

STUDIA  
BARBARICA

# STUDIA BARBARICA



PROFESOROWI ANDRZEJOWI KOKOWSKIEMU  
W 65. ROCZNICĘ URODZIN

FOR PROFESSOR ANDRZEJ KOKOWSKI  
ON HIS 65<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY

TOM II

REDAKCJA  
BARBARA NIEZABITOWSKA-WIŚNIEWSKA  
PIOTR ŁUCZKIEWICZ  
SYLWESTER SADOWSKI  
MARTA STASIAK-CYRAN  
MICHAEL ERDRICH



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AD MULOS ANNOS, PANIE PROFESORZE!  
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GABRIELE RASBACH

## WALDGIRMES – A CASE OF ICONOCLASM (*BILDERSTURM*) AND ITS DOCUMENTATION IN THE GROUND

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**F**rom 1993 to 2009 excavations on a Roman settlement were carried out in Waldgirmes, borough of Lahnaus, Hesse (A. Becker, G. Rasbach 2015). As the course of the investigations showed, it concerned a late Augustan civilian settlement. Based upon numerous timbers from two wells, the start of the settlement can be established very precisely to the years around 4 or 3 BC, since all the tree-trunks employed in them were felled in those years. Probably during the governorship of Publius Quintilius Varus it was upgraded by adding a comparably monumental forum. This attempt to create a Roman province in the areas east of the Rhine ended, however, with the decision of Emperor Tiberius in AD 16.

In comparison to other Roman towns, the forum, which belonged to the construction type without a temple, was at 2,200 m<sup>2</sup> clearly oversized (A. Becker, G. Rasbach 2015, 58). The settlement was founded around 4 BC as just a roughly 8 hectare large site defended by an earth-and-timber wall (*praesidium / forum mercantile?*); its legal status is unknown (Fig. 1). The many dendrochronological dates from the two wells within



the settlement give the start; the dating of its end is based upon the stratigraphy of certain features, the evaluation of the finds and the historical records of the Roman withdrawal in AD 16.

Sometime after the settlement's founding it was embellished with a forum unusually large for the interior of the site. One can well describe this as a phase of monumentality, since apart from the forum there were two pits to receive monuments on the forecourt of this building-site. In the courtyard of the forum pedestals for up to five statues of horsemen were erected, from which ashlar and exterior stones have survived in the grubbed out pits. The stratification of the fill shows clearly that both monuments on the forecourt of the forum were never completed. Chronologically this phase of expansion is probably linked to the governorship of Publius Quintilius Varus from AD 7 to 9, since the establishment of places, where legal proclamations could be made public and which could function as administrative centres in the newly conquered country, was of essential political interest. Archaeologically this dating is not provable, since apart from den-

drochronology we do not possess such precise methods of dating.

As early as the second excavation campaign of 1994 a small, gilded piece of cast bronze was found, which pointed towards the existence of a statue. During the investigations some 160 fragments were collected from various pits and ditches, including pieces of chest-harnesses (*baltei*) and a horse's hoof, which belonged to the riders' statues. However, only two fragments of *baltei* display clearly that the remains of at least two horsemen's statues are present, since the two pieces, both of which are adorned with scroll ornament, fit to one another neither in style nor in size (Fig. 2). Most of the other fragments are either tiny chips or larger, but non-assignable pieces.

The fragments were scattered over almost the whole area of the excavation; thus, they are to be regarded as resulting from an iconoclasm (Fig. 3). Beside Augustus, the group of honorary statues certainly incorporated various members of the Imperial household. For the internal chronology of Roman Waldgirmes the pieces of statues are of paramount importance, as the contexts of the





■ Fig. 2. Waldgirmes. Comparison of the various fragments of the chest-harnesses (*baltei*) of the bronze horses. M. 1:1.



■ Fig. 3. Waldgirmes. Distribution of the stony fragments in the investigated areas of the urban settlement.



different fragments clearly demonstrate that the settlement did not cease after the iconoclasm, but rather that buildings in Waldgirmes were repaired and one of the main streets was renewed. The final conflagration in the settlement, which led to its abandonment, only occurred a few years after the iconoclasm.

