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Katarzyna Czarnecka<sup>1</sup>

## Late La Tène scabbards with openwork decorative fittings

**Abstract:** Metal scabbards decorated with open work plates (mostly copper alloy, rare silver, exceptionally iron), dated to the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, were found on a vast area from the west of Rhine through middle Europe to Bulgaria and Slovenia. The considerable part of these sheaths was discovered on the territories of the central and northern Europe inhabited by Germanic tribes, where they are treated as Celtic imports. Most of them were made of two iron sheets, often with additional bronze/brass sheet in front, and a high, ladder-form chape with boat-form or with spur-like end. Despite many similarities, there are differences in quality of execution, stylistic form, used motifs in the decorative plates and also in the construction of the scabbards. The general idea of these scabbards – metal sheets, bell shaped mouth, way of suspending, is undoubtedly rooted in Celtic tradition. They were produced, most probably in new Roman provinces, former Celtic regions. The Thracio-Dacian territory is also not excluded. Such scabbards were luxury goods, and could function as ceremonial gifts for allies or clients. Beside scabbards with fine *opus interasile* decorated plates, there is a group of scabbards decorated with openwork grid pattern, made solely of iron, known exclusively from the Przeworsk culture, Oknywie culture and the Elbian circle and dated to the phase A3. They were not unsuccessful imitation of high quality objects, but objects inspired by a Celtic style or “fashion” of decorating scabbards with open work, executed most probably, by local smiths in favourite material – iron.

**Keywords:** scabbard, celtic imports, Late pre-Roman/Early Roman period

*Science is not just facts. Science continues even as the facts change.*

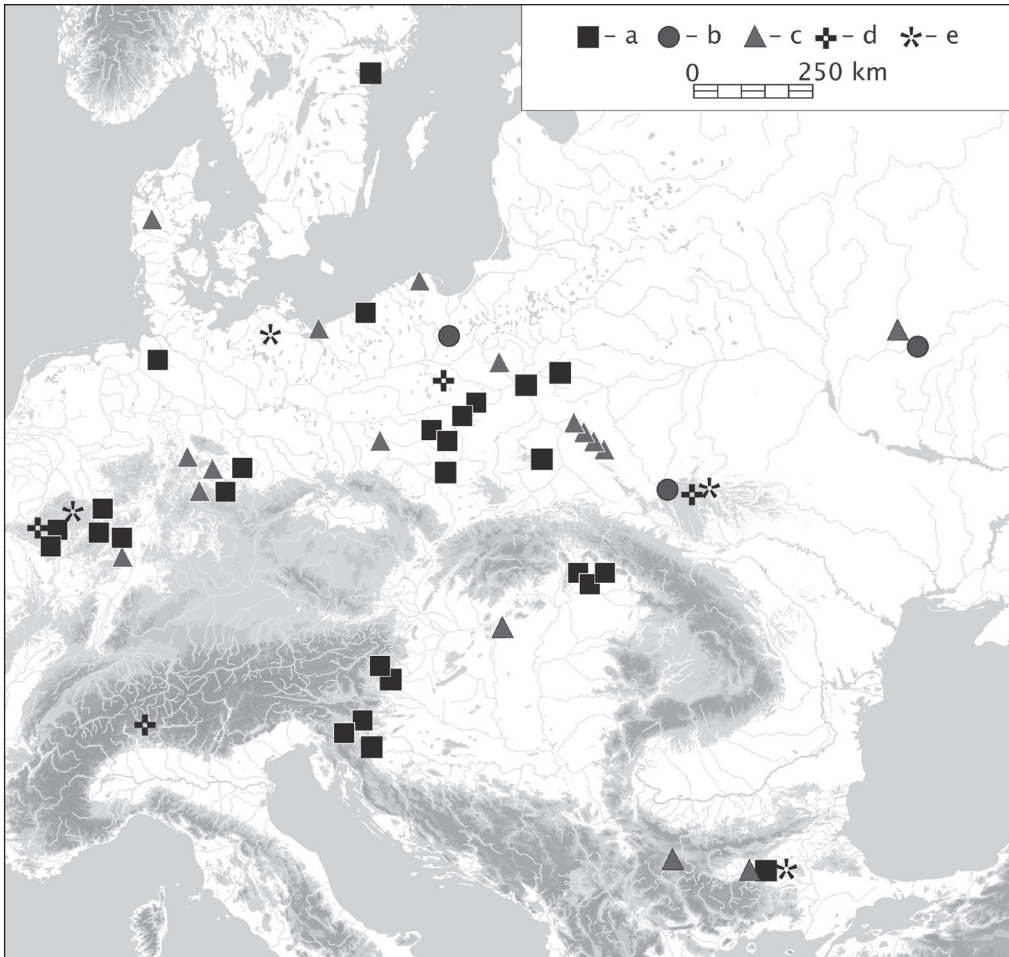
Guy Consolmagno SJ

Towards the end of the La Tène period (more or less at the turn of the eras) when the Roman expansion was reaching deeper and deeper into the Celtic lands, a new interesting element appeared among the Celtic weaponry: scabbards decorated in their upper parts with richly ornamented openwork applied plates. They can be found at a wide area from the lands to the west of the Rhine, across central Europe, to Bulgaria and Slovenia (Fig. 1). They appear in the Celtic

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**Fig. 1.** Scabbards with ornamental openwork plate: a – fine opus interasile; b – honeycomb pattern; c – simple grid pattern; d – irregular grid pattern; e – curvilinear pattern

lands<sup>2</sup> as well as in the neighbouring Germanic, Dacian, and Thracian lands to the south east. Contrary to J. Werner's suggestions (1977, 383) that their production, begun after Noricum had been occupied by the Romans and was a result of adoption of the Roman technology and style, I believe that they are the 'swan's song' of the La Tène culture.

This category of weapons has inspired the interest of researchers for a long time and has been a subject of many studies. The first to mention it was K. Tackenberg (1970) who, unfortunately, started the bad custom of making simplified, schematic drawings of the ornaments, which made the interpretation and typological analyses of the discussed artefacts difficult for many years. J. Werner's work from 1977 extended the data by the finds from the west Celtic areas and discussed the places where they may have been produced, pointing to Noricum after its occupation by the Romans. J. Werner also drew attention to iron scabbards with

<sup>2</sup> In the understanding: 'the La Tène culture population' and not the ethnical one.

simplified openwork and simple grid ornaments known from the Barbaricum, treating them as local imitations. For more than 20 years his work was considered as a full and comprehensive analysis of the issue and has remained till today a starting point for all the studies of the problem. However, the new information obtained owing to the finds of more scabbards and the detailed studies of the already known ones has made it necessary to verify the existing claims. The ‘Treveri’ group of the finds from the Rhineland was meticulously analysed by A. Haffner (1995). The discovery of a sword in a scabbard with an openwork fitting made at the cemetery in Badenheim convinced A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998; 2002) to take the subject of openwork scabbard fittings up again. That author suggested a new classification of the fittings based on the analysis of the decorative motifs and patterns. J. Istenič (2010) presented an in-depth study of the specimens from Slovenia, taking into account the way they were produced and the material used, at the wider, also historical, background. The iron scabbards with simple grid openwork decorations were analysed in by the author (Czarnecka 2002). Important remarks about the construction and technology of production as well as the possibilities of interpretation available thanks to it were discussed by T. Bochnak (2004, 273–277). A special kind of fittings of the *opus interrasile* type, made of iron, was analysed by T. Bochnak and this author (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2006).

The scabbards with applique decorative plates were also mentioned in all the studies of weapons from the Pre-Roman period, from the unpublished M.A. thesis by I. Głowacka from 1979, to the typologies of weapons elaborated by T. Bochnak (2005) and P. Łuczkiwicz (2006). These studies dealt with weapons in general and treated this specific category of artefacts as one of the many discussed issues and thus paid them only cursory attention.<sup>3</sup>

As the above list of studies seems to be quite large, one might suppose that the subject of scabbards with openwork plates has been exhausted. However, as some new in-depth analyses of source materials have been published recently (e.g. Metzler, Gaeng 2009; Istenič 2010), as well as more detailed analyses, also technological ones, and of completely new materials, new, very interesting discoveries such as the cemetery in Mutyn or the finds from Łubnice and Orenice, which shed a new light on the discussed issues, it seems feasible to make a new attempt at describing the phenomenon.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This is probably the reason why such errors as determining one and the same scabbard from Pomaz, kom. Pest (Szentendre in the earlier literature) as two different types by P. Łuczkiwicz (2006, fig. 56:5, 57:1).

<sup>4</sup> In the existing studies some information is repeated, yet the criteria for distinguishing the types of scabbards with various kinds of decoration are ultimately subjective and some specimens are intentionally omitted and other ones taken into account. E.g., J. Istenič (2010) discusses only the artefacts made from non-ferrous metals. This concerns also the specimens arbitrarily determined as representing (or not) a given group. E.g., the scabbard from Čatalka, Stara Zagora district, included by J. Werner (1977, 393, as Stara Zagora) was omitted by A. Böhme-Schönberger and J. Istenič, like the fragmentarily preserved specimen from Łuczka (Śmiszko 1923). I have adopted a rather broad framework, i.e., I take into consideration atypical and uncertain forms, believing that they also belong to the clearly visible aesthetic trend of decorating the upper parts of scabbards with openwork fittings, part of which are very similar and others differ slightly. I have omitted only two scabbards with supposed openwork decoration: the find from Poiana, iud. Braşov, which J. Werner (1977, 363, fig. 11:6) included in the discussed group but its state of preservation precludes any detailed analysis, and which A. Böhme Schönberger (1998, 238) considers as a chape and not a fitting, and the scabbard from Zadariw, raj. Zvenihorod in Ukraine (Kokowski, Konoplja 1992, fig. 2A), which, in turn, P. Łuczkiwicz (2006, 358, pl. 18) placed together with the other specimens with the openwork fittings, since this artefact is earlier and even if it has an openwork fitting, it is not an *opus interrasile* plate. I have also omitted the new find from Nagytétény which was included in J. Istenič's (2010, 148) catalogue, because there is no detailed information about this artefact.

Despite numerous similarities the scabbards with openwork decoration reveal also some specific differences. So far two basic groups have been distinguished: scabbards with elaborate openwork fittings with complicated motifs, the production of which must have required considerable skills and appropriate tools, usually made of bronze, or, more rarely, of silver, and only exceptionally of iron, determined by R. Bockius (1991, fig. 7) as ‘high quality’ (*Qualitätsgruppe* 1) and scabbards decorated with applications with a simple grid motif made only of iron and considered, after J. Werner (1977, 383) as local imitations.<sup>5</sup> We know more than 30 specimens decorated with openwork fittings and more than dozen of artefacts<sup>6</sup> with a simple grid. The latter make up a well-distinguished group of iron scabbards known almost exclusively from the areas of the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures and the lands occupied by the Elbian circle, and not to be found in the La Tène culture areas. Their relation to the finds representing undoubtedly the La Tène culture artefacts are a subject of debate.

First I will discuss the more diverse group of scabbards with a sophisticated, complicated *opus interrabile* decoration. They can be found both at the sites connected with the La Tène culture<sup>7</sup> and at the areas outside it where they are treated as imports. Almost all of them were discovered in cemeteries, but sometimes they do not have any burial contexts (Schkopau,<sup>8</sup> Gross Romstedt, Strmec Bela Cerkev, also Stara Wieś Kolonia, accidental discovery); three probably come from water deposits: from the river Ljubljanica near Bevke (formerly published as Vrhnika Nauportus), the Danube (Szentedre/Pomaz)<sup>9</sup> and the river Tollense near Sanzkow. None of the artefacts was found at a settlement. Unfortunately, not all of them have been completely preserved, often only fragments have survived, e.g., only the openwork plate without the scabbard (Magdalensberg, Eggeby, Schkopau, Zemplín, grave 7), and sometimes, vice versa, the scabbard is complete and only fragments of the plate have survived (Kolonia Stara Wieś, Verdun, grave 131), which, obviously makes it more difficult to determine and interpret these finds.

The existing tentative typologies (Werner 1977; Böhme-Schönberger 1998) take into account only the style and method of production of openwork plates, disregarding the construction of the scabbard. However, I believe that the way in which the scabbard itself was made is equally important for determining the chronology and identifying the possible workshops. Applied openwork fittings are an additional element and they may have been made separately and attached (or not) to existing scabbards (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, 32; Harasim 2013, 19). Openwork plates of similar form were attached to scabbards differing in the details of their construction (chape, suspension loop), and conversely, fittings with different details can be found on identical scabbards.

Among the 30 analysed artefacts, about 20 could be reconstructed. These are scabbards composed of two iron sheets or of one iron (bottom) sheet and the other (top) sheet made of a copper alloy<sup>10</sup> joined by side fittings. These scabbards have characteristic high chapes with horizontal bars making up a ladder, usually reaching 2/3 of the length of the scabbard. The chape-ends

<sup>5</sup> Similarly R. Bockius (1991, 289).

<sup>6</sup> I have not specified their numbers because for some artefacts their state of preservation makes it impossible to determine them exactly or even establish if they belong to the discussed group of artefacts.

<sup>7</sup> Even if at that time these areas were occupied by the Roman Empire.

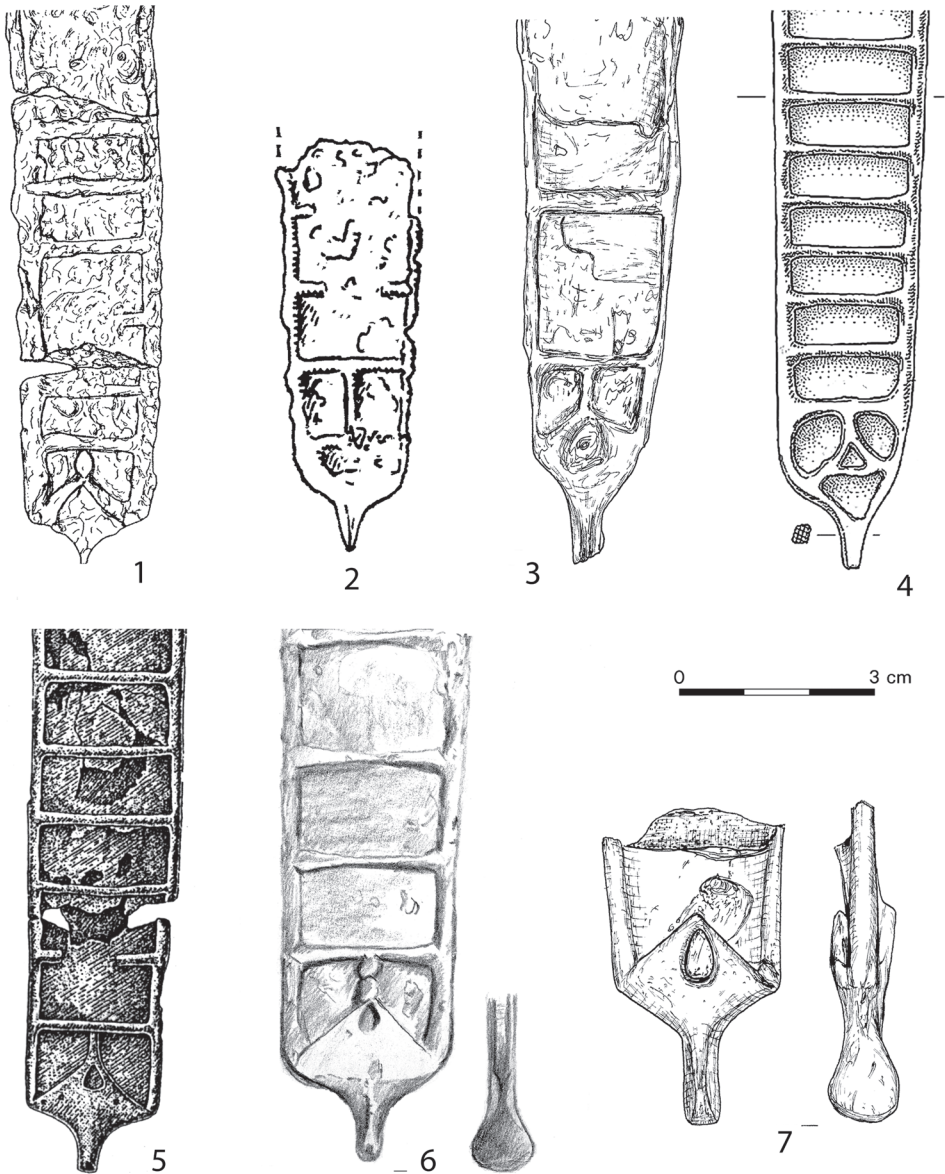
<sup>8</sup> The administrative affiliation and bibliographical notes are in the Catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> This information was given by I. Bóna (1963, 253).

<sup>10</sup> Not all specimens have been subjected to metallographic analysis but in all the cases when it was made, the metal was brass, e.g., Zemplín, grave 78, (Longauerova, Longauerowa 1990, 354); Strmec Bela Cerkev, the Ljubljanica river, Verdun, graves 37 and 131 (Šmit, Istenič, Perovšek 2010, 166, 169, 170)



**Fig. 2.** Scabbards with ornamental open work plate: 1 – Badenheim; 2 – Kamieńczyk, grave 301; 3 – Mutyn, grave 3; 4 – Schkopau, loose find; 5 – Strmec-Bela Cerkev (after Böhme-Schönberger 1998; Dąbrowska 1997, Terpilovskij 2013; Schmidt, Nitzschke 1989; Šmit *et al.* 2010)



**Fig. 3.** Spur-like chapes: 1 – Gross Romstedt, gr. 1928; 2 – Schkopau; 3 – Oblin, gr. 291; 4 – Verdun, gr. 37; 5 – Büchel; 6 – Korytnica, gr. 4; 7 – Oblin, gr. 282 (after Eichhorn 1927; Schmidt, Nitzschke 1989; Czarnecka 2007; Istenič 2010; Haffner 1995), nr 6; drawn by J. Lupina

have different forms. It seems that the earlier ones were boat-shaped and they can be found in scabbards of the type Giubiasco 3a according to L. Pernet (2011, 97) (Fig. 2: 1). Such chapes can

Wederath, grave 784, Badenheim (Istenič 2010, 143); Korytnica, grave 4 (Biborski *et al.* 2002, 93), only the sheet from Büchel was made from brass-gunmetal (Schwab 2005, 332).

be also found in specimens decorated with openwork plates (Giubiasco, grave 326, Lamadelaine, grave 3, possibly also Esvres-sur-Indre, Vaugrignon, grave 165, as well as Badenheim).<sup>11</sup> Usually the chape-end is spur-shaped (Büchel, Kamieńczyk, Wesółki, graves 3 and 50, Ciecierzyn, Stara Wieś Kolonia, Rządź, Kopaniewo and Mutyn, grave 3)<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 2: 3–5). However, they can be divided into several sub-types. The differences between the chape-ends have a chronological value, which has been noted by R. Gleser (1999, 80–82), who distinguished five groups of chapes with spur-shaped projections. The chapes ending with a narrow, straight, slightly tapering tip and two unjoined tendrils can be found in scabbards with spaced out rungs, often with a straight mouth and applied ogee motifs (Group V after R. Gleser and scabbard Type V after T. Bochnak 2005, 48).<sup>13</sup> Such scabbards do not have openwork mounts. They include numerous specimens from the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures, e.g., from Lachmirowice, Inowrocław district, or Opalenie, Tczew district (Bochnak 2014, 91, fig. 39:1, 3), and from Gaul, e.g., Mesnil-sous-Jumièges (Schaaff 1986, 295, fig. 5). The later forms have densely distributed rungs and the chapes end in well-distinguished tips (Groups I and II after R. Gleser; Type VII after Bochnak 2005, 49) which may be also divided into variants. One of them comprises the specimens with a narrow, conical projection (e.g., Kamieńczyk, Oblin, graves 291, 292), (Fig. 3: 1–5) and the other one, the items with fan-shaped, flattened tips (e.g., Korytnica, grave 4, Oblin, grave 282) (Bochnak 2004, 276) (Fig. 3: 6, 7). It seems that the second variant is slightly later.

Several scabbards have semi-circular chapes formed by bending the bottom sheet over the top one (Zemplín, grave 108; Strmec Bela Cerkev; Zemplín, grave 128; a scabbard now in the Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins) (Fig. 2: 5, 5). Such endings can be found in scabbards which I have called Type Zemplín (Czarnecka 2014, fig. 4),<sup>14</sup> without the rungs forming a ladder but with a long U-shaped rib fixed to the back plate.

The suspension loops have the La Tène form of rectangular loops fastened with two plates with rivets. The plates may be longer or shorter but are always oval-shaped, sometimes symmetrical (Badenheim, Titelberg, Kamieńczyk, Wesółki, grave 3, Mutyn, grave 3) (Fig. 4: 3) and sometimes asymmetrical: the upper one is shorter and the lower one is longer (Giubiasco, Goeblingen-Nospelt B, the Ljubljana river, Strmec Bela Cerkev, Verdun, grave 131, the last mentioned ones are also profiled) (Fig. 4: 1, 2).<sup>15</sup> The suspension loop from Büchel has only the top plate, and the lower one is missing (Haffner 1995, fig. 5) (Fig. 4: 4). The specimen from grave 108 from Zemplín

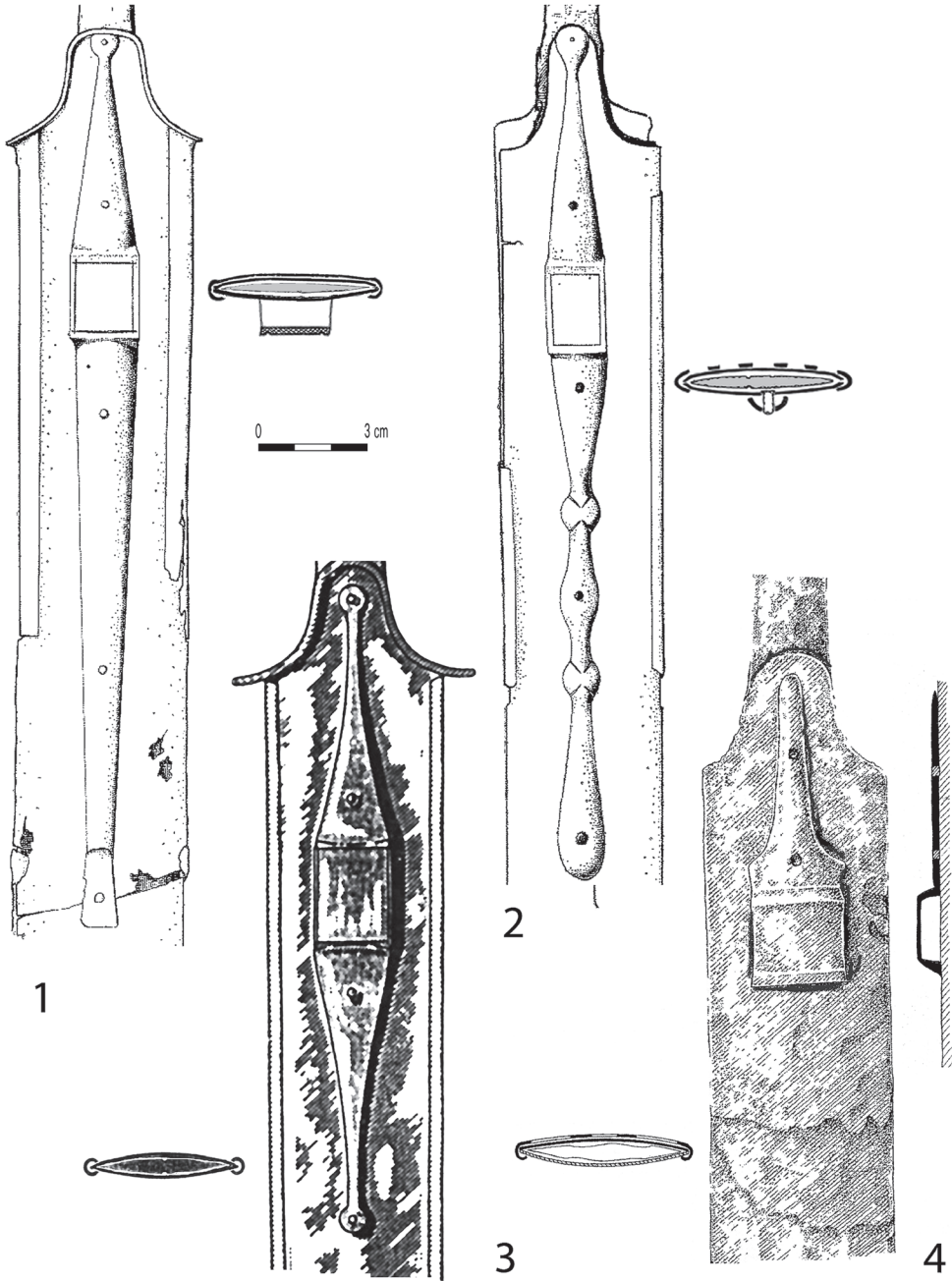
<sup>11</sup> According to A. Haffner (1995, 150) the unpreserved chape-end of the scabbard from grave 784 from Wederath may have been spur-shaped and of the scabbard from grave B in Goeblingen-Nospelt, boat-shaped. In turn, A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998, 237) believes that also the latter scabbard had a spur-shaped chape.

