

KATARZYNA CZARNECKA 

## LUXURIOUS CASKETS OF THE PRZEWORSK CULTURE

**Abstract:** Among the wooden caskets with metal locks (a characteristic element of the furniture of graves of women in *barbaricum*) there is a distinguished group of finds with outstanding decoration made of large sheets of bronze covered with rich set of various punched motifs, fixed with vast amount of decorative, dome headed bronze nails. These caskets, similar in style, are known exclusively from the Przeworsk culture area (cemeteries in Opatów, Chmielów Piaskowy, Zamiechów, Kraków-Plaszów, and from the Tisa group cemetery in Badon “Doaște”, in Romania). Fragments of bronze plates with similar motifs are known from a few other sites. They are dated to phase B2/C1 – C1 and can be treated as a very homogenous group, maybe even works of one craftsmen or workshop. The described ornamented caskets were found in graves with rich, however not outstanding, furniture.

They can be treated as an attempt to imitate of wooden boxes with bronze decorative mounts known from the Roman Empire, however the motifs are deeply rooted in the local “barbarian” tradition. The ornamented caskets could have been a sign of special social status.

Most interesting and really mysterious are figures on the plates from Kraków Plaszów presenting stylised complete human and animal representations.

**Keywords:** wooden caskets, luxurious artefacts, grave furniture, female attributes, Przeworsk culture

A specific feature of the Przeworsk culture are graves furnished with a rich set of various artefacts. Among them are wooden caskets with metal locks – a characteristic element of the furniture of women’s graves (Czarnecka 2010, 17; 2020, 303). Typical burial custom of the Przeworsk culture is, with a few exceptions, cremation. Unfortunately, due to this, only metal elements were preserved. They are not always complete, are often damaged, and there is no information about where they were set on the wooden parts. Reconstruction of shape and dimensions of these artefacts is not easy. It is discussed if they should be referred to as “caskets” (small, wooden boxes), or “chests” (of bigger dimensions and different use; Kostrzewski 1947, 264; Szydlowski, Kubiczek 1960, 254; Schuster 2010, 123; Czarnecka 2020, 148). Finds from the inhumation



graves of the neighbours of the Przeworsk culture people, from the area of the Wielbark culture or Scandinavia provide some help to answer this question. In some cases, traces of wood with metal elements of a lock inside can be observed in grave pits. This can provide information on at least two dimensions of those objects – height still is a pure guess. Items found among the traces of wood could have originally been placed inside of the casket (or laid on it)<sup>1</sup>. Bog finds didn't yield many finds of wooden boxes, and none of them has a metal lock, but they produce some information concerning possible dimensions and construction of such artefacts.

Entire lock of a wooden casket consisted of a blocking bolt (usually referred to as a spring), a key and a lock mounting. Beside the lock, chests could be provided with metal handles and various cramps, staples or splint pins. Their function is not always clear, but they could serve technical purpose: to reinforce the side walls, or be a part of hinges. In fact we don't know if the caskets had sliding or raising lids. Using of sliding lids seems more convincing, because the other one needs hinges, finds of which are extremely rare.

A special group of metal fittings form massive iron bands with forked endings, fixed with rivets and provided with ring-form handles. They were treated by some researchers as mountings of wooden buckets, but most probably they were parts of chests (Ryćel 1986; Czarnecka 2020, 171-173). The exact reconstruction of casket with such mounts is difficult. We don't know where exactly they were placed and for what purpose, but possibly as means to reinforce the construction. There is no preserved complete casket with all fittings on their original position known from the Przeworsk culture.

Besides functional fittings, some boxes were provided with purely decorative ones made of thin sheets of bronze. They could have a form of a narrow metal band, sometimes with simple incised decoration like a row of points, fixed with bronze nails. Such finds are known from Głędzianówek, distr. Łęczyca, grave 1/1935 (Kaszewska 1977, pl. LXI:5) and Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 90 (Czarnecka 2007, pl. XCVII:8, 9). Decorative bronze bands, about 2 cm wide, with a punched ornament of dots and incised lines and angles were mounted on the casket from richly furnished grave 23 from the Przeworsk culture cemetery in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, distr. *loco* (Barankiewicz 1959, pl. VII: 3, 5, 10, 20). One piece in crescent shape may be a part of the forked, anchor-like ending. Bands were fixed with bronze nails with showy semicircular heads. Fragments of similar bands and a crescent-shaped piece (anchor like ending?), decorated with punched dots, and dome-headed nails were found in grave 41 on the cemetery

---

<sup>1</sup> Many such observation come from Wielbark cemetery in Weklice, distr. Elbląg (Natuniewicz-Sekuła, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011, 140), but also from famous rich grave from Juellinge on island Lolland (Müller 1911, pl. 1) and Hassleben, Lkr. Sömmerda, grave 8 (Schulz 1933, 5).

Opatów, distr. Kłobuck (Madyda-Legutko *et al.* 2011, pl. XX:3, XXI:4-10).

Similar, but a bit wider (3-4 cm), bronze sheets were part of the assemblage of grave 4 in Starachowice, distr. *loco* (Jamka 1959, fig. 12 a, k, l, m). The plates are decorated with embossed ribs parallel to edges, oval convex protrusions (now partly preserved), and additional narrow bands with forked endings, fixed with nails with semicircular heads (Fig. 1). The grave was richly furnished with unique finds like fragments of a chain-mail and two finger-rings with Roman gems. In some cases, only fragments of narrow bronze sheets and single nails with domed head indicated the presence of such decoration, like in grave 8 from the cemetery in Chorula, distr. Krapkowice (Szydłowski 1964, fig. 8:11) and grave 36 in Lachmirowice, distr. Inowrocław (Zielonka 1953, fig. 33:8, 13, 16).

A bit different are finds from grave 1 from Lachmirowice (Zielonka 1951, fig. 4). In the assemblage were five small, almost square, bronze plates with round protrusions, in which were fixed dome-headed nails. The plates were decorated with punched dots forming some geometric figures or symbolic (magic?) signs. There were also two complete, and two fragments of crescent shape plates decorated also with lines of punched dots. In the grave were other badly damaged pieces of a bronze sheet with punched dots and S-shaped (short wavy lines) ornament. The grave is, unfortunately, an accidental find and assemblage is not quite reliable – there are no elements of lock or key, so the mentioned above bronze sheets must

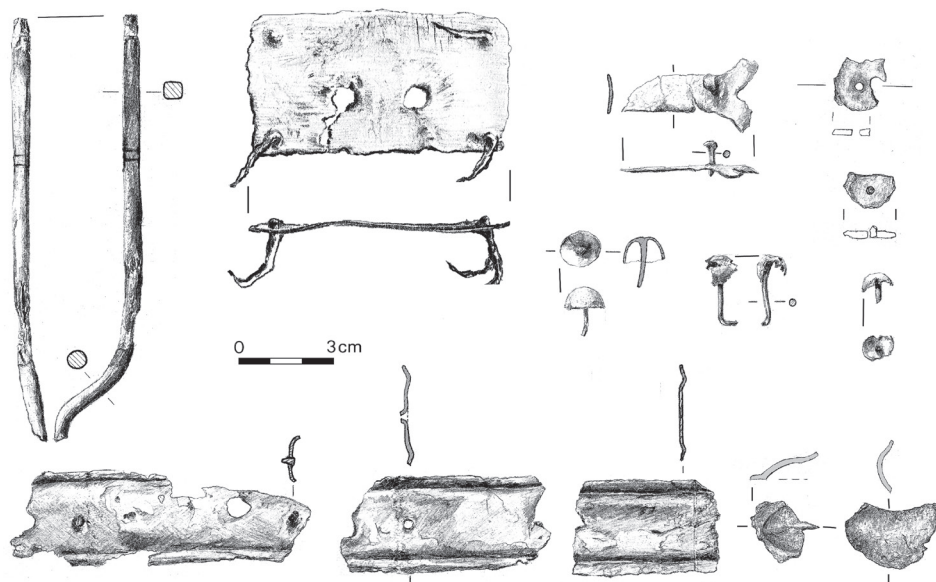


Fig. 1. Starachowice distr, *loco*, (drawn by G. Nowakowska)

be treated as most probably, but not certain, decoration of the wooden casket.

The simplest decoration was also the earliest – a find from Gledzianówek is dated to phase B1, and a find from Oblin to phase B2. Phases B2/C1 and C1 are in the Przeworsk culture times of well-being (Kontny 2015) or a slight change in ritual rite – graves were furnished with an opulent set of artefacts, some of them of great value. Deposition of more richly decorated caskets in graves can be a result of the same trend.

The mentioned finds are similar: long rectangular plates with forked, anchor-shaped endings somehow related to the big iron mountings in these shape<sup>2</sup>, but executed in other material more subtly and decoratively and provided with a set of nails with high, semicircular heads of more than 1 cm diameter, which also had an ornamental function. Also important is the used material – bronze – not typical for the Przeworsk culture. All of them were found in richly furnished graves of adult women.

Among the ornamented caskets of the Przeworsk culture, there is a distinguished group of finds with outstanding decoration made in the same style. The decoration was made of large sheets of bronze with rich set of various punched motifs. Unfortunately these sheets were preserved mostly in fragments, but the total amount of them suggest that they should cover most of the chest's surface<sup>3</sup>. They are accompanied by a great number of decorative nails. The most complete sets of such decoration came from the cemeteries in Chmielów Piaskowy, distr. Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Opatów, distr. Kłobuck and Zamiechów, distr. Jarosław. Fragments of bronze plates with similar motifs are known from a few other sites.