The largest fragment of statuary was discovered in the final year of excavations. From well 2 the life-size head of a horse of gilded bronze could be recovered (Fig. 4; G. Rasbach 2014). It lay among eight quern-stones without being damaged by them (D. Baatz in: A. Becker, G. Rasbach 2015, 300–301). This is an important indication of the relatively high water-level within the well. This find's context proves, however, that the sinking of the horse's head and the quern-stones can



■ Fig. 4. Waldgirmes. Gilded bronze head of a horse from well 2 in its restored condition. The life-size head had a length of 59 cm. Photo: Hessen Archäologie, Wiesbaden.



be deemed as one event<sup>1</sup>. The quern-stones cannot be grouped into hand-turned querns. Seven were in use for different lengths of time, the eighth is the prefabrication of a runner stone (D. Baatz in: A. Becker, G. Rasbach 2015, 300–301). This assemblage seems clearly to be an irreversible

<sup>1</sup> This is also supported by physical analyses concerning the speed of falling and sinking, which are to be published separately (D. Baatz, G. Rasbach in prep.).



deposit of ritual significance. This could also be the case in several of the other larger fragments (G. Rasbach 2014).

In modern times cases of iconoclasm are religiously or politically motivated circumstances, in order to destroy the figures of the persons represented and thereby to desecrate them personally or to liquidate the historical roots of cultures. Within the Roman judicial context such a method was legally sanctioned, if a *damnatio memoriae* had been passed by the senate or the emperor. However, spontaneous eruptions of anger could occur at any time, which would then effect the representations of rulers.

Deposits could be politically, economically or religiously motivated (Insignia of rulers e.g.: C. Panella 2011). One must differentiate between reversible ones, where the objects should be recovered later, and irreversible ones, where the objects were to remain in a place perpetually. In connection with the Augustan site of Waldgirmes, in particular the irreversible depots of statuary from various cultural backgrounds, i.e. the Classical, the Celtic and the Germanic, are of special interest. In Waldgirmes artefacts from these cultures and their transitional zones are present in such numbers, that one can deduce a multi-cultural population. On the other hand, only a few ground-plans of buildings exhibit or allow one to assume a non-Roman architecture.

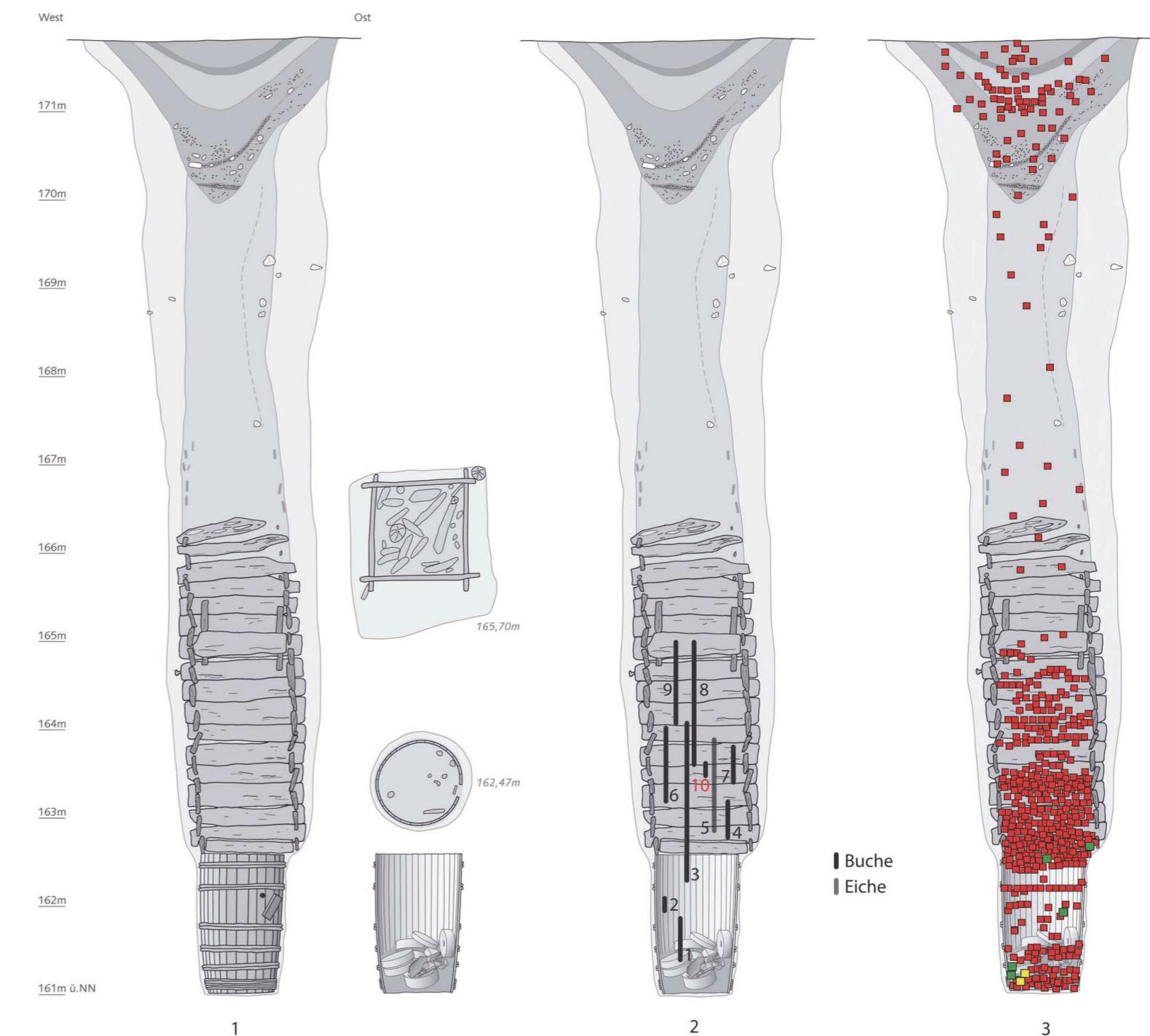
As described above, it was between this phase of expansion (presumably after AD 7) and the abandonment of the settlement (after AD 10) that an iconoclasm of the honorary statues standing in the courtyard took place. Especially helpful for this event is well 2, on the bottom of which the deposit of quern-stones and the life-size bronze head of a horse could be found. At the end of the field-work we assumed that on the abandonment of the settlement the well had been rendered obsolete by filling it up with rubbish. However, following the sieving of the well's backfill, a new basis for interpretation was provided.

The detailed investigation of the fill not only revealed numerous wooden objects, but also showed that a significant amount of burnt loam

had been present only in the upper part of the collapsed well-shaft. This indicates that the well had been rendered unusable some time prior to the final conflagration at the settlement's abandonment. A further indication for the deliberate closure of the shaft might well be the fact that one had removed all metal fittings from all the wooden artefacts and from most of the quern-stones. Chronologically this action can be more closely defined with the aid of two finds: Firstly, there came from the central section of the filling an as of the first minted series from *Lugdunum* (Lyon), which had been re-struck with a counter-mark of Varus; secondly, different parts of at least one wooden ladder could be dendrochronologically dated to the autumn or winter of the year AD 9/10. The youngest piece of wood provided a felling date of at least AD 10, but this branch lacked the bark (Fig. 5:2). Thus, the well was abandoned in year AD 10 at the earliest. Moreover, various pottery sherds from dolia showed that the well had been filled in a process with mostly scorched wooden objects and settlement rubbish. However, thanks to the exceptionally good conditions of preservation, it was possible to prove joins within the filling (Fig. 5). The chronological relationship of the deposition of the horse-head and of the quern-stones aimed at closing up the well-shaft cannot be more closely defined through the context.

Ground processes within the natural soil provide indications of the height of the water-table in the well. The grey discolouration reaching about half-way up the well-shaft results from soil-forming processes connected with standing water. Thus, we can assume a water-table of up to 5 metres. This pedological feature can also be recognised from the fact that a quern-stone came to rest on the bronze head without damaging it. This feature, therefore, is to be interpreted as an irreversible deposition of the horse's head.

The depositing of statuary fragments in wells and other pits is also common in the cultural scope of antiquity. For instance, in 1901 a bronze head of the Augustan period was found near the bottom of a well's fill in Turin (E. Ferrero



1901; L. Mercando 1998, 314–317). During excavations in 1910 in the ancient Nubian city of Meroë a bronze head of a statue of Augustus was unearthed in the rubble between a door-sill and an

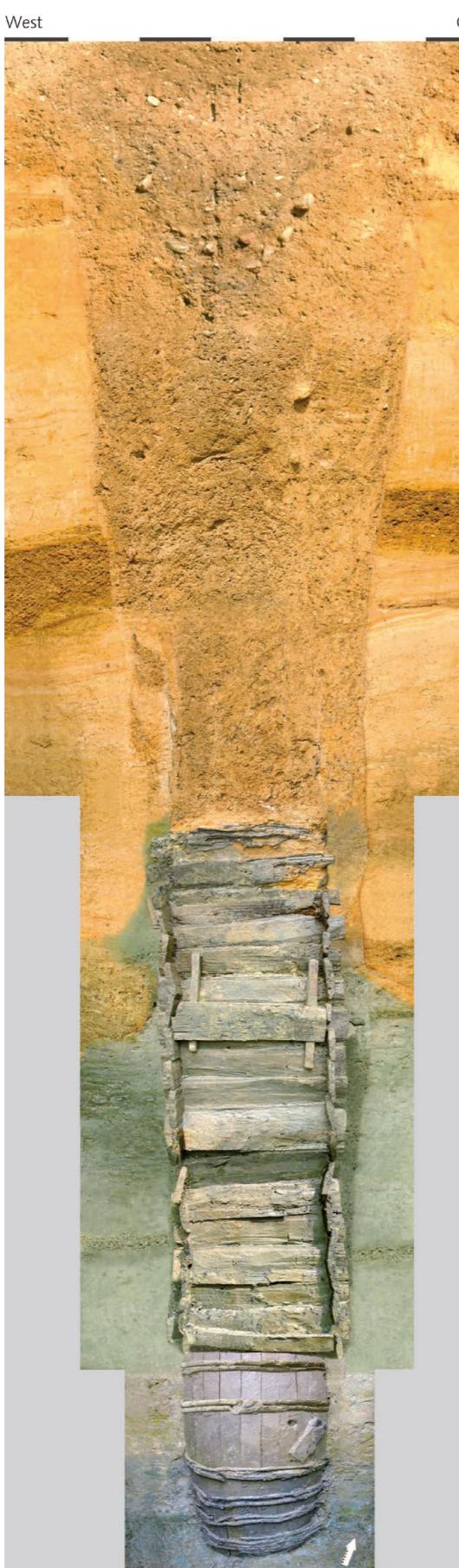
altar (closer to the threshold)<sup>2</sup>. The perhaps best known example of the desecration of an emperor's statue is a head of Gordian III. from Nicopolis ad Istrum in northern Bulgaria, the ears and

■ Fig. 5. Waldgirmes. The 11 m deep well 2. 1 – Drawn depiction of the feature; 2 – Map of the timbers from the interior of the well's fill with dendrochronological felling dates of winter AD 9/10 (red no. 10 with felling date after AD 9); 3 – Map of all finds in the well (without timbers).

<sup>2</sup> T. Opper 2013; D. E. L. Haynes 1992, 177–181, esp. 179 Garstang's sketch-plan (pl. XXXI, 2) shows that the head of Augustus was found between the stone threshold of Building 292 and the 'beaten steps' in front of it, rather closer to the latter than the former and somewhat to the west of the central structure. The depth at which the discovery was made is described as '2½ metres from the surface' and it is clear from a photograph of the find-spot (pl. XXXI, 3) that it must have been well below the level of the threshold. The head was found in a pocket of clean sand, from which the excavator deduced, surely correctly, that it had been buried there intentionally....



■ Fig. 6. Waldgirmes. Photogrammetric picture of the well 2.



nose of which had been cut off (J. Bracker 1979, 28–29. Bronze head of Gordian III. Sofia, Nacionalen Arheologičeski Muzeum). In this connection one can well add a bronze bust of Caligula on which numerous cut marks are visible (H. Jucker 1982, 110–118). A new example is provided by the fragments of statuary from two wells in Cossyra-Pantelleria [REDACTED] (T. Schäfer, K. Schmidt, M. Osanno 2015; on the context K. Schmidt 385–389; on the statues T. Schäfer 717–763). Iconoclasm is also found in historical sources, which are not always connected with an officially designated *damnatio memoriae* (T. Pekáry 1985, 134–142). In Waldgirmes only tiny fragments were recovered, which perhaps can be attributed to parts of a human head. All larger pieces, whose finds contexts will now be discussed, belonged to statues of horses.

The high esteem for horses can be evidenced in almost all Classical and pre- and protohistorical cultures. In the Graeco-Roman cultural region this is visible in representations of chariot races, hunting scenes and on tombstones. In the Celtic world we find pictures of horses, for example, on the Iberian peninsula since the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC on stela as companions in war and in small-scale art, such as on fibulae and coins. They accompany deities, such as in our area Epona, of whom for instance in Saint Valérien, Département Yonne a roughly 40 cm high, three-dimensional, bronze-plated wooden statue was recovered from an offering-shaft<sup>3</sup>.

Pictorial representations from the Germanic world are very much rarer, a result of the general antipathy towards pictures in this culture (in general: G. Behm-Blancke 2003; T. Capelle 1996, 18–19). Nevertheless, we have received reports and mythological narratives from Tacitus down to the sagas of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, from which we gain indications of the importance of the horse

in this culture<sup>4</sup>. As far as archaeological finds and features are concerned, we can note the horse graves from the Germanic ambience or graves from the prehistoric to early mediaeval period, where the deceased were buried accompanied by horses. The sacrifice of horses, too, is evidenced in literature and in archaeological finds, such as horse rugs, as well as horse hide with scull and hooves from bogs in the north.

Thus, the irreversible deposition of the horse's head from well 2 fits easily into the traditions of the cultural environment, the central mountainous region representing a contact zone between the Celts and the Germans. Especially in an environment in which life-size depictions were unknown, these raised statues of riders certainly produced a huge impact.

The Roman defeat at the battle in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9 caused a great deal of insecurity. The fear that hosts of Germanic warriors could cross the Rhine prompted Augustus to raise military conscriptions. The alarm resulting from the lost battle ebbed in Augustus only when he realised, that the Germans had not even advanced to the Rhine. The inhabitants of Roman Waldgirmes also had a lot to lose, which is why their anger was vented towards the depictions of the representatives of the defeated power. In the minds of the people living in Roman Waldgirmes the deposition of the horse-head, as well as further larger fragments in other pits, occurred probably to appease both the new power and the gods, too. Apart from the horse-head there are three further larger fragments to mention, whose contexts as irreversible deposits must also be discussed. These

are a horse's hoof, a horse's penis and a 3.5 kg fragment of a chest-harness. The pits, from which the first two items from a bronze horse were recovered, displayed fillings comparable to well 2. Both pieces lay on the bases of the pits and were covered with clean soil (Fig. 6). Only above it lays the burnt layer closing the features, which must be connected to the final conflagration of the settlement. On the other hand, the fragment of the chest-harness lay in an east-west running street ditch upon a natural layer almost devoid of finds, but again beneath the last overlying layer, which developed through or after the final conflagration.

The finds present prove the tactical procedure of the Romans, the implementation of clearly existing antetypes for forum buildings and their embellishment with statues. The production of the bronze portraits in the partial cast method facilitated their repetition. In this way, the find of a horse-head of equal form is entirely possible, although for the cast of the piece from Waldgirmes the wax model was trimmed in the area of several of the harness medallions and the forehead protection (prometopidion). The features presented and the position of the finds represented an event not reported in historical sources, the destruction of probably five gilded, bronze honorary statues. Destroyed, too, were the insignia of the new political power of the region, the commanders of the Roman army, the losers of the 'Battle in the Teutoburg Forest'. Research on these events so remote in time is up-to-date, as demonstrated by the very recent examples of iconoclasm.

*Translation: Clive Bridger, Xanten, 12/2015*

<sup>3</sup> C. Driard, S. Deyts 2013; One has to remind oneself of the small, three-dimensional iron horse statuette of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, which was found in fragments in the area of a presumed Celtic sanctuary in the oppidum of Manching (S. Sievers 2003, 96–98) or of the votive figures from the Heidetränktal (F. Maier 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Summarised in: RGA 23, 2003, 24–35: entry 'Pferd' (S. Zimmer, H. Reichstein); 50–96: entry 'Pferdegräber' (H. Steuer).





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## NOTA OD REDAKCJI

Przygotowując do druku dwutomową Księgę poświęconą Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu przyjęliśmy następujący zasady:

- łacińską transliterację cyrylicy zgodną z normą międzynarodową ISO 9 we wszystkich tekstuach w językach polskim, angielskim i niemieckim
- w tekstuach w językach polskim, angielskim i niemieckim nie transliterowano jedynie nazw własnych kultur, krain geograficznych i rzek pozostawiając zapis powszechnie stosowany w każdym z tych języków
- w tekstuach w językach polskim, angielskim i niemieckim wszystkie cyryliczne pozycje bibliograficzne zapisano w postaci transliterowanej, umieszczając poniżej także zapis oryginalny
- w tekstuach w językach polskim i rosyjskim nazwy jednostek administracyjnych Polski, Rosji i Ukrainy (np. powiatów, województw, rajonów, oblasti) zapisano w formie przymiotnikowej, obowiązującej w tych krajach
- w tekstuach w językach angielskim i niemieckim, w tym w streszczeniach w tych językach, nazwy jednostek administracyjnych Polski, Rosji i Ukrainy zapisano w formie rzeczownikowej, podając także, najczęściej przy pierwszym użyciu, oryginalny zapis cyryliczny nazw rosyjskich i ukraińskich
- w tekstuach w języku polskim nazwy jednostek administracyjnych Rosji i Ukrainy zapisano w formie rzeczownikowej, podając także, najczęściej przy pierwszym użyciu, oryginalny zapis cyryliczny
- w skróconym zapisie nazw państw, z małymi wyjątkami, zastosowano zalecany, dwuliterowy kod ISO (ISO 3166 alpha-2).

Oczywiście w uzasadnionych wypadkach pozwiliłyśmy sobie na pewne odstępstwa od powyższych reguł.

*Redakcja*



## A NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

When preparing this two-volume Festschrift for Professor Andrzej Kokowski we have adopted the following rules:

- Latin transliteration of the Cyrillic script following the international norm ISO 9 in all the texts in Polish, English and German
- in the Polish, English and German texts, only the proper names of cultures, geographical places and rivers were not transliterated, leaving the commonly used notation in each of the languages in question
- in the Polish, English and German texts all the Cyrillic bibliographical entries were transliterated, leaving the original notation below
- in the Polish and Russian texts, the names of administrative units of Poland, Russia and Ukraine (e.g. districts, voivodships, regions and oblasts) were written in the adjectival form which is in force in the respective countries
- in the texts in English and German, including the summaries of the texts, the names of the administrative units of Poland, Russia and Ukraine are given in the nominal form, providing also, upon first use, the original Cyrillic notation of Russian and Ukrainian names
- in the texts in Polish, the names of administrative units of Russia and Ukraine are given in the nominal form, providing also, upon first use, the original Cyrillic notation
- in the contractions of country names, with small exceptions, the recommended two-letter ISO code (ISO 3166 alpha-2) was used.

In justified cases we allowed for certain deviations from the above rules

*The Editors*



# WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Acta Archaeologica  
 AAC Acta Archaeologica Carpathica  
 AarbKøb Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie  
 AAustr Archaeologia Austriaca  
 ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae  
 ActaPraehistA Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica  
 AiBB Archäologie in Berlin und Brandenburg  
 AIHV Annales du Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre, Liège  
 AL Archaeologia Lituana  
 APolski Archeologia Polski  
 APŚ Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej, Lublin  
 Arbeitsber. Bodendenkmalpfl. Brandenburg Arbeitsberichte zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Brandenburg  
 ArbFBerSächs Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Badendenkmalpflege  
 Arch.Baltica Archaeologia Baltica  
 Arch. Korrbl. Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt  
 ARozhl Archeologické Rozhledy  
 BARIntSer British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford  
*Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung* C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a. d. Lahn, 20. bis 24. Februar 1994*, Veröffentlichungen des Vorgesichtlichen Seminars Marburg, Sonderband 8, Marburg-Lublin 1994  
 BerRGK Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission  
 EAZ Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift

- Europa barbarica P. Łuczakiewicz, M. Gładysz-Juścińska, M. Juściński, B. Niezabitowska, S. Sadowski (eds.), *Europa barbarica. Ćwierć wieku archeologii w Masłomęczu, Monumenta Studia Gothica IV*, Lublin 2005  
 FPP Folia Praehistorica Posnaniensia  
*Goci i ich sąsiedzi* W. Nowakowski (ed.), *Goci i ich sąsiedzi na Pomorzu. Materiały z konferencji „Goci na Pomorzu Środkowym”*, Koszalińskie Zeszyty Muzealne, Seria A: Studia Archaeologica Pomeranica II, Koszalin 2006  
 HS Hersonesskij Sbornik / Херсонесский Сборник (=XC)  
*100 Jahre Fibelformen* J. Kunov (ed.), *100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oscar Almgren, Internationale Arbeitstagung 25.–28. Mai 1997 Kleinmachnow, Land Brandenburg*, Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg 5, Wünsdorf 1998  
 IAK Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoy Komissii / Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии (=IAK)  
 InvArch Inventaria Archaeologica, Pologne  
 JbRGZM Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz  
*Kontakt–Kooperation–Konflikt* C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgesichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.–16. Februar 1998*, Neumünster 2003  
*Kontakty ponadregionalne...* M. Fudziński, H. Paner (eds.), *Kontakty ponadregionalne kultury wielbarskiej. Przemiany kulturowe w okresie wpływów rzymskich na Pomorzu*, Gdańsk 2015  
 KSIA Kratkie soobšenija Instituta archeologii / Краткие сообщения Института археологии (=КСИА)

- Kultura bogaczewska* A. Bitner-Wróblewska (ed.), *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003*, Seminarium Bałtyjskie I, Warszawa 2007  
*Kultura wielbarska* J. Gurba, A. Kokowski (eds.), *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim*, t. I 1988, II 1989, Lublin  
 KZM Koszalińskie Zeszyty Muzealne  
 LA Lietuvos archeologija  
 MAIET Materiały po archeologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii / Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии (=МАИЭТ), Simferopol'-Kerč / Симферополь-Керч  
 MANH Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty XIV, Warszawa 2006  
 MatArch Materiały Archeologiczne  
 MIA Materiały i issledovaniâ po archeologii SSSR / Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР (=МИА), Moskva / Москва  
 MonArch. Barbarica Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, Kraków-Warszawa  
 Mon. Stud. Gothicā A. Kokowski (ed.), Monumenta Studia Gothica, Lublin  
 Monographien RGZM Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz  
 MSROA Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego  
 MS Materiały Starożytne, Warszawa  
 MSiW Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne, Warszawa  
 Nachrbl.Dt.Vorzeit Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit  
*Nowe materiały kultury wielbarskiej* M. Fudziński, H. Paner (eds.), *Nowe materiały i interpretacje. Stan dyskusji na temat kultury wielbarskiej*, Gdańsk 2007  
*Officina archaeologica optima* W. Nowakowski, A. Szela (eds.), *Officina archaeologica optima. Studia ofiarowane Jerzemu Okuliczo-wi-Kozarynowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Światowit Supplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages VII, Warszawa 2001  
*Orbis Barbarorum* J. Andrzejowski, C. von Carnap-Bornheim, A. Cieśliński, B. Kontny (eds.), *Orbis Barbarorum. Studia ad archaeologiam Germanorum et Baltorum temporibus*



- Imperi Romani pertinentia Adalberto Nowakowski dedicata*, Mon. Arch. Barbarica, Series Gemina VI, Warszawa-Schleswig 2017  
 PamA Památky Archeologické  
 PArch Przegląd Archeologiczny  
 PMMAiE Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria archeologiczna  
*Pogranicze trzech światów* W. Nowakowski, A. Szela (eds.), *Pogranicze trzech światów. Kontakt kultur przeworskiej, wielbarskiej i bogaczewskiej w świetle materiałów z badań i poszukiwań archeologicznych*, Światowit Supplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages XIV, Warszawa 2006  
 PomAnt Pomorania Antiqua  
 Prussia Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia (Prussia. Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde)  
 PZ Prähistorische Zeitschrift  
 RArch. Recherches Archéologiques  
 RA Rossijaâ arheologiâ / Российская археология (=PA)  
 RB Rocznik Białostocki  
 RGA J. Hoops. I–IV (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Straßburg 1911–1919;  
 H. Beck, D. Geuenich, H. Steuer (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin, New York  
 RGF Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Berlin-Leipzig-Mainz  
 SA Sovetskaâ arheologiâ / Советская археология (=CA)  
 Saaljb Saalburg-Jahrbuch  
 SAI Arheologiâ SSSR, Svod Arheologičeskikh Istočnikov / Свод археологических источников (=САИ), Moskva / Москва  
 SCIVA Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie  
 SGD N.F. Schriften der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Danzig N.F.  
 Sil.Ant. Silesia Antiqua  
 SlovA Slovenská Archeológia  
 Spisy Brno Spisy Archeologického Ústavu AV ČR Brno, Brno



SprArch. ◊ Sprawozdania Archeologiczne  
 StudArch ◊ Studia Archeologiczne, Wrocław  
*Studia Gothica* ◊ A. Kokowski (ed.), *Studia Gothica*, Lublin  
 Stud.Sachsenforsch. ◊ Studien zur Sachsenforschung  
 Štud. Zvěsti ◊ Študijné Zvěsti Archeologického Ústavu SAV (Slovenskej Akadémie Ved)

*Terra Barbarica* ◊ A. Urbaniak, R. Prochowicz, I. Jakubczyk, M. Levada, J. Schuster (eds.), *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Małczyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, Series Gemina, II, Łódź-Warszawa 2010  
 WA ◊ Wiadomości Archeologiczne  
 ZNUJ PA ◊ Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Archeologiczne, Kraków

БГУ ◊ Брянский Государственный университет  
 ВГУ ◊ Воронежский Государственный университет  
 ГИМ ◊ Государственный Исторический музей, Москва  
 ИАК ◊ Известия Императорской Археологической Комиссии (=IAK)  
 ИА РАН ◊ Институт археологии Российской академии наук  
 ИИМК РАН ◊ Институт истории материальной культуры Российской академии наук  
 КВАЭ ◊ Камско-Вятская археологическая экспедиция  
 КСИА ◊ Краткие сообщения Института археологии (=KSIA)

МАИЭТ ◊ Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии (=MAIET)  
 МЗКП ◊ Музей-заповедник «Куликово поле», Тула  
 МИА ◊ Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, Москва (=MIA)  
 ММ ◊ Музей Москвы  
 МНИИЯЛИЭ ◊ Мордовский научно-исследовательский институт языка, литературы истории, экономики  
 РА ◊ Российская археология (=RA)  
 СА ◊ Советская археология (=SA)  
 САИ ◊ Свод археологических источников (=SAI)  
 ХС ◊ Херсонесский Сборник (=HS)