<sup>12</sup> Such chapes can be also found on all the scabbards decorated with a simple grid except for the find from Lubnice, but that specimen had been re-made.

<sup>13</sup> Although according to that author the chape is not distinctive for that type.

<sup>14</sup> Scabbards of a similar construction, with semi-circular chapes made by overlapping the back plate over the front one with the long rib on the back plate are also known from Gaul and Britain. Their uniqueness was noted by M. Szabo and J. P. Guillaumet (2001, 93) who described the find from Allerey albeit with a suspension loop with short symmetrical plates and considered it as a unique. L. Pernet (2011, 98, fig. 66) classifies it as 'pencil-case' ones, *plumier*. They have straight not campanulate mouths and do not have openwork applications. Their chronology is quite coherent, i.e., LT D2, the last decades B.C. The technical solution is very similar to that used in scabbards Type Zemplín known from the area of south eastern Slovenia, Bulgaria or Ukraine, yet the stylistic differences are quite clear, e.g., the decoration. It is difficult to establish what the connection between these finds may be.

<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, analogous types of suspension loops can be found on the scabbards with simple grids and even on the laddered ones with no decorative plates.



**Fig. 4.** Suspension loops: 1 – River Ljubljana; 2 – Strmec Bela Crkev; 3 – Badenheim; 4 – Büchel (after Istenič 2010; Böhme-Schönberger 1998; Haffner 1995)

is to some extent exceptional: the suspension loop does not have the upper plate, it is only strongly bent, making up the loop (Fig. 5). This may be due to the fact that the suspension loop was damaged. According to A. Rapin, the lower plate of the suspension loop was made longer in order to strengthen the fastening of the scabbard which, when used by a rider, was subject to considerable tensions (Rapin 1999, 63). The scabbard from Harsefeld has different form – small rings attached to both side fittings like in the scabbards of the so-called *mittelgermanische Sondergruppe*, even though the horseshoe-shaped chape is not typical of that group. In the scabbard of the sword recently discovered in Lubnice the ‘Celtic’ suspension loop was removed and ring-shaped fittings were attached on its sides (Bochnak, Harasim 2015, 524). Also the find from Hedegård has a similar construction with side rings.<sup>16</sup> The suspension loops of the scabbards Type Zemplín (Czarnecka 2014, 69, fig. 4) have a specific form. The upper part is a short plate whereas in the bottom part the plate becomes a narrow, convex (the sides are slightly bent inwards) rib fixed with rivets, which has a stabilising function (Fig. 5).

The material used most frequently to make the scabbards was iron; often the back plate was made of it whereas the front one, of a copper alloy (brass). The chapes and suspension loops were made of iron. The artefacts made completely of a copper alloy (Zemplín, grave 108, possibly also grave 128, Witaszewice, Strmec Bela Cerkev, Belozem, Sofia Podueni) are typical of the eastern zone of La Tène influence, however, they represent one type and are dated to a slightly later time (Czarnecka 2014, 73, 74). A specimen from Belozem has silver decorative plate. A unique scabbard with silver front plate, *opus interasile* decoration, copper alloy back plate and semicircular chape, from private collection, is now presented in the Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins, France (Gaspari, personal communication). This exceptional scabbard was bought on an auction, the place where it was found is obscure. Another scabbard made of silver was found in Bulgaria, (no information about the exact place of finding). The artefact is known from A. Guttmann’s collection (Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 230; Istenič 2010, 148).<sup>17</sup>

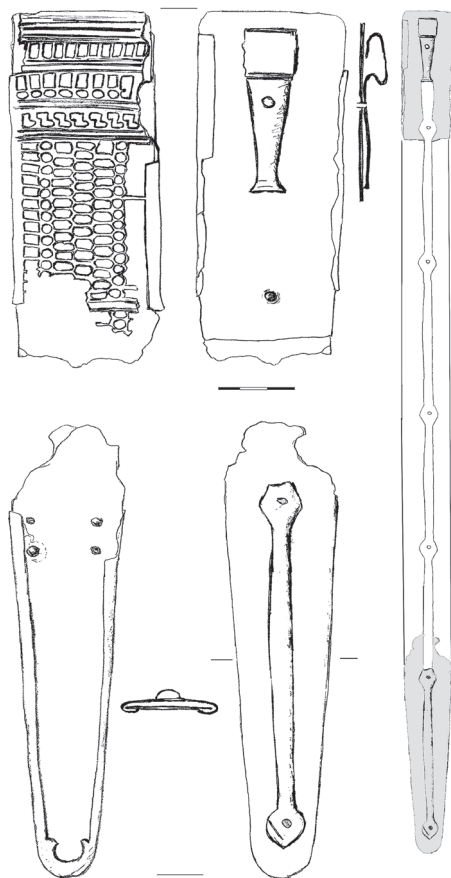
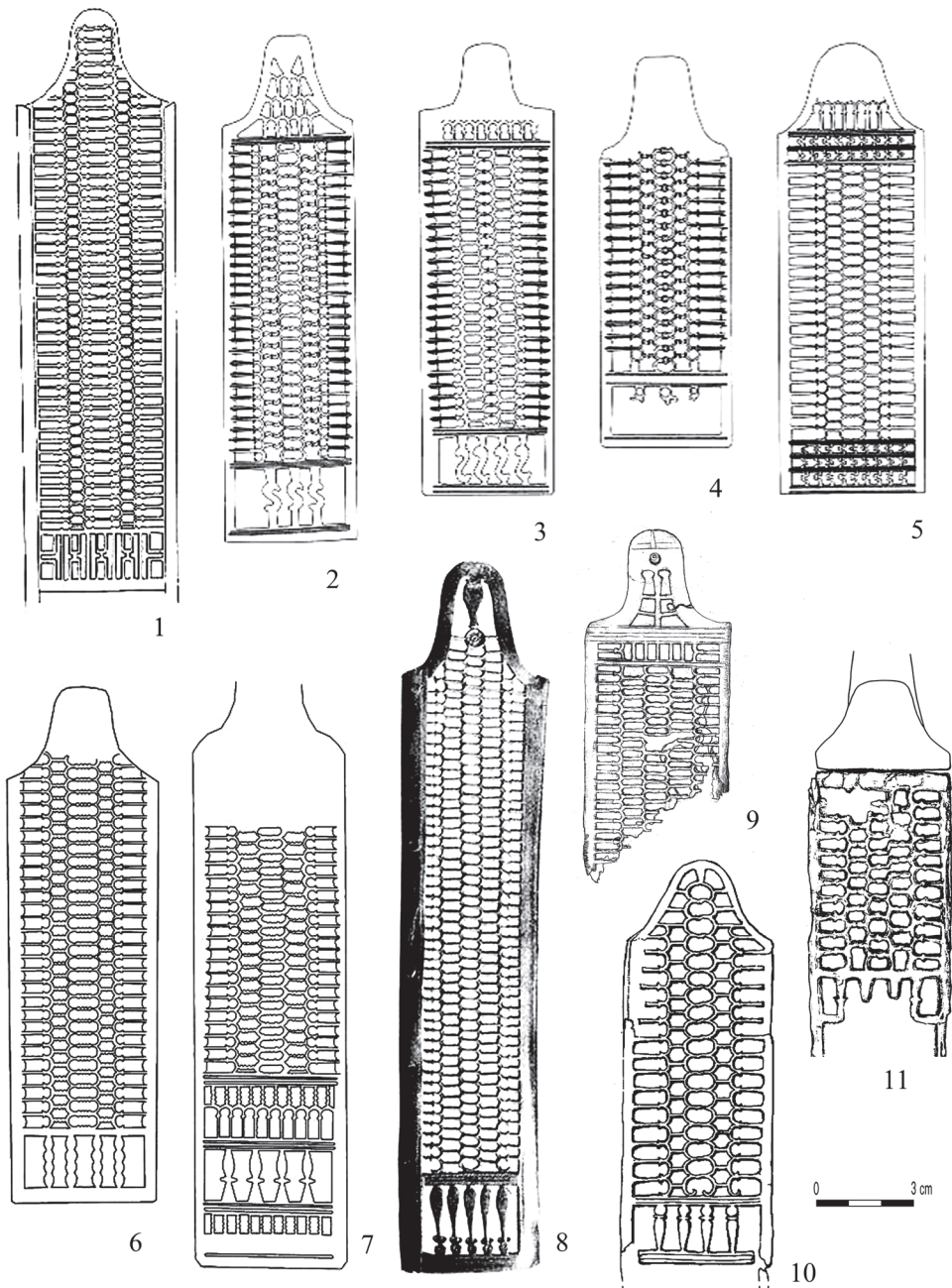


Fig. 5. Scabbard with long rib on back plate. Zemplín, grave 108 (drawn by K. Czarnecka)

<sup>16</sup> I would like to thank Mr P. Harasim for the information.

<sup>17</sup> Judging from the photo and description only front plate preserved, so it is hard to say if the back plate was made of silver or, like in the case of the artefact now from Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins, made of copper alloy





**Fig. 6.** Fittings with elaborated opus interasile decoration: 1 – Badenheim; 2 – Göbblingen Nospelt, gr. B; 3 – Titelberg; 4 – Wederath, gr. 784; 5 – Büchel; 6 – River Ljubljana; 7 – Strmec Bela Cerkev; 8 – Eggeby; 9 – Wesółki, gr. 50; 10 – Kamięczuk; 11 – Wesółki, gr. 3 (1–7, 9 – copper alloy, 8 – silver, 10 – iron, 11 – iron/copper alloy) (after Böhme-Schönberger 1998; Metzler, Gaeng 2009; Haffner 1995; Istenič 2010; Dąbrowska 1997; Werner 1977; 9, 11 – drawn by G. Nowakowska)

The openwork plates were usually made of a copper alloy (as no analyses of the composition were made in most cases it is impossible to say if it was bronze or brass), more rarely of silver (Eggeby – Fig. 6: 8, Belozem, Čatalka, a specimen from ‘Bulgaria’ and from Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins), and only exceptionally of iron (Kamieńczyk, Wesółki, grave 3,<sup>18</sup> possibly Janówek, Gross Romstedt 1928) (Fig. 6: 10, 11). They differ in length: usually it ranges between 12 and 16 cm, and the shape of the upper edge is parallel to the mouth of the scabbard, so either straight, or, more often, campanulate. The openwork plate from grave 3 in Wesółki (Dąbrowscy 1967, fig. 7:8; Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, fig. 4:2) ends with a horizontal band on which a massive, campanulate cross-guard with a horizontal base, parallel to the shape of the mouth of the scabbard, is resting (Fig. 6: 11).<sup>19</sup>

Openwork decorative plates were attached only to the upper part of the scabbard, near the mouth.<sup>20</sup> They were fixed in various ways. In four cases (Badenheim, Goeblingen-Nospelt C, Schkopau and Sofia Podueni) the decorative plate was flat and fastened with gutter-shaped lateral fittings (Fig. 4: 3), in the remaining 14 cases where it was possible to make an observation, the openwork plate was bent and overlapped over the two other sheets of the scabbard (Fig. 4: 1, 2, 4). This construction detail is important because the fact that the mount was fixed by the side fittings suggests that the decorative plate was an integral part of the artefact whereas the one fixed by bending its edges on an already finished scabbard may suggest that the plate was made separately and added later on.

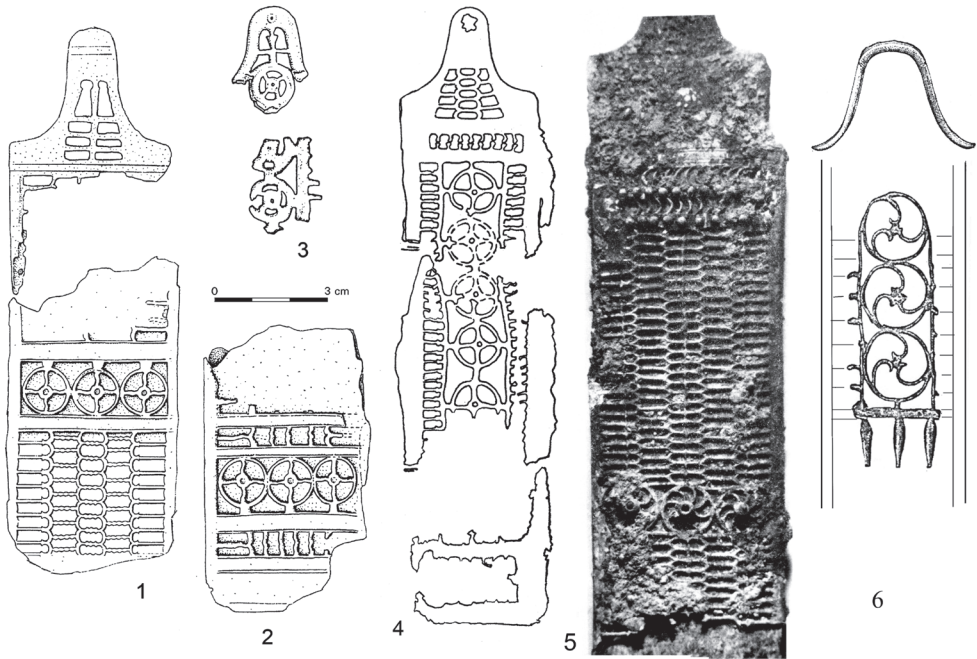
The ornament is composed of two or three fields (Fig. 6).<sup>21</sup> In all the surviving plates the bottom part is well-distinguished, making up a kind of a base, delimited by a horizontal band

<sup>18</sup> The openwork plate from grave 3 in Wesółki, which is 8 cm long, was not subject to metallographic analysis. In the literature it is listed as made of bronze (Werner 1977, 382) or of iron (Głowacka 1979, who, however, admits she has not seen it) as well as T. Dąbrowska (1988, 137, probably after I. Głowacka) and P. Łuczkiewicz (2006, pl. 18). The analysis under the microscope and an attempt at scratching revealed the presence of a copper alloy, at least on the surface. In turn, the solidity of the artefact and the coarseness of its execution, despite the preserved sophisticated motifs of arcades and pearl-like ornaments may suggest that iron was used. The magnet is, unfortunately, of little use because the plate is attached to a relatively solid blade of the sword. It may be assumed that the cut out plate from Wesółki may have been made from iron covered with a thin layer of copper or its alloy. The possibility that such technology may have been used was noted by G. Kieferling and T. Wichman (2004).

<sup>19</sup> A solid cross guard of this form can be found in a sword from grave 5 in Rządź (Anger 1890, pl. 5,7). The sword is in a scabbard with a spur-shaped chape and rungs, but there are no remains of an openwork fitting, although traces of bronze preserved near the suspension loop (bronze rivets?) suggest that the artefact was not made entirely of iron. Similar cross guard was placed on the tang of badly damaged sword from Łęgonice Małe, grave 42 (Liana 1976, pl. XVII.6). It was found together with a scabbard with boat-shape chape and pearl-like rungs, resembling finds from Badenheim and Esvres-sur-Indre. The upper part of the scabbard is missing, so it is impossible to say if there originally was decorative plate, but it is quite possible.

<sup>20</sup> Although the decorative elements can be sometimes found in the lower part of the scabbard, e.g., in the shape of pearl-like rungs, like on the scabbard from grave 165 from Esvres-sur-Indre (Pernet 2011, pl. 162.B.5) or from Lamadelaine, grave 3 (Metzler-Zens, Méniel 1999, fig. 20; 21). Additional ornamental fittings were sometimes set on the lower part of the scabbard of type Zemplin.

<sup>21</sup> To conduct an analysis of the exact details of an artefact it is necessary to know the material from which it is made or at least to have a full publication with precise drawings in 1:1 scale and photos. The state of preservation of some of the scabbards, fortunately only few (Stara Wieś-Kolonia, Gross Romstedt), makes it impossible to determine their type more precisely. The errors resulting from making use of unsatisfactory publications were noted already by A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998, 226) at the example of the scabbard from Zemplin, grave 108. Interestingly, J. Werner, who in some cases tried to obtain the best possible drawings (swords from Slovenia or Eggeby) in other ones used the drawings from publications



**Fig. 7.** Fittings *opus interasile* with circle motifs: 1, 2 – Magdalensberg, Lugbichl; 3 – Zemplin, gr. 77; 4 – Witaszewice; 5 – Belozem; 6 – Sanzkow (1, 2, 6 – copper alloy; 3, 4 – brass, 5 – silver) (after Deimel 1988; Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990; Kaszewska 1973; Werner 1977)

with various vertical vase-like (Kamieńczyk, Strmec Bela Cerkev, Eggeby) (Fig. 6: 7, 8, 10), more rarely, battlement (Büchel, Badenheim) (Fig. 6: 1, 5), or ogee motifs, like in Goeblingen-Nospelt B and Titelberg (Fig. 6: 2, 3). The central field above it is the largest and consists of five vertical rows of motifs in the following arrangement: horizontal arcade – connector – central oval – connector – horizontal arcade (Fig. 6: 1–11). The connectors and central ovals may have various, more or less elaborate, forms. The arcades can be found on all scabbards with this arrangement, even those from Schkopau and Kopaniewo, which lack the central ovals.<sup>22</sup> In the artefacts from grave 108 from Zemplín and grave VIII from Harsefeld, the arcades are extremely simplified, but noticeable (Fig. 5).<sup>23</sup> The openwork fitting from the scabbard found in the river

to create non-existent categories. The careless drawings or too bold reconstructions (Wesólki, grave 3, Stara Wieś-Kolonia) allowed him to determine these finds as Type *Wabennmuster*, which has no relation to reality: both scabbards have arcades.

<sup>22</sup> On the specimen from Schkopau there is a double band of arcades and on the one from Kopaniewo there is the motif of a Greek cross. The fitting itself has survived only partially and it is not possible to reproduce the whole ornament. Such a motif is not known in any other openwork fittings of scabbards but can be found on other artefacts, e.g., the fittings of carts (Schönfelder 2002, fig. 109, 118, 119).

<sup>23</sup> Both plates inspired considerable controversy because they indeed differ in their appearance and method of production from the ones described above. J. Werner considered them as imitations (Werner 1977) yet A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998, 234) noted that they were unfinished. There arises a question why an unfinished element was attached to a scabbard.

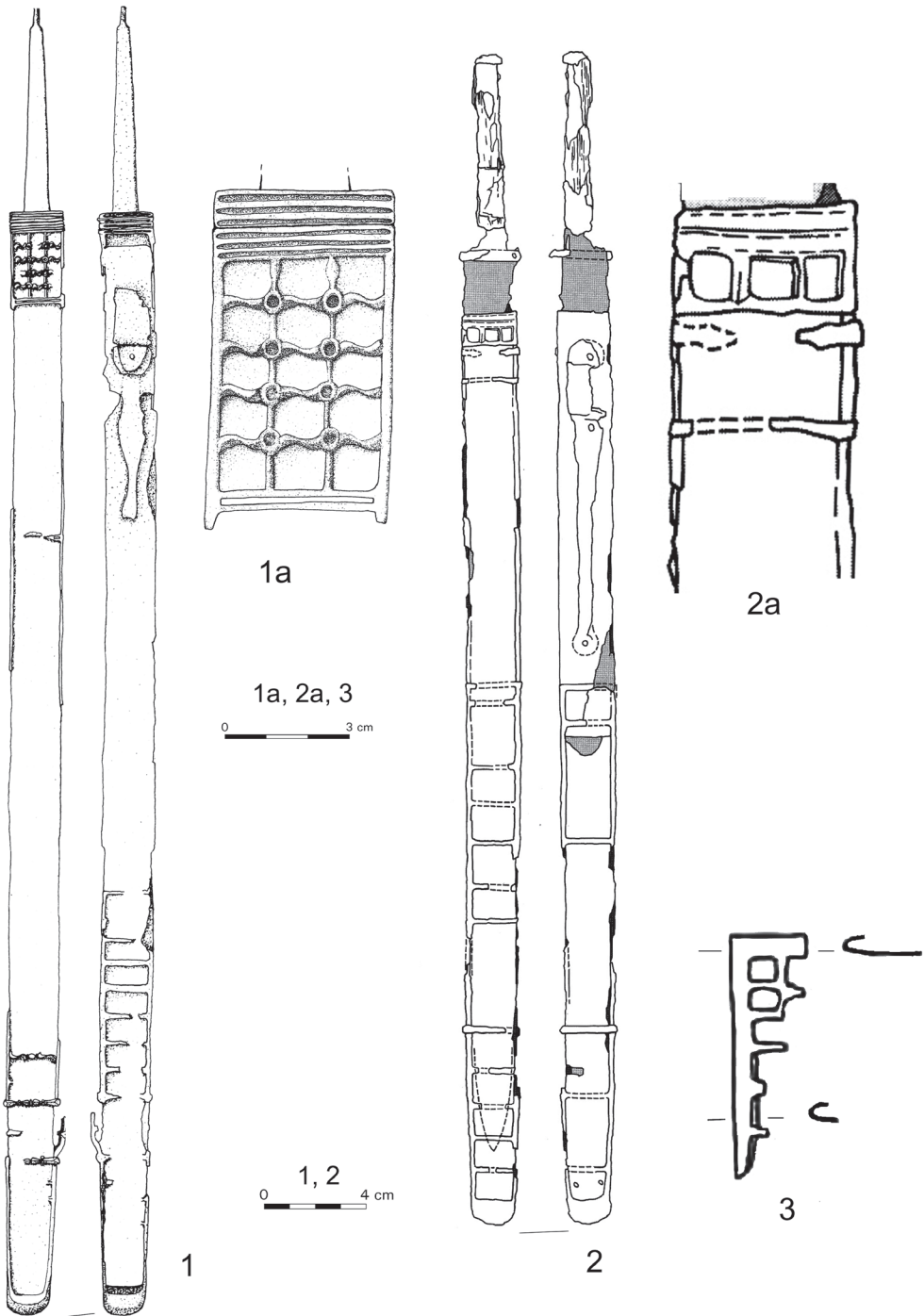
near Sanzkow is slightly different: its sides are missing and the surviving fragments do not allow to determine if there were arcades on the sides of the central circles, but this possibility can not be excluded (Fig. 7: 6). The circles with inscribed crosses occurred on the plates from Magdalensberg and from Witaszewice and Zemplín, grave 77 (Fig. 7: 1–4). Circles with inscribed ornament of curved lines can be found on the fitting from Belozem (Fig. 7: 5), from ‘Bulgaria’, from Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins and on the specimen from Sanzkow mentioned above.<sup>24</sup> The double ogee motif, quite characteristic for the Celtic ornaments, also for the (earlier) scabbards, has been found in two cases: on the plates from Goeblingen-Nospelt B and Wederath (Fig. 6: 2, 3).<sup>25</sup> The motif of the Greek cross, or rather steps, known from a fragmentarily preserved scabbard fitting from Kopaniewo is quite exceptional. In general, the step motifs basing on the right angles are rare. They can be found in the bottom band of an openwork plate from Badenheim and, in a slightly different variant, on the specimen from Büchel (Fig. 6: 1, 5). The battlement ornament was also found on the scabbards with the so-called simple grid from Büchel (like the bronze item from Hedegård and the iron ones from Oblin, grave 282 and 297, and on the scabbard from Lubnice). Only the openwork plate from Eggeby has a motif of an elongated oval ending with a circular plate with an ‘eye’ known from the Norican-Pannonian belt fittings, which has been noted already by J. Werner (1977, fig. 9, 10) (Fig. 6: 8). Also unique decoration on the scabbard stored in Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins has clear analogies in some Norican-Pannonian belt-clasps (Gaspari, personal communication). Even though the respective motifs are clearly similar, there are no two identical fittings (Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 229).

The next field is the upper part of the plate which matches in form the mouth of the scabbard. The shape and distribution of the motifs, the way in which the upper parts of the decorative fitting are shaped have been considered by A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998, 237, 238, fig. 6) as the decisive factors in her typology. In some of the artefacts the motifs of horizontal arcades and ovals run smoothly to the very top (Kamieńczyk, the Ljubljanica river near Bevke – formerly Vrhnika-Nauportus, Badenheim, possibly Wederath, grave 784) (Fig. 6: 1, 4, 6, 10). A. Böhme-Schönberger calls it Type Badenheim/Nauportus and calls the fittings in which the upper part next to the mouth is clearly separated with a horizontal decorative element Type Büchel/Goeblingen. There are at least two variants of this type. One is filled with motifs of vertical arcades (Büchel, Goeblingen-Nospelt B, possibly Titelberg) (Fig. 6: 2, 3, 5), another has a very characteristic motif of a ‘double keyhole’ (Fig. 6: 9; 7: 1, 3). The third type distinguished by A. Böhme-Schönberger has fittings with a motif of a wheel with spokes: this is the Magdalensberg type. The classification suggested by A. Böhme-Schönberger is not entirely consistent. The first two types are distinguished basing on the layout of the decorative elements whereas the third one by the use of a certain motif, i.e., *de facto*, e.g., the artefact from Magdalensberg (Fig. 7: 1) represents at the same time Type 2 and 3.

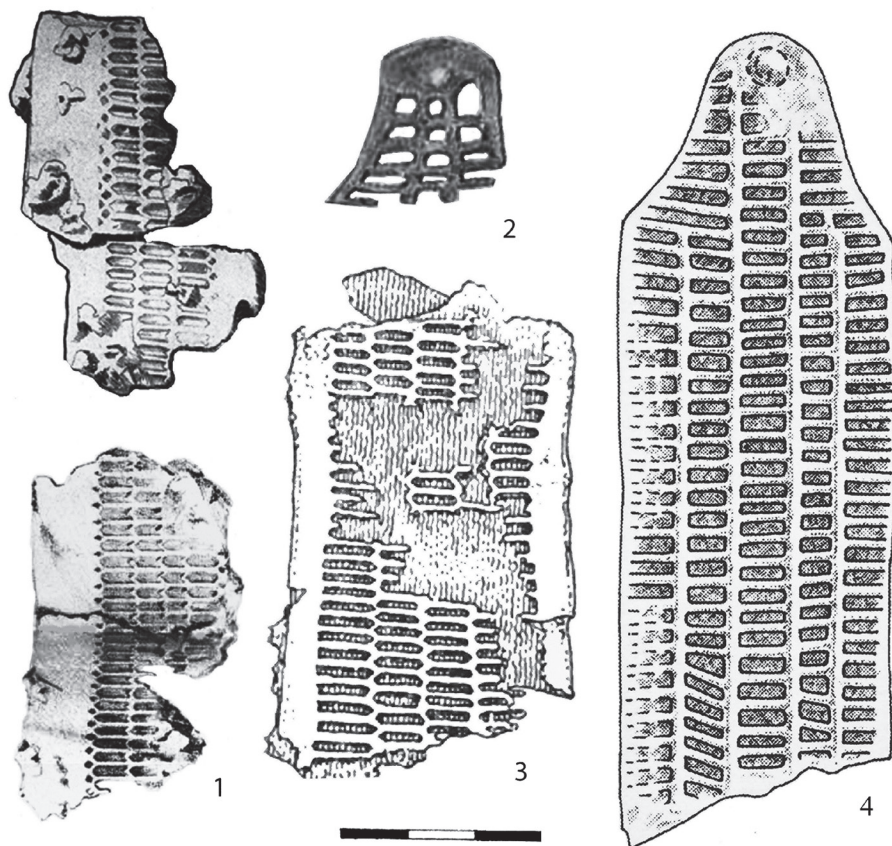
Although no two identical plates with exactly the same elements have been found, it can be noted that some elements co-occur and others exclude each other. For example, the first type of the upper field (vertical arcades: Büchel, Goeblingen-Nospelt B, Titelberg) can be found only at the areas on the lower Rhine whereas the second type, the ‘keyhole’ motif is typical of the finds from the Norican area (Wesółki, grave 50, Magdalensberg, Ciecierzyn, Zemplín, grave 128,

<sup>24</sup> A close look at the fitting from Sanzkow allows to notice three so-called fish-bladder motifs inscribed in a circle, known from the earlier La Tène artefacts. This motif can not be found on any other *opus interrabile* plate.

<sup>25</sup> One can find it on a completely different, openwork decoration of the scabbard from Goeblingen-Nospelt C.



**Fig. 8.** Fittings with openwork decoration – irregular grid pattern: 1 – Lamadelaine; 2 – Giubiasco; 3 – Gondole (all iron) (after Metzler-Zens, Méniel 1999; Pernet *et al.* 2006; Deberge 2008)



**Fig. 9.** Openwork fittings with honeycomb motifs: 1 – Bibracte; 2 – Rzadz; 3 – Zaguminki; 4 – Mutin, gr. 3 (1, 4 – iron; 2, 3 – copper alloy) (after Bochnak, Czamecka 2006; Anger 1890; Svešnikov 1957; Terpilovskij 2014)

similar: Zemplín, grave 77, with a modification, Eggeby). The motif of a large, vertical ogee placed in the lower field with small ogees as connectors can be found only on the specimens from Goeblingen-Nospelt B, Titelberg, and Wederath grave 784. In turn, the pearl-like connectors and profiled (vase-like) elements on the lower part of the plates are known only from southern and central Europe (Magdalensberg, Strmec Bela Cerkev, the Ljubjanica river near Bevke, as well as Ciecierzyn, Wesółki, grave 3), similarly to the motif of a circle (Witaszewice, Magdalensberg, twice, Zemplín, grave 77, Belozem, a specimen ‘from Bulgaria’, from A. Guttmann’s collection and one from Musée d’Art Classique de Mougins. The last three finds have bronze rivets in the centre of the wheels.

The analysed sample is not large (30 specimens) and some of the scabbards are not sufficiently preserved to determine these decorative elements, so it is not possible to use the statistical methods; it is also difficult to distinguish precisely the types basing on their decoration. One may only talk about certain observed regularities.

Besides these most common fittings with rich decorations in similar arrangements and using similar (but in different constellations) motifs, one may distinguish also openwork mounts completely different in their form and selection of ornaments from the ones described above,



**Fig. 10.** Iron fittings with open work decoration: 1 – Esvre sur Indre Vaugrignon, gr.165; 2 – oppidum Bibracte (photo © Bibracte/A.Maillier, 2005, n° 56577) (after Bochnak, Czarnecka 2006)

yet representing the same broad circle of scabbards with openwork decoration. At the cemetery of Lamadelaine near the oppidum of Titelberg (Luxemburg), in grave 3, a three times bent sword in a scabbard was found (Metzler-Zens, Meniel 1999, pl. 20, 21). The scabbard made of iron sheet has a boat-shaped chape type Giubiasco 3a (Pernet 2011, 97) (Fig. 8: 1). The horizontal rungs are quite dense and on the front, visible, side there are additional decorative elements: horizontal ogees and pearly rungs.<sup>26</sup> The mouth of the scabbard is straight and the suspension loop has survived only in part. The upper part is covered with an 8 cm long openwork plate, which is rather short. Its top part is a straight, fluted band and below it there is a large grid composed of 15 fields arranged in three vertical columns. The horizontal elements are ogees with little circles at their intersections.<sup>27</sup> The assemblage is dated to Phase LT D2a. From the large cemetery in Giubiasco in the Alpine region there comes a fitting resembling in its form the find from Lamadelaine, but it is much more poorly preserved (Pernet *et al.* 2006, pl. 16). The scabbard from grave 326 has a boat-shaped chape-end, quite high with dense rungs (Fig. 8, 2).<sup>28</sup> The mouth is straight and

<sup>26</sup> It is especially interesting that the openwork plate is made of iron and two profiled connectors located in the bottom part of the scabbard, of bronze (Metzler-Zens, Meniel 1999, 300).

<sup>27</sup> J. Metzler, C. Gaeng (2009, 238) suggest that these may have been enamel cells, which would have considerably enhanced the decorative value of this artefact, and certainly can not be treated as a 'simple grid' ornament.

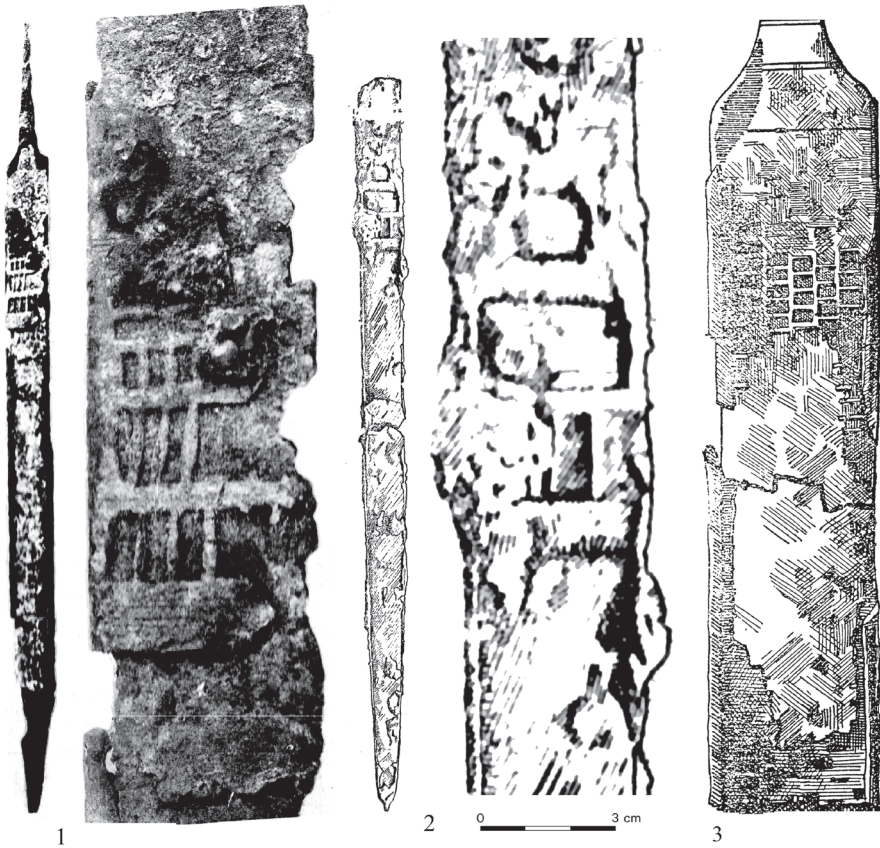
<sup>28</sup> The publication does not mention the raw material, but it seems to be iron.

has an openwork grid below. The state of preservation of the item from Giubiasco is insufficient to establish the dimensions of the fitting and the whole pattern, yet there were also three vertical columns enclosed at the top with a horizontal band decorated with engraved lines, like in the scabbard from Lamadelaine. Grave 326 from Giubiasco is dated to Phase LT D2, which is similar to the dating of the scabbard from Luxembourg. A small fragment of probably a similar fitting comes from the oppidum of Gondole in Gaul (Deberge 2008, fig. 5:7) (Fig. 8: 3).

Another type of fittings from the broadly understood group of scabbards decorated with openwork plates is Type *Wabenmuster* (honeycomb) suggested by J. Werner (1977, 382, 383). However, Werner included in it very diverse finds, both scabbards with a simple grid and ones with evident arcades, which has been pointed out more than once (Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 225, 226; Czarnecka 2002, footnote 2; Łuczkiwicz 2006, 193). It is the recent discovery of a very interesting and rich cemetery of a group of warriors (retinue?) from Mutyn in Ukraine that has confirmed that it is indeed possible to distinguish a pattern determined as *Wabenmuster* (honeycomb), i.e., one composed of low hexagons placed one next to another. The iron fitting of that type placed on a scabbard comes from grave 3 from the cemetery of Mutyn (Terpilowski 2014, fig. 6:3) (Fig. 9: 4). The hexagonal pattern envelopes the whole plate up to the campanulate top and there are no other ornaments. The fragmentarily preserved specimen from grave 7 at the Lipica culture cemetery of Zaguminki-Zvenigorod in Ukraine is similar in its appearance (Svešnikov 1957, fig. 21:1; Kokowski 1999, fig. 6) (Fig. 9: 3). A bronze openwork fitting is preserved in fragments, which are, however, large enough to justify its reconstruction as a honeycomb pattern. Another find comes from the Okywie culture cemetery in Rządź (*Rondsén*), 1/1883 (Bohm 1985, 5; Anger 1890, 11, pl. 16:20; Czarnecka 2007b, fig. 4) (Fig. 9: 2). Unfortunately, the bronze openwork plate is preserved only fragmentarily and it is not possible to determine with full certainty whether, like in the case of the find from Mutyn and, probably, Zaguminki, the ornament covered the whole artefact. The first publication (Bohm 1885, pl. II.50) suggests a slightly different arrangement: with an oval in the centre, yet the photo from S. Anger's publication (1890, pl. 16:20) and Florkowski's drawing (Boguwolski, Kurzyńska 2001, fig. 31) clearly suggest a set of hexagons, i.e., the *Wabenmuster* pattern. The fragment of openwork decoration from the cemetery in Gross Romstedt, published with inv. no 1907 O2 (Eichhorn 1927, 141) has a slightly similar form. However, it is too small to determine whether it was the arcade or *Wabenmuster* pattern. The specimen from Mutyn was placed on a scabbard with a spur-shaped chape-end (Fig. 2: 3). Also the find from Rządź should be linked with a scabbard with such a chape-end. The scabbard from Zaguminki most probably was of Type Zemplin, which is suggested by the long rib on the back plate (Czarnecka 2014, 72, fig. 6:1). The use of the honeycomb ornament in the Celtic milieu is confirmed by the openwork plates found in the oppidum of Bibracte (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, fig. 5, 6) (Fig. 9: 1). In one of them the pattern occupies the whole central part. The wide, solid sides suggest that they may have been bent and fixed to the scabbard. The dimensions of the artefact, the width of the decorative part and the edges suggest such use but it is surprising that no artefacts with a similar decoration have been found in the western Celt area.<sup>29</sup> A slightly different motif, but generally based on sets of polygons, may be observed on a short, iron, openwork plate with a straight mouth on the scabbard from grave 165 from the cemetery of Esvres-sur-Indre, Vaurignon (Pernet 2011, pl. 162) (Fig. 10: 1). It has no exact analogies among the scabbards with

<sup>29</sup> At the cemetery of Mutyn there were numerous finds coming directly from the La Tène areas: bronze cauldrons and situlae as well as helmets (Terpilowski 2014) so a find of a scabbard with a fitting having the closest analogy in Bibracte should not be surprising.





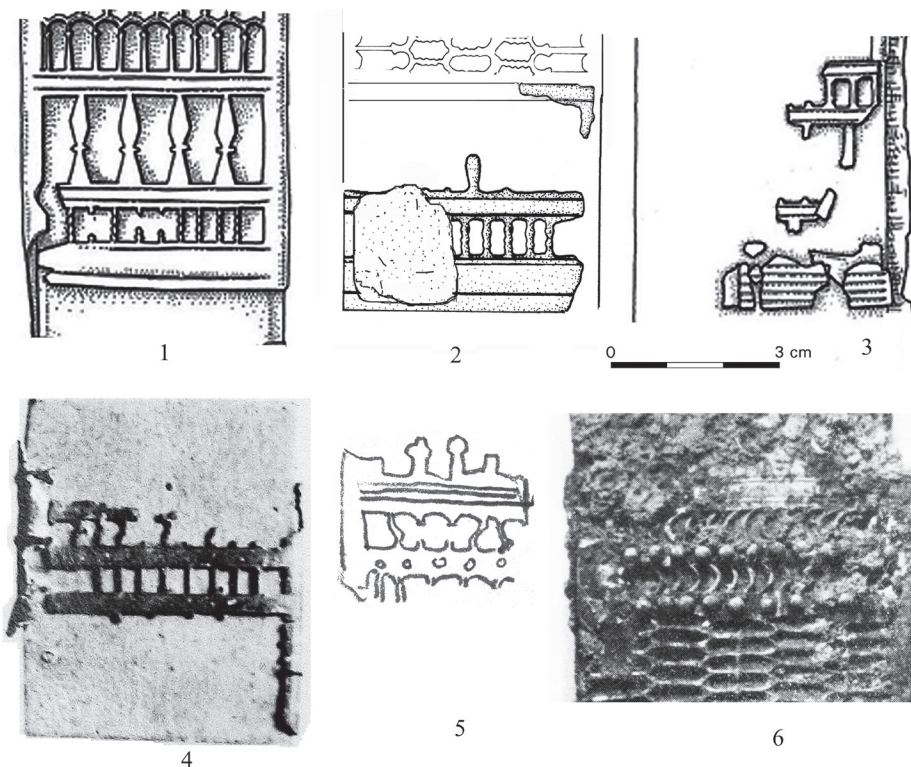
**Fig. 11.** Fittings with simplified openwork motifs: 1 – Szentendre/Pomaz; 2 – Kostievo; 3 – Sofia-Podueni (1, 3 – copper alloy, 2 – iron) (after Hunyady 1942; Tackenberg 1929; Popov 1921)

openwork fittings from the La Tène areas but iron plates with similar openwork pentagons were found in the oppidum of Bibracte (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, fig. 7) (Fig. 10: 2). However, the discussed ornament represents a rare phenomenon.

In my opinion it is possible, but with due caution, to distinguish one more so far unnoticed<sup>30</sup> kind of decoration of openwork fittings, composed of vertical bands of small rectangles and squares separated by horizontal bands decorated with engraved lines and small dots. Despite the lack of arcade or pearl-like motifs, this ornament is more elaborate than a simple grid. It can be found on the scabbards from Szentendre/Pomaz (Hunyady 1942, pl. 44:5; Hellebrandt 1999, 35–36, pl. 4:4) and Kostievo (Tackenberg 1929, 270, fig. 135) (Fig. 11: 1, 2), and a slightly different specimen from Sofia Podueni (Popov 1921, fig. 34, 35) (Fig. 11: 3). This category may also embrace the find from Łuczka (today Lučka) (Śmiszko 1932, pl. V:16, 16a, 16b; Kiefferling 2002, fig. 9, 10) and Tuczno (Kostrzewski 1919, fig. 88) (Fig. 12: 4, 5).<sup>31</sup> None of them is

<sup>30</sup> The possibility of distinguishing this motif was mentioned during the discussion of the fittings with the iron openwork decoration (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, 27).

<sup>31</sup> J. Kostrzewski's files contain a more detailed drawing.



**Fig. 12.** Small rectangles motif: 1 – Strmec Bela Cerkev; 2 – Orenice; 3 – Verdun, gr. 131; 4 – Łuczka; 5 – Tuczno; 6 – Belozem (1–5 – copper alloy; 6 – silver) (Istenič 2010; Czarnecka, Siciński 2015; Śmiszko 1932; Kostrzewski 1919; Werner 1977)

completely preserved, which makes observation and typological determination difficult. For the scabbard from Kostievo there is only a poor quality drawing and a description of the ornament as *Gittermuster*, i.e., simple grid.<sup>32</sup> However, it is possible to see at the picture the broad horizontal bands and vertical cross-pieces of varying lengths (Fig. 11: 2). Besides, according to the description the scabbard was made of a bronze sheet whereas all the known fittings with the decoration of simple grid were attached to iron sheets. According to its description, the find from Szentendre/Pomaz (Hunyady 1942, 115, 116) had a bronze grid applied to an iron sheet. The grid was undoubtedly elaborate, which can be seen even on the relatively unclear photo (Fig. 11: 1). The preserved part of the plate is relatively long, ca 8 cm, and although it would be impossible to reproduce the whole ornament, it can be seen that there are no arcades, pearl-like decorations, or ovals: any elements characteristic of the plates with sophisticated and elaborate openwork Type Badenheim, Büchel, or Magdalensberg. There are higher and lower rectangles made up by the bands of thin, straight, or slightly wider, spindle-shaped bands separated by broader horizontal fluted bands. In its first publication it was determined as one with

<sup>32</sup> Basing on K. Tackenberg's publication, A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998, fig. 7) classified this scabbard as the type with a simple grid.



Fig. 13. Decorative fitting: Goblingen Nospelt, grave C (after Metzler, Gaeng 2009)

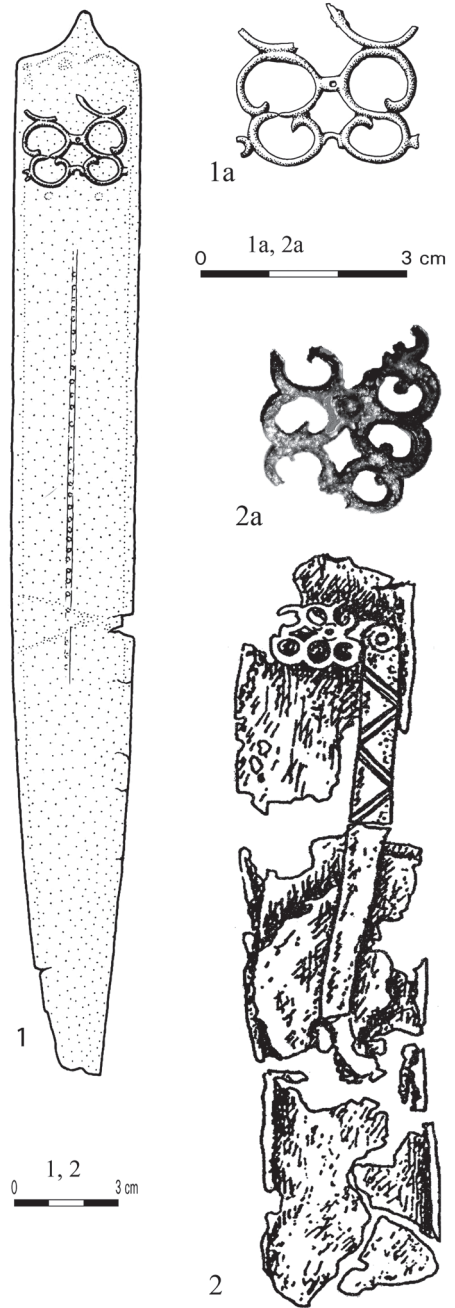


Fig. 14. Scabbards with curvilinear ornament: 1 – Palluau sur Indre; 2 – Bolotnia, gr.61 (after Bulard 1980; Cigilik 2003; 2a – photo by E. Tkač)

an openwork decoration, the most beautiful of the local products (Tompa 1942, 132, pl. 25:1a,b). I. Hunyady (1942, 116) considered it to be a Germanic weapon, likewise I. Bóna (1963, 253), who provides analogies from, i.a. Będziechowo (Bansekow) where a scabbard with a simple grid is known. It seems, however, that the item may have been classified as of Germanic origin due to the form of the scabbard itself, which had rungs (I. Bóna quotes the analogies from Brzyków, Rządź, and Gross Romstedt), like in a case of Kostievo, where a spur-shaped chape-end was by K. Tackenberg (1929, 270) determined as of Germanic origin.

The specimens from Łuczka and Tuczno have survived only in small fragments, like the fitting on the scabbard from Verdun, grave 131, but in the latter case at least the upper part of the campanulate fitting has survived. The find from Tuczno is a fragment of bronze openwork decoration placed on a bronze<sup>33</sup> side of the scabbard. At the picture in Kostrzewski's files a horizontal band with multiple horizontal grooves with small circular holes is presented (Czarnecka 2014, fig. 6:2). Vertical profiled rungs and bent wires radiate from it downwards and upwards. Similar elements, also the above-mentioned holes appeared in the same arrangement on a fragment of an openwork bronze plate from Łuczka (Śmiszko 1923, pl. 5: 16a; Czarnecka 2014, fig. 7:1a). The motif of a fluted band itself is quite a popular decoration of the discussed fittings, also those with rich, elaborate ornament of arcades, etc. A band of vertical, straight or ogee-shaped wires is part of more elaborate compositions found on the artefacts from Strmec Bela Cerkev (Fig. 12: 1), Verdun, grave 131 (Fig. 12: 3) and on the specimen from Orenice (Fig. 12: 2). Bands of bent wires separated by a horizontal band tiny rivets in the holes are placed on the openwork fitting of the scabbard from Belozem (Fig. 12: 6). One may also notice it on the upper part of

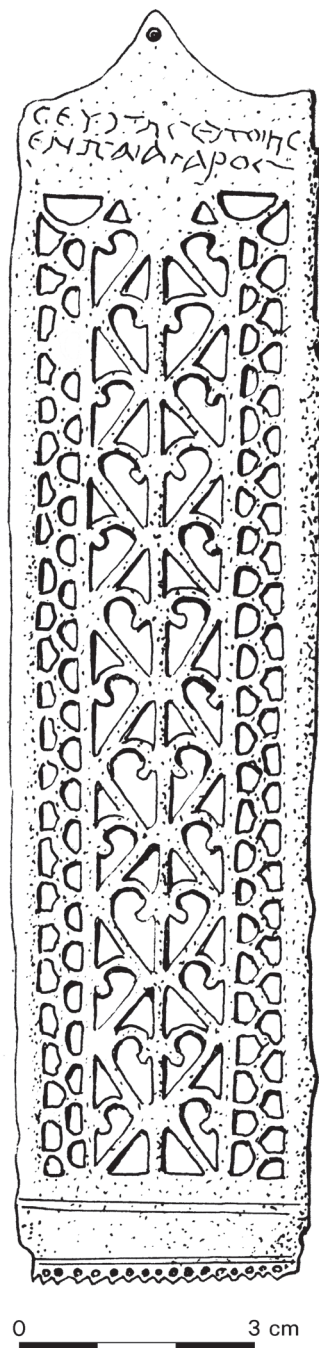


Fig. 15. Decorative fitting, silver, Čatalka (after J. Werner 1977)

<sup>33</sup> There is no analysis of this artefact but it may have been made of brass.

the plate from Magdalensberg, however, there do not seem to be any references to the specimens from the land of Treveri. It is also possible that the openwork artefacts from Łuczka and Tuczno are just remnants of larger fittings with elaborate decorations. This is how the scabbard from Verdun, grave 37, which did not survive even to such an extent, is interpreted (Istienič 2010, 131). The plates from Szentendre/Pomaz, Kostievo or Sofia Podueni, in turn, should be considered as atypical, being part of the group of scabbards with openwork fittings but made in a slightly different style, the same as the artefacts from Lamadelaine and Giubiasco or Esvres-sur-Indre.

Another rare way of decorating the *opus intrerrasile* plates is using the curvilinear motifs of stylized twigs, tendrils. This ornament appeared on the fitting of a scabbard from Goeblingen-Nospelt, grave C (Fig. 13). According to the authors of the publication the discussed ornament was a development and transformation of the typical and common in the earlier phases of the La Tène culture floral motifs (Metzler, Gaeng 2009, 241, fig. 211, 212). It may also be a strongly simplified version of the motif of a pair of dragons. Although the majority of them were engraved on metal sheets, there are also known examples of incised applications close to the openwork technique (Bochnak 2014, 85). A motif slightly similar to the one known from the plate on the scabbard from Goeblingen-Nospelt C was discovered on a find from central Gaul. On a short sword (dagger) from an inhumation grave in Palluau-sur-Indre (Coulon, Cufez 1976, fig. 2:1, 2, 4; 3; Bulard 1980, fig. 4:2) there survived fragments of a bronze openwork plate with curvilinear motifs of large connected ogee ornaments (Fig. 14: 1, 1a). In the connectors between them there are small holes (rivet holes?). It is especially interesting that a fragment of a very similar openwork plate was found at a Lipica culture cemetery in Bolotnia in Ukraine, in a cremation grave 61 (Fig. 14: 2, 2a).<sup>34</sup> The assemblage comprises a sword similar to Type Bell Zemplín, a damaged shield boss, probably Type J.4, a knife, a lance head and a prick of a spur. The scabbard is fragmentarily preserved and incomplete: the mouth and chape are missing. It is difficult to reconstruct its original shape, yet the fact that it is made of a copper alloy and there are no traces of horizontal rungs but there are fragments of partly melted narrow gutter shaped rib attached to it indicate that this artefact may have represented Type Zemplín (Czarnecka 2014, 72). There also survived a transverse band decorated with engraved grooves and two rivets, but its function is not clear. It may have been used to strengthen the decorative plate or it may have been located in the bottom part of the scabbard, like on the specimen from Zemplín, grave 108, or from Strmec Bela Cerkev. On the specimen from Strmec Bela Crkev in the lower part is riveted a narrow horizontal band (about 0.5 cm high), decorated with a line of concentric circular grooves with central holes. On the scabbard from Zemplín, grave 108, preserved rivets placed by the sides on the lower part of the front plate. Probably previously similar decorative band was fixed there. Unusual rich decoration – three wide ornamental fittings were placed on the silver front plate of scabbard kept in the Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins, France (Gaspari, personal communication) The remaining scabbards of this type have decorative fittings with the 'classic' openwork ornament (Strmec Bela Cerkev, Witaszewice), atypical 'classic' openwork (Zemplín, grave 108), or 'honeycomb' decoration (Zaguminki). It can not be excluded that there existed one more kind of decorative plates: the ones with the curvilinear motif of connected ogee ornaments. Made of a copper alloy, the preserved part of the openwork fitting of the scabbard from Bolotnia has an almost identical pattern, with similarly distributed rivet holes as in the

<sup>34</sup> V. M. Cigilik 2003, fig. 14:6. I would like to thank Mr E. Tkač from T. Szewczenko University in Kiev for granting me access to the photographs of the grave goods from that burial and of the scabbard itself, which has made a more detailed analysis possible.

specimen from Palluau-sur-Indre. Both fittings have survived only in fragments so it can not be established whether they were completely identical, but the similarity is very clear. It is also possible to note the references to the pattern from the plate from Goeblingen-Nospelt, grave C. However, it is difficult to establish whether there is any connection between so distant finds, but this may confirm the assumption that the decorative openwork plates were made separately (and perhaps also sold separately) and could be attached to different scabbards, and even with a certain time difference. Grave C from Goeblingen-Nospelt is dated to Phase LT D2, the find from Palluau-sur-Indre, to Phase D (Bulard 1980, 44)<sup>35</sup> whereas the assemblage from Bolotnia should have a slightly later date: the turn of the eras or the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

The group of the openwork fittings with atypical patterns may be augmented by the find from the rich cemetery of Čatalka in Thrace.<sup>36</sup> J. Werner (1977, 393, fig. 19) published it as Stara Zagora, but it is the name of the place where the artefact was stored in a museum (Fig. 15). The find from Čatalka is not, unfortunately, published, besides the drawing of the fitting. The silver plate with the *opus interrasile* decoration was made by a highly skilled goldsmith in a slightly different style than the specimens described above. There is no division into the bottom, central and top fields. The pattern is composed of two vertical bands with a combination of ogee ornaments and on the sides there are rounded pentagons arranged in a similar way as on the iron fittings from Esvres-sur-Indre and Bibracte. The upper part is more triangular than campanulate, yet it is not a straight mouth. Despite certain stylistic differences the artefact clearly fits into the discussed group of metal scabbards decorated at the mouth with openwork fittings.

As I have said above, I did not try to make a classification by distinguishing mutually exclusive types but rather to draw attention to a certain diversity within the one idea of decorating scabbards with openwork fitted applications. In some of the existing studies attention was drawn to, besides the purely stylistic differences, the technical ones: the methods of production. This issue was reviewed by T. Bochnak (2005, 52). The main problem is whether the decorative plates were cast or cut out, and according to J. Werner (1977, 381–383) the cast ones were originals and the cut out ones were imitations. Analysing the openwork plate from grave 108 from Zemplin, E. Cosack (1977, 45) noted that the holes must have been drilled and not cast. After a detailed technological analysis of the artefact from Badenheim H. H. Westphal (1998, 250) noticed traces of a scraper and a file and excluded the use of a stamp for cutting the pattern. According to A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998, 225; 2002, 201), all the fittings with a complicated openwork decoration were cut out. In general it was established that there were no technical possibilities of casting this kind of ornament. However, it seems that some of the plates made of copper alloy were first cast and then cut and chased.<sup>37</sup> A. Haffner (1995, 148) and J. Metzler, C. Gaeng (2009, 243) are of similar opinion as regards the find from Goeblingen-Nospelt. A likewise view was expressed by J. Istenič (2010, 138). All these remarks concern the artefacts made of copper alloy (brass). The iron plates must have been cut. There were certainly specimens made with greater precision and ones executed less carefully, simplified, or simply of worse quality,

<sup>35</sup> The find was originally dated on the basis of the form of the sword to the beginning of the La Tène Period (Coulon, Cufez 1976, 254), yet the more detailed analysis by A. Bulard (1980, 44) allowed to shift the chronology to Phase LTD.

<sup>36</sup> Werner 1977, fig. 19. I would like to thank J. Coulston, Ph.D., from the University of St Andrews, for giving me access to the photograph of the scabbard with the fitting.

<sup>37</sup> Also the methods of production are a subject of discussion: were the openwork fittings of the earlier scabbards hammered or cut out (cf. Ginoux, Ramsil 2014, 291)?

which may have been due to the individual skills of the artisans or other technical reasons. The silver fitting from Eggeby is an interesting example in this case (Fig. 6: 8). The decorative details were made (cut out) rather carelessly but preserving the arrangement of the motifs known from the other artefacts. Possibly the more expensive material compensated for the lack of care for the details. The rivet holes spaced out on one of the edges, not found on any other openwork plate, pose another problem. It is difficult to interpret their function: the plates were attached by bending, or more rarely, with side fittings. Most probably the artefact was re-made and had a secondary use (Böhme-Schönberger 2001, 81; Harasim 2013, 19).

Two plates are considered as unfinished: the one from Zemplín, grave 108 (Fig. 5) and from Harsefeld, grave VIII. In both cases there are small rectangles and circles on either lateral band, which, after additional cutting and chasing, would have become arcades. In Zemplín the traces of cutting are visible, however, these two items should not be really treated as semi-products since they were placed on the scabbards. Possibly in Harsefeld the plate was re-used, especially as it was attached upside down<sup>38</sup> and the scabbard represents a type different than all the other ones described here.

The studies of the discussed artefacts often focus on the issues: who produced the scabbards and where they originated from. J. Werner (1977, 376) believed that they were made in Noricum, noting the stylistic analogies to the high-quality openwork decorations produced there, such as the characteristic rich belts or beautiful openwork catch-plates of the brooches. Assuming that this was the place where the scabbards were made J. Werner claimed that the production of scabbards with openwork decoration took place after the Roman conquest, supposing that Roman technologies were applied and some elements of the Roman style were referred to. R. Bockius (1991, 289–291) expressed a similar opinion. Already O. H. Frey (1986, 50–52) questioned the involvement of the Romans in the production of these scabbards pointing out to their purely Celtic character and suggested that they were made in different workshops, not only the Norican ones. A. Haffner (1995, 150) indicated the possibility that there existed a Treveri's production centre located in the Rhineland. A. Böhme-Schönberger (2002, 202), who has taken into account the chronology and evident connection with the Celtic tradition, still believes that they were produced in Noricum. J. Istenič (2010, 143), recently analysing the finds from Slovenia, drew attention to the fact that although their form was Celtic, the used raw material: brass and not bronze, clearly points out to production in Roman workshops, suggesting the area of Galia Cisalpina as one of their possible locations.

It should be assumed that there existed more than one production centre due to the differences in the construction of the scabbards and the secondary stylistic features of the fittings as well as their wide territorial and chronological distribution. Considering the territorial distribution, it should be noted that despite the problems connected with the state of research (still unsatisfactory knowledge about Scandinavia) and taking into account the differences in the burial rites (obviously, the widespread custom of placing weapons in graves in the Przeworsk culture apparently increases the number of the finds from that area), it is possible to distinguish some concentrations of finds of these scabbards. One of them is the 'Treveri land', i.e., the modern Luxembourg (Goeblingen-Nospelt, twice, Titelberg, Lamadelaine) and the neighbouring region of the Moselle outlet into the Rhine (Büchel, Wederath, and slightly farther up, Badenheim). The second noticeable concentration is evidently Noricum with two scabbards from Magdalensberg and from the lands of the Taurisci in Slovenia where such finds of weapons were made as those from Strmec Bela Cerkev and the river Ljubljanica and from the cemetery of Verdun, grave 131

<sup>38</sup> This has been noted by A. Böhme Schönberger (1998, 237).

where fragments of an openwork plate with a campanulate top were preserved on the upper part of a scabbard (Istenič 2010, fig. 10).<sup>39</sup> The next concentration is in Bulgaria: Belozem, two scabbards from private collections, a slightly different in form specimen from Čatalka, and the scabbards with a simple decoration from Sofia Podueni and Kostievo.

The striking lack of these artefacts in Bohemia or the upper Rhine region is probably connected with the lack of cemeteries. There are very few finds of scabbards of the discussed type in the Celtic Gaul or Britain. What is more, none of them bears the 'classic' pattern of arcades, ovals, etc. The iron openwork decoration was found on the scabbard from grave 165 in Esvres-sur-Indre, Vaurignon. A fragment of an openwork fitting: a small grid, comes from the oppidum of Gondole (Deberge 2008, fig. 5:7). A decorative openwork plate with the vine ornament was placed on a short sword found in Palluau-sur-Indre (Bulard 1980). The few and also atypical forms come from the Alpine region (Giubiasco, grave 326, Pernet *et al.* 2006, 311, pl. 16).

Other marked concentrations of the discussed artefacts, besides the area occupied by the La Tène culture, can be found in eastern Slovakia (the three specimens from Zemplín) and western Ukraine (Zaguminki, Łuczka, Bołotnia). Possibly also the scabbard from Hriniv found in the area, which had a much richer decoration with a figural ornament, should be included. These finds may be probably linked with the Dacian influence or even settlement. They should be treated, like the artefacts found at the area of the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures and the Gross Romstedt Group, as undoubted imports.

The considerable unification of various Celtic products, and I consider the scabbards as part of them, at the whole area where they occur, indicates frequent contacts and exchange of knowledge between the workshops, or even the migrations of armourers-smiths.<sup>40</sup> However, as the general standards were maintained and only details were modified, there may have existed local centres of production with individual features. The centres in the Treveri region and Noricum are particularly evident, not only because they match the concentrations of the finds of these products but also due to the stylistic and, especially, chronological differences. There may have also existed workshops in the Thracian areas: the Thracian toreutics, artistic metal working, represented a very high level. The scabbards from Bulgaria are often decorated with silver plates,<sup>41</sup> which was not used at all in the western part of their distribution. The fitting from Čatalka is the only one with an inscribed name of the producer (Werner 1977, 393, fig. 19). According to T. Bochnak (2005, 52) there may have been workshops producing only the decorative fittings, which were then attached to scabbards made elsewhere. This is highly probable because, as I have noted, similar openwork plates were placed on scabbards with different constructions.

Also the chronology of the discussed artefacts is very important. However, it should be remembered that the phases of relative chronology determined for various areas and different cultures need not necessarily be contemporary and may differ depending on the local system of dating, which T. Bochnak duly notes (2014, 20–21). It is possible that the phenomena occurring at the area of the Przeworsk culture were delayed in comparison to the pace of the changes expressed by the relative chronology of the La Tène areas, yet it is possible to synchronise the datings of the respective finds. Only part of the discussed scabbards come from compact

<sup>39</sup> J. Istenič (2010, 137) mentions also the scabbard from Mihovo, obč. Šentjernej, grave 1657/8, which was said to bear traces of an openwork fitting. This seems to be probable, yet these traces are practically impossible to see and for that reason I have not taken this find into consideration.

<sup>40</sup> Hunt Ortiz, Ruiz Delgado, 1990; Quesada Sanz, Zamora, Requena 2000, 19.

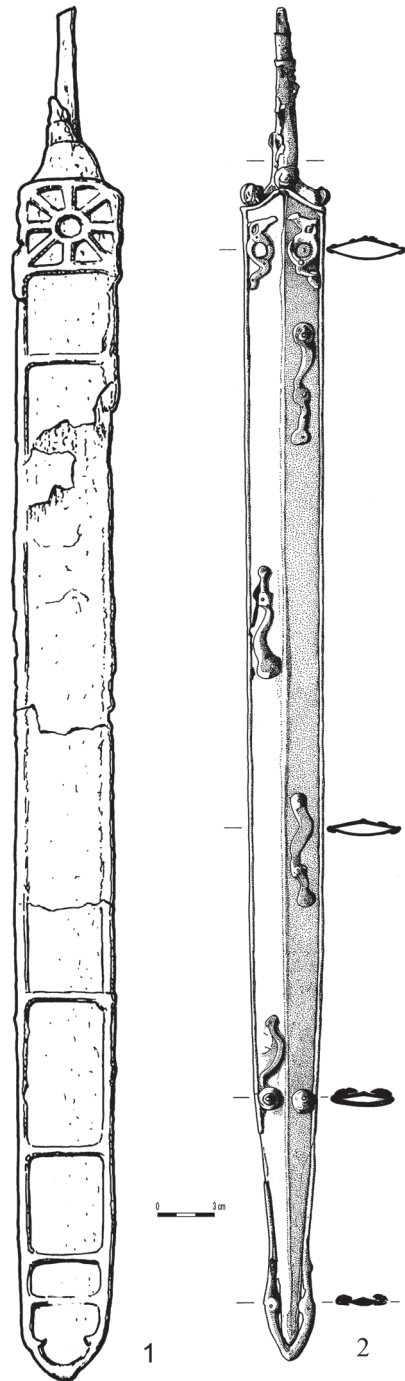
<sup>41</sup> Belozem, the one from A. Guttman's collection and, a bit different from Čatalka. Probably also scabbard from Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins should be connected with this group.



assemblages, which make dating possible. The finds from the 'Treveri' zone have been fully published, and penetrating analyses have been carried out by A. Haffner (1995) for the finds from Büchel and Wederath, by A. Böhme-Schönberger (1998) for the finds from Badenheim, and J. Metzler *et al.* (1999; 2009) for Goeblingen-Nospelt and Lamadelaine. All of them are rich burial assemblages with good chronological indicators.<sup>42</sup>

The situation of scabbards from the Norican centre is worse because the artefacts from the cemetery of Lugbichl near Magdalensberg were discovered a long time ago and the grave assemblages are unknown. The scabbard with the sword from Strmec Bela Cerkev was found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and its context is not entirely certain, and another specimen was found in the Ljubjanica river. The assemblages from the cemetery in Verdun are better dated. Even though the graves from Zemplín were excavated quite recently, their dating has posed many problems. Also the assemblages from Łuczka and Zaguminki are not entirely certain either. In contrast, the burials from Bulgaria: Belozem and Sofia Podueni are quite well dated. Similar is the case of some of the finds from the Przeworsk culture: Wesółki, Ciecierzyn, Kamieńczyk, and possibly Oksywie culture: Rządź, and the Elbe circle: Harsefeld.

The majority of the scabbards are dated to Phase LT D2 or A3, some later to the Augustean times or A3/B1–B1a. However, this is quite a long period of time and it seems that at least in some cases it would be worth while to introduce some chronological diversification. It seems that the graves from the western zone in Rhineland are the earliest. The find from Badenheim with the chape type Giubiasco 3a (Pernet 2011, 97) is dated to the end of D1 – beginning of D2, i.e., 60–50 B.C. (Böhme-Schönberger 2000, 270). A scabbard with a similar chape and an atypical, openwork grid from grave 3



**Fig. 16.** Earlier scabbards with open work ornament: 1 – Ornavasso; 2 – Chens-sur-Léman (after Graue 1974; Landry, Blaizot 2011)

<sup>42</sup> For the artefacts from the La Tène culture I have adopted the chronology suggested by the local researchers.



**Fig. 17.** Decorative fittings with figural decoration: 1 – Grinev (Hryniv); 2 – site unknown (after Miks 2015)

and a shield boss Type 7 according to D. Bohnsack, which allow to date the assemblage to Phase A3. Unfortunately, the artefacts from Schkopau, Gross Romstedt, as well as Kopaniewo are stray or uncertain finds. Grave 147/1937 from Witaszewice may be dated to a later time, the early Phase B1, as well as the find from Stara Wieś Kolonia, although in the latter case the fact that the finder brought a brooch Type A.68 together with the sword does not necessarily mean that they come from the same assemblage. The grave from Łuczka is an accidental discovery, yet if we assume that it is a coherent assemblage, the omega-shaped buckle, brooch Type A.68 as well as brooch

from Lamadelaine is dated to the beginning of D2. Grave C from Goeblingen-Nospelt with a scabbard decorated in a still different style is dated by the authors of its publication to Phase D2b (55–30 B.C.) (Haffner 1995, 149; Metzler, C. Gaeng 2009, 457). The graves from Wederath, Büchel and Goeblingen-Nospelt B seem to be slightly later, 30–10 B.C., i.e., the Gallo-Roman Period (Haffner 1995, 149). The burial assemblage with a sword in a scabbard from Strmec Bela Cerkev, reconstructed basing on the archive materials, should be dated to Phase D2. The latest, Tiberian times, are the period which grave 131 from Verdun comes from (Istenič 2010, 140).<sup>43</sup>

Among the scabbards found in the Przeworsk culture area, the one from grave 301 from Kamieńczyk, found with a brooch Type M, is dated, as it seems, to the earlier part of Phase A3. Grave 3 from Wesółki, with a shield boss Type B.8 (Type 13 according to Bochnak 2005), a brooch Type M, and pottery with the features of the first phase (according to Dąbrowska 2008, 63, 64), may be dated to the transitory Phase A2/A3 (or the early Phase A3, if we do not recognise the transitory phase), which allows approximately to synchronise it with the beginning of Phase LT D2 (Dąbrowska 1988, 32; Bochnak 2005, 119). Grave 50 from Wesółki with pottery with some features typical of early Roman Period may be dated to Late A3, and grave 118 from Ciecierzyn where the pottery also seems to be rather later, is dated similarly. A fragment of a bronze openwork plate from Rządź was found together with a sword in a scabbard with a spur-shaped chape-end, a brooch type M and

<sup>43</sup> J. Istenič (2010, 140) notes that although the assemblage must be dated to such a late time on the basis of the pottery, the sword in the scabbard is certainly earlier.

Type O and spurs type C1 after J. Ginalski, clearly point to Phase B1. The assemblage from Zagusimki also comes from that phase, due to the spurs and possibly also the shield boss, which albeit poorly preserved, resembles the specimens from the early Roman Period, Type J.4. The grave goods from Harsefeld, including spurs type *Stuhlsporn*, clearly point to Phase B1. Also the grave from Belozem in which the Celtic scabbard is the only early element, may be definitely dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Werner 1977, 379).

The dating of the finds from Zemplín poses certain problems. The cemetery had very shallow graves dug in hard bedrock, the mantle of the barrow was made from the soil taken from a nearby situated earlier Celtic settlement, the field records have certain gaps, and the publication has many imperfections, which sometimes makes it difficult to univocally determine the burial assemblages. In grave 77 from Zemplín fragments of a scabbard with an openwork ornament of circles were found, whereas in grave 78, a sword type Bell-Zemplín with a stamp and surviving fragments of a bronze scabbard. Both features are very shallow, small, and located at a distance of 20 cm (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1991, fig. 7a, pl. 11:10, 11, 20). Most probably the openwork fitting was part of the scabbard.<sup>44</sup> If we make this assumption, the specimens with the circle motif should have a slightly later date than the 'Treveri' ones. The assemblage from grave 108, with a scabbard in two pieces and without a sword, is non-homogeneous; it contains, i.a., a fire steel and a rectangular buckle as well as a Celtic knife and a winged clasp. Grave 128 can be dated more effectively.<sup>45</sup> The sword Type Bell Zemplín and the shield boss Type J.4 date the assemblage to the early Phase B1. The spurs, probably of an earlier date, were imported, like the sword, from the area of the La Tène culture<sup>46</sup> (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1991, pl. 18:1, 2). Swords Type Bell Zemplín are treated as Roman weapons, but they are found at the areas occupied by the La Tène culture which had become part of the Roman Empire very recently (Biborski 1999, 88, 90). They are quite often accompanied by scabbards executed in the Celtic style.

Even though it is impossible to date all the finds, one may try to follow the chronological diversity of the analysed scabbards. The earliest specimens have chape-ends type Giubiasco 3a (Pernet 2011, 97), including two *sui generis* prototypes of applied openwork decoration: the one decorated with the vine motif from Goebingen-Nospelt, grave C, and the scabbard decorated with a grid of double ogee ornament from grave 3 from Lamadelaine. Both scabbards have the chapes with metal cross-pieces of a more decorative form: pearl-like ornament or merged ogees, and straight mouths with a fluted bands under them.<sup>47</sup> The technological

<sup>44</sup> Also R. Pleiner (1993, 97) was probably of a similar opinion who, when analysing the sword with a stamp from grave 78, said: *fragments of a copper/bronze scabbard, ornamented in an openwork style of Late La Tène Noric type*.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., the grave goods from grave 128 were scattered and the Authors are not certain whether all of them originally belonged to one assemblage. In grave 136 (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, Pl. XVIII:) a small fragment of an *opus interrasile* fitting, an 8-shaped buckle and a set: clasp Type Kostrzewski 49 and rings. Graves 128 and 136 are located close one to another and it can not be excluded that some elements from the two assemblages were mixed. Interestingly, it seems that some finds are complementary, e.g., the *opus interrasile* fragments from the two assemblages as well as the sword from grave 128 and the clasp of the sword belt from grave 136. Of course this is only a suggestion.

<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, a very similar spur was found in grave C in Goebingen-Nospelt (Metzler, Gaeng 2009, fig. 100:13b). Of course this not a proof of some direct connections but one more example of a kind of unification, probably due to quite frequent and intensive contacts within the whole La Tène culture area.

<sup>47</sup> Also the scabbard made completely of iron with an applied iron openwork decoration from Esvres-sur-Indre, Vaurignon, has a boat-shaped chape-end, the upper openwork plate is straight at the top and above it there is a solid, campanulate, i.e., not openwork, mouth.

solutions and stylistic elements used to make both of these openwork plates ultimately produced the widespread slightly later on fittings with arcades, ovals, small ogees, and various ways of decorating the mouth of the scabbard.

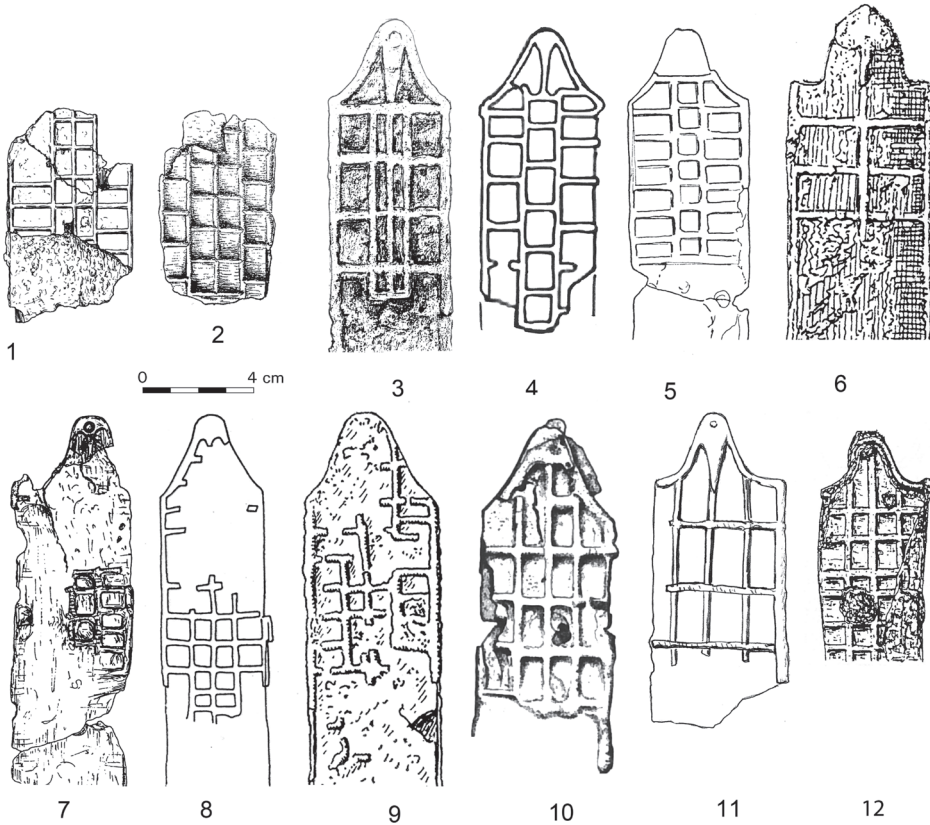
It seems that the openwork fittings with the motif of the circles<sup>48</sup> should be dated later. Most of such fittings were mounted on the scabbards without the rungs and with semi-circular chapes (Zemplin, grave 108, probably grave 128, Witaszewice, Belozem, 'Bulgaria' from private collections and, finally, Harsefeld). Such a chronological sequence may suggest that the hypothetical Treveri workshop was earlier than the Norican one, and that generally the idea of such decoration comes there from, but the scarcity of the material does not allow to say it with absolute certainty. Thus it is not possible to uphold J. Werner's argumentation that the scabbards were of Norican origin due to their stylistic similarity to the Norican-Pannonian belts, which are dated later.<sup>49</sup> The motif known from the belts dated to Phase B1 was found on the scabbard from Badenheim, which is several ten years earlier. However, both the openwork catch-plates of brooches and openwork belts and the plates on scabbards belong to the same world of the Celtic culture and stylistic preferences, and the similarity of the motifs is obvious. Also in the case of the finds from Goeblingen-Nospelt the authors drew attention to J. Werner's references to the decorations of scabbards used for the *gladii* type Mainz which he considered as a proof that the discussed fittings were made in Roman workshops. It is indeed well-visible but should be interpreted in the opposite way, i.e., that the decorations of the Roman scabbards were inspired by the earlier, La Tène models (Metzler, Gaeng 2009, 247). Such origin of the openwork ornaments on Roman weapons was also suggested by E. Künzl (1998, 389).<sup>50</sup>

Undoubtedly, these are products of the La Tène culture, deeply rooted in the Celtic style, referring to the earlier forms. The custom of decorating the upper part of the mouth of a scabbard, even if with an ornament engraved directly on the plate or with simple applied elements, e.g., double ogees, is typical of the Celtic weapons preceding the discussed category of scabbards. It seems possible to indicate certain forms which may have been the prototypes, such as the sheath of a dagger (?) found in the Thames in the area of Hammersmith with an openwork fitting with a motif of multiple vertical ogees covering the whole surface (Megaw, Megaw 1991, fig. 4b). In turn, a small fitting of openwork copper foil with the motif of circles was placed on the lower part of a scabbard dated to Phase D1a from grave 1178 from Wederath (Haffner 1989, 176, fig. d; 5). In Ornavasso in the Alpine region, at the cemetery of San Bernardo, grave 7, a scabbard decorated in its upper part with a decorative incised motif of a 'star' or 'sun', called 'Union Jack' was found (Graue 1974, pl. 11:3, Bulard 1980, 41, 44, fig 4:1) (Fig. 16: 1). This is a scabbard Type II according to T. Bochnak, which allows to date the assemblage to Phase LT C. A very similar, but more sophisticated, motif of thin, bent elements was found on a decorative bronze plate attached to the sheath of a dagger from the sanctuary of Mirebeau sur Beze

<sup>48</sup> Magdalensberg, Zemplin, grave 77, Witaszewice, Belozem, 'Bulgaria' from private collections. Among the artefacts with this motif only the ones from Witaszewice, Belozem burials are well dated, both to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

<sup>49</sup> The only scabbard decorated with true Noric motifs is, unfortunately, known only from private collection, now in the Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins. Context of find is unknown and dating uncertain. The scabbard has silver front plate and semicircular copper alloy chape (Gaspari, personal communication) so.

<sup>50</sup> The only one specimen – scabbard stored in the Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins, France has decorative plate with clear 'Norican' motifs. The scabbard however is a find without context, so the chronology is hard to establish. In my opinion it may represent type Zemplin (Czarnecka 2014), and should be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.



**Fig. 18.** Iron fittings with grid pattern: 1 – Będziechowo; 2 – Kacice; 3 – Troszyn; 4 – Mutyn, gr. 8; 5 – Wesółki, gr. 29; 6 – Kotowice; 7 – Oblin, gr. 292; 8 – Oblin, gr. 291; 9 – Schkopau; 10 – Heimburg; 11 – Gross Romstedt, gr. 1910nc; 12 – Hüttigweiler (after Eggers, Stary 2001; Musianowicz 1950; Terpilovskij 2014; Machajewski 2006; Dąbrowscy 1967; Pescheck 1939; Czarnecka 2007a; Schmidt, Nitzschke 1989; Krone 1935; G. Eichhorn 1927; Schumacher 1999)

(Bulard 1980, 36, fig. 2). The idea itself of an openwork ornament applied at the mouth of a scabbard is thus deeply rooted in the tradition of the Celtic weapons production.

A series of openwork ornaments which may have been the inspiration for the decoration of the sword from Goeblingen-Nospelt, grave C, has been compiled by J. Metzler and C. Gaeng (2009, 247, fig. 211–212), who found that the motif of the vine has clear references to the Celtic style and ornaments. Also the applied openwork decorations with stylized representations of dragons (griffins), which, although less frequent than the engraved ones (Bochnak 2014, 85), placed at the mouths of scabbards may have been an inspiration for the later *opus interrasile* fittings with still more stylized motifs of twisted figures. A good example is the scabbard from Chens-sur-Léman, dep. Haute-Savoie (Landry, Blaizot 2011, fig. 17) (Fig. 16: 2).

Another important issue connected with the discussed artefacts is the context in which they were found. The graves from Goeblingen-Nospelt are undoubtedly princely graves. The grave from Badenheim also stands out at the cemetery, perhaps not thanks to the wealth of its grave goods, but rather to its location in the very centre, and to its construction. The graves in

Wederath, grave 784, and Büchel have average assemblage of grave goods and are not special in any respect. The assemblages from Łuczka and Zaguminki are exceptionally rich among the ones found at these cemeteries. Both of them are linked with the Dacian culture. The find from Belozem was a very rich princely grave in which the scabbard with an openwork fitting is the only Celtic element. Similar is the case of the grave with the silver fitting from Čatalka.<sup>51</sup>

Among the finds from the Przeworsk culture, Wesółki, grave 3,<sup>52</sup> or Kamieńczyk, are rich graves with complete sets of weapons and rare smith's tools. Also the find from Rządź with a bronze situla represents the group of graves with double equipment of weapons (Czarnecka 2007b), which were undoubtedly burials of the military elites of the time. Interestingly, some of these finds come from children's graves, like in Ciecierzyn and Wesółki, grave 50. In the last-mentioned case it is worth to note that there were only two fragments of the scabbard, the upper and lower ones, but not the sword (like in grave 108 from Zemplín).<sup>53</sup>

These scabbards seem to be luxury products which were made with the use of skill and much effort. Who made them and for whom? They appeared at the dawn of the Celtic world both at the areas still free from the Romans and those already occupied by them.

The scabbards decorated with the *opus interrasile* fittings found at the areas of the Przeworsk and Okny cultures were evidently imports. However, there arises the question whether they were Celtic (La Tène culture) or Roman ones. Of course, the artefacts themselves are undoubtedly part of the Celtic tradition of weapon-making and style or aesthetics: thanks to the way they were made (metal sheets) and decorated: the selection of ornaments and the way of executing them.<sup>54</sup> However, the chronology indicates that they may have been made in workshops at the areas occupied by the Romans and being administrative parts of the Roman state. J. Istenič (2010, 145) believes that both production and distribution of these armaments were controlled by the Romans. They were undoubtedly made on commission or dedicated for specific customers: leaders, representatives of the elites connected with the La Tène tradition and culture – the Celts.

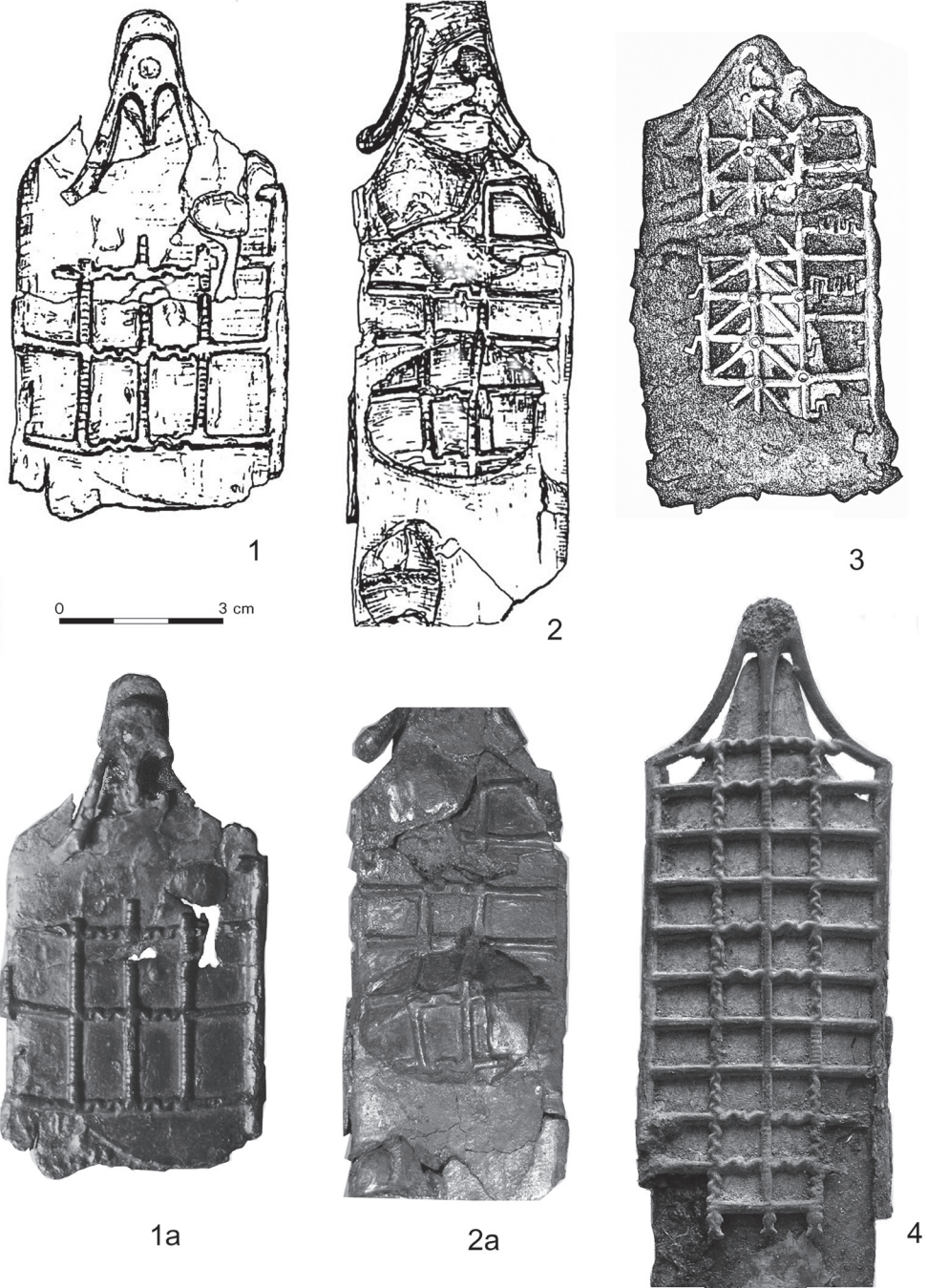
The existence of armourers-blacksmiths' workshops basing on the Celtic skills and traditions, but adopting certain Roman technologies may be confirmed by the scarce finds linking the technological solutions characteristic for those two cultures. According to J. Istenič (2010, 143–145) one example is the use of brass for making the scabbards from Slovenia. A clear proof are the 'hybrids' combining the technical details from the two traditions: La Tène and Roman, such as the specimen from Amiens, Square Jules Bocquet (Maheo 1979). This is a scabbard of a short sword (*gladius*) from a settlement (a Roman camp?), with a typical of the La Tène specimens suspension loop with a rectangular loop and loop plates attached to the back plate of the scabbard. The new find from the Polish lands is still more interesting: it is a copper alloy scabbard from the Przeworsk culture cemetery of Orenice (Czarnecka, Siciński 2015).

<sup>51</sup> The sets of weapons from the rich graves of the Thracian elite from the 1st century A.D. were noted by C. Miks (2015, 296).

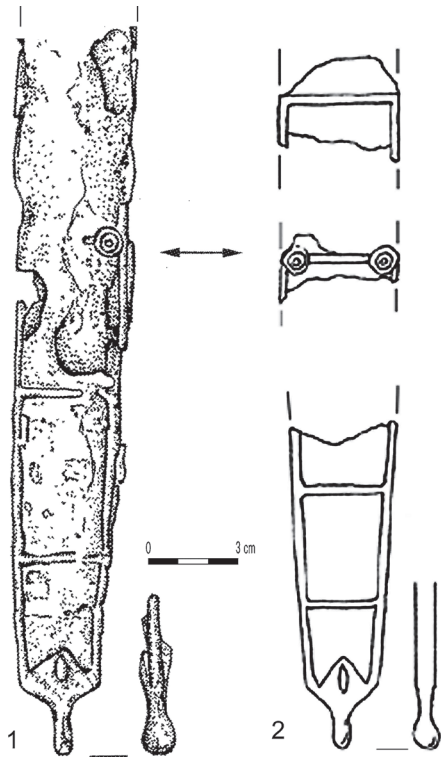
<sup>52</sup> In grave 50 from Wesółki only a fragment of the chape and the openwork plate were found, also the remaining goods seem to be incomplete: there are no other weapons, but there is a ring from the sword belt. The grave is disturbed.

<sup>53</sup> However, this grave is disturbed and possibly incomplete. The presence of rings for fastening the belt and a large whetstone: the accessories accompanying a sword, may indicate that formally it was an 'assemblage with a sword'.

<sup>54</sup> It is worth to mention that the Republican army derived its weapons from the Celtic tradition: the *gladius*, a visiting card of the Roman army, comes from the Celto-Iberian swords which had been preserved in the name *gladius hispaniensis* (Quesada Sanz 1997, 268).



**Fig. 19.** Fittings with elaborated grid pattern: 1 – Oblin, gr. 297; 2 – Oblin, gr. 282; 3 – Hedegård; 4 – Łubnice (after Czarnecka 2007; Madsen 1999; 4 – photo by A. Przychodni)



**Fig. 20.** Laddered chape with decorative discs: 1 – Oblin, gr. 282; 2 – Mutyn, gr. 8 (after Czarnańska 2007; Terpilovskij 2014)

On the front plate there is an openwork fitting with arcades and a campanulate mouth, and on the back plate, a long rib fixed with rivets, like in the scabbards Type Zemplín. Its chape ends with a little spherical knob typical for Roman scabbards. Such combinations of the two traditions could have occurred not only in technology but also aesthetics and even ideology. A very interesting example is the scabbard fitting of, unfortunately, unknown provenience, recently restored in the RGZM in Mainz (Miks 2015) (Fig. 17: 2). It has a rich figural decoration, which is rare in itself: the only specimen with such ornamentation has been so far the scabbard from Hriniv (Kozak 1982, fig. 4, 7). The discussed specimen is also divided into fields, but there are only four of them (in Hriniv there are 5) two of which: with a griffon and a rider, are exactly the same as on the scabbard from Hriniv (Fig. 17: 1). The two remaining representations are in the Roman style: a figure of a nude deity (?) and an imprint of a phalera with the representation of the emperor (Miks 2015, fig. 4).<sup>55</sup>

Assuming that there existed several centres of production or workshops, there arises the question about the origin of the artefacts found at the areas outside the La Tène culture, and this makes up more than half of the collected

specimens. At the areas occupied by the Elbe Circle, in Scandinavia, in the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures they were undoubtedly imports. It seems that the finds from Slovakia and Ukraine should be linked with the Norican centre or the supposed 'Thracian' centre in Bulgaria. This is suggested, besides the territorial closeness, by the motif of the circle which appears only in that zone. Theoretically, the discussed artefacts could have reached the areas of the Elbe Circle, and of the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures, also from the western centres (Bochnak 2014, 193). The artefact from Witaszewice is almost undoubtedly a Norican import, and such origin is possible also for those from Ciecierzyn and Wesółki due to the motif of the double keyhole not known in the Treveri region but appearing in, e.g., Magdalensberg.

The finds are sufficiently numerous to allow tentatively to analyse the route along which they reached the area to the north and west of the Carpathians. They may have been traded or may have been political gifts (this concerns rather the elites), or perhaps traces of participation of Germanic warriors (e.g. people of the Przeworsk culture) in some events at the areas where such swords were in use. J. Istenič (2010, 145) links the finds from the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures area with the Amber Route. Discussing the finds from south-eastern Europe, C. Miks

<sup>55</sup> C. Miks (2015, 296) notes that probably the picture of the emperor was not identified by the owner of the sword but simply treated as a 'pretty ornament'.



(2015, 296) notes that the majority of the discussed swords are the *spathas*, the weapons used by riders, and, starting from the Punic wars, the cavalry troops in the Roman army were formed from the non-Roman allies. The written sources confirm that the Treveri cavalry participated in Caesar's war in Gaul,<sup>56</sup> and the Thracian riders, in the fighting after Caesar's death, the battle of Philippi,<sup>57</sup> and later on, on the Romans' side, in the Dalmatian-Pannonian wars<sup>58</sup> (Istenič 2010, 142; Šašel-Kos 2009, 183, 184). Quite often the finds of scabbards are accompanied by spurs, which may indirectly confirm that the swords were used by riders.

An excellent example indicating the participation in some political events may be the unique cemetery of a small group of warriors in Mutyn (Terpilovskij, Zharov 2013; Terpilowski 2014). Thirteen graves equipped with high quality Celtic weapons: swords in scabbards, helmets, as well as vessels: cauldrons and *situlae*, were discovered there. At the same time the burial assemblages contained weapons related to other cultures. One example is grave 8, a burial deposited in a bronze vessel, with a set of two swords (a one-edged and a two-edged one). Such burial assemblages are known from Pomerania and Scandinavia (Czarnecka 2007b, 55). A Scandinavian shield handle comes from grave 1. The wealth and composition of the grave goods indicate that this was a group of warriors, probably mercenaries, who returned (?) with their loot to their homeland and were buried there.<sup>59</sup> The cemetery in Mutyn is, however, exceptional because there are (as it seems) no other graves besides the burials of the supposed 'retinue' and the interpretation of that feature requires more detailed studies.

The above discussed scabbard of unknown origin with a combination of figural representations may be treated as a special gift for an ally (Miks 2015, 296).

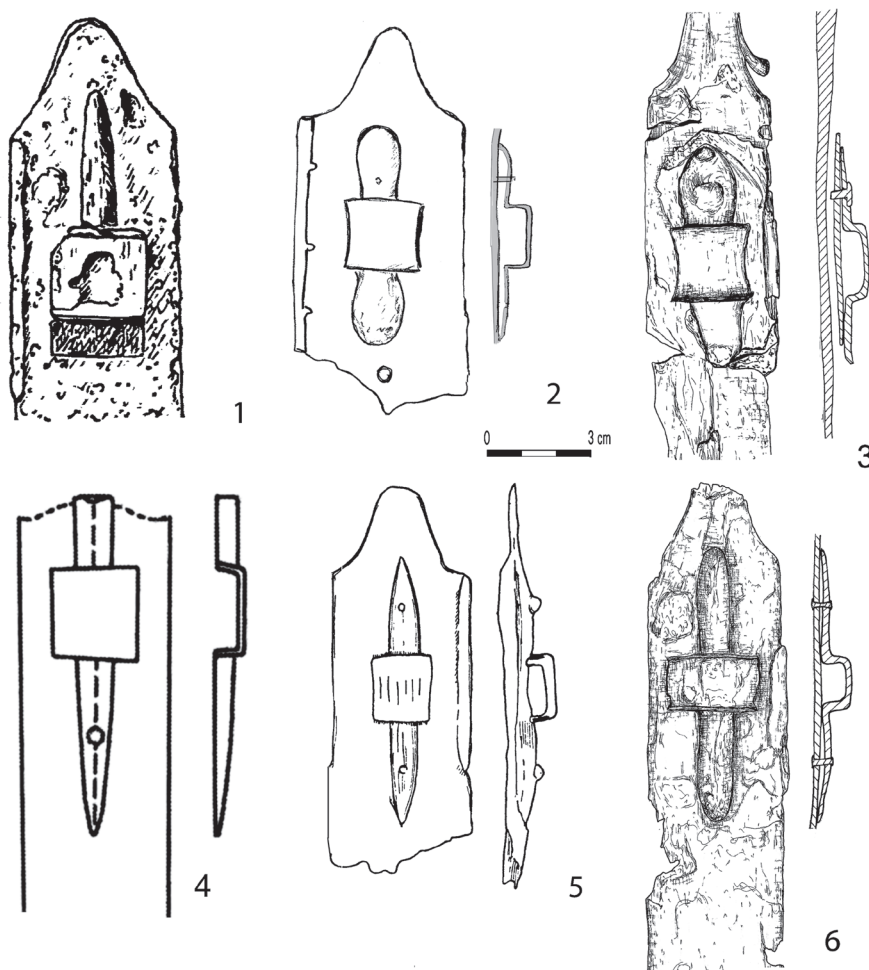
Besides the scabbards with the *opus interrabile* plates, at the area of the Przeworsk and neighbouring cultures there are also quite numerous (more than a dozen specimens) finds of scabbards with iron fittings with a much simpler pattern called *Gittermuster*, i.e., grid. J. Werner (1977, 383) and other researchers (Bockius 1991, 289; Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 238) considered them as local imitations of the more sophisticated La Tène culture originals. Brass (bronze) plates with complex openwork arcade patterns which required quite high skills and specialistic tools to make were certainly produced in Celtic workshops whereas to make a simple grid on an iron plate was certainly within the capabilities of Germanic smiths. The main argument supporting the claim that fittings with a grid were made locally is the observation that they were attached to scabbards with a ladder chape, and with a spur-shaped chape-ends and make up a coherent group: they are found at the areas of the Przeworsk, Oksywie and Gross Romstedt culture. The only find of an iron scabbard with a grid found outside the above-mentioned area is the specimen from a grave with purely La Tène culture grave goods found in Hüttigweiler. The spatial distribution may be, however, to

<sup>56</sup> *De bello gallico* II, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Appian, *Ρωμαϊκή ἱστορία* XVI, 108.

<sup>58</sup> Dio Cass. 55, 30.

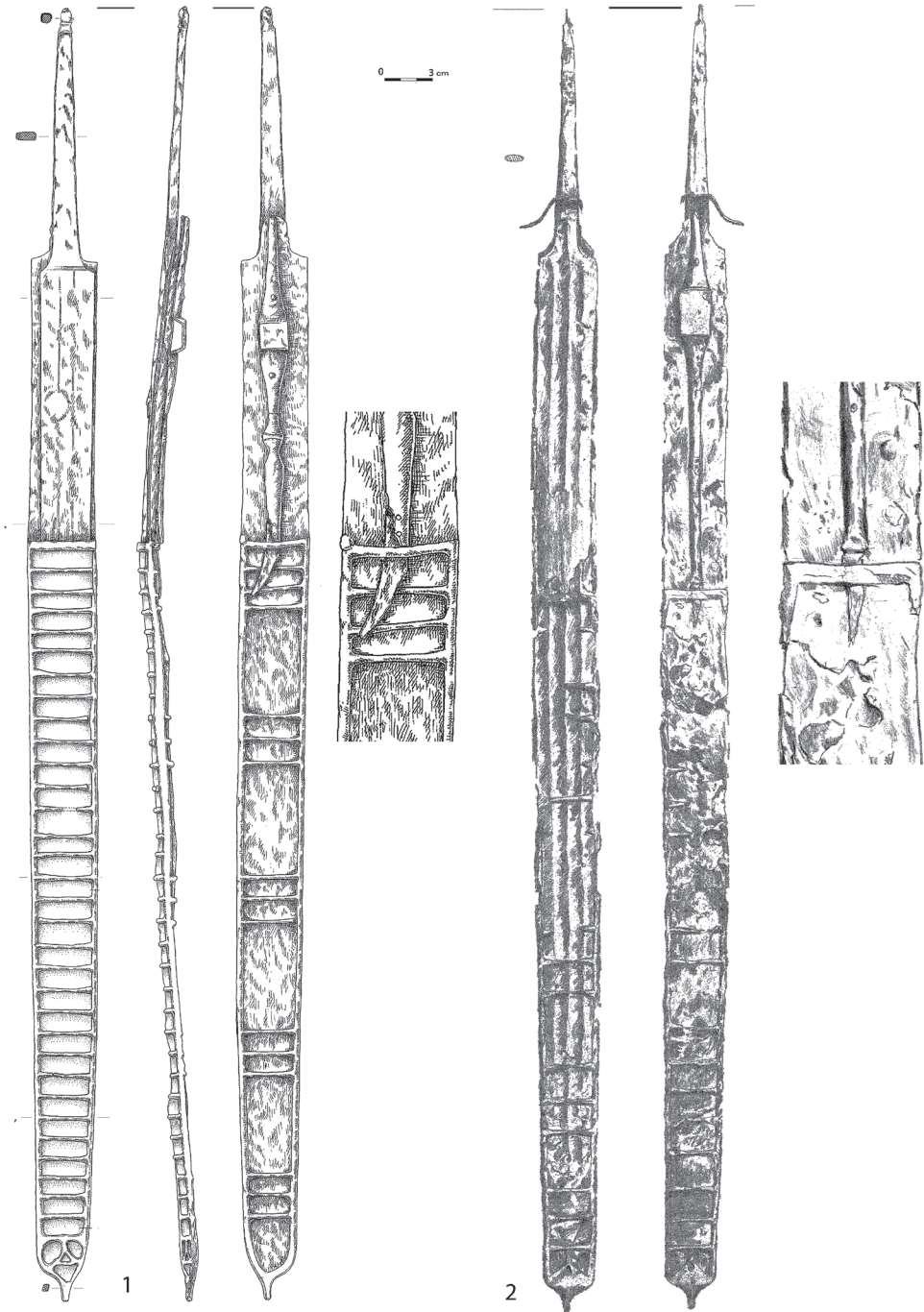
<sup>59</sup> A less probable hypothesis can not be, however, excluded, according to which a group (retinue) of Celtic or German warriors travelled to the areas on the river Seym. R. Terpilovskij (2014, 334) underlined the chronological coherence of these assemblages and suggested that the warriors died in one victorious battle. However, the grave goods, both the weapons and the bronze vessels, are not uniform which may be, of course, explained by the longer or shorter use of these artefacts. However, in grave 7 the whole assemblage with a brooch similar to Type E, two swords in a scabbard Type III after T. Bochnak, a shield boss Type B.4 and the early cauldron Type E.5, points to an earlier chronology: Phase A2. May be this is the burial of the first of the 'buccaneers' seeking adventures and profit in the wide world who was followed by the others? Grave 7 is located at the southern edge of the cemetery, yet as the number of the burials is small it is difficult to establish whether it was in any way important.



**Fig. 21.** Suspension-loops: 1 – Schkopau; 2 – Gross Romstedt 1910 nc; 3 – Oblin, gr. 282; 4 – Mutyn, gr. 3; 5 – Wesólki, gr. 29; 6 – Oblin, gr. 291 (after Schmidt, Nitzschke 1989; Eichhorn 1927; Czarnecka 2007a; Terpilovskij 2014; Dąbrowscy 1967)

some extent due to the state of research and the burial rites which at some areas required to place weapons in graves and at other ones, did not. However, these arguments can be contested.

In my opinion it is not possible to retain the division of decorative scabbard fittings into two clearly separated groups: one of good quality with an elaborate complicated openwork decoration with arcades made of a copper alloy and the other of lower quality, decorated with uncomplicated simple iron grids (Łuczkiwicz 2006, 192). As I have showed above, the specimens from the first group are of varying quality, sometimes simplified in form or with a completely different set of motifs: without arcades and pearl-like elements. Also the ‘grid’ pattern (*Gittermuster*) is not in the majority of cases a real ‘grid’ understood as horizontal and vertical bars crossing at equal intervals, at right angles. Only the specimens from Hüttigweiler (Fig. 18: 12) were made in this way and an uncomplicated pattern of vertical rectangles can be found at the fittings from Gross



**Fig. 22.** Scabbards with specific suspension loops: 1 – Verdun, gr. 37; 2 – Korytnica, gr. 4 (after Istenič 2010; 2 – drawn by J. Łupina)

Romstedt, grave 1910nc (Fig. 18: 11) and Heimburg (Fig. 18: 10). In the clear majority of cases the grid motif, although basing on a pattern of rectangles and not arcades or ovals, forms, however, a more complex and elaborate ornament. In some cases there are lateral sides: horizontal rectangles and the central zone which is decorated with a vertical band of squares, single in the case of the find from grave 29 in Wesółki and from grave 8 in Mutyn (Fig. 18: 4, 5) or double, in Kacice, Będziechowo, Schkopau, and Troszyn (although in the last-mentioned case the lateral bands are decorated with squares and the central zone, with vertical rectangles) (Fig. 18: 1–3, 9) and possibly also from grave 291 and 292 from Oblin (Fig. 18: 7, 8). This layout may have indeed referred to the arrangement of decorative openwork with arcades even though there are fewer decorative elements (three vertical zones) and the motifs are much simpler. Yet, I still do not consider them as imitations, understood as attempts at unskilled reproduction of a difficult original, but an independently developed decorative element referring to the decorating customs and aesthetics of its time and cultural milieu.<sup>60</sup>

Also, the chronology of the scabbards with a simple grid is very interesting. The earliest ones are dated to the beginning of Phase A3 (Kacice, Kotowice, grave 15; Oblin, grave 292, with shield bosses Type Bohnsack 5/6, and pottery with evident features of Phase A2). The majority come from developed Phase A3 (Wesółki, grave 29; Oblin, graves 282, 291, 297, Rządź, Troszyn, Mutyn). In each case they are contemporary to the earliest scabbards with decorative openwork fittings and represent a different way of decorating scabbards.<sup>61</sup>

Quite frequently the vertical and horizontal elements of the grid are decorated. On the specimen from Oblin, grave 297, the vertical cross-pieces are incised and the horizontal ones have deep, slanting, faceting which gives the effect of ogee ornament.<sup>62</sup> Interestingly, the fitting from Łubnice has identical decorative motifs but arranged differently: the horizontal cross-bars are plain and the central vertical one is incised whereas the lateral ones are decorated with a sequence of ogees. Additionally, the lower part of the scabbard from Łubnice has other decorative elements, i.e., three small circular discs with tendrils which make a kind of festoons. The plate from grave 297 from Oblin is, unfortunately, broken and it is not known if it had a similar decorative element at the bottom. The majority of the fittings with a simple grid have survived only partially so it can not be excluded that their lower parts had an additional decorative band like in the find from Łubnice. Also the plate from grave 282 from Oblin has additional decoration: the horizontal cross-pieces are bent to form a 'battlement-like' pattern. However, this artefact has been poorly preserved and it is difficult to reconstruct its whole form. The specimens without elaborate ornaments usually do have some simple decoration, e.g., the cross-pieces are incised (Oblin, grave 292, Gross Romstedt, grave 1910nc) (Fig. 18:7, 11).

All the plates with the preserved upper parts have campanulate form, probably matching the mouth of the scabbard (Oblin, graves 282, 291, 292, 297, Łubnice, Troszyn, Gross Romstedt, Mutyn, grave 8, Pruszcz Gdański). The central cross-piece of the grid is often at the very top, under the rivet, hammered into a narrow tall triangle reaching the first horizontal cross-piece (Troszyn, Mutyn, grave 8, Gross Romstedt, grave 1910nc, Łubnice) (Fig. 18: 3, 4, 11; 19: 4). In other cases only the end of the central cross-piece is widened and the two top fields have rounded edges,

<sup>60</sup> I have expressed this view earlier (Czarnecka 2002) and, together with T. Bochnak (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005).

<sup>61</sup> R. Bockius (1991, 289) considers the scabbards with a simple grid as later than the ones with a rich, carefully executed *opus interrasile*, which is meant to support the claim that they were local imitations of the imported prototypes. The chronological analysis does not confirm this idea.

<sup>62</sup> A similar motif has been recently found on a scabbard discovered at the Oksywie culture cemetery in Brzyno, personal communication by A. Strobin, Ph.D., for which I am very grateful.

which makes this element similar to the ‘key-hole’ motif known from the *opus interrasile* plates from the Norican Circle (Oblin, grave 297, Pruszcz Gdański 7) (Fig. 19: 1). The only exception is the small fragment found in Gross Romstedt, grave 1908 E63<sup>63</sup> where two thin crossed wires were preserved under the campanulate top with a rivet.

It is worth to note that also the laddered chapes may have decorative elements accompanying the ‘simple grid’ placed under the mouth of the scabbard. The specimen from Kacice, surviving only in fragments, had at least one decoratively profiled rung. The chape-ends from the scabbards from Oblin, grave 282, and from Mutyn, grave 8, had small, decorative circular discs (Fig. 20).

The bronze fitting of a scabbard from Hedegård in Denmark (Madsen 1999, fig. 26) is unique (Fig. 19: 3). The decorative elements: slanting cross-pieces, and the raw material used: bronze, have no analogies among the fittings with a grid, yet the lack of the arcades, pearl-like ornaments and ovals does not allow to consider this element as ‘classic’ *opus interrasile*. The fitting has a bell-shaped end and the characteristic division into two vertical bands of ornament composed of sequences of ‘battlement’ ornament on horizontal cross-pieces. Some elements: the circles at the intersections of the horizontal and vertical cross-pieces, have analogies on the *opus interrasile* plates, e.g., in the central part of the motif of the circles on the fitting from Witaszewice or Magdalensberg (also at the intersections of the vertical and horizontal lines) (Fig. 7: 1, 4) as well as on some artefacts from the Treveri area. Such tiny circles are placed on the central axis of the fitting from Wederath, grave 784 (Fig. 6: 4) and also at the intersections of the vertical and horizontal elements on the openwork plate from Lamadelaine (Fig. 8: 1).<sup>64</sup> The analogies

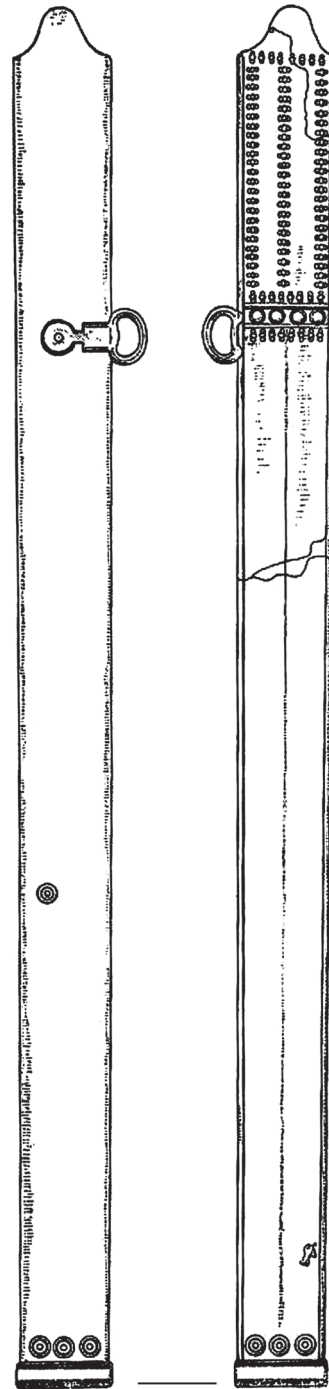


Fig. 23. Metal scabbard with decorative plate, Harsefeld, gr. 26 (after Drescher 1969)

<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately not included in the publication.

<sup>64</sup> These circular cells were probably filled with enamel (Metzler, Gaeng 2009, 238). It can not be excluded that also the specimen from Hedegård

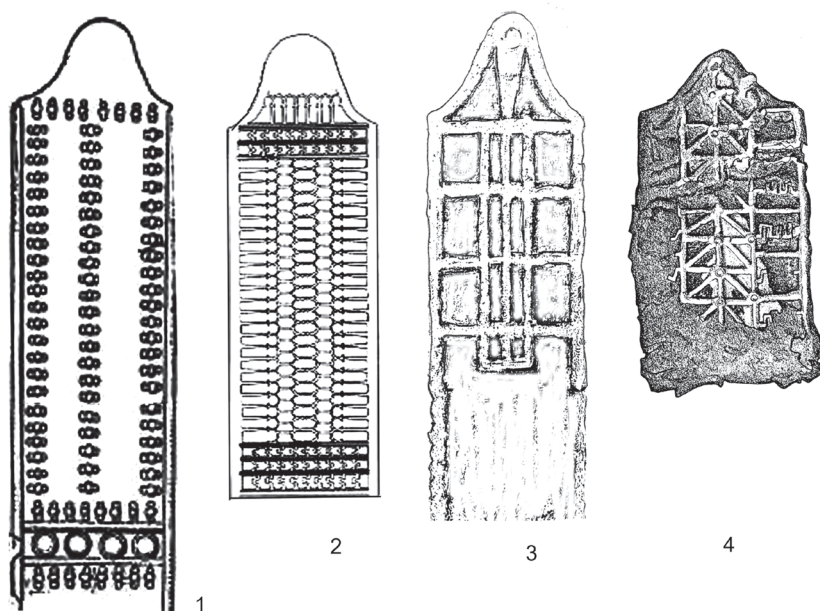


Fig. 24. Decorative plates with open work of various kinds: (1 – Harsefeld, gr. 26; 2 – Büchel; 3 – Troczyn; 4 – Hedegård; after Drescher 1969; Haffner 1995; Machajewski 2006, Madsen 1999)

to the ‘battlement’ ornament can be found on the simple artefacts from Oblin, graves 282 and 297 as well as from Łubnice, but these are iron fittings. In the specimen from Hedegård it is important that the plate was attached to a scabbard most probably representing Type *mittelgermanische Sondergruppe* and thus of a non-Celtic (La Tène culture) character.

All the completely preserved scabbards, excluding the ones from Hedegård and Łubnice<sup>65</sup> have spur-shaped chape-ends. In the earlier literature starting from the publication of M. Jahn (1916, 105), this type of chape-end was ascribed to the Germans and even treated as a distinctive feature for the Germanic scabbards in contrast to the Celtic ones (Kostrzewski 1919, 95; Tackenberg 1929, 270; Frey 1986, 45; Dąbrowska 1997, 90). This distinction, however, has been questioned, since indeed a clear concentration of these artefacts is visible at the territories outside the La Tène culture but they are also found for the discussed period at the Celtic areas either western (e.g., Büchel, Bad Nauheim, Kr. Wetterau) or south-eastern ones (Verdun, grave 37, Kostievo).<sup>66</sup> As T. Bochnak (2014, 95) wrote, the specimens with high laddered chapes with spur-shaped ends were the most popular forms of scabbards for two-edged swords in Phase LT D2. Certainly, they were commonly used in the Przeworsk culture and quite frequent in the Oksywie culture. In the Elbe Land and Scandinavia also the so-called *mittelgermanische Sondergruppe* scabbards were common besides the above-mentioned types.

may have been decorated in a similar way or at least prepared for the inlay. The use of enamel for decorating various artefacts was quite frequent in Scandinavia from that period.

<sup>65</sup> This scabbard was re-made and it is not known how the chape looked originally.

<sup>66</sup> The chape of the scabbard from Mesnil-sous-Jumièges usually mentioned in that context is an earlier form placed on a scabbard without dense rungs or an openwork fitting (Schaaff 1986, 295, fig. 5).

The chapes differed in their details.<sup>67</sup> The chape-ends range from the narrow, billet-shaped in cross-section, ones to the ones flaring into fan-shaped bosses, which seems to have a diagnostic value for chronology (Bochnak 2004, 276) (Fig. 3). Also the bottom parts, immediately above the end, may have had different shapes. Quite often it was a triangle made up of straight, narrow bars closed up with a horizontal cross-piece (e.g., Kamieńczyk, Oblin, graves 291, 292, Schkopau, Gross Romstedt 1907; 1910nc) (Fig. 3: 1–4). Another motif are wide triangles with concave sides which, adjoining one another created decorative tear-shaped opening (e.g., Büchel, Wesółki, graves 3 and 50, Oblin, grave 282, Ciecierzyn) (Fig. 3: 5–7). Sometimes there is also additional decorative element – vertical profiled rung (Korytnica, grave 4, Wólka Domaniewska).<sup>68</sup> These details could have been a hallmark of a workshop. It is interesting whether some errors in construction, such as the asymmetrical chape-end from Verdun, grave 37 (Fig. 3: 4) and the similar form of the scabbard from grave 45a from Oblin, were accidental or were a specific feature of a production centre.

Also the suspension loops may provide some interesting observations. Most of them have symmetrical circular<sup>69</sup> or elongated<sup>70</sup> rivet plates (Fig. 21: 2, 4–6) Quite unique are two specimens with very short, rectangular flat lower plate, known from Kopaniewo and Schkopau (Fig. 21: 1) Less frequent are asymmetrical plates (Fig. 21: 3). The last-mentioned ones were attached to scabbards with tall, laddered chapes, sometimes but without decorative openwork fittings (e.g. Oblin, grave 45a, Korytnica, Verdun, grave 37) (Fig. 22).<sup>71</sup> A detailed analysis allows to notice that some, apparently accidental, solutions are in fact repeated. J. Istenič (2010, 131) draws attention to the unique, in her opinion, ending of the lower plate attaching the suspension loop to the scabbard from grave 37 in Verdun. It has a thin ‘lining’ of an iron band inserted under the upper rungs of the chape. The lower plate of the suspension loop on the scabbard from grave 4 from Korytnica and the one fragmentarily preserved on the scabbard from grave 40 from the cemetery in Ruszkowo, Koło district, are attached in an identical way (Machajewski, Rogalski 2016, pl. 43:2).<sup>72</sup> Thus this solution was not unique.<sup>73</sup> In my opinion it is these secondary details such as the way of attaching the horizontal cross-piece or the asymmetrical projection at the chape-end may indicate that these relatively uniform scabbards were made in one workshop. The importance of the small decorative and technical details in identifying products of one master craftsman or the place of production has been stressed by S. Chapman (1985, 135).

The suspension loops are, besides the decorative fittings, another not inherent parts of the scabbards and they could be replaced, which has been observed in the earlier specimens, e.g., the scabbard from Warszawa-Żerań (Tomaszewska 1997). In turn, the find from Łubnice was re-made so that finally it had a straight chape-end. Instead of a suspension loop placed at the

<sup>67</sup> Curiously enough these are scabbards described by L. Pernet (2011, 101) as ‘with a solid chape’ known mainly from Britain and Gaul. These scabbards, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., were made from wooden laths fixed with lateral fittings which merged into a chape with a profiled, spherical knob.

<sup>68</sup> The clear similarity of the decorative methods and the techniques with the use of which the scabbards were made are striking: they seem to have come from the same workshop

<sup>69</sup> Gross Romstedt 1910nc, Hüttigweiler.

<sup>70</sup> Wesółki, grave 29, Mutyn, grave 8, Oblin, grave 291, 292 and 297, Gross Romstedt 1928.

<sup>71</sup> Of course, it can not be excluded that originally there was a decorative fitting, now lost.

<sup>72</sup> The chape and the front upper side of the scabbard have not survived, but the suspension loop and the laddered fitting with quite dense rungs make this find similar to the discussed specimens.

<sup>73</sup> The scabbard from grave 45a from Oblin, of very similar proportions and the way in which the chape was made to the specimen from Verdun, grave 37, is, unfortunately, damaged in the place where the plate of the suspension loop adjoins the upper rung so it is not possible to say whether it was fixed in the discussed way.

back side there were lateral rings for attaching the scabbard. Openwork iron fitting with a decorative grid seems also to have been secondarily installed because it does not match the dimensions of the mouth. Why the scabbard was re-made remains an open question.

In the majority of cases the chape reached up to approximately 2/3 of the length of the scabbard and the upper part of the front side was uncovered. Only in the specimen from Miechęcino distr. Kołobrzeg, the rungs seem to reach higher, but they may also be the remains of a rather simple grid. The state of preservation of that find does not allow to establish it with certainty.<sup>74</sup> Quite numerous scabbards have an additional sheet of copper alloy attached at the front side (Ciecierzyn, Janówek, Korytnica,<sup>75</sup> Rządź, Wesółki, grave 50; and Wólka Domaniowska, distr. Radom, gr. 35 (Olędzki 2000, pl. XXXIV.4), Wymysłowo, distr. Gostyń, grave 114 (Jasnosz 1952, 70, fig. 81:7). Interestingly, the direct relation: scabbards with bronze sheets – sophisticated *opus interrasile*, can not be found here. The scabbard from Wesółki, grave 50, has a bronze sheet and a bronze *opus interrasile* plate whereas the scabbard from Kamięńczyk is completely made of iron, including the decorative openwork plate; the specimen from Rządź has a bronze plate decorated with a honeycomb pattern,<sup>76</sup> and the scabbard from Janówek has a bronze plate and an iron openwork ornament. However, all the examples of fittings decorated with a simple grid known to me were attached to scabbards made entirely of iron. It should not be forgotten that, unfortunately, only in some cases it is possible to determine the appearance of the upper part of the scabbard. There are many damaged or fragmentarily preserved specimens, which does not allow to draw any general conclusions.

The numbers of the rungs on the chape differ for the respective scabbards. The rungs are straight or have a waist in the central part or are delicately profiled. It is not clear how these fittings were made; theoretically the rungs could have been soldered or cut out. The chape on the scabbard from grave 4 from Korytnica was cut out: the metallographic analysis did not reveal any traces of joining or soldering (Biborski *et al.* 2002, 93, fig. 37). The exact analysis of the scabbard from the Ljubjanica river revealed that the rungs made of iron sheet were soldered to the bronze core. A. Haffner (1995, 140) suggests welding as the method of joining the elements of the chape from Büchel. When the rungs are spaced out identically on the front and back side one may suppose that they were cut out simultaneously on a ‘sleeve’ of a metal sheet. The rivets joining or strengthening the construction of the chape itself are very seldom e.g., Janówek (Czarnecka, Prochowicz 2002, fig. 5: 7a).

As the openwork fittings were attached to the finished scabbards and were decorative elements rather than parts of the construction, it is possible to imagine that there existed simpler (cheaper?)

<sup>74</sup> As I wrote (2002, 95), the reconstruction of the scabbard from Rządź made by J. Bohm (1885, pl. II.45) where the picture presents the rungs up to the top, was repeated by M. Jahn (1916, fig. 113) and J. Kostrzewski (1919, fig. 79) and copied also in other publications (e.g., Brzyków, C. Pescheck 1939, fig. 79:1, Dębczyno, grave 39, Machajewski, Sikorski 1985, pl. 323:D) even though this is not justified by the material. Recently the scabbard from Wólka Domaniowska, grave 35, was interpreted by P. Łuczkiwicz (2006, p. 63, fig. 17:4), who created for it a separate Sub-Type 5b, due to straight mouth. It does not seem justified to distinguish this subtype. The high laddered chape of the scabbard from Wólka Domaniowska does end with a straight horizontal bar, like all the high chapes of this type, yet above it there was the side of the scabbard. This is evidenced by the fragmentarily preserved back sheet with a campanulate mouth and a suspension loop with asymmetrical plates.

<sup>75</sup> The specimen is made of a brass sheet (Biborski *et al.* 2002, 93).

<sup>76</sup> On the specimen from Mutyn, grave 3, the fitting is made of iron, like the scabbard itself, yet some traces of bronze are visible, probably the remains of some decorative elements (possibly rivets). The artefacts from Mutyn have not been subjected to conservation and probably more precise observations will be made after it.



specimens without any decorative plates, but the clear aesthetic preferences for decorating the upper part of the scabbards and lack of a longer series of such specimens does not allow to answer this question. From the area of the Przeworsk culture, but not only, there are finds of scabbards with laddered chape with spur-shaped ending, but without openwork fittings, yet there are very few certain finds, i.e., ones with the preserved plates reaching up to the very mouth, are very few. One example may be the iron specimen from Oblin, grave 45a (Czarnecka 2007a, pl. 46:2). In the majority of cases either there is no upper part of the scabbard<sup>77</sup> or of the front plate above the chape-end while the back plate is better preserved, but does not allow to establish whether the discussed decorative element was originally attached there.<sup>78</sup>

Sometimes the surviving small fragments were overlooked by the researchers. This concerns, e.g., the find from Korytnica, grave 4 (Fig. 22: 2).<sup>79</sup> Possibly such cases are more numerous.<sup>80</sup> It seems that even in grave 45a from Oblin there may have been also a decorative plate which may have been taken off and destroyed: in the burial pyre there are lumps of molten bronze. This may have been even more so the case for the specimens with the front plate made of a copper alloy. A thin plate<sup>81</sup> was more susceptible to accidental destruction or it could have been destroyed intentionally. The ritual requirement for destroying weapons before placing them in the grave was carried out in various ways, which concerns also the metal scabbards. E.g., in grave 214 at the cemetery of the Przeworsk culture in Czersk, Piaseczno district, the sheets of a scabbard Type III after T. Bochnak were separated, bent and deposited in different parts of the burial pit. The knowledge of this possibility may help to interpret the finds of single sides of scabbards such as, e.g., the one from Witaszewice, grave 147/1937. The lack of the front side was interpreted by E. Kaszewska (1973, 55) as a proof that it had been made from organic materials. Although the use of wood and leather for making scabbards was quite common in the later times (the Roman period) and even contemporary to the discussed scabbards, these specimens were made with the use of a completely different method.<sup>82</sup> It is possible that the separated element was recycled as bronze scrap metal.

There still remains the question whether the scabbard with rungs and a spur-shaped chape-end, decorated in the upper part with an ornamental fitting, a simple grid, or plain (if there actually were ones like that) was a product of the Germanic or Celtic world. The specimens from the

<sup>77</sup> Oblas, distr. Radom (Wawrzyniecki 1906, 96, 97); Michałowice, distr. Kazimierza Wlk. (Kaczanowski *et al.* 1984, fig. 1); Stara Wieś, distr. Węgrów (Radig 1942, fig. 15h, and k); Wymysłowo, distr. Gostyń, grave 114, (Jasnosz 1952, fig. 81:7).

<sup>78</sup> Wólka Domaniewska, distr. Radom, grave 35 (Ołędzki 2000, Pl. XXXIV.4); Korytnica, grave 4 (Łuczkiwicz 1997, fig. 12:2.3), Brzyków, distr. Trzebnica (Pescheck 1939, fig. 79: 1); Dębczyno, distr. Białogard, grave 39, (Machajewski, Sikorski 1985, Pl. 323:2, D), Rządź, Mutyn, Verdun, grave 37. According to J. Istenič (2010, p. 131) the lack of the front side of the scabbard from grave 37 from Verdun is very strange because she believes that the sides were made from one sheet of metal. However, it can not be excluded that shorter bands of metal may have been joined, which may be suggested by the traces of riveting, e.g., in grave 297 from Oblin or grave 750 from Zadowice, distr. Kalisz (Kaszewska, Kufel-Dzierzgowska 1982, Pl. 287:3).

<sup>79</sup> Only I. Głowacka (1979) gives information about this fragment of bronze fitting and its photo.

<sup>80</sup> The scabbard from grave 37 in Verdun has been included by J. Istenič in the group of scabbards with the *opus interrasile* decoration even though no trace of such a fitting has survived (Istenič 2010, 131)

<sup>81</sup> The thickness of the side of the specimen from Verdun is 0,1 cm (Istenič 2010, 131) and of the specimen from Büchel, 0,05 cm (Schwab 2005, 333).

<sup>82</sup> Interesting examples of scabbards made from wood with metal fittings and chapes, referring to the discussed chape with a solid projection, are known mainly from Britain (Stead 2006, 75–77, Group H, n. 245 et 246). L. Pernet (2011, 101) determines them as a type with a massive chape (*bouterolles massives*).

Przeworsk culture do not differ, besides the fittings in their technology and details from the finds from, e.g., Slovenia (Verdun). Of course, one may suppose that these were German weapons used by the La Tène culture population. It is certain that the *opus interrasile* plates were made in the Celtic workshops because of the use of copper alloys as a raw material, the complication of the pattern and the selection of decorative motifs. It may be theoretically assumed that the decorative plates made in the Celtic workshops were produced separately and then attached (most of them are simply superimposed and bent) to the locally made Germanic scabbards. Recently T. Bochnak (2014, 98) questioned the possibility of making metal scabbards in other workshops than the Celtic ones as this would have been technically too difficult and would require specialised tools which have not been found at the Germanic areas. Supposedly, it was the most difficult task to produce long, thin, even sheets of metal.<sup>83</sup> However, it should be noted that the so-called *mittelgermanische Sondergruppe* scabbards were also made from long pieces of iron sheets and they are only typical of the Germanic world. If we assume that they were made (in the territory of the Gross Romstedt Group? In Jutland or the Danish Islands?<sup>84</sup>) by the craftsmen with 'La Tène culture' skills and tools, then these smiths were most probably able also to make scabbards with laddered chapes with spur-shaped chape-ends. Despite the clear differences one may also note certain common elements for the scabbards of the two types. Sometimes it can be seen that the ornament made with the use of another technique (*repoussé*) refers to the style and decoration of the applied openwork ornament. This is the case for the scabbard from Harsefeld, grave 26 (Drescher 1969, pl. 5:1) (Fig. 23). In the upper part, under the campanulate mouth, there are three vertical bands of repousse motifs and under them a horizontal zone of the same motifs arranged vertically, which clearly refers, also as regards the proportions, to the layouts of the 'classic' *opus interrasile* fittings and may confirm the claim that both the fittings with the so-called simple grid and the specimen discussed above correspond to a style or aesthetic preferences which were shared in those times and of which the classic *opus interrasile* fittings are the best example, and that there is no clear distinction between the 'Celtic' and 'Germanic' way of decorating scabbards. The artefact from Hedegård may be considered as a *sui generis* bridge 'bridging the gap' between two kinds of scabbards: the ones with a straight chape and those with a spur-shaped chape (Fig. 24). The scabbard itself represents the *mittelgermanische Sondergruppe* form due to the way of suspending it and the chape whereas the openwork fitting attached next to the campanulate mouth is entirely atypical for this group and typical of the scabbards with laddered chapes with spur-shaped chape-ends.

The discussed scabbards differ as regards the precision of their finishing and the wealth of details, which may simply indicate the individual skills of the smiths or their involvement in making a given specimen; this could have increased the price. At the cemetery in Oblin there were four scabbards which may be determined as the same type: Type VII after T. Bochnak, with a spur-shaped chape-end and the fitting in the form of a simple grid. However, they differ one from another. One (grave 282) has a very carefully executed chape with a tear-shaped opening, the ladder with additional decorative details (circular discs) and an openwork plate with the 'battlement' (meander) motif and an asymmetrical suspension loop with a circular upper plate. Two other specimens, from grave 291 and 292, have different suspension loops, simpler chapes and probably less

<sup>83</sup> It should be noted here that some of the iron scabbards known from the Barbaricum are composed of metal sheets riveted together, e.g., Oblin, grave 297, Zadowice, distr. Kalisz, grave 750 (Czarnecka 2007, Pl. CCLII.6; Kaszewska, Kufel-Dzierzowska 1982, pl. 287:3). Possibly this was the way to avoid the difficulty in obtaining long, even pieces of metal sheet.

<sup>84</sup> The existence of such a workshop in Hedegård has been postulated by P. O. Schovsbo (2010, 114–117).

elaborate fittings. The fourth specimen, from grave 297, has different proportions, is wider, has riveted sheets without surviving rungs and the grid of the open work plate is decorated. If we add to the list the scabbard from grave 45a, without a decorative fitting, with thickly arranged rungs and a slightly asymmetrical chape, there arises the question whether all these specimens from one cemetery, dated in the same way, and thus used at the same time by the ‘warriors from one retinue’, came from the same workshop. Or perhaps from different ones? Were they the spoils of war or were they purchased? Was one considered as ‘better’ than the others?<sup>85</sup> Interesting observations may be made also at other cemeteries. At the necropolis of Wesółki, Site 1, which has not been completely excavated, two scabbards with the *opus interrasile* fitting (grave 3 and 50) have been found, and one with the fitting decorated with a simple grid (grave 29). Probably also the sword with a stamp with the name ALLIUS PA from grave 20, which is a good analogy to the specimen with the stamp from grave 78 in Zemplin, had a scabbard, but unfortunately only small fragments of it have survived: a long profiled suspension loop and a small fragment of bent openwork fitting (?) (Dąbrowski, Kaszewska 1968, Pl. 126(3):18, 20). Thus at one cemetery at least four specimens were found, each of them different, yet all of them from the spectrum of scabbards with laddered chapes and probably openwork fittings. In turn, at the large cemetery of Kamieńczyk only one, not very typical sword in a scabbard with an iron openwork decoration was found. Similarly, only one scabbard with decorative openwork fitting was discovered in Ciecierzyn. At the large necropolis in Zadowice, several swords were found but, as far as I know, not even one scabbard with an *opus interrasile* or simple grid fitting. The finds from Witaszewice, Stara Wieś Kolonia and Tuczo do not come from well-excavated sites so it is not known whether they were single finds from these cemeteries or originally there were more artifacts of that type. It is not possible to establish if we could consider the finds from Wesółki and Oblin, or Mutyn on the Seym, as burials of the members of a retinue involved in some military or political events, serving as mercenaries or *auxiliarii*.

### A list of Late La Tène scabbards with openwork plates or their fragments:

#### Germany

1. **Badenheim**, Kr. Mainz-Bingen: Grave 67, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 218–223, fig. 11–13, insert 4).
2. **Büchel**, Kr. Cochem. Grave, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Haffner 1995, fig. 5; insert 1; Böhme-Schönberger 2002, fig. 7:6; Schwab 2005).
3. **Gross Romstedt**, Lkr. Weimarer Land, 1. Grave 1910 n.c., sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape. 2. Grave 1907 O2, fragment of scabbard with spur-like chape and small fragments of open-work plate (Eichhorn 1927, 140, 141). 3. Grave 1928, scabbard with spur-like chape and small fragment of iron fine *opus interrasile* plate? (Peschel 1990, pl. 84:11).
4. **Harsefeld**, Kr. Stade. Grave VIII; sword and fragments of scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Wegewitz 1937, pl. 16:VIII.2246b; Werner 1977, fig. 15).
5. **Heimburg**, Lkr. Harz. Grave, scabbard with spur-like chape and decorative fitting with grid pattern (Krone 1935, tabl. 8).
6. **Hüttigweiler**, Lkr. Neunkirchen, Grave 2/1898, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate (Schumacher 1999, pl. 8a).

<sup>85</sup> It is worth to add that in turn in grave 298 dated in the same way and with the same kinds of grave goods, there was also a one-edged sword in a sheath typical of the one-edged swords but with a bronze chape and unique decoration of the lower part (Czarnecka 2007a, Pl. CCLV.5; CCLXXXI.3).

**7. Schkopau**, Lkr. Saale, cemetery, no information regarding the grave; 1. Fragment of the upper part of a scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate, 2. sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape (Schmidt, Nitzschke 1989, pl. 78:7; 79:6).

**8. Wederath**, Kr. Wittlich-Bernkastel, Grave 784, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Haffner 1974, pl. 200:2a; 1995, fig. 4, 9:2, pl. 1).

### Luxemburg

**9. Göblingen-Nospelt** (Goebblange-Nospelt), com. Kehlen. 1. Grave B, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate, 2. Grave C, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Metzler, Gaeng 2009, figs 65:22a, 98, 208, 213, 215:1).

**10. Lamadelaine**, com. Pétagne. Grave 3, sword and scabbard with open work plate (Metzler-Zens, Méniel 1999, fig. 20; 21).

**11. Titelberg**, com. Pétagne. Cemetery, fragment of scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Metzler, Gaeng 2009, fig. 214, 215: 2).

### France

**12. Pallau-sur-Indre**, dep. Indre. Grave, short sword (dagger) and fragments of fine *opus interrasile* (Coulon, Cufez 1976, fig. 2:1, 2, 4; 3; Bulard 1980, fig. 4:2).

**13. Esvres-sur-Indre, Vaurignon**, dep. Indre et Loire, Grave 165, sword and scabbard with iron open work plate (Pernet 2011, pl. 162.B.5).

### Switzerland

**14. Giubiasco**, distr. Bellinzona, cant. Ticino. Grave 326, sword and scabbard with open work plate (Pernet *et al.* 2006, pl. 16).

### Slovenia

**15. The river Ljubljanica near Bevke**; obč. Vrhnika. Sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Istenič 2010, figs 2–3; insert 1).

**16. Strmec above Bela Cerkev**, obč. Šmarješke Toplice. Cemetery. Sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Istenič 2010, figs 4–7, insert 2).

**17. Verdun**, obč. Nove Mesto. 1. Grave 37, sword and scabbard with spur-like chape-end, 2. Grave 131, sword and scabbard with small fragments of fine *opus interrasile* plate (Istenič 2010, figs 8–11, inserts 3, 4).

### Austria

**18. Magdalensberg**, Lugbichl, Bez. Klagenfurt Land. Cemetery. Fragments of at least two fine *opus interrasile* plates (Deimel 1987, pl. 69: 6–8).

### Hungary

**19. Pomáz/Szentendre**, kom. Pest. River Danube arm. Sword and scabbard with open work plate (Tompá 1942, pl. XXV:1a,b; Hunyady 1944, pl. 44: 5,5a,b; Hellebrandt 1999, pl. 4: 4).

### Bulgaria

**20. Belozem**, obl. Plovdiv, Barrow. Sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* silver plate (Péev 1926, fig. 11, 12; Werner 1977, fig. 3:1).

**21. Kostievo**, okr. Plovdiv. Scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape (Tackenberg 1929, fig. 135).

**22. Sofia Podueni** Poduane/Подуяне *vel* Poduene/Подуене, part of city Sofia. Barrow 3, Fragment of scabbard with open work plate (Popov 1921, figs 34, 35).

**23. Unknown site, Bulgaria.** Scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* silver plate (Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 230; Istenič 2010, 148).

### Slovakia

**24. Zemplín**, okr. Trebišov. 1. Grave 77. Fragments of fine *opus interrasile* plate (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, pl. 11: 10,11). 2. Grave 108, scabbard in two fragments, with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Cosack 1977, figs 1, 2; Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, pl. XV: 30,31; Czarnecka 2014, fig. 4). 3. Grave 128, sword and fragments of scabbard with fragments of fine *opus interrasile* plate (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 265, pl. 18: 11,13) 4. Grave 136; fragment of fine *opus interrasile* plate (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, pl. 18: 27).

### Poland

**25. Będziechowo**, distr. Słupsk (*f. Bansekow, Kr. Stolp*). Fragment of grid pattern plate (Kostrzewski 1919, fig. 89; Eggers, Stary 2001, pl. 214:2).

**26. Brzyno**, distr. Puck. Sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape-end (pers. comm. Dr. A. Strobin).

**27. Ciecierzyn**, distr. Kluczbork. Grave 118, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Martyniak, Pastwiński, Pazda 1997, pl. CXVII:1, 2).

**28. Janówek Pierwszy**, distr. Legionowo. Grave 66, fragments of scabbard with fragments of iron *opus interrasile* plate(?) (Czarnecka, Prochowicz 2002, fig. 6).

**29. Kacice**, distr. Pułusk. Grave from 1947. Fragment of grid pattern plate (Musianowicz 1950, pl. 10:3).

**30. Kamieńczyk**, distr. Wyszków. Grave 301, sword and scabbard with fine iron *opus interrasile* (Dąbrowska 1997, pl. 138:4).

**31. Kopaniewo**, distr. Łębork (*f. Koppenow*). Grave X, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* (Schumann 1889, pl. XIV:4; Wołagiewiczowie 1963, pl. I:6,11,12).

**32. Korytnica**, distr. Jędrzejów. Grave 4, sword and scabbard with spur-like chape and small fragments of fine *opus interrasile* (Skurczyński 1947, 13; Bochnak 2005, pl. 14.2).

**33. Łubnice** (also known as Beszowa), distr. Staszów. Loose find, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate. Unpublished, personal communication by A. Przychodni Ph.D.

**34. Oblin**, distr. Garwolin. 1. Grave 45a, sword and scabbard with and spur-like chape. 2. Grave 282, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape, 3. Grave 291, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape, 4. Grave 292, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape, 5. Grave 297, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate (Czarnecka 2007a, pl. 46:2; 231:1; 241:5; 244:6; 252:6).

**35. Pruszcz Gdański**, distr. Gdańsk, st. 7. Grave 346, sword and scabbard with fragment of open work plate (Harasim 2013, fig. 11:3).

**36. Rządź** (*f. Rondsen*) distr. Grudziądz. Grave from 22.11.1883, sword and scabbard with open work plate (Anger 1890, pl. 16:20; Boguwolski, Kurzyńska 2001, fig. 31)

**37. Stara Wieś-Kolonia**, distr. Łęczycza. Grave; sword and scabbard with small fragments of fine *opus interrasile* plate (Kaszewska 1977, fig. 3).

**38. Troszyn**, distr. Kamień Pomorski. Grave 1, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape (Machajewski 2006, figs 10; 15).

**39. Tuczno**, distr. Inowrocław. Grave ? Fragment of scabbard with fragments of openwork plate (Kostrzewski 1919, fig. 88; Czarnecka 2014, fig. 6:2).

**40. Wesółki**, distr. Kalisz. 1. Grave 3, sword and scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate, 2. Grave 29, fragment of scabbard with grid pattern plate. 3. Grave 50, fragments of scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Dąbrowscy 1967, figs 7:8; 35:2, 57:1, 8).

**41. Witaszewice**, distr. Łęczycza. Grave 147/1937, scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* (Kaszewska 1973, pl. XVI; Czarnecka 2014, fig. 2).

### Ukraine

**42. Bolotnia**, obl. L'viv, Болотня, Львівська область. Grave 61, sword and fragments of scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Cigilik 2003, fig. 14:6).

**43. Hriniv**, obl. L'viv, Гринів, Львівська область, Grave 3, sword and scabbard with open work plate with figural ornament (Kozak 1982, figs 4–7; Łuczkiwicz 1999).

**44. Lučka**, obl. L'viv, Лучка, Львівська область (*f. Luczka*). Grave. fragments of scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate (Śmiszko 1932, pl. V:16, 16a, 16b; Kieferling 2002, fig. 9, 10).

**45. Mutyn**, obl. Sumy, Мутин, Сумська область. 1. grave 3, sword and scabbard with open work plate with honeycomb ornament, 2. grave 8, sword and scabbard with grid pattern plate and spur-like chape (Terpilovskij 2014, figs 6:3, 8:5).

**46. Zaguminki – Zvenigorod**, obl. L'viv, Звенигород-Загумінки, Львівська область. Grave 7, fragments of scabbard with open work plate with honeycomb ornament (Svešnikov 1957, fig. 21:1; Kokowski 1999, fig. 6; Czarnecka 2014, fig. 6:1).

### Denmark

**47. Hedegård**, Ejstrup sogn, Jutland. Grave A907. Fragments of scabbard of “*mittelgrmanische Sondergruppe*” type, with bronze grid pattern plate (Madsen 1999, fig. 26).

### Sweden

**48. Eggeby**, Östergötland. Barrow, silver fine *opus interrasile* plate (Montelius 1905, fig. 128, Böhme-Schönberger 2001, fig. 1).

### Unknown site

**50.** A scabbard with fine *opus interrasile* plate and chape type Zemplin, silver and copper alloy. From private collection, now in the Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins, France (Gaspari, personal communication).

## Późnolateńskie pochwy mieczy z ażurowymi okładzinami

*Nauka to nie tylko fakty. Gdyby tak było, nie istniałaby, bo fakty wciąż się zmieniają.*

Guy Consolmagno SJ

Pochwy mieczy, zdobione w górnej części nakładaną ażurową płytką z rozbudowanym ornamentem pojawiają się u schyłku okresu lateńskiego na rozległym obszarze od terenów położonych na zachód od Renu przez Europę środkową po Bułgarię i Słowenię (ryc. 1), a więc na obszarach celtyckich, sąsiadujących z nimi germańskich, oraz dackich i trackich na południowym wschodzie. Mimo licznych podobieństw nie tworzą całkowicie homogenicznej grupy. W dotychczasowych opracowaniach wyróżniano dwa podstawowe warianty: pochwy z nakładaną płytką ażurową ze skomplikowanymi motywami zdobniczymi, których wykonanie wymagało dużych umiejętności i posiadania odpowiednich narzędzi, a także grupę

pochew zdobionych prostym motywem nałożonej kratki, wykonanych wyłącznie z żelaza, i uważanych, poczynając od J. Wenera (1977, 383), za lokalne naśladownictwo.

Egzemplarze z okładzinami z wyrafinowanym *opus interrasile* występują zarówno na stanowiskach związanych z kulturą lateńską, jak i na obszarach poza jej zasięgiem, gdzie traktowane są jako importy. Prawie wszystkie pochodzą z cmentarzysk, trzy z depozytów wodnych (por. katalog)

Dotychczasowe próby podziałów typologicznych (Werner 1977; Böhme-Schönberger 1998) uwzględniały tylko stylistykę i sposób wykonania ażurowych okładzin pomijając całą konstrukcję pochwy. Jednak sposób wykonania samej pochwy jest równie ważnym elementem, pozwalającym na ustalenia chronologiczne, a także dającym możliwość identyfikacji ewentualnych warsztatów. Nakładane okucia ażurowe mogły być wykonywane osobno i montowane (lub nie) na gotowych pochwach (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, 32; Harasim 2013, 19). Płytki ażurowe o podobnej formie zakładano na pochwy różniące się szczegółami konstrukcji (trzewik, zawieszka), z drugiej strony, na identycznych pochwach pojawiają się okładziny różniące się detalami wykonania.

Najczęściej pochwy złożone są z dwóch blach żelaznych, lub żelaznej spodniej i wierzchniej wykonanej ze stopu miedzi, połączonych za pomocą okuć bocznych. Charakterystycznym elementem jest wysoki trzewik zaopatrzony w poprzeczne szczebelki tworzące drabinkę sięgającą, na ogół, 2/3 wysokości pochwy. Zakończenia trzewika mają różny kształt. Wcześniejszy chronologicznie wydaje się typ łódkowaty. Taki trzewik mają również okazy zdobione ażurowymi nakładkami (ryc. 2:1, 8:1, 2). Najczęściej zakończenie ma formę ostrogowatą (ryc. 2:2–4). Późniejsze egzemplarze mają półkolisty trzewik uformowany poprzez zagięcie spodniej blachy na wierzchnią, które określam jako typ Zemplin (Czarnecka 2014, ryc. 4) (ryc. 2:5). Te egzemplarze wykonane są w całości ze stopu miedzi, wyjątkowo ze srebra. Zawieszki mają lateńską formę prostokątnej przewleczonej przymocowanej dwoma płytkami z nitami.

Nakładane ozdobne ażurowe płytki najczęściej były wykonane ze stopu miedzi, rzadziej srebra (ryc. 6:8, 15) i zupełnie wyjątkowo z żelaza (ryc. 6:10, 11). Mają różną długość, na ogół 12–16 cm, kształt górnej krawędzi odpowiada zazwyczaj kształtowi wylotu pochwy – prosty lub, częściej, dzwonowaty. Ornament składa się z dwóch lub trzech pól. Część centralna, największa, składająca się z pięciu pionowych pasm elementów w układzie: arkadka pozioma – łącznik – owal centralny – łącznik – arkadka pozioma (ryc. 6:1–11). W kilku przypadkach pojawił się motyw koła (ryc. 7:1–5). Motyw podwójnego S, dość charakterystyczny dla ozdób celtyckich, w tym również (wcześniejszych wprawdzie) pochew pojawił się w dwóch przypadkach (ryc. 6:1.2). Dość wyjątkowy jest motyw równoramiennego krzyża, znany z zachowanej fragmentarycznie okładziny pochwy z Kopaniewa. Znane są też ażurowe nakładki odbiegające formą i doborem wzorów od omówionych powyżej, niemniej należące do tego samego szerokiego kręgu pochew zdobionych ornamentem ażurowym (np. Lamadelaine, Metzler-Zens, Meniel 1999, tabl. 20, 21). (ryc. 8, 1).

Inny rodzaj okładzin należących do grupy pochew z ozdobnymi ażurowymi płytkami to, zaproponowany przez J. Wenera (1977, 382, 383), typ Wabenmuster, „plaster miodu” zbudowany z zestawionych ze sobą niskich sześciokątów. Żelazny egzemplarz takiej płytki umieszczonej na pochwie miecza pochodzi z grobu 3 z cmentarzyska w Mutynie (Terpilovskij 2014, ryc. 6:3) (ryc. 9:4) i z cmentarzyska Zaguminki-Zvenigorod, na Ukrainie (Svešnikov 1957, ryc. 21:1; Kokowski 1999, ryc. 6) (ryc. 9:3), a także z cmentarzyska kultury oksywskiej w Rządzu (*Rondsen*), 1/1883 (Bohm 1985, 5; Anger 1890, 11, tabl. 16:20; Czarnecka 2007b, ryc. 4) (ryc. 9:2). Istnienie wzoru „plastra miodu” w środowisku celtyckim potwierdzają ażurowe płytki znalezione na oppidum Bibracte (Bochnak, Czarnecka 2005, ryc. 5, 6) (ryc. 9:1).

Sądzę, że można, choć z pewną ostrożnością, wyróżnić jeszcze jeden dotychczas niezauważony rodzaj zdobienia ażurowych okładzin złożony z pasm pionowych niewielkich prostokątów i kwadratów oddzielonych poziomymi listwami zdobionymi poziomymi rytymi liniami i małymi punktami. Brak motywów arkadek czy perełkowań, niemniej jest to wzór bardziej rozbudowany niż zwykła prosta kratka. Należą tutaj pochwy z Szentendre/Pomaz (Hunyady 1942, tabl. 44:5; Hellebrandt 1999, 35–36, tabl. 4:4) i Kostieva (Tackenberg 1929, 270, ryc. 135) (ryc. 11:1, 2). Taki motyw pojawił się też na niekompletnie

zachowanych okładzinach z Łuczki (Lučka) i Tuczna. Są one jednak zachowane tylko w niewielkich fragmentach, nie można więc wykluczyć, że są to pozostałości ozdobnych płytek z bogatym ornamentem.

Jeszcze inną, rzadko spotykaną formą zdobienia płytek *opus intrerrasile* jest wykorzystanie motywów krzywoliniowych, stylizowanej wici roślinnej. Taki ornament pojawił się na okładzinie pochwy miecza z Goeblingen Nospelt, grób C (ryc. 13). Na krótkim mieczu (sztylcie) z inhumacyjnego grobu w Palluau-sur-Indre (Coulon, Cufez 1976, ryc. 2:1, 2, 4; 3; Bulard 1980, ryc. 4:2) zachowały się fragmenty brązowej ażurowej okładziny z motywami połączonych dużych S-ów (ryc. 14:1.1a). W łącznikach pomiędzy nimi znajdują się niewielkie otworki (na nity?). Niezwykle interesujące jest, że fragment bardzo podobnej ażurowej nakładki pochodzi z cmentarzyska kultury lipickiej w Bołotni na Ukrainie, z ciałopalnego grobu 61 (ryc. 14:2.2a).

Do grupy ażurowych okładzin z nietypowym wzorem dodać można znalezisko z Bułgarii, z bogatego trackiego cmentarzyska Čatalka (Stara Zagora). J. Werner (1977, 393, ryc. 19) Srebrna płytka *opus intrerrasile* została wykonana przez wysokiej klasy specjalistę złotnika-kowala, w nieco innym stylu niż dotychczas omawiane egzemplarze.

Należy przyjąć istnienie więcej niż jednego centrum produkcji tych przedmiotów, ze względu zarówno na różnice w konstrukcji samych pochew i w drugorzędnych cechach stylistycznych okładzin, jak i rozrzut terytorialny oraz chronologiczny. Jednym z takich centrów był zapewne „kraj Trewerów”, obecny Luksemburg (Goeblingen Nospelt, 2 razy, Titelberg, Lamadelaine) i sąsiadujący rejon ujścia Mozeli do Renu (Büchel, Wederath i nieco dalej Badenheim). Drugim wyraźnym skupieniem jest niewątpliwie Noricum z dwoma pochwami z samego Magdalensbergu, i ziemie Taurysków ze Słowenii, skąd pochodzą znaleziska takich militariów ze Strmec Bela Crkev i rzeki Ljubljanicy, a także z cmentarzyska Verdun, grób 131 (Istienič 2010, ryc. 10). Kolejne skupisko wyodrębnia się w Bułgarii. Uderzający brak tak zdobionych pochew z terenu Czech czy górnego Renu związany jest, zapewne, z odmiennym obrządkiem pogrzebowym i brakiem cmentarzysk. Bardzo nieliczne są znaleziska pochew z ażurowymi okładzinami na obszarach celtyckich z Galii czy Brytanii. Poza obszarem kultury lateńskiej, wyraźne skupisko omawianych militariów jest na wschodniej Słowacji (3 egzemplarze z Zemplina), i zachodnia Ukraina (Zaguminki, Łuczka, Bołotnia). Zapewne należy dołączyć znalezioną na tym terenie pochwę z Hryniowa, z znacznie bogatszą, bo z ornamentem figuralnym, dekoracją. Znaleziska te, prawdopodobnie wiążąc się mogą z wpływami lub nawet osadnictwem dackim. Należy je traktować, podobnie jak egzemplarze znane z obszarów kultury przeworskiej, oksywskiej i grupy Gross Romstedt, jako niewątpliwie importy.

Tylko część omawianych pochew pochodzi z zespołów zwartych, umożliwiających datowanie. Większość datowana jest na fazę LT D2 do czasów Augusta, a na obszarze Barbaricum na fazę A3 do początków fazy B1. Najwcześniejsze wydają się groby z zachodniej, nadreńskiej strefy ich występowania.

Wśród pochew z *opus intrerrasile* znalezionych na obszarze kultury przeworskiej najwcześniej, na fazę A2/A3 i początek A3, datowane są grób 3 z Wesółek i grób 301 z Kamieńczyka. Nieco później, na schyłek A3 można datować Wesółki, grób 50, a na początek B1 – grób 147/1937 z Witaszewic, a także znaleziska z Łuczki i Zaguminek.

Pochwy zdobione okładziną *opus intrerrasile* znalezione na obszarze kultury przeworskiej i oksywskiej to niewątpliwie importy. Powstaje jednak pytanie, czy są to importy celtyckie (lateńskie) czy też rzymskie? Oczywiście same przedmioty należą bez wątpienia do tradycji militariów i stylistyki czy estetyki celtyckiej – w sposobie wykonania (metalowe blachy) i zdobienia – dobór motywów i sposób wykonania. Niemniej, chronologia wskazuje, że mogły być wytwarzane w warsztatach na terenach zajętych przez Rzymian i będących już administracyjnie częścią państwa rzymskiego (Werner 1977; Istienič 2010, 145; Czarnańska 2014, 74). Funkcjonowanie warsztatów płatnerskich czerpiących z umiejętności i tradycji celtyckich, ale przyjmujących pewne techniki rzymskie potwierdzać mogą nieliczne wprawdzie znaleziska łączące rozwiązania techniczne charakterystyczne dla obu kultur. Przykładem może być okaz z Amiens, Square Jules Bocquet (Maheo 1979). Jest to pochwa krótkiego miecza (gladiusa) z osady (obozu



rzymskiego?), z trzewikiem zakończonym kulką i ażurową okładziną zaopatrzona w typową dla egzemplarzy lateńskich zawieszka z prostokątną przewleczką i płytkami mocującymi, umieszczoną na spodniej ścianie. Jeszcze ciekawsze jest nowe znalezisko z ziem polskich – brązowa pochwa z cmentarzyska kultury przeworskiej z Orenic (Czarnecka, Siciński 2015). Innym przykładem łączenia dwóch tradycji może być okładzina pochwy, niestety z nieznanego miejsca, niedawno restaurowanej w RGZM w Moguncji (Miks 2015) (ryc. 17:2). Ma ona bogatą dekoracją figuralną, dwa pola: z gryfem i z jeźdźcem dokładnie odpowiadają motywom z pochwy z Hryniowa (Ryc. 17:1). Dwa pozostałe to przedstawienia w stylu rzymskim – postać nagiego bóstwa (?) i odcisk z falery z przedstawieniem cesarza (Miks 2015, ryc. 4).

Omawiane pochwy robią wrażenie towarów luksusowych, ich wykonanie wymagało umiejętności i wkładu pracy. Niewątpliwie robione były na zamówienie albo z przeznaczeniem dla szczególnych klientów – wodzów, przedstawicieli elit związanych pochodzeniem czy tradycją z kulturą lateńską, Celtami.

Przykładem sygnalizującym udział w jakichś wydarzeniach politycznych może być unikatowe cmentarzysko małej grupy wojowników w Mutynie (Terpilovskij, Zharov 2013; Terpilovskij 2014), bardzo bogato wyposażone w zestawy militariów najwyższej rangi, w tym hełmy, i naczynia brązowe. Jako szczególnie dar dla sojusznika traktować można omawianą powyżej pochwę z nieznanego miejsca z kombinacją przedstawień figuralnych (Miks 2015, 296).

Oprócz omówionych pochew z płytkami *opus interrabile*, znamy też dość liczne (kilkanaście sztuk) znaleziska żelaznych pochew z żelaznymi okładzinami ze znacznie prostszym wzorem określanym jako *Gittermuster*, kratka. Tworzą wyraźnie wydzielającą się grupę znalezisk pochodzących prawie wyłącznie z obszarów kultury przeworskiej, oksywskiej i Germanów nadłabskich, natomiast niewystępujących na terenach kultury lateńskiej. Na kilku egzemplarzach można zaobserwować podział ornamentu kratki na strefy boczne – poziomych prostokątów i strefę centralną, którą tworzy pionowe pasmo kwadratów (ryc. 18:1–5.9). W przypadku egzemplarza z Oblina, z grobu 297, pionowe poprzeczki są zdobione naciniem, a poziome głębokim skośnym facetowaniem, co daje efekt sekwencji esek. Identyczne zdobienie ma okładzina z Łubnic, zaopatrzona w dolnej części w dodatkowe elementy zdobnicze. Unikatowy charakter ma brązowa nakładka pochwy z Hedegård (Madsen 1999, ryc. 26) (ryc. 19:3).

Ich relacja do znalezisk należących bezsprzecznie do wytworów kultury lateńskiej jest przedmiotem dyskusji. Przez J. Wenera (1977, 383) i innych badaczy (Bockius 1991, 289; Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 238) zostały uznane za lokalne naśladownictwo bardziej wyrafinowanych lateńskich pierwowzorów. Sądzę jednak, że są to niezależnie wypracowane elementy dekoracyjne nawiązujące do zwyczajów zdobienia i estetyki swojego czasu i milieu kulturowego. Pojawiają się w tym samym czasie (początek fazy A3) co najwcześniejsze pochwy z ozdobnym ażurowym i stanowią osobny, inny sposób dekoracji.

Wszystkie płytki z zachowaną górną częścią mają kształt dzwonowaty, zapewne odpowiadające kształtowi wylotu pochwy. Wszystkie zachowane w całości egzemplarze pochew, z wyjątkiem Hedegård i Łubnic mają wysokie, (do 2/3 długości pochwy, lecz nie więcej) drabinkowate trzewiki z ostrogowatym zakończeniem. Mają one różne, mniej lub bardziej rozbudowane formy, zakończenia mogą być sztabkowate lub wachlarzowate, niekiedy dodatkowo zaopatrzone w elementy dekoracyjne. Wyraźna koncentracja takich trzewików jest na terenach poza obszarem kultury lateńskiej, niemniej spotykane są również w tym okresie na terenach rdzennie celtyckich zarówno zachodnich (np. Büchel, Bad Nauheim, Kr. Wetterau), jak i pd. wschodnich (Verdun, gr. 37, Kostievo). Ciekawych obserwacji mogą też dostarczyć zawieszki. Przy dokładniejszej obserwacji można dostrzec powtarzalność pewnych – pozornie przypadkowych rozwiązań. Sądzę, że właśnie te drugorzędne szczegóły, takie jak omawiany sposób mocowania poprzeczki czy asymetryczny występ na zakończeniu trzewika mogą wskazywać na pochodzenie z jednego warsztatu tych, dość podobnych pochew.

Nie da się utrzymać podziału ozdobnych okładzin pochew na dwie wyraźnie rozdzielone grupy: dobrej jakości z wypracowanym, skomplikowanym ażurowym z wzorami arkadek, wykonane ze stopu miedzi oraz gorszej jakości, nieskomplikowane, żelazne proste kratki (Łuczkiwicz 2006, 192). Pośród egzemplarzy grupy pierwszej można wskazać wytwory różnej jakości, niekiedy o uproszczonej formie lub w ogóle o innym

zestawie motywów – bez arkadek i perełkowanych elementów, Również wzór „kratki” (Gittermuster) w większości przypadków nie jest „kratka”, w sensie poziomych i pionowych prętów przecinających się, w równych odstępach, pod kątem prostym. Omawiane pochwy różnią się między sobą starannością wykończenia, bogactwem detalu, co może po prostu świadczyć o indywidualnych umiejętnościach poszczególnych kowali, ich zaangażowaniu w wykonanie tego konkretnego egzemplarza, mogło się też przekładać na ich cenę.

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