A richest and most sumptuous set was found in grave 1229 from Opatów, distr. Kłobuck (Zagórska-Telega 2000, fig. 4, 5; Madyda-Legutko *et al.* 2011, pl. CCCXC, CCCXCI) (Fig. 2). Rectangular, elongated, bronze sheets, about 5,5 cm wide, length of the best-preserved fragment is 25 cm, were provided with rivets with high semicircular heads. Rich punched decoration is skilfully composed with borders of embossed ribs set along the edges, a frieze with a dense set of short perpendicular ribs, straight and slanted. The central part is filled with solar (?) and lunar (?) signs (circles with short “rays” and crescents), S-shaped motifs, triangles and festoons, even triskelion, composed in various configuration. The ornament slightly differs on various fragments of bronze plates, e.g., some pieces were provided with an additional frieze consisting of S-shaped motifs. The sheets are preserved in fragments, so it is difficult to reconstruct the complete design, but it must have been a very impressive piece of craft, if not art. In the grave was found a fragment of lock mounting with one opening preserved, but no key or blocking bolt, which is not an unusual thing in case of the cremation graves,

<sup>2</sup> What may confirm in a way their function as casket mountings, not buckets.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. finds from grave 39 in the Chmielów Piaskowy cemetery cover surface of 545 cm<sup>2</sup>.

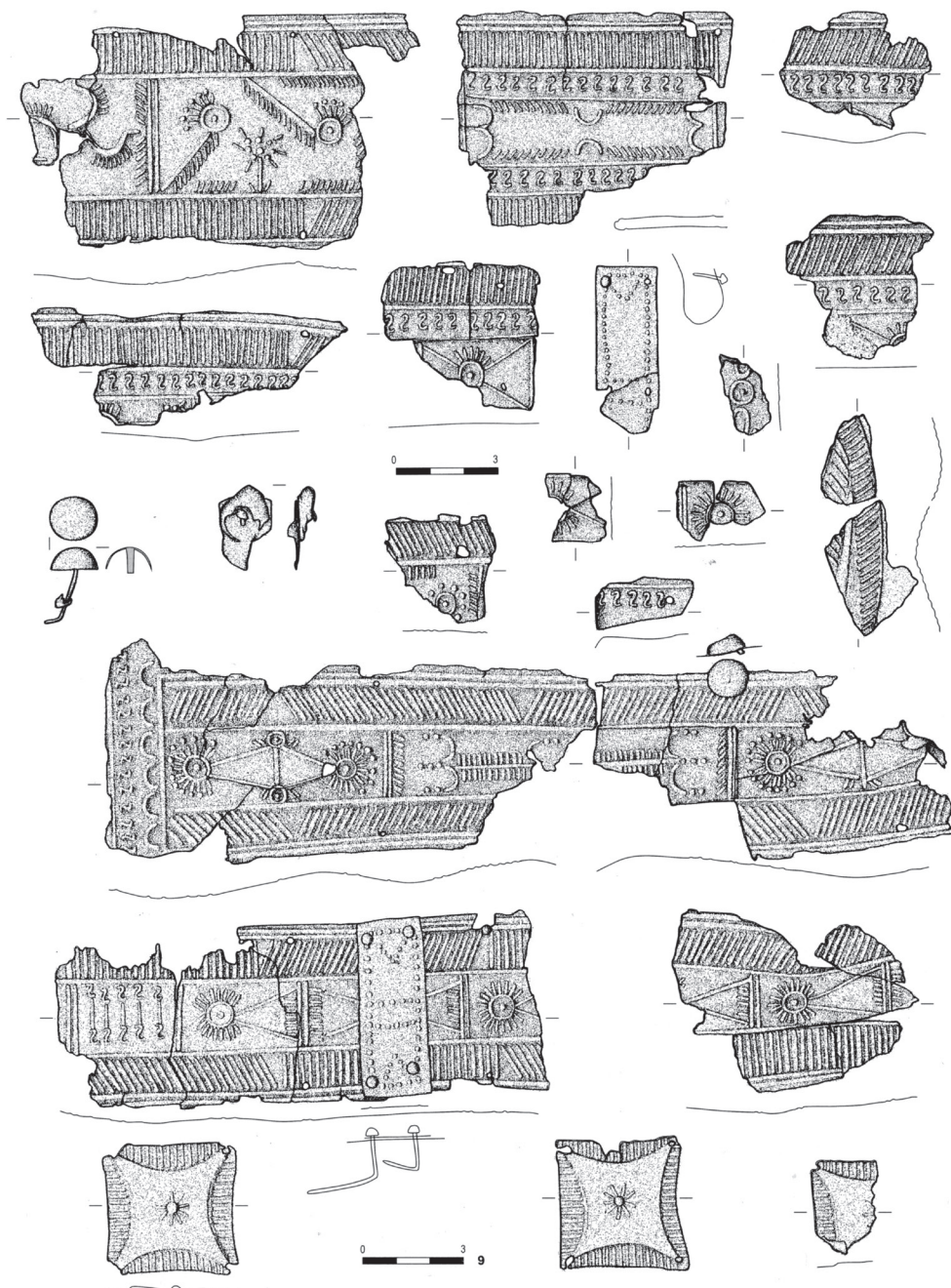


Fig. 2. Opatów, distr. Kłobuck, gr. 1229, (after Zagórska-Telega 2000)

when complete sets are rare. The grave was richly furnished with status symbols like spur or silver brooch and unique finds like cauldron chain. Melted bronze and glass lumps suggest that originally there were other artefacts, probably brooches, and glass beads. Even spindle whorls were decorated, what is not typical for the Przeworsk culture finds, and could stress the luxury character of the furnishing of the grave. Most probably the outstanding social position of the deceased lady was marked by covering her burial with a barrow (Zagórska-Telega 2000, 314).

Also a casket from Chmielów Piaskowy, grave 39, has splendid decoration (Godłowski, Wichman 1998, pl. LXI; LXII) (Fig. 3). Rectangular bronze plates, preserved in pieces, are even larger than in Opatów - they are more than 6 cm wide, and the longest preserved piece is more than 30 cm long. At least four of them have forked endings - slightly referring to the massive iron mountings of that shape. The plates were decorated in a repoussé technique, similar to find from Opatów. Parallel grooves running by the edges and in the middle of the plate form rectangular fields filled with S-like motifs or (on another piece) left without additional decoration. Forked endings are decorated with a frieze of perpendicular short ribs. The execution seems less precise than in Opatów find, e.g. stripes of S signs are not always straight, some elements are crossing the border grooves. Bronze plates were provided with great number of decorative nails with domed heads. Although about ninety nails were found, more could have been originally placed in the grave. The grave was very richly furnished with golden and silver jewellery, what was very rare in the Przeworsk culture, two iron brooches, type A.96, with inlaid silver decoration and a small bronze one, type A.125, also with traces of silver, and golden pendant. Among other grave goods was a complete set of casket lock: a triangular mount with two openings, two keys, locking bolt, and a handle in rectangular form - very rare in the Przeworsk culture. There were also two rings fixed on splint pins, and a fragment of the third one.

An alleged anthropomorphic motif - a human head and a part of a body - was on the decorative plate from grave 354 from Zamiechów, distr. Jarosław, a Przeworsk culture cemetery from south east Poland (Pulpanová-Reszczyńska *et al.* 2017) (Fig. 4). Here also only fragments of decorated bronze sheet preserved, the most complete piece is about 5 cm wide, 26 cm long. At least two of them have forked endings. Ornament is, in some respect, similar to finds from Opatów and Chmielów Piaskowy - there are stripes of embossed S-shaped motifs. Other elements of the decoration form incised crossing lines and punched dots. The "stylised human figure" (Pulpanová-Reszczyńska *et al.* 2017, fig. 3.24; 3.29) consists of a round embossed protrusion with dents, which may be a representation of eyes, and attached elongated embossed shape, which has to represent a trunk. This set of casket mountings was also provided with a large amount of nails with domed heads - at least 38. Other elements of the casket found in the grave are represented by iron key, a fragment of a damaged spring (?), a rectangular

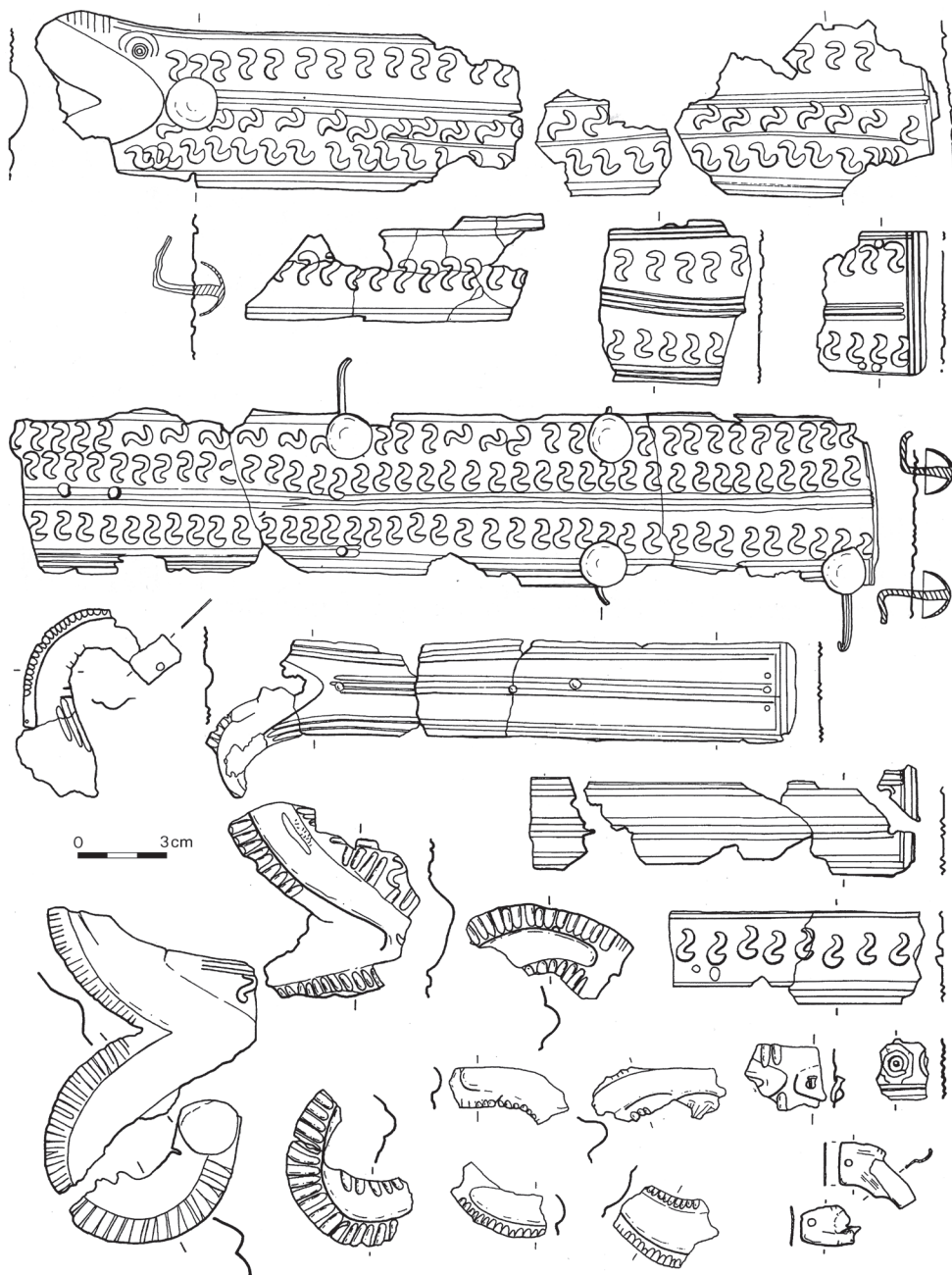


Fig. 3. Chmielów Piaskowy, distr, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, gr. 39  
(after Godłowski, Wichman 1998)

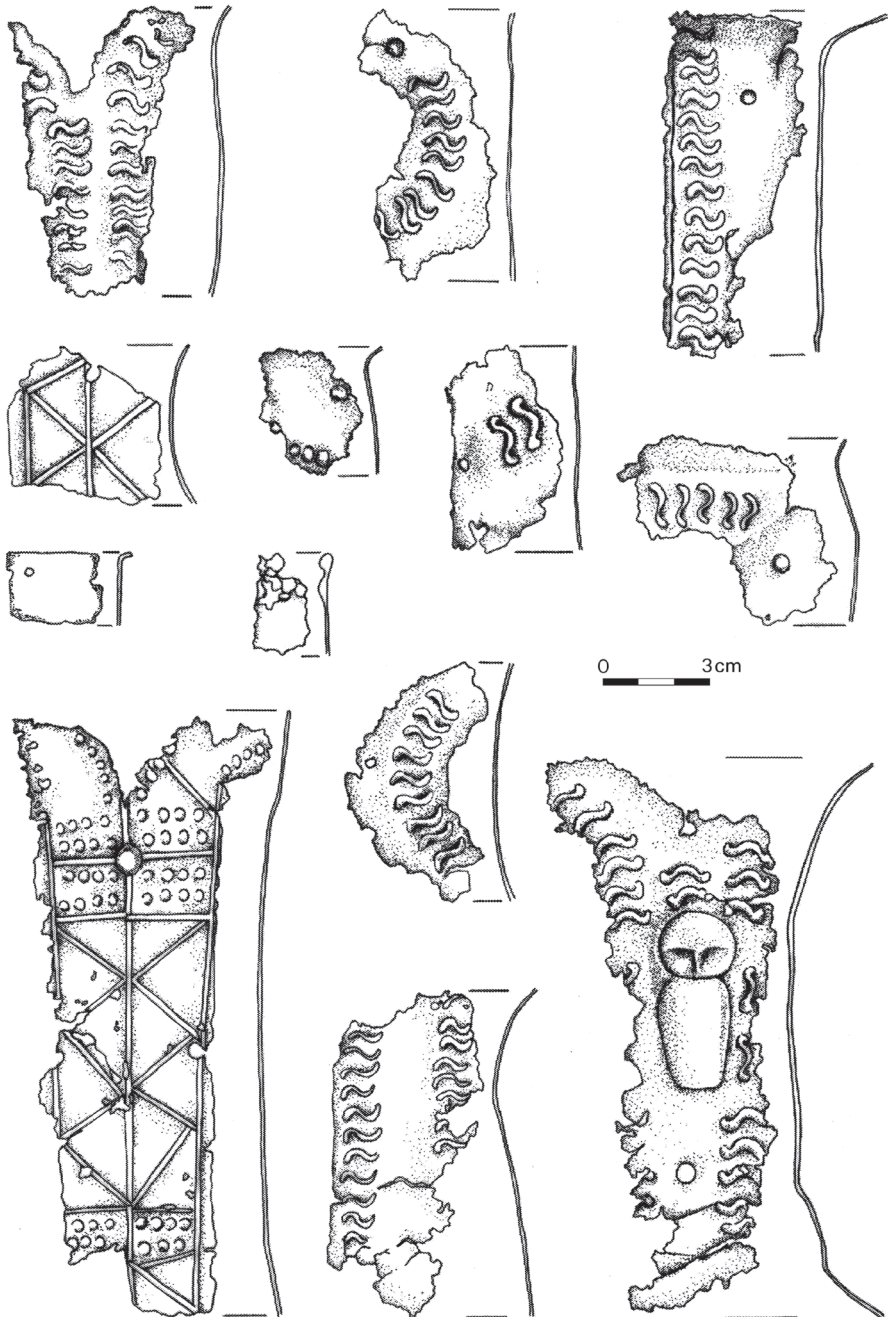


Fig. 4. Zamiechów, distr. Jarosław, gr. 354 (after Reszczyńska *et al.* 2013)



bronze handle, and three rings fixed on splint pins. Beside this luxurious casket, among grave goods was a silver brooch type A.41, small bronze buckle and a set of amber beads. The localization of the grave is unusual – it was located close to the settlement, apart from the cemetery, and some aspects of burial rite and furnishing (upside down urn and unburned amber beads) suggest outstanding, special social position of the buried woman, and possible links to the Wielbark culture (Reszczyńska *et al.* 2013, 161; Pulpánová-Reszczyńska *et al.* 2017, 105).

A most interesting decoration was on plates found as an accidental discoveries from Kraków-Płaszów (Fig. 5). Unfortunately the fate of the actual item is unknown; only drawings of it are preserved (Nosek 1947, 142). According to the drawings there was a fragment of a plate, about 5,5 cm wide (what is similar to the finds from Opatów, Chmielów Piaskowy and Zamiechów). Embossed ribs set parallel to the edges and a stripe of short wavy lines show very close resemblance to the already mentioned casket mountings. Quite unique is the decoration of the central part of the plate. A rather clumsy human figure is presented there, with left hand raised, right hand lowered, and a part of another figure with hind legs and a tail of an unknown animal. The latter might be interpreted as a primitive drawing of a human head and raised hands. On the other plate there is a similar human figure, this times with both hands raised (an orant), and a lizard-like animal on the third sheet (Nosek 1947, 143-145, fig. 44, 45). It is impossible to determine if described pieces were originally fragments of one, broken decorative plate, or two (or three) separate items. The embossed border ornament and accompanying nine bronze nails with wide dome heads, link this finds with other decorated caskets. Together with the decorative mounts a partly preserved iron brooch was found, probably type A.96, and an urn.

Only one stripe of bronze sheet with embossed ornament was preserved in grave from Boguchwałów, distr. Głubczyce (Godłowski 1968, fig. 8:2) (Fig. 6: 1). Parallel grooves, short ribs, punched dots and an oval protrusion similar in a way to the one placed on the plate from Zamiechów, allow to count this artefact to the group of “luxurious caskets” presented above.

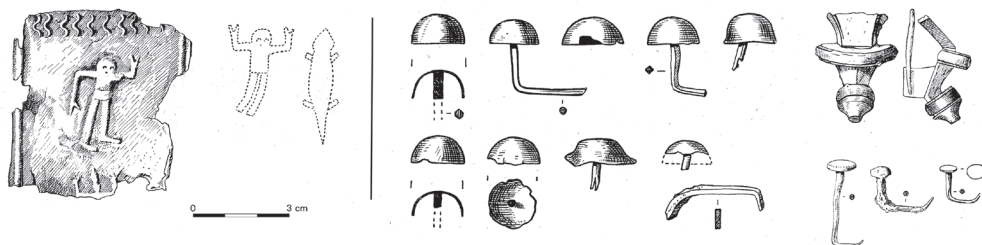


Fig. 5. Kraków Płaszów, distr. Kraków (after Nosek 1947)

A piece of decorated bronze plate, most probably from such luxurious casket, was found in cemetery in Prusiek, distr. Sanok, in grave 22 (Fig. 6: 2). Unfortunately only a small piece was preserved (Madyda-Legutko *et al.* 2010, fig. 1:3, 3a), but characteristic elements like embossed ribs set parallel to edges and a border of dense set short ribs reveal strong resemblance to the finds from Opatów or Chmielów Piaskowy. There are no other elements of a casket in the grave, the assemblage is incomplete, but a golden pendant, an iron brooch covered with silver sheet and some glass beads found there are a clear evidence of richness and high status of the buried person.

Small pieces of plates ornamented in the same way were found on some other cemeteries (e.g. Drochlin, distr. Częstochowa, Kaczanowski 1987, pl. XXXII:31), but it is hard to say if they were parts of casket mountings or part of some other artefacts. A few pieces of narrow bronze band with S-shaped motifs come from the Wielbark culture grave in Łobez, distr. *loco* (Machajewski 2006, fig. 1:20-22), but they were most probably parts of a big pendant, not a chest mounts.

A very characteristic feature of this group of caskets is a huge amount of nails with relatively big, domed head. However only a few of them had practical meaning, i.e. fixing the plates to the walls, the rest of them was purely ornamental, stressing the richness and opulence of the decoration. There is a possibility, that the caskets could have been covered with leather – as is quite often the case of

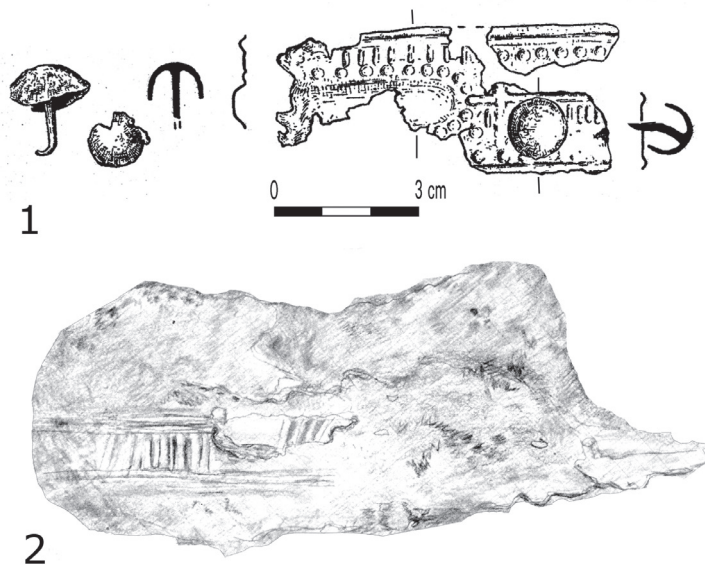


Fig. 6. Boguchwałów, distr. Głubczyce (1) (Godłowski 1968); Prusiek, distr. Sanok, gr. 22 (2) (after Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2010)

the Roman boxes<sup>4</sup>. More nails could have served to hold the covering, but since no traces of organic material preserved it could be only a suggestion. The caskets in question were most probably provided with sliding lids, because there is no find of hinges in the grave assemblages presented here (Fig. 7)<sup>5</sup>.



Fig. 7. Possible view of the casket from Chmielów Piaskowy, gr. 39 (draw A. Belavec)

<sup>4</sup> eg Wederath-Belginum, grave 2370 (Dewald, Eiden 1989, 326) or Bad Kreuznach-Planig (Witteyer 1996, 77, 85, fig. 19, 22).

<sup>5</sup> A. Reszczyńska suggested that the mentioned rings could “secured the lid to the body of the casket” and gives as an analogy Roman ring hinges (Reszczyńska *et al.* 2013, 146). In my opinion it

Graves with luxurious caskets are dated to the relatively short period of time – phases B2/C1-C1<sup>6</sup> and can be treated as a very homogenous group, maybe even works of one craftsmen or workshop. The described ornamented caskets were found in graves with rich, yet not outstanding, furniture – like golden pendants in Chmielów Piaskowy and Prusiek or imported enamelled disc brooch from Bogusławice. One of them – Opatów, grave 1229 – was clearly distinguished on the cemetery, most probably covered with a barrow. Grave from Zamiechów was also distinguished – it was placed outside the cemetery.

The casket itself could serve as a sign of importance, a way to stress the high social status or richness, shown also in dress accessories like rich decorated brooches or golden pendants (Fig. 7). They could also be a result of a temporary “fashion”. The decorated caskets are known exclusively from the Przeworsk culture area – which is surprising – because opulent ornament in “baroque” style is generally not typical for artefacts of this culture. No such finds are known from the Wielbark<sup>7</sup> or Černiachov culture areas, but item with ornamental fittings came from the Tisa group, from grave 2 in the small cemetery in Badon “Doaște”, iud. Sălaj in Romania (Stanciu, Matei 2006, 592, pl. III:1-58) (Fig. 8). The set consisted of decorative bronze sheets, some of them with forked endings, 46 nails with domed head, a complete bronze ring handle and a piece of another one. There are no ornamental motifs on the plates, similar to the described above, but the general idea – especially a number of nails – reveals strong resemblance to the group of decorative boxes known from the Przeworsk culture. In the grave there was also a brooch, unfortunately now missing, so there is no information on its type, a knife (also missing) and a hook pin. There are no elements of a casket lock, but the set of mounts and ring-form handles suggest that they originally belonged to a casket. Such was also the opinion of the authors (Stanciu, Matei 2006, 589). There are no good chronology indicators in this grave, but as the other three graves at this cemetery are dated to the phase C1, for this reason we can suppose that also grave 2 has to be ascribed to this phase.

It is quite probable that at least one of the caskets from princely graves in Zakrzów, (now part of the city of Wrocław) had rich decoration similar to the

---

is rather doubtful – as we have here separated rings on one splint pin, and to make a working hinges should be two rings set one on another, both provided with pins to fix them into casket side/lid. Hinges of such construction (not rings but oval links), are known from the Przeworsk culture, eg from Oblin, grave 73 (Czarnecka 2007, pl. LXXXIII:73.6, 7) however such artefacts are very rare (Czarnecka 2020, 157-160).

<sup>6</sup> Chmielów Piaskowy, Zamiechów, Kraków Płaszów, Prusiek – phase B2/C; Opatów, Starachowice – phase C1. The latest find should be grave from Boguchwałów dated to phase C2.

<sup>7</sup> The elements of burial rite and equipment (silver brooch, unburned amber beads) may be treated as some evidence of the Wielbark culture influences, and it is quite possible that the buried woman came from the territory of that culture, but wooden caskets with this specific opulent decoration are not known exclusively from the Przeworsk culture sites, and, in this grave, represent the local (Przeworsk culture) tradition.

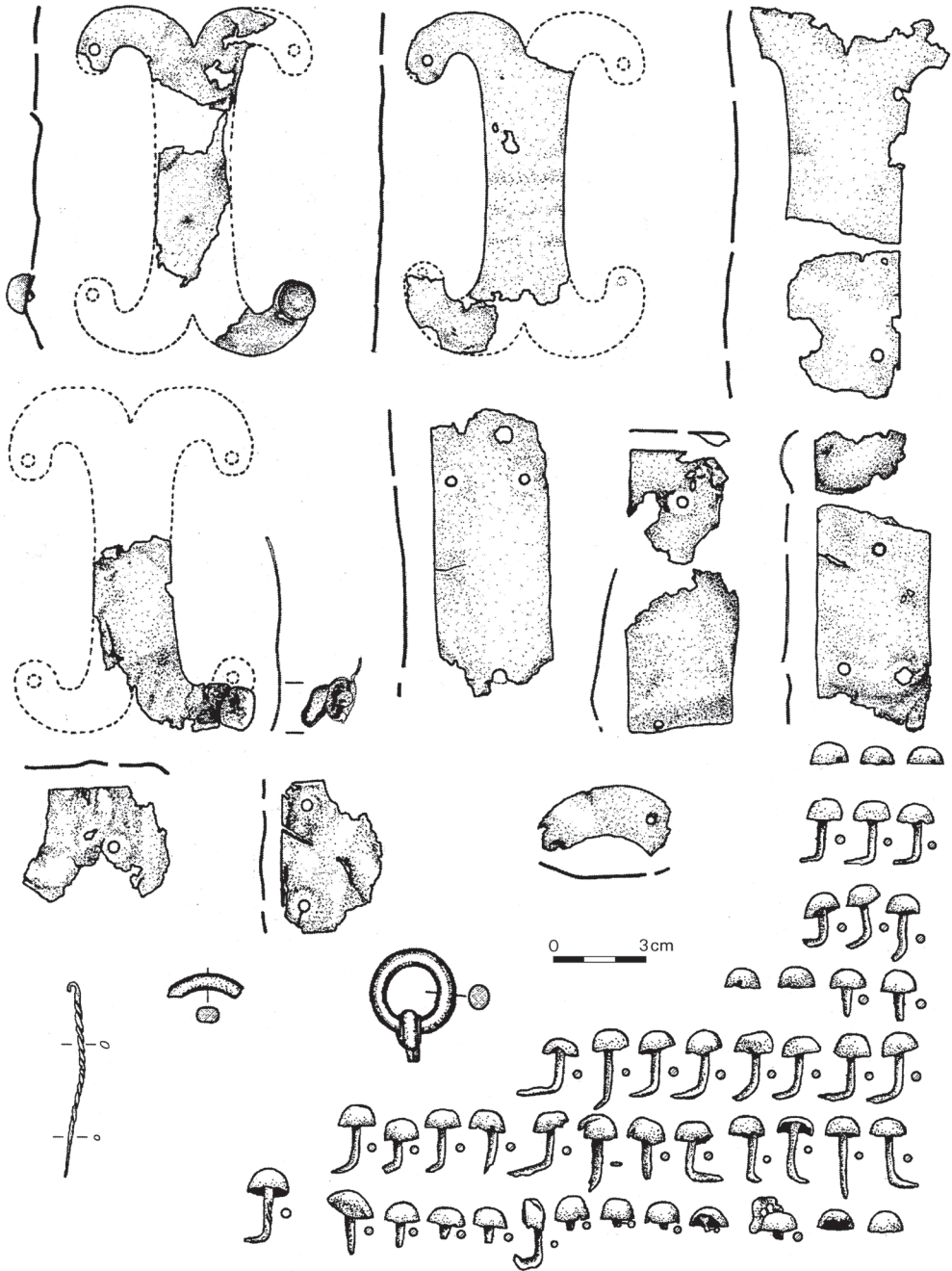


Fig. 8. Badon Doaste, iud. Sălaj, gr. 2 (after Stanciu, Matei 2006)

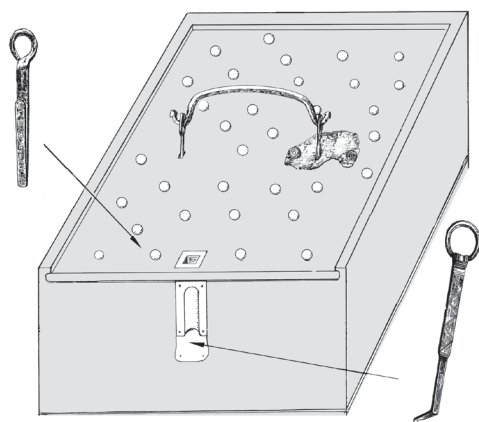


Fig. 9. Zakrzów, (now Wrocław, distr. loco) gr. II, reconstruction of the casket, (metal elements after Grempler 1888, reconstruction drawn by K. Czarnecka)

described above. In W. Grempler's (1888, 7, pl. II:13) publication of grave II, there is an information about a „Zierblech”, decorative plate, and 30-40 decorative nails, which were found in the grave and used to fix it (Fig. 9). A piece of such “Zierblech” with clear traces of nail heads set close to each other preserved attached to the rectangular handle. It may suggest that the casket originally had a rich decoration similar to the presented above. The grave is dated later, to the phase C2 and, which is even more important, the casket was provided with different type of lock: type Wetzendorf or type Kietrz/Lauffen (Czarnecka 2010, 19; 2020, 107, 108)<sup>8</sup>, so it is not exactly the same type of artefact as mentioned above

finds from Chmielów Piaskowy, Opatów or Zamiechów. However plates of bronze sheet, big amount of decorative nails and also rectangular handle, create a link to them. The find from princely grave confirms that it was really a luxurious item.

The richly ornamented caskets covered with large sheets of bronze were by some scholars treated as Roman imports (Kaszewska 1977, 139; Godłowski 1978, 27; Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1989, 61; Kaczanowski 1987, 92) but J. Zagórska-Telega (2000, 314) and A. Reszczyńska *et al.* (2013, 146) see them as local imitation of wooden boxes with bronze decorative mounts known from the Roman Empire. One feature of the luxurious caskets could be adopted from the Roman artefacts, namely rectangular handles fixed on splint pins. Such handles were found in graves from Chmielów Piaskowy, Zamiechów and from princely grave II from Zakrzów. They differ in some details from similar artefacts known from the Roman Empire. Most probably they were made by local craftsmen and must have been a sort of imitation of Roman items. What is interesting, in graves from Chmielów Piaskowy and from Zamiechów the set of handles was just the same: one rectangular handle, two big and one small ring on splint pins (Fig. 10). It seems most probable that the rectangular handle was fixed on the top, big rings on side walls and a small ring on the side of the sliding lid. Caskets known

<sup>8</sup> In grave II in Zakrzów are two sets of casket locks, an evidence that at least two chests were deposited there. We can't be absolutely sure to which of them belonged the rectangular handle, however, in my opinion, more probable is lock type Wetzendorf, made of bronze. The other lock was made of iron.

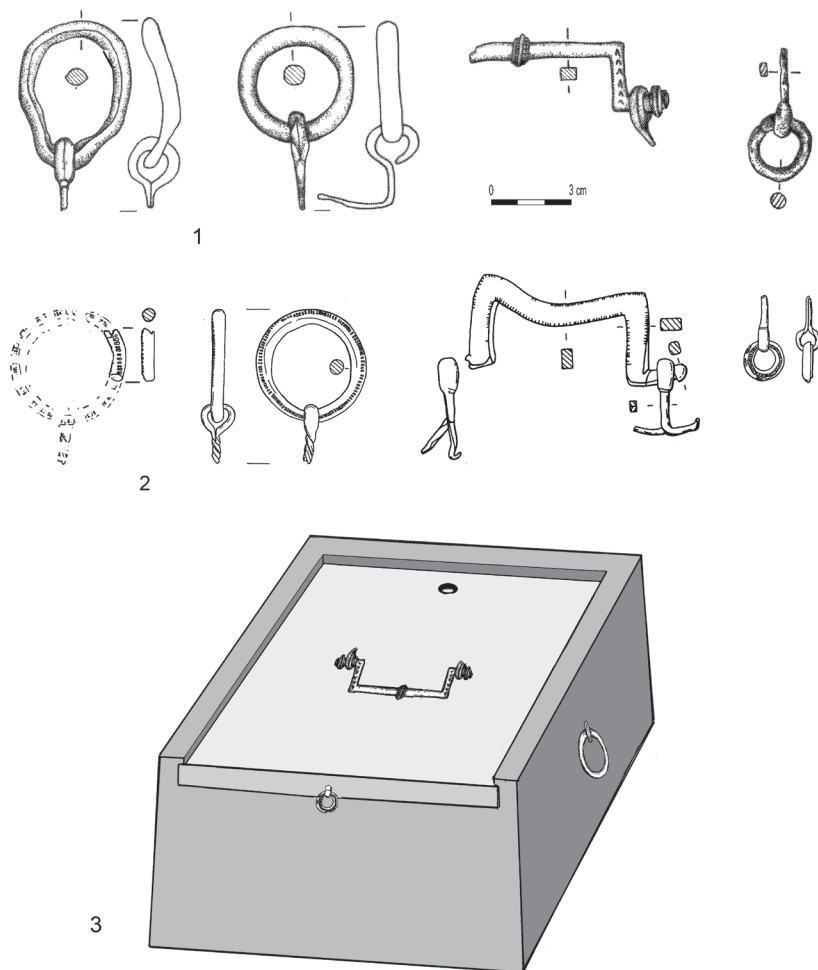


Fig. 10. Zamiechów, distr. Jarosław, gr. 354 (1); Chmielów Piaskowy, distr. Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, gr. 39 (2); reconstruction of the possible arrangement of the handles (3) (drawn by K. Czarnecka)

from the Roman Empire were provided sometimes with combination of handles in various shapes: rectangular on the top and with rings on the sides (Riha 2001, 23) (Fig. 11).

The local production of described caskets is undisputable, because they had been closed by locks and keys of type very often found in the Barbaricum, but unknown to Romans (which I called type Siemianice, Czarnecka 2020, 49). Also the ornamental motifs which appear on the various local items, differ

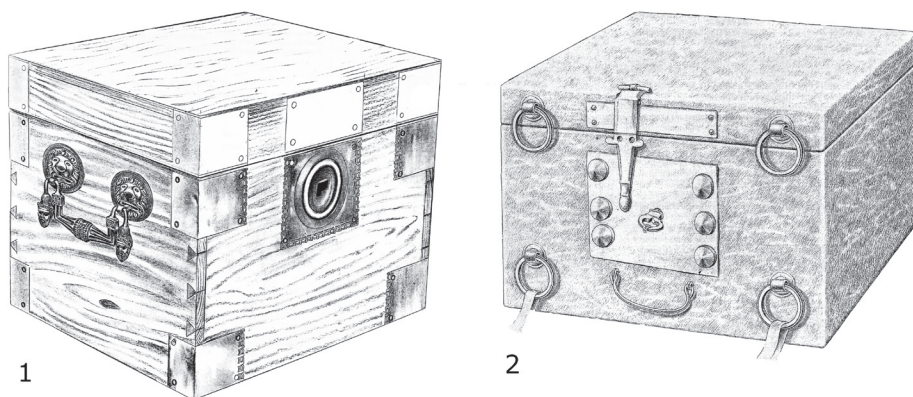


Fig. 11. Roman caskets, Vindonissa- Windisch, kan. Aargau, Switzerland(1) (after Riha 2001); Wederath-Belginum, Lkr. Bernkassel-Wittlich, Germany (2) (after Dewald, Eiden 1989)

from the ornaments on Roman artefacts. The decoration with bronze mounts, embossed sheet of bronze and decorative nails could have been inspired by the ornament of Roman caskets, but it is not quite obvious what exactly should served as a channel of this inspiration. It must be reminded that, although not all Roman finds are precisely dated, caskets covered with large bronze sheets with rich decoration are relatively late finds – in Pannonia they are dated to the fourth century A.D. (Gáspár 1986, 75), in other provinces generally to the “late antiquity” (Schmauder, Willer 2004, 142, 143; Zahlhaas 2000, 147), so they could not have been an inspiration for the Przeworsk culture caskets after all.

Boxes or caskets produced in the Empire were extremely rare imports in Barbaricum. Only three of the so called “medical boxes” – small items with a few compartments covered with one sliding lid – were found outside the limes. One of them was found in grave 4 in Lachmirowice, distr. Inowrocław, and a piece of another one in grave 174 in Wechmar, Kr. Gotha in Thuringia. Both were made of bronze. Small casket made of ivory came from the princely grave 3/1926 from Leuna, Kr. Merseburg (Czarnecka 2015; 2017). Beside them only a tiny wooden container with a lock from the princely grave in Lalendorf, Kr. Güstrow can be mentioned as an import from the Roman provinces (Keiling 1973).

There is only one find<sup>9</sup> in the *Germania magna* of a typical Roman wooden casket provided with bronze mounts and a typical Roman lock, namely a find

<sup>9</sup> A brand new find of imported casket (key and lock mount) from the cemetery in Gaški-Wierzbiczany, distr. Inowrocław was presented by M. Rudnicki on the seminar Colloquium Barbaricum in Warsaw in February 2018. It is, however, rather Celtic (Gallo- Roman) not Roman find. The lock has close analogy on the cemetery in Lamadelaine in Luxembourg.



from the so called princely grave from Giebultów, distr. Kraków (Dobrzańska, Wielowiejski 1997, pl. VII:3-5; VIII)<sup>10</sup>. The grave assemblage shows strong connection with the Sarmatian culture: some items, like pottery, and a few types of bronze vessels or a golden chain, are of Sarmatian origin (Dobrzańska, Wielowiejski 1997, 92, 93). The grave can be treated as a burial of a Sarmatian woman of high social status, who, most probably, married a local noble (“prince”). As I mentioned before, there are no finds of Roman wooden caskets with locks and bronze fittings known from the *Barbaricum*. The only exceptions come from Sarmatian tribes. Roman locks, hasps, keys and various mounts (even relics of wood), are relatively often found in richly furnished graves of women on the Sarmatian cemeteries in the region from the Black Sea coast to the Danube area (e.g. Sazonov 1992, 253; Kašuba, Kurčatov 2005, 179; Grumeza 2014, 107; Bene, Istvanovits, Kulcsar 2016, 743). For this reason has to be assumed that the casket from Giebultów must have been imported not directly from the Roman provinces, but from Sarmatian regions, probably as a personal belonging of the noble lady, who came to the Przeworsk culture area. The grave is dated to the phase B2a (Wichman 2004, 295) and it is a tempting suggestion that this “foreign” casket could have been a source of inspiration for production of the described above luxurious wooden containers with rich decorated bronze fittings.

As an attempt to imitate Roman ornamented boxes we can treat a unique find of a casket decorated with a piece of imported Roman bronze sheet with figural decoration, most probably a part of a vessel, found in Bollstedt, Lkr. Unstrut-Heinich, in Thuringia (Walther 1993, fig. 19) (Fig. 12). The casket was provided with lock – type Wetzendorf – typical for this region in the late Roman Period (Schuster 1999). Part of an imported bronze vessel was cut to make square plate which, most probably, was attached to the side of a casket. Such ornament could imitate Roman boxes with figurative images.

The idea of similar decoration of the wooden caskets survived till the Merovingian Period. Caskets with ornamented bronze plates covering the front side are very common finds in graves of the fifth or sixth centuries, treated as an attribute of females of high social status (e.g. Menghin 1977; Koch 1990; 2001).

The motifs presented on the decorative sheets covering the described above wooden boxes of the Przeworsk culture, vary from casket to casket. The general “layout” of the decoration: rectangular plate with borders of embossed ribs, friezes of short ribs (sometimes in form of elongated oval protrusions) and S-shaped motifs (described also as short waves) with additional signs or figures in the middle, is uniform on most artefacts, however executed with various skill. Most elaborated are plates from Opatów, which surpasses the other in variety

---

<sup>10</sup> The Authors did not recognize the lock elements and describe them as local keys (Dobrzańska, Wielowiejski 1997, 86, 90). The right interpretation of their function presented T. Wichman (2004, 294).

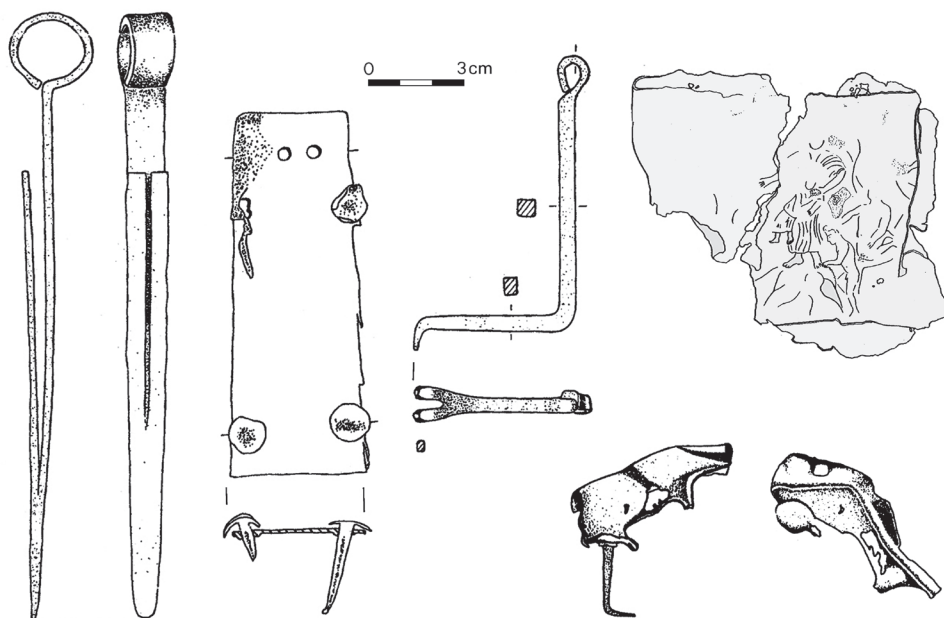


Fig. 12. Bollstedt, Lkr. Unstrut-Heinich, Germany (after Walther 1993)

of motifs and precision in execution. Most popular are short, S-shaped signs, observed on almost all finds. This motif is generally popular and can be found on many other ornamental bronze sheets, not only from the Przeworsk culture sites, e.g. on small bronze *pyxidae*, so called *Amulettendose* from Babięta, distr. Mragowo (Gaerte 1929, fig. 191:i) or drinking horn mountings from Netta, distr. Augustów or Havor on Gotland (Andrzejowski 1991, fig. 11a-c)<sup>11</sup>. On one of the plates from Opatów we can observe another fairly popular ornament – an elongated triangle with circle on top (Czarnecka 2007, 89), here in more elaborated version with additional decoration.

The way of decoration and used motifs are not taken from classical Roman art of decoration, but were deeply rooted in the local “barbarian” tradition. Some motifs can be traced back as far in time as the Hallstatt civilisation. Strips of dots framing the central composition or frieze of short perpendicular ribs are often used in the situla art (Turk 2005, fig. 68, 71, 75, and 85). Most probably it does not mean existence of any direct link to the deep past or conscious attempt to

<sup>11</sup> Short waves (S-sign) form a border on the painted lid of a casket from Sarmatian priestess’s grave in Kobyanovo barrow I (Prochorova, Guguiev 1992, 149, fig. 9:23).

imitate ancient artefacts, but confirms universality of some motifs. Best example is the S- sign, “short wave”, highly popular on the Hallstatt Period or Early La Tène culture decorations, but also in the Roman times and even later.

The image of the “sun” – central dot with short “rays” –together with S-sings and border’s frieze of short ribs (similar to the Opatów casket ornament), was placed on a bronze *cista* from Słupca, distr. *loco* (Andrzejowska 2003, fig. 5) and on belt plate from Kaltbrunn, Lkr. Konstanz (Megaw 2001, fig. 30), dated to the Hallstatt D Period. The same ornament was also on the plate of so called Holstein belt, dated to the Early Pre Roman Period, from Badow cemetery, Lkr. Nordwestmecklemburg (Bemmann 1999, 214, pl. 254:2a)<sup>12</sup>. Other figures, like a triskelion from Opatów, can be linked with Celtic *imaginarium* (eg. Megaw 2001, 164nn, figs. 195, 197, 199, 265).

The anthropomorphic ornament on the casket from Zamiechów has no direct analogies. A motif of human head was highly popular in Celtic art and craft (Megaw 2001, 69, 164-166). The relief representations, more or less simplified were placed on decorative mountings and sword hilts. The same motif – *en face* presented mask – arrived also in the Late Roman Period, on parade armoury, known mostly from Scandinavia and North Germany finds, as a decoration of rivet- or nail- heads (von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, 433, fig. 257; Bemmann 2016, 847; Blankenfeldt 2016, 686nn). Small images of human face can be seen on decorative figural frieze on silver cups (Blankenfeldt 2007, 101, fig. 2:2, 9) and on the edge of catch-plate of so called *Rosetten fibel* (Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, 262nn, fig. 35). The masks are stylized, but they still have clearly marked eyes, eyebrows, hair, mouth, sometimes moustache and beard. It must be said, that there is not much similarity to the image from Zamiechów casket, which was made in a different way. It is utmosty simplified – small protrusion serve as a nose and shallow cavities as eyes (Fig. 13: 1). The closest formal analogies are the same relief presentation of face consisting only of protruding nose and shallow holes as eyes, and can be found on the pottery vessels from Jutland in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein in North Germany, dated to the early Roman Period (Lund 1992, fig 5a, d; 13a) (Fig. 13: 2, 3). Similar, “primitive” form is known from clay anthropomorphic figurines known from Elbe region (Bemmann 2016, fig. 1-3), Geto-Dacian cultures from the Carpathian Basin<sup>13</sup> and, in at least one case, from the Przeworsk culture area. A roughly executed female (?) figurine was found in a pit of house 3920 from a long lasting settlement in Aleksandrowice, distr. Kraków (Naglik 2015, *passim*) (Fig. 13: 5). It is dated generally to the late Roman Period, Phases C1-C2. An anthropomorphic vessel was also found in the

<sup>12</sup> However „sun” – a circle with short lines on the edge – was placed also on the Roman Period urn from Gać-Przeworsk, distr. *loco* (Bugaj, Makiewicz 1995, fig. 6).

<sup>13</sup> Sirbu 1993, 58-70, fig. 37-52; Florkiewicz 2007

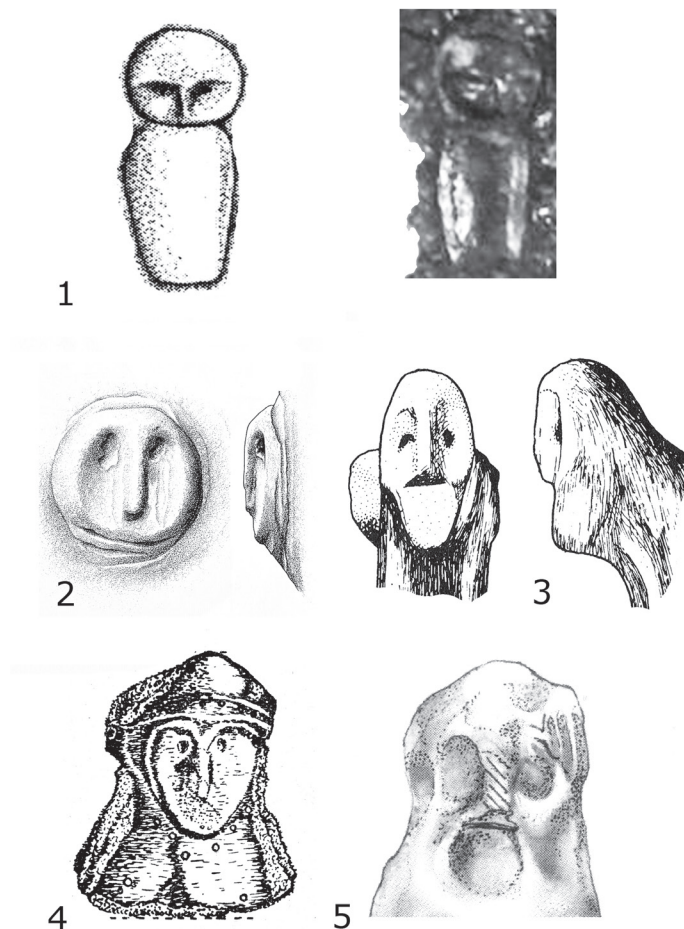


Fig. 13. Ornament in form of a stylised head. Zamiechów, distr. Jarosław (1) (after Reszczyńska *et al.* 2013); Guldagergard, Vendsyssel, Denmark (2) (after Lund 1992); Bordesholm, Krs. Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Germany (3) (after Lund 1992); Wietrzno, distr. Krosno (4) (after Janowski 1968); Aleksandrowice, distr. Kraków (5) (after Naglik 2015)

grave 18SSW in the cemetery in Chmielów Piaskowy (Godłowski, Wichman 1998, pl. XCVII). The vessel is damaged, but the head was preserved. It is made in a slightly different manner—details such as eyes, mouth, and even hair-style are marked more clearly. Another vessel with human representation was found, as a loose find, in Wietrzno, distr. Krosno (Janowski 1968, fig. 8) (Fig. 13:4). Clay human figurines are rare finds on the Przeworsk culture area; although it is possible that originally, there were more such items, now destroyed, broken and

not identified. Similar images could have been made of wood (Lund 1992, 71, 72, fig. 14, 15). Such items were preserved only in very rare cases.

Putting aside the whole discussion of the function and origin of these figurines<sup>14</sup>, they confirm that such a way of presenting human faces was not alien to the barbarian artisans of *Barbaricum*, and could have been a source of inspiration for the plate from Zamiechów, despite the evident difference in used material – bronze sheet not clay.

Maybe the most interesting and really mysterious examples of decoration are stylised figures of complete human and animal representations on the plates from Kraków-Płaszów. Such motifs are rare and need to be studied to find the analogies, not only in the Przeworsk culture area. Very rarely pottery vessels are decorated with more or less schematic human or animal figures. A narrative (?) frieze with probably five human and animal figures was presented on an urn from the Przeworsk culture cemetery in Biała, distr. Wieluń (Bugaj, Makiewicz 1995, 96, fig. 3-5). Another find of an urn, dated also to the Early Roman Period, Phase B2, with figural decoration is known from grave 15 from the cemetery in Łączany, distr. Radom. Fragments of this urn are decorated with figures of “riders”: men sitting on horses (Bujakowska 2004, fig. 15.1). In both cases human and animal figures were highly simplified, hands and legs were depicted as short lines with rake-like hands, and could not be treated as analogy to the find from Kraków-Płaszów. More adequate in shape and look are relief human figures presented on the pottery vessels known from finds outside the Przeworsk culture area. A relief image of an orant, a human figure with raised hands, was depicted on an urn from cemetery Borgstedt, Kr. Rendsburg-Eckernförde from Schleswig (Bugaj 1999, pl. 16a; 52; 55). Another image, made in similar style, but with hands down, was on urn from Süderbrarup, Kr. Schleswig-Flensburg (Lund 1990, fig. 11; Blankenfelt 2015, fig. 162) (Fig. 14: 4). These graves are dated to the end of the Roman Period, much later than the find from Kraków-Płaszów, and could only confirm that such image was not totally alien to the art of *Barbaricum*.

One characteristic feature of the figures from Kraków-Płaszów, namely claw-like hands, can be observed in a figurine of a man on a belt applique from Illerup (von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996, pl. 98, ZSW), but the item was made in a different way – cut out of a bronze sheet (Fig. 14: 3). Another human figurine (also fixed to the belt), was found in Frøihov, kom. Udenes, in Norway (von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996a, 318, fig. 215). Round head in front view, raised hands

---

<sup>14</sup> The find from Aleksandrowice is treated together with anthropomorphic images on vessels, as a result of Dacian influence (Naglik 2015, 152 with previous literature). The finds from Thuringia, and probably also from other sites in the Elbe region were, according to J. Bemmann (2015, 849, 850), imports from the Roman Empire, namely province Raetia. The lack of artistic value of these figurines and traces of some punctures and damages may suggest their „magic” function, not cultic representatives of deities, but use for “evil” magic, in a way of voodoo dolls (Naglik 2015, 150).

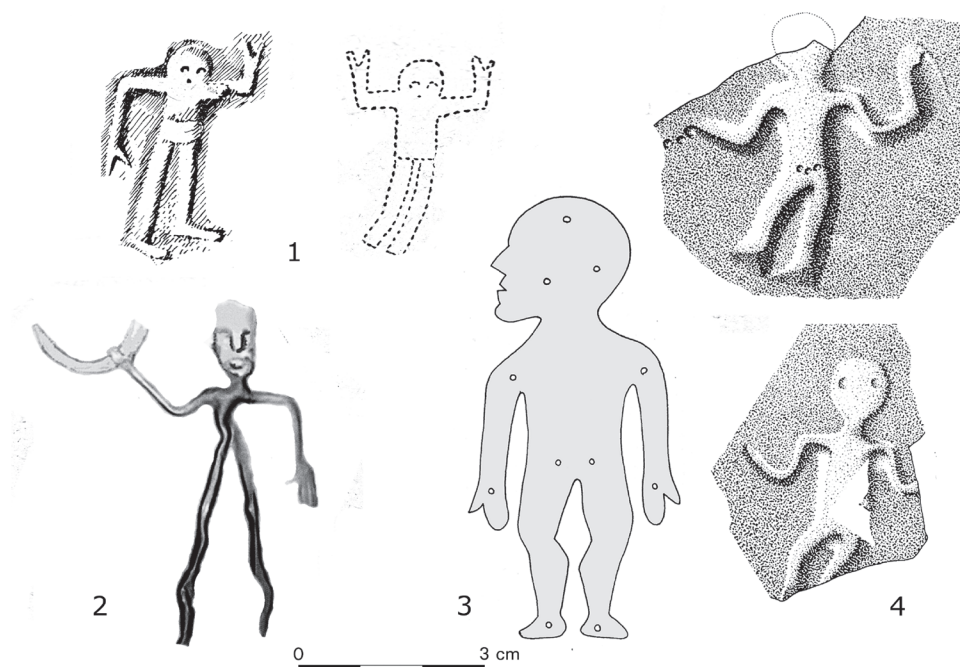


Fig. 14. Ornaments in form of human figurines. Kraków-Płaszów, distr. Kraków (1) (after Nosek 1947); Hagenow, Lkr. loco, Germany, gr. 9/1995 (2) (after Voss 2000); Illerup, com. Skanderup, Denmark (3) (after von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996); Süderbrarup, Kr. Schleswig-Flensburg (4) (after Lund 1990)

(without palms) and straight legs of this item made it look more like the image from the Przeworsk culture, than the Illerup figurine. The chronology of these belt appliques is a bit later – phase C1a (Ilkjær 1990, 353), than the find from the Przeworsk culture, the way of execution is a bit different, but they confirm using human images as decoration motifs in *Barbaricum*.

An inspiration for the way of presentation of human figures may come from well-known Roman coins or less frequent Roman bronze vessels with figurative decoration, maybe also swords with inlaid Mars or Victoria images.

Proof of attempts to imitate Roman way of decoration can be seen in some artefacts of the early Roman Period. A frieze with rather stylized figural decoration was placed on a thin silver sheet attached to a parade belt from a very rich grave 9/1995 from Hagenow, Lkr. loco, in Mecklenburg. The item was badly damaged, figures of human and a horse have been seen only on X ray photo (Voss 2000, fig. 164), but at least one of them has very similar form to the figure from Kraków-Płaszów plate – frontal view, hands bent (one raised, one lowered) and

disproportionate, too long legs (Fig. 14: 2). There are some differences: fingers and toes are more detailed and the raised hand is holding a horn, but in general the figure could serve as an analogy. Very important is a chronology of the object. Find from Hagenow is dated to the Early Roman Period, phase B2 (Przybyła 2005, 114) and most of other human images (regardless the accuracy of the layout or details) are much later. The belt from Hagenow is treated as an imitation of the Roman parade belts, and the decoration of the buckle and buckle plate is clearly inspired by the Roman artefacts. Probably also the belt-plate with figural motifs could be treated as an attempt to produce an artefact in “the Roman style” (Voss 2016, 713, fig. 2).

The greater problem is with the animal figures presented on plates from Kraków-Plaszów: partly preserved (hind paws and a tail) on broken plate and a mysterious animal in form of a lizard (?) on another plate (Fig. 15:2). There are no exact analogies to these images. The additional problem with this find is that the original plates are missing, there is only a schematic drawing and we don't know how accurate it is. The Germanic *bestiarium* of the Roman Period consists mostly of horse-like animals and also deer/hind, wolfs/dogs, birds and fishes<sup>15</sup> presented on pottery, weapons (e.g. scabbards) and personal equipment (belts, combs). There are even serpent-like, probably mythical, creatures depicted on urns from Süderbrarup, decorative plaque from Thorsberg (Blankenfeldt 2015, 256, fig. 156, 162) and, dated later, famous Gallehus horns (Vang Petersen 2004, fig. 13). But no other reptiles – no lizards<sup>16</sup>. The style of execution of all these images is similar – the animals are always depicted in profile – seen from side view. The view from above, presenting back side of an animal, like on the Kraków-Plaszów plate, is not typical for Germanic art.

The formal analogies to the image depicting back side of a lying animal with stretched paws can be found on the decorative plates from the Eastern Sarmatian graves, e.g. phalera from princely barrow from Datchi, near Azov, raj. Azov (Bespalyj 1992, fig. 8, 9) or a plate covered with thin golden sheet found in disturbed grave on the Alanian (Sarmatian) cemetery in Beslan in North Osetia (Dzucev, Malašev 2015, fig. 14:2; 28) (Fig. 15: 3). Maybe the most interesting in this context is a gold clasp of a ceremonial belt in the form of a laying hedgehog (Treister 1998, fig. 22). Such images, however, are rare in vast series of animal

---

<sup>15</sup> Careful eye can find even more exotic species – a small image of dormouse is on the pressed foil on the parade belt from Ejsbøl, a lion on a similar parade belt from Neudorf-Bornstein (von Carnap-Bornheim 2004, 243, fig. 5).

<sup>16</sup> A stylized reptile (?) was depicted on the plate from lake Nidajno near Czaszkowo, distr. Mrągowo, but in quite different form; it is a side view with only two legs and a tail (Nowakiewicz, Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2012, fig. 50). Strongly stylized representations of animal heads were often placed at the protruding ends of the brooches from the Migration Period (so-called *Tierfiebel*). However, they are not a strict analogy to the subjects discussed here – only heads (no body) of hard-to-identify animals.

ornaments and they have no analogies in the late Scythian animal style – a source of the most of Sarmatian decorations, so their origin should be searched for elsewhere.

Figures of lying animals seen from their back: flies, frogs, turtles and some mammals (lions) were presented on ancient beads made of Egyptian faience known from the area of the Black Sea (Alekseeva 1975, pl. 11:1-29) (Fig. 15: 4). They are dated to the first and second centuries AD and could have served as an inspiration for decoration of the neighbouring Sarmatians garment accessories.

Various contacts between the Przeworsk culture and the Sarmatians are well confirmed in many fields, but it would be hard to find a direct link to the animal figures on the casket plates from Kraków-Płaszów. Most probably the zoomorphic and maybe also anthropomorphic ornament was inspired not by the Barbarian art, but by the images on artefacts imported from the Roman Empire. Some of the Roman enamelled brooches take such a form – image of a lying reptile (amphibian?) (Sellye 1939, 80, pl. XIII;27; Feugère 1985, pl. 157:1981, 1982). They represent type 29 a2, according to M. Feugère, dated to the half 1<sup>st</sup> – end of

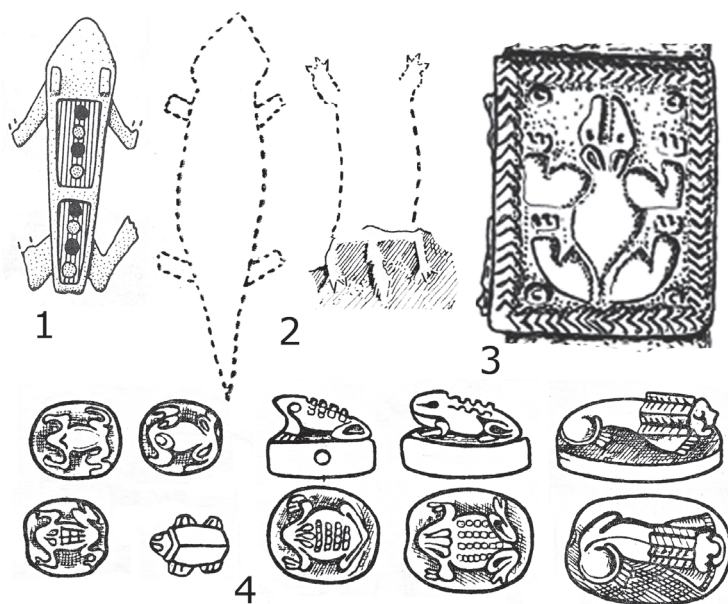


Fig. 15. Ornaments in form of lying animal. An enamelled brooch, Hières-sur-Amby, dep. Isere, France (1) (after Feugère 1985); Kraków-Płaszów (2) (after Nosek 1947), partly reconstructed); Beslan, raj. Pravoberezhny, North Osetia, Russia (3) (after Dzucev, Malašev 2015); Black sea region (4) (after Alekseeva 1975)



the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries (Feugère 1985, 394, fig. 62) (Fig. 15: 1). The depicted animals are mostly identified as frogs; however they could have represent lizards. A brooch of that type, described as a “lizard”, was found in the grave 535 on the Przeworsk culture cemetery in Zadowice, distr. Kalisz (Łaszczewska 1992, 65, fig. 26b, Jakubczyk 2018, 147, pl. 71:6). Such finds were, in my opinion, the most possible source of inspiration for the animal images on plates from Kraków-Płaszów. The meaning of these images is still obscure.

What could have been the purpose of such decorations? Was it purely ornamental or, at least to some extent, had it had some magical meaning? There is a lot of examples of protective signs on weaponry, in fact almost all figures, more or less stylised put on swords, scabbards, shields or spears are interpreted as protective “magic” (Vang Petersen 2003, 288, 289; Blankenfeldt 2015, 257nn). But could such interpretation be applied to the wooden caskets, a household utensil? Or maybe the caskets had more complicated function than serve only as a container for small tools, personal equipment or even jewellery. They could have been a sign of social status, due not only to richness or noble lineage, but also a social role – for example as prophetess<sup>17</sup>. Very high status of such women in the Germanic societies is confirmed in written sources (Tacitus, *Germania*, 7, 8; Czarnecka 1982, 188; Kolendo 2008, 119, 120).

There is a question why such meaningful decoration occurs only in such a short period of time and only in a few cases. We must remember that wooden caskets could have been painted or decorated with carved motifs, which had no chance to be preserved. On the other hand we cannot exclude more simple explanation – there was a workshop (a craftsman) with imagination that created “short series” of these luxurious items.

## REFERENCES

- Alekseeva E.  
1975 *Antične busy severnogo Pričernomoria*, Archeologia SSSR, G1-12, Moskwa.
- Andrzejowska M.  
2003 *Cista spod Słupcy. Przyczynek do dziejów polskiej archeologii, [in:] Antyk i barbarzyńcy. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Jerzemu Kolendo w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, A. Bursche, R. Ciołek (eds.), Warszawa, p. 11-32.
- Andrzejowski J.  
1991 *Okucia rogów do picia z młodszego okresu przedrzymskiego i okresu wpływów rzymskich w Europie Środkowej i Północnej*, Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne 6, p. 7-120.

---

<sup>17</sup> A casket from the Sarmatian priestess’s grave in barrow 10, in Kobyakovo by Rostov-on-Don, was coated with plaster and decorated with painted solar symbols (Prochorova, Guguiev 1992, 149, fig.9:23).

- Barankiewicz B.  
1959 *Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Grodzisku Mazowieckim*, Materiały Starożytne 5, p. 191-231.
- Bemann G.  
1999 *Badow. Ein jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und alteren römischen Kaiserzeit im Landkreis Nordwestmecklenburg*, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 34, Lübstorf.
- Bemann J.  
2016 *Eine provinzialrömische (?) antropomorphe Keramikfigur aus einer jünger-kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung im Thüringer Becken*, [in:] Archäologie zwischen Römern und Barbaren. Zur Datierung und Verbreitung römischer Metallarbeiten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Reich und im Barbaricum – ausgewählte Beispiele (Gefäße, Fibeln, Bestandteile militärischer Ausrüstung, Kleingerät, Münze), H.-U. Voss, N. Müller-Scheessel (eds.), Bonn, p. 845-854.
- Bene Z., Istvanovits E., Kulcsar V.  
2016 *Some characteristic types of Roman imports in Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin (caskets decorated with metal mounts, bronze vessels, mirrors)*, [in:] Archäologie zwischen Römern und Barbaren. Zur Datierung und Verbreitung römischer Metallarbeiten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Reich und im Barbaricum – ausgewählte Beispiele (Gefäße, Fibeln, Bestandteile militärischer Ausrüstung, Kleingerät, Münze), H.-U. Voss, N. Müller-Scheessel (eds.), Bonn, p. 743-750.
- Bespalyj E. I.  
1992 *Kurgan sarmatskogo vremeni u g. Azova*, Sovetska'a Archeologia 1992/1, p. 175-191.
- Blankenfeldt R.  
2007 *Der bildfeindliche Germane?*, [in:] *Innere Strukturen von Siedlungen und Gräberfeldern als Spiegel gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit?*, Akten des 57. Internationalen Sachsensymposiums vom 26. bis 30. August 2006 in Münster, T. Capelle (ed.), Münster, p. 99-107.  
2015 *Das Thorsberger Moor. Die persönlichen Ausrüstungen*, Schleswig.  
2016 *Figürlichverzierte Metallarbeiten aus dem Thorsberger Moorfund*, [in:] Archäologie zwischen Römern und Barbaren. Zur Datierung und Verbreitung römischer Metallarbeiten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Reich und im Barbaricum – ausgewählte Beispiele (Gefäße, Fibeln, Bestandteile militärischer Ausrüstung, Kleingerät, Münze), H.-U. Voss, N. Müller-Scheessel (eds.), Bonn, p. 683-695.
- Bugaj E.  
1999 *Motywy figuralne na ceramice germańskiