/2;

Voroshilov 2011, 161, fig. 3.

⁵⁸ Morzherin 2004, fig. 4; Voroshilov 2011, 157, fig. 2/1.

⁵⁹ Morzherin 2004: fig. 3; Voroshilov 2011, 159, fig. 2/2.

⁶⁰ Voroshilov 2011, 161, fig. 4.

⁶¹ Voroshilov 2011, 162, fig. 5/1.

⁶² Apalkov 1995, 150, fig. 1/4.

⁶³ Apalkov 1992, 69, fig. 1a.

⁶⁴ Mulikidzhanjan 1983, 137–139, fig. 1/1.

⁶⁵ It is well-known a sword from A. A. Bobrinsky collection (fig. 5/12) with the pommel decorated with small volutes (Meljukova 1964, fig. 20/1), which is according to some features very closed to Kelermes type. From Southern Bashkortostan near Berlyachevo (fig. 5: 11) comes an akinakes with triform hilt and massive butterfly-shaped hafting plate (Smirnov 1961, 20, fig. 3/7), which could be also attributed to Kelermes type, despite the lack of the bight under the pommel. This exemplar also was decorated with pommel in the form of *antennae*.

⁶⁶ However, as it turned out, quite another item came from Yulovskaja volost (Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, fig. 2/1), and this sword came from the former local Museum of history and the place of discovering was never known, but one could assume that it was Saratov region (Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, 239).

⁶⁷ Smirnov 1961, fig. 1/5.

⁶⁸ Denisov 2012, 66, fig. 1.

also provided with iron sleeves, despite some attempts⁶⁹ could hardly attributed to Kelermes type, because by 'their construction and function' they could not be compared with early Scythian swords.⁷⁰

With no doubt, the bight on the handle is the clearest and easily detected sign for early Scythian swords and daggers, including even the bimetallic ones. K. F. Smirnov has noticed an interesting detail on the hilt of sword from Lapot (Stenka Razin burial mound), namely the ledges 'probably formed as a result of a failed moulding of a bight under the pommel'.⁷¹ As a result, according to him, functional considerations made it necessary to punch an opening in the handle. This fact as well as bimetallicism in the combination with frame handle were interpreted by K. F. Smirnov as 'archaic Caucasian features'. Such bights are known on other bimetallic swords with frame handles from Kumbulta-Galiat-Faskau⁷² and Kharkov museum of history.⁷³ Generally, the manufacturing technology of early Scythian frame handles is determined as a 'Cimmerian' (Pre-Scythian) one. B. A. Shramko, for example, explains the preservation of ancient technological methods combined with new forms as the result of insufficient knowledge of complicated forging, forge welding with a well-developed technology of bronze moulding.⁷⁴

In addition, there is another group of swords and daggers that could be attributed to Kelermes type, basing on their morphological similarity, despite of the lack of the bight on handle. One of the exemplars recently was found in the exposition of National Museum of Archaeology and History of Moldova, Kishinev, and was discovered in 1970s near Lipnic⁷⁵, Oknitsa district (*Pl. 1/3, Pl.*

5/1). Total length of this well-preserved dagger is 29 cm. The blade with parallel edges and lenticular in section is 17 cm, the width is 2,7 cm, on the one side traces of a median rib could be observed. The handle is triform and consists of three shafts of the same size and same round shape, the dimensions are 7,6×2 cm (from pommel to the hafting plate), the thickness of shafts is 0,6 cm. The pommel is massive oval-shaped, the width is 4,5 cm, the height is 1,5 cm, the thickness is 1,4 cm. The hafting shaft is butterfly-shaped, the dimensions are 2,9×5,5 cm.

Perhaps the bights on some exemplars were lost in antiquity, or probably were made from organic materials. Therefore first of all this group is based on such feature like triform handle made of three shafts, and the central is usually rhombic. It is quite possible that the shape of central shaft was influenced by manufacturing of akinakai i.e. due to the fact of making the blade with median rib and the handle by hot hammering from one piece of metal. It seems that on some exemplars the central rhombic shaft of the handle is an extension of median rib of the blade, and two round shafts on the edges of hilt are rudimentary preserved from frame handles of bimetallic akinakai. Namely this detail shows the connection between Kelermes type and bimetallic akinakai, for which the design of moulded bronze frame had constructive importance. According to B. A. Shramko, if bimetallicism disappears, this design becomes not constructive, but ornamental imitation.⁷⁶ Perhaps this could explain 'frame' and 'triform' design of much more late exemplars until 5th c. BC. In this regard, akinakes from Imirler grave near Amasya (Anatolia, Turkey) is especially interesting.⁷⁷ Long sword from Imirler (*Pl. 6/10*) is often compared to early Scythian akinakai, including exemplars from Kelermes and Litoj (Melgunov) barrow.⁷⁸ It is notable that the cross section of the blade is rhombic with the rib in the middle and the handle with hafting plate was covered with iron frame.⁷⁹

The next most important features could be considered the massive pommel combined with butterfly-shaped hafting plate, then parallel edges of blade with the median rib. Basing on metric characteristics (i.e. length of blade) Kelermes type

⁶⁹ Ismagil 2000, 137.

⁷⁰ Tairov 2007, 144.

⁷¹ Smirnov 1961, 11.

⁷² In 1900 P. S. Uvarova published the fragments of a bronze frame handle from the cemetery near Kumbulta (Uvarova 1900, tab. XCV/3–4), then A. I. Terenozhkin basing on her collection offered his own reconstruction (Terenozhkin 1975, 29, 34, fig. 20/6–7). In 1960 E. I. Krupnov published the fragments of handle from Faskau (Krupnov 1960, tab. XXX/3). It turned out that these fragments are from the same sword, but they were published with different names, creating a historiographical confusion. More about this historiographical curiosity see: Babenko 2006, 54.

⁷³ Babenko 2006, 55, fig. 1; 2/3–4.

⁷⁴ Shramko 1984, 30–31.

⁷⁵ Earlier this akinakes was stored in Otaci local museum and was attributed as a 'medieval dagger' (sic!) of Stephen the Great time (probably due to geographical closeness to the Lipnic battlefield of 1496). I would like to thank V. Bubulici and E. Abyzova (find curators of National Museum of Archaeology and History of Moldova) for the

information.

⁷⁶ Shramko 1984, 31.

⁷⁷ Ünal 1982, 66.

⁷⁸ Kossack 1987, 67; Ivantchik 2001, 42–48.

⁷⁹ H. Hauptmann wrote that handle of this sword is made of bronze (Hauptmann 1983, 268), but V. Ünal ignored the description of this quite important detail.

akinakai could be divided into three main groups: >25 cm; 25–35 cm; 35–55 cm. Akinakai with the bight on the hilt are represented in all groups, but most of them in latter, while the swords and daggers without a bight tend mainly to the first two. The aims of the bight or an opening on the handle (presented only on early Scythian akinakai) have not been clearly defined yet. E. V. Černenko suggested that it served to attach a kind of a sword-knot in order to wear the sword on the hand and 'to prevent its loss during the fight'.⁸⁰ Probably, the high length of the swords with bights (as a part of sword-knots) implies the fight on horses, i.e. we could assume the equestrian nature of this type of weaponry. So, no wonder that this functional element is almost completely absent on daggers or short swords.

Caucasus is represented by another series of akinakai of Kelermes type from Tlia necropolis, e.g. from the graves 93, 94, 106, 128, 129 and 216 (*Pl. 5/2–7*),⁸¹ and even more, the author of the excavations in Tlia emphasizes that they have not only the morphological similarity, but also the technological closeness: these exemplars were made of soft raw steel.⁸² There is also need to mention akinakai from Samtavro cemetery⁸³ (e.g. from grave 212 (*Pl. 5/13*)) and the massive dagger from burial pit 12 from Nigvziani, Georgia⁸⁴ (*Pl. 5/14*). Two akinakai were found on the right bank of Dnieper river: one of them comes from A. A. Bobrinsky's collection⁸⁵ and another one from Daryevka area (*Pl. 5/21*) near Shpola,⁸⁶ and besides, the latter, despite the absence of the bight under the pommel and heart-shaped hafting plate is very close to the exemplar from grave 164 from Tlia. As the exemplar from Tlia, it has similar bone scabbard's end decorated in Animal style. Also it is very closed to Kelermes type the finding from Smela⁸⁷ (*Pl. 5/20*). The exemplar found in 1970s near Slavjanogorsk, Donetsk region⁸⁸ could be attributed to Kelermes type (*Pl. 5/9*). It has triform shaft-shaped hilt with massive pommel without a bight under, but this fact, however,

did not prevent the authors to trace analogies to Kelermes and Melgunov burials, Yasnozorje and Karmir-Blur, the main typological feature for them was 'the hafting plate of Kelermes type'.⁸⁹ Stray-find from Sosnovka, Sumy region are also among analogies.⁹⁰ Kharkiv region also gives us a dagger of Kelermes type from Russky Bishkin (now: Nizhniy Bishkin)⁹¹ (*Pl. 5/10*). Similar forms are known for Don forest-steppe: from Lipetsk⁹² (*Pl. 5/8*), Nikolskoe, Lipetsk region⁹³ (*Pl. 6/7*), a well-preserved akinakes from Mordovskiy Karay, Saratov region⁹⁴ (*Pl. 5/16*), Tugolukovo, Tambov region⁹⁵ (*Pl. 6/8*) and Yulovskaja volost⁹⁶ (*Pl. 5/18*). A dagger with triform handle, butterfly-shaped hafting plate and median rib on the blade (*Pl. 5/15*) was found in Voronezh region, near Monastyrshchina.⁹⁷ The exemplar, supposedly, from Lugovsk (Orenburg region) is probably the most eastern find of Kelermes type sword without a bight under the pommel⁹⁸.

There is a series of swords that we could attribute to Kelermes type (despite of the lack of the bight) originating from Carpathian-Balkan area, e.g. an akinakes found in Ploiești-Triaj, Romania, near tumuli of Bronze age and Ferigile-type.⁹⁹ A. Vulpe, the author of the most complete catalogue of swords and daggers of Early Iron age of Romania, attributed this sword to his Ferigile-Lăceni type which consists of the swords of early stage of Ferigile cemetery (including burial mound 41).

Besides this, basing on 'his typological considerations and comparison with prestige swords from Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound' he dated this akinakes by '1st half of 6th c. BC'.¹⁰⁰ And, indeed, the sword from Ploiești, despite to the lack of hafting plate, is very close to akinakai from Tugolukovo and Nikolskoje (*Pl. 6/7–8*) due to hilt's form and ornamentation of the pommel with horizontal parallel lines could be surely attributed to Kelermes type. Along this big sword

⁸⁰ Černenko 1980, 13.

⁸¹ M. Pirtskhalava even in 1995 attributed these akinakai as 'so called Kelermes type', stressing the lack of their prototype in Pre-Scythian time (Pirtskhalava 1995, 56).

⁸² The akinakes from grave 93 is an exception and it was forged from high quality steel (Tekhov 1980, 248).

⁸³ Terenozhkin 1975, fig. 20/2–4.

⁸⁴ Mikeladze – Baramidze 1977, fig. 3/6.

⁸⁵ Meljukova 1964, fig. 20/1.

⁸⁶ Il'inskaja 1975, tab. XXXIV/18; Kossack 1987, Abb. 33/1.

⁸⁷ Shramko et al. 1970, 45, fig. 2/3.

⁸⁸ Privalova – Privalov 1988, fig. 4/9; Dubovskaja – Podobed 1993, 46–47, fig. 55/1.

⁸⁹ Dubovskaja – Podobed 1993, 47.

⁹⁰ Kulatova 1992, 80–84, fig. 1/2.

⁹¹ Sibilev 1926, tab. XXV/2; Grechko 2010, 62/1.

⁹² Klovov 1996, 126, fig. 4/2.

⁹³ Voroshilov 2011, 163, fig. 6.

⁹⁴ Morzherin 2004, 182.

⁹⁵ Medvedev 1999, 104, fig. 51/3.

⁹⁶ Maksimov – Poleskiy 1971, fig. 2/1.

⁹⁷ Demidova 1964; Liberov 1965, 75.

⁹⁸ This item is displayed in Orenburg Governor's Museum of History but the exact place of its discovery is unknown. I take this opportunity to thank A. Denisov for information about this important find.

⁹⁹ Vulpe 1987, 177, fig. 2/1; 1990, 32, Taf. 4/16.

¹⁰⁰ Vulpe 1990, 33.

a similar dagger was found (*Pl.* 6/5).¹⁰¹ Among the swords grouped by A. Vulpe into Ferigile-Lăceni type, two exemplars of Lăceni variant should be mentioned, e.g. eponymous stray-find from Lăceni¹⁰² (*Pl.* 6/9) and a sword from burial mound 41 from Ferigile¹⁰³ (*Pl.* 6/4). The swords of Ferigile variant do not show so obvious similarity, though the exemplar from Curtea de Argeş (*Pl.* 6/11) has triform handle and its pommel is decorated with horizontal lines.¹⁰⁴ A snaffle of Vekerzug type with endings in shape of horse heads (4th variant after Kemenczei) was also found with that sword. *Terminus post quem* for snaffles of this type is last decades of 7th c. BC¹⁰⁵ though in Carpathian basin this type penetrates at the turn of 7th–6th c. BC.¹⁰⁶ And the burial 41 from Ferigile an Curtea de Argeş burial A. Vulpe grouped into Ferigile-4 stage, 1st half of 6th c. BC,¹⁰⁷ although later he dated the 4th stage by entire 6th c. BC, and the t.p.q. was determined as 'late 7th c. BC'.¹⁰⁸ To the South from Danube, a well-preserved akinakes found near Praventsy, Bulgaria is stored in Museum of Shumen¹⁰⁹ (*Pl.* 5/17), and it is very close to the sword from Kiev-Vetriannye Gory by design.

The geographical distribution of akinakai of Kelermes type is a quite interesting phenomenon, these finds practically do not overstep the bounds of forest-steppe area of Scythian culture (*Pl.* 2). Furthermore, there are at least two directions of their spread: a meridional one for graves and latitudinal (both East and West) for stray finds.

So, it seems those researchers who believe that the process of typological formation of Scythian akinakes was initiated on Northern Caucasus based on Kabardino-Pyatigorsk type of daggers¹¹⁰ are closer to the truth than others. However we could not ignore the role of Transcaucasia, where Scythian weaponry either was imported directly or was produced basing on northern Caucasian samples,¹¹¹ and not later than middle 7th c. BC, i.e. almost simultaneously with appearance of prestige forms of akinakai of Kelermes type. As for the high number of stray-finds from forest-steppe regions (e. g. Don region),

their concentration causes various discussions and versions, for example, of their using in cult purposes, 'sacrificial or memorial cult processed even on battlefields'¹¹² or about their connection with destroyed burial complexes.¹¹³ On the other hand, the steppes of Don are not the single region where the stray finds concentrate. So, the stray finds of Scythian swords and daggers represent about 75% of the finds in Carpathian-Dniester or not less than 50% in middle Dniepr region.¹¹⁴ Among other things, the concentration of stray finds of Scythian weaponry to East from Carpathians (e. g. on Bârlad Plateau as well as between the Bistriţa and Târnău ridges) is definitely connected with Scythian migrations from Moldova to Transylvania.¹¹⁵

There is an extremely important discovery from Lower Danube, related to the problems of Kelermes type – an unique bronze model of akinakes, found in 1955 near Medgidia, Romania.¹¹⁶ This item has been moulded from high quality bronze and richly decorated with reliefs and carved ornamentation on one side, and with two shafts for attachment on another (*Pl.* 6/1). D. Berciu suggested that this find is an 'emblem' for decorating the burial chamber or, more likely, is an element of Scythian anthropomorphic sculptures,¹¹⁷ which are well-known in Romanian part of Dobruja from 6th c. BC.¹¹⁸

The lack of analogies for this item, as well as traces of use do not allow the clear determination of its function. But it is needed to note that the akinakes is one of the most popular elements of Scythian sculpture and could be met on more than 40% of findings.¹¹⁹ Besides that, on the one of Scythian statues from Lower Danube there are made several hollows below the line which could be used for attachment¹²⁰ of such kind of 'emblem'.¹²¹ Regarding the time of producing this model, it seems important to solve the problem what kind (or what type) of akinakes it presents. Such features as parallel edges of the blade, the

¹⁰¹ Vulpe 1987, 179, fig. 2/2; 1990, Taf. 4/17.

¹⁰² Vulpe 1990, 31–32, Taf. 4/14.

¹⁰³ Vulpe 1967, 131, pl. XV/2; Vulpe 1990, 32, Taf. 4/15.

¹⁰⁴ Vulpe 1967, pl. XVI/1; Vulpe 1990, 31, Taf. 2/13.

¹⁰⁵ Kemenczei 2009, 51.

¹⁰⁶ Brujako 2005, 273.

¹⁰⁷ Vulpe 1977, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Vulpe 1990, 125–126.

¹⁰⁹ Atanasov 1995.

¹¹⁰ Leskov 1979; Černenko 1979; Shramko 1984; Ismagilov 1989.

¹¹¹ Esajan – Pogrebova 1985, 52.

¹¹² Sarapulkin 2005, 162; Voroshilov 2011, 166–167.

¹¹³ Razuvaev – Kur'janov 2004, 192.

¹¹⁴ Topal 2005, 29.

¹¹⁵ Especially big concentration is situated near Târgu Neamţ, not far from the existing now mountain passes as Păltiniş, Tulgheţ and Bicaz. Mihailescu-Bîrliba – Untaru 1971, fig. 4.

¹¹⁶ Berciu 1958, 94–102, fig. 1–2; Berciu 1959, 9–18, pl. I–II.

¹¹⁷ Berciu 1959, 18.

¹¹⁸ Ol'hovskij – Evdokimov 1994, 16.

¹¹⁹ Ol'hovskij – Evdokimov 1994, tab. 15; Topal 2005, 29.

¹²⁰ The distance between these deepenings is close to the distance between shafts on the Medgidia model and is about 20 cm.

¹²¹ Alexandrescu 1958, 292, fig. 3–4.

shape of pommel and hafting plate allowed even the author of first publication of this find to compare it with swords from Kelermes and Melgunov.¹²² In addition, the attention could be drawn to such details as ornamentation of the pommel with horizontal lines¹²³ (e.g. as on akinakai from Tugolukovo, Nikolskoe and Ploiești) and the median rib – features which are characteristic for Kelermes type. Images of animals, e. g. sitting goats (the closest analogy is the ornamented hafting plate of Melgunov sword) and the decoration of the hilt with a bird of prey probably indicate a creative rethinking of the Western Asiatic traditions as it is shown on prestige ceremonial swords of Kelermes type. Most likely it indicates a later time of manufacturing of emblem from Medgidia (compared with Melgunov sword). So, probably the time of producing of this emblem coincides with the appearance of Kelermes type akinakai across the Prut to the West and the Scythian statues across the Danube in the South at the turn of 7th–6th c. BC.

Generally, there are three main approaches to the typology of Scythian edged weapon: typology based on a combination of the shape of pommel and hafting plate; studying functional features based on design of blade; working with the ‘cultural types’.¹²⁴ An interesting attempt of determination of the cultural types on Scythian swords and daggers was made by Andrey Alekseev (1991). Being one of participants of the archaeological seminar lead by Leo Klejn in Leningrad State University, A. Alekseev tried to illustrate some theses of L. Klejn on the material of Scythian akinakai. His main thesis was the idea of the connection between cultural context and typological features, therefore the main determined problem is searching for the groups of artifacts recognized by members of cultural society,¹²⁵ and the searching for these groups is impossible without researching the context.¹²⁶ A. Alekseev builds the evolutionary series in accordance with his own theory of consecutive destroying of the phallic symbolism in design of akinakai¹²⁷ from the ‘primordial’ kidney-shaped (reniform)

to the ‘abstract’ narrow butterfly-shaped hafting plate.¹²⁸ However, it seems that ‘cultural types’ of Scythian akinakai could be determined by other complimentary indicators. One of them is the presence of prestige (ceremonial) items inside a type (or group), i.e. decorated with precious metals. Another important indicator is the reflection in art (e.g. monumental sculpture, toreutics etc.). Therefore, due to the fact of wide spread of Kelermes type akinakai in burial complexes, presence of prestige forms and representations (as Medgidia model apparently associated as a decoration of statue) we could refer to significant involvement of Kelermes type in Scythian cultural context. Moreover, the presence of the image, in which an ancient artist sought to emphasize the most important features, makes possible to judge about hierarchy of typological characters.¹²⁹ This fact brings Kelermes type beyond abstract archaeological paradigm (i.e. it is possible to determine its special status of ‘cultural type’) and allows us to see this type in the reflection of the cultural context in all its diversity.

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¹²² Berciu 1958, 105.

¹²³ It is need to mention that the pommels of Melgunov and Kelermes swords are also ornamented horizontally: the floral ornament in case of Melgunov, and oblique hatching in case of Kelermes pommel (fig. 3/7a, 9a; 7/4,6; 8/4).

¹²⁴ Denisov 2010a, 270.

¹²⁵ Alekseev 1991, 272.

¹²⁶ Klejn 1979, 69.

¹²⁷ A detailed critical analysis of this conception was recently presented by Alexander Shelekhan (See: Shelekhan 2013a).

¹²⁸ Alekseev 1991, 276–279.

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Rezumat

Articolul introduce în circuitul științific unele descoperiri inedite de pumnale de tip akinakes de pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova. După mai mulți parametri, acestea pot fi atribuite tipului Kelermes.

Limitele cronologice ale acestui tip sunt determinate de analiza inventarului funerar din mormintele cu akinakai și pot fi stabilite în mijlocul – a doua jumătate a sec. VII î.Hr. Răspândirea descoperirilor fortuite de akinakai de tip Kelermes permite reconstrucția rutelor de pătrundere a vestigiilor scitice

timpurii în silvostepile Donului, regiunea Volgăi și Bazinul Carpatic. În baza analizei mai multor indici ce se completează reciproc – prezența în morminte, existența unor forme de paradă și a reprezentărilor acestor akinakai pe suprafața altor categorii de inventar arheologic – se presupune statutul cultural deosebit al tipului respectiv. Astfel, cu tipul Kelermes poate fi legată descoperirea modelului de akinakes turnat din bronz din Medgidia, care, probabil, a fost executat pentru a împodobi o sculptură antropomorfă scitică.

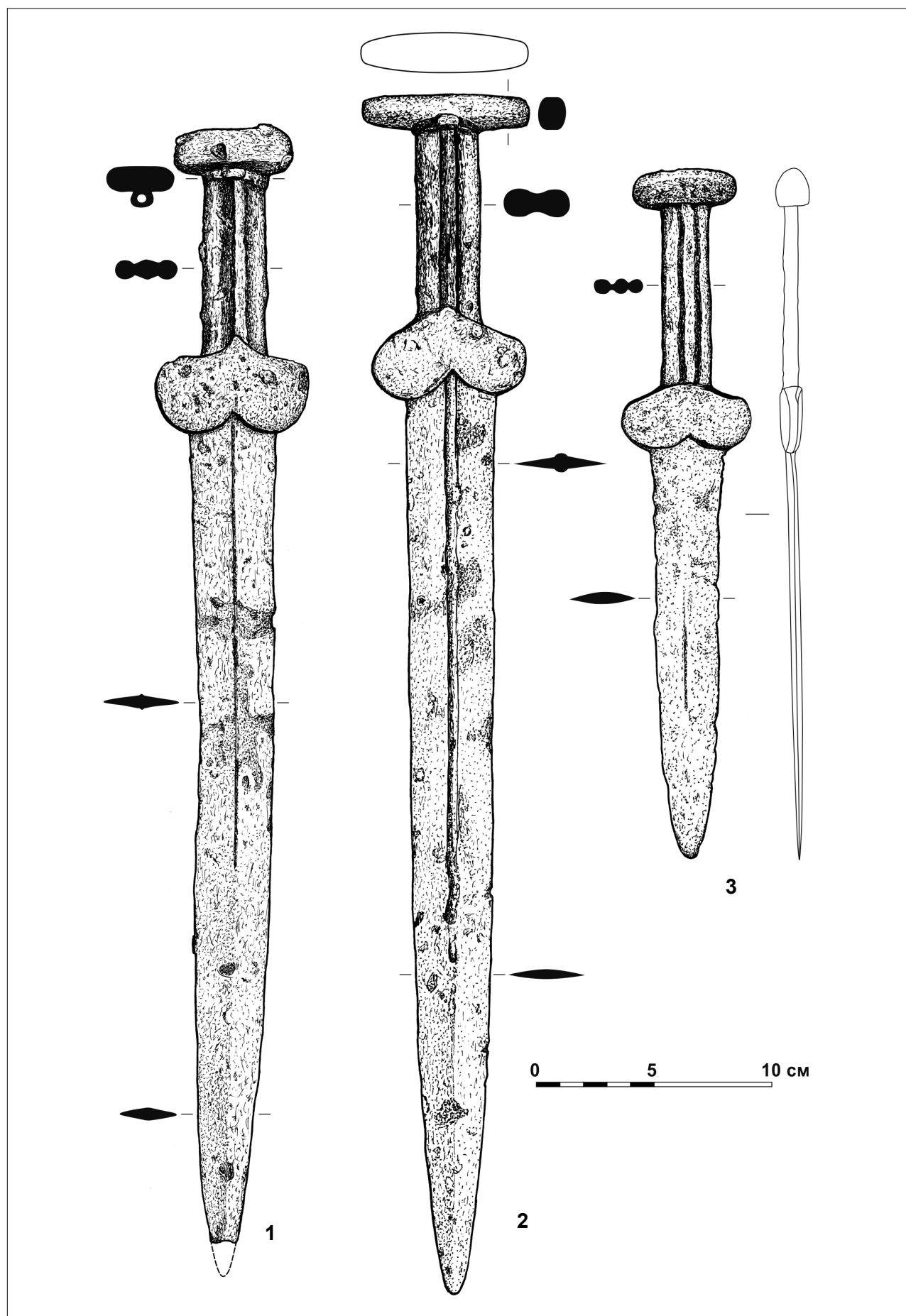


Plate 1. Akinakai of Kelermes type from Republic of Moldova
1–Vatici; 2–Susleni; 3–Lipnic.

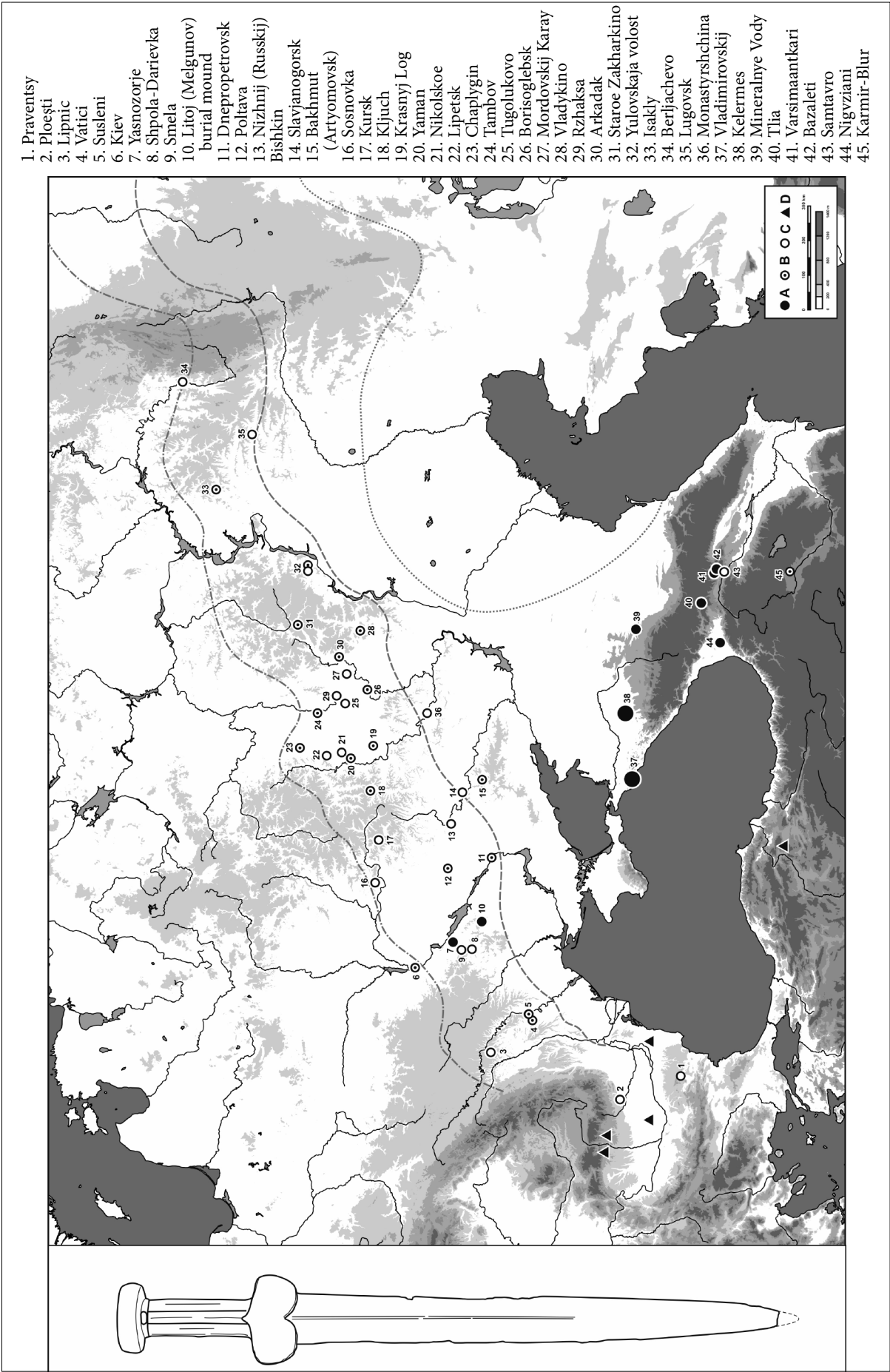


Plate 2. Distribution of Kelesmes type akinakai and close analogies. A – finds in complexes, B – stray finds with bight on handle; C stray finds without bight on handle; D – close analogies to Kelesmes type akinakai.

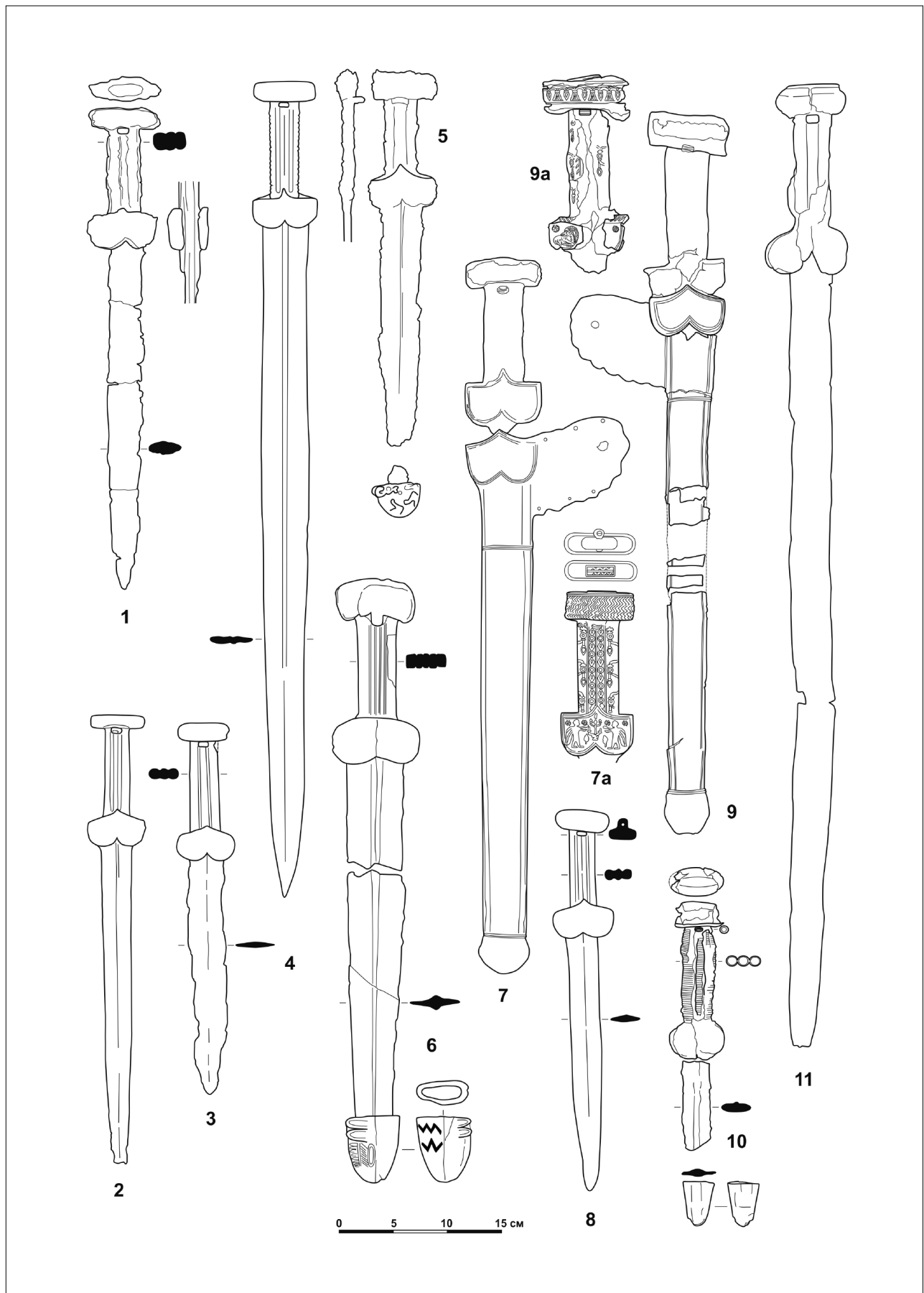


Plate 3. Kelermes type akinakai with bight on handle (from complexes)
 1–Yasnozorje, b.6, gr.1; 2–Bazaleti, gr.102; 3–Vladimirovskij, gr.135; 4–Varsimaantkari, gr.110; 5–Tlia, gr.164;
 6 – Mineralnye Vody, gr.4; 7, 7a, 10–Kelermes, b.1; 8–Vladimirovskij, gr.28;
 9, 9a–Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound; 11–Karmir-Blur.

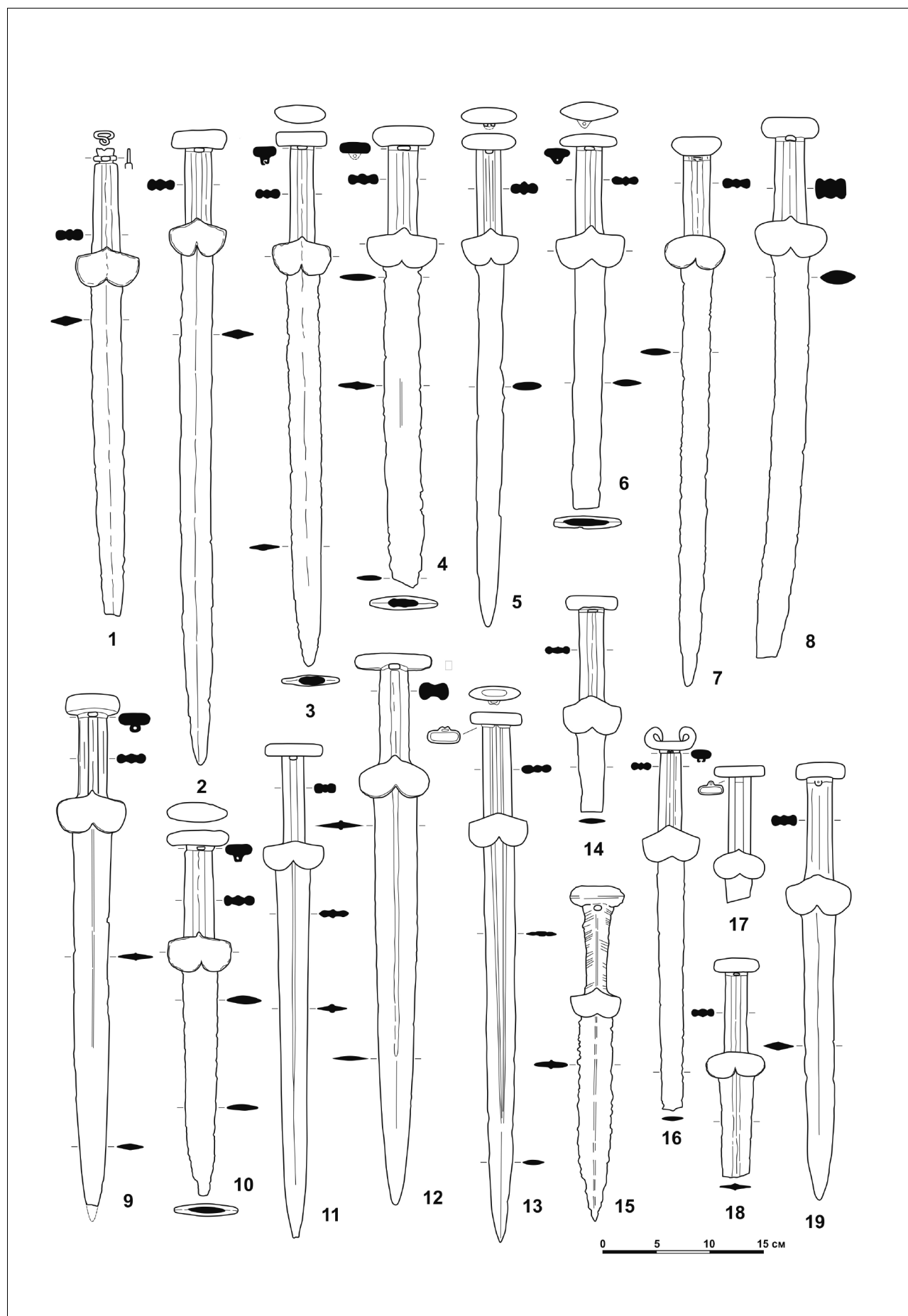


Plate 4. Kelermes type akinakai with bight on handle without any archaeological context.

1–Arkadak; 2–Vladykino; 3–Tambov region; 4–Yaman; 5–Kljuch; 6–Chaplygin; 7–Krasnyj Log; 8–Isakly; 9–Vatici; 10–Museum of Kursk; 11–National Museum of Ukraine; 12–Susleni; 13–Kiev-Vetrjanye gory; 14–Staroe Zakharkino; 15–Bakhmut (Artyomovsk); 16–Borisoglebsk; 17–Museum of Poltava; 18–Saratov region; 19–Dnepropetrovsk

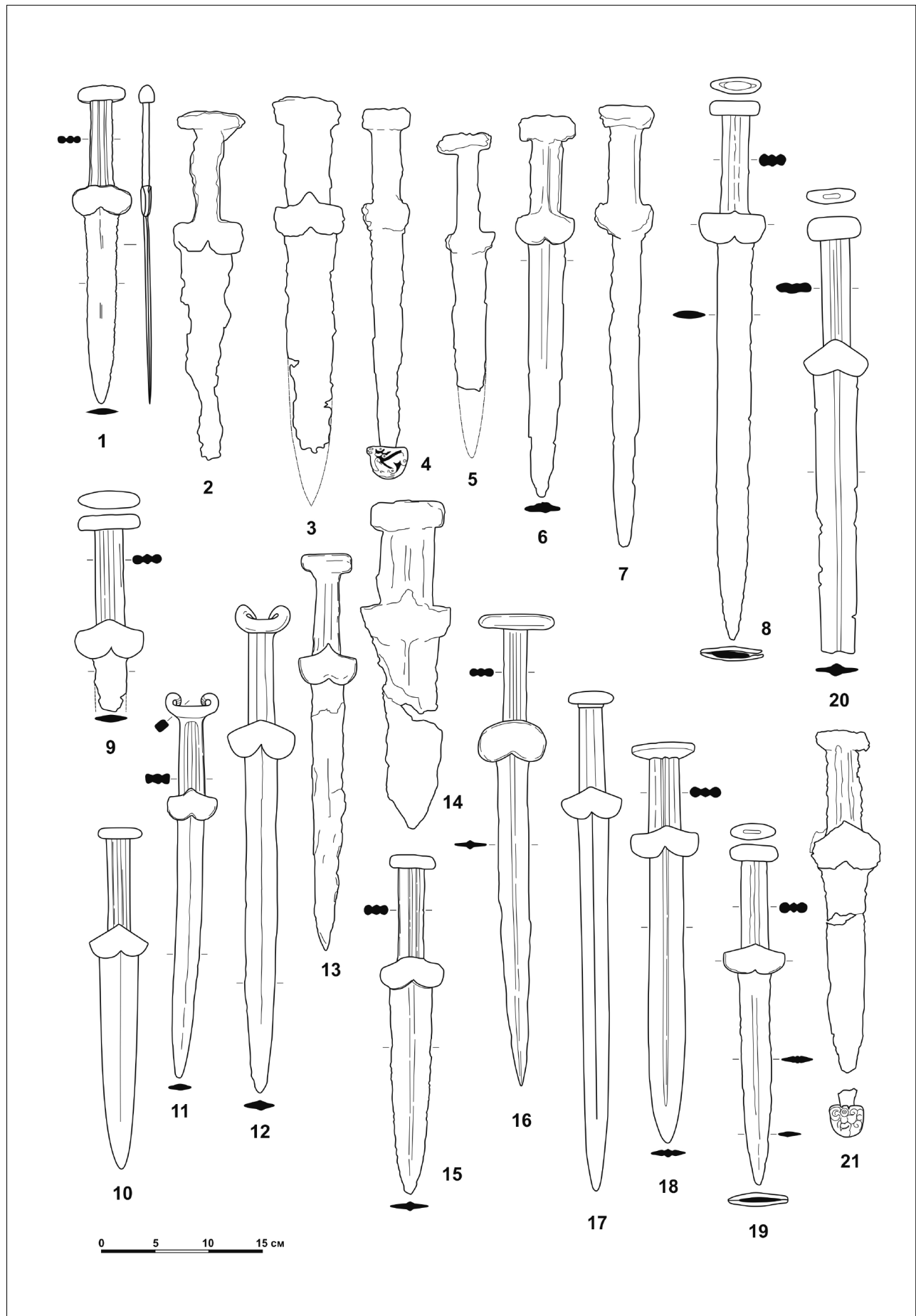
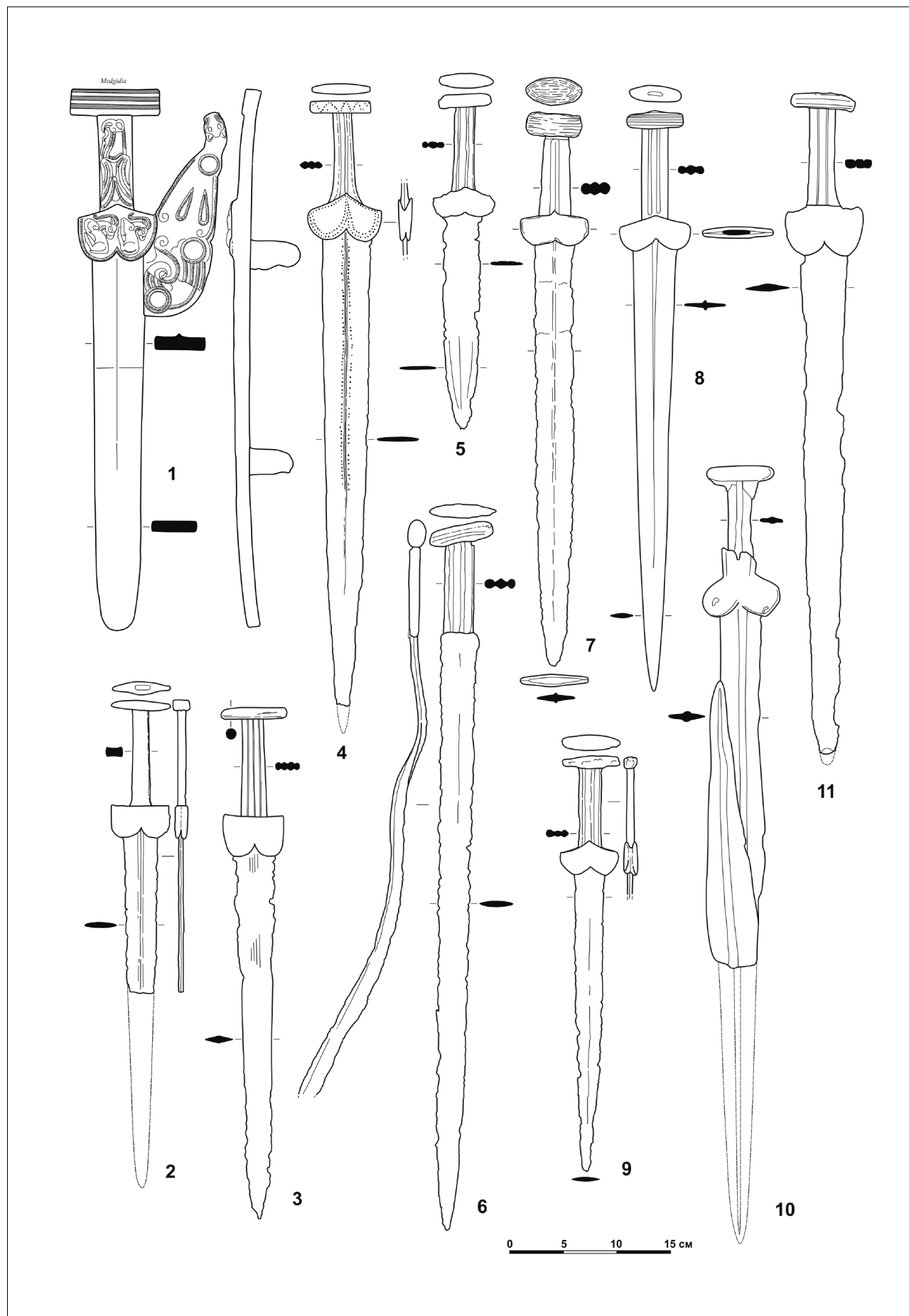


Plate 5. Kelermes type akinakai without bight on handle.

1-Lipnic; 2-7-Tlia (2-gr.129, 3-gr.106, 4-gr.216, 5-gr.94, 6-gr.128, 7-gr.93); 8-Lipetsk; 9-Slavjanogorsk; 10-Nizhnij (Russkij) Bishkin; 11-Berljachevo; 12-A. A. Bobrinskij collection; 13-Samtavro, gr.212; 14-Nigvziani, gr.12; 15-Monastyrshchina; 16-Mordovskij Karaj; 17-Praventsy; 18-Yulovskaja volost; 19-Rzhaksa; 20-Smela; 21-Shpola-Darievka



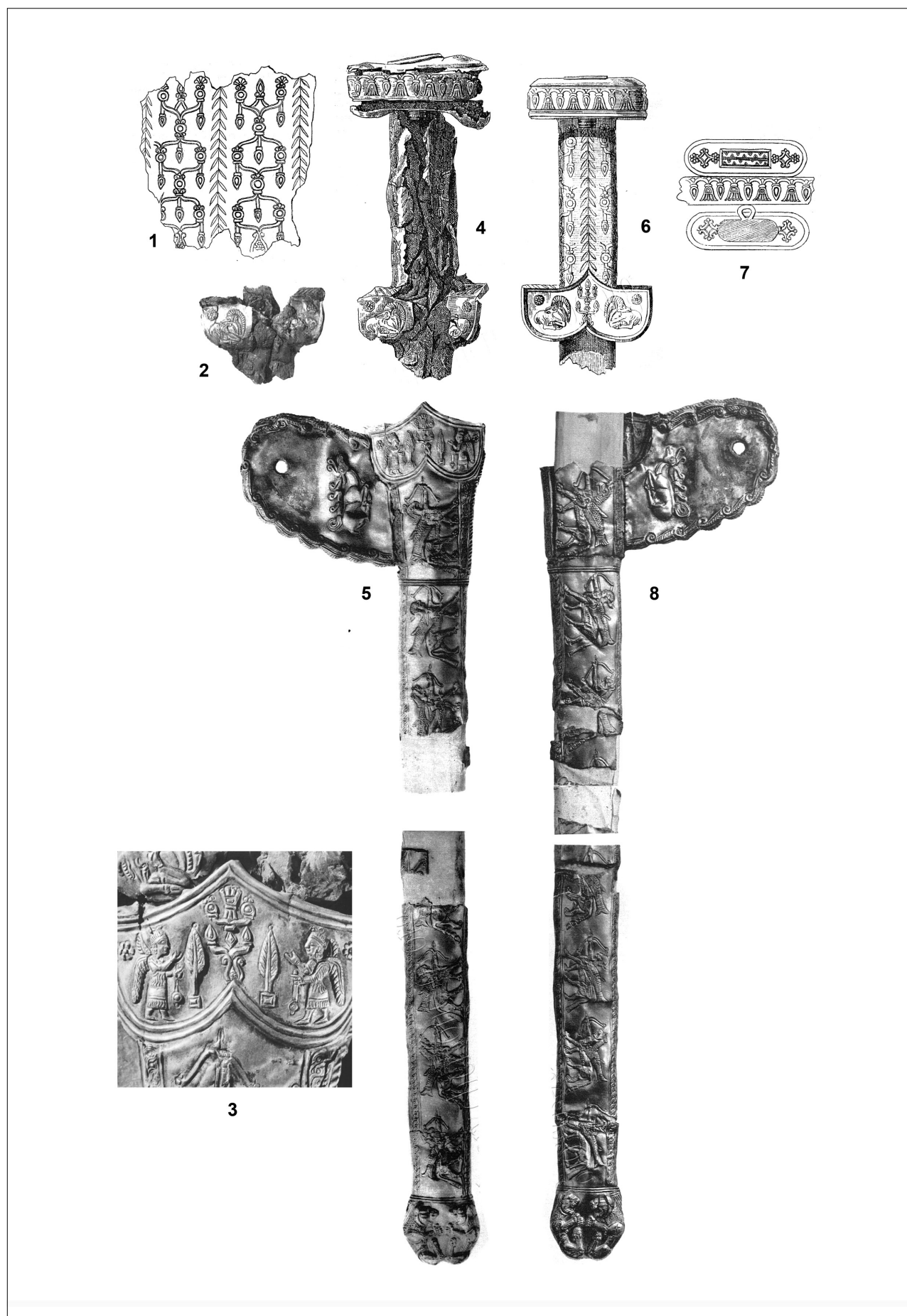


Plate 7. Ceremonial sword from Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound (after Pridik 1911)

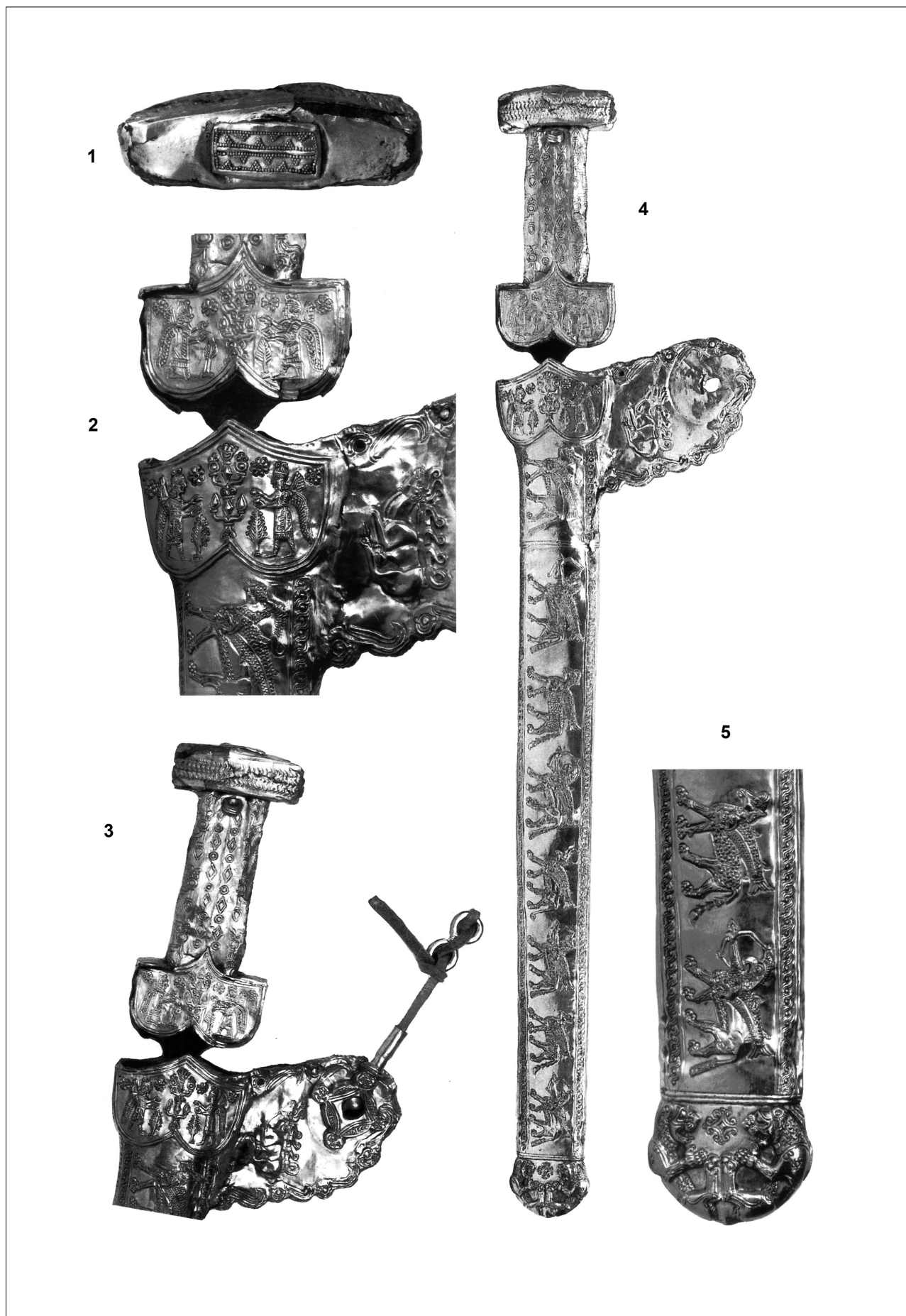


Plate 8. Ceremonial sword from Kelermes burial (after Galanina 1997)

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AB	Archaeologia Baltica, Klaipėda
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaEa	Acta Eurasistica, Wrocław
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaSic	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
ActaTS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
AE	L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
AHG	Annals of Human Genetics, New York
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Beograd
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
AnB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara
AncCivScytSib	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden
AnnMedCEU	Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchAustr	Archaeologia Austriaca, Wien
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények, Budapest
ARozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
Areopolisz	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
ArhKiev	Archeologija. Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukraini. Institut archeologii, Kyjiv
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală, Cluj-Napoca
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, București
ArhSof	Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej pri Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija
ARegia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
ArsHung	Ars Hungarica. Bulletin of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
AT	Antik tanulmányok. Studia antiqua, Budapest
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BAVA	Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, München
BayVgBl	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München
BerBayDenkmPfl	Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege, Bonn
BerDenkmPflNs	Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen, Hameln
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Berlin
BiMÉ	A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve, Berettyóújfalu
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest

CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercArh	Cercetări arheologice, București
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae, Budapest
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Berlin–Mainz
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Bucarest
DissArch	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
DME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen
Dolg	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
EJA	Estonian Journal of Archaeology, Tallinn
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve, Eger
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
EMúz	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, Kolozsvár
FI	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
GCBi	Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja, Sarajevo
Gymnasium	Gymnasium Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung, Heidelberg
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest
IPH	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
IstorZapiski	Istoricheskiye Zapiski, Novorossiisk
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvSamara	Izvestiya Samarskogo Nauchnogo Centra Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Samara
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, New York
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies, London
KM	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
Korall	Korall. Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat, Budapest
KSIA	Kratkie Soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii AN SSSR, Moskva
MAK	Materialy po arheologii Kavkaza, Moskva
MAR	Materialy po arheologii Rossii, Sankt Petersburg
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, München–Zürich
Marisia	Marisia (V-). Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
Marmatia	Marmatia, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
MatCercArh	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MatWczesnośred	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne, Wrocław
MemAnt	Memoria antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
MFMÉ – StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
MH	Műveltség és Hagyomány, Debrecen
MHVK	Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz, Aarau
MIA	Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arheologii SSSR, Moskva

MNMAK	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattárának Közleményei, Budapest
MünchBeitrVFG	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München
MPK	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Wien
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
OH	Opuscula Hungarica, Budapest
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Berlin
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Archaeological Review), Poznań–Wrocław
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart
RE	Realencyclopädie: Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes, Bucarest
RevBist	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
RossArh	Rossijskaja Arheologija, Moskva
RRHA	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Bucarest
SAI	Svod arheologičeskikh istočnikov, Moskva
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
Savaria	Savaria, Szombathely
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
SF	Südostforschungen, München
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
SlovNum	Slovenská Numizmatika, Bratislava
SMMK	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
SovArh	Sovetskaja Arheologija, Moskva
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb
SpNov	Specimina nova. Dissertationem ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
SSz	Soproni Szemle, Sopron
StAntArch	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd, Beograd
Stratum	Stratum plus. Archaeology&Anthropology, Chișinău
StTH	Studia Turco-Hungarica, Budapest
Światowit	Światowit. Annual of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of
Warsaw, Warsaw	
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica, București
UAV	Ufimskij Arheologičeskij Vestnik, Ufa
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
VAU	Voprosy Arheologii Urala, Sverdlovsk
Vestnik MGOU	Vestnik Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Oblastnoj Universitet. Istoriâ I Političeskie Nauki = Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University. History and political science, Moscow
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
VjesDal	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku, Split
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
VMS	Viking and Medieval Scandinavia, Turnhout
VTT	Veszprémi Történelmi Társaság, Veszprém
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
ZGy	Zalai Gyűjtemény, Zalaegerszeg
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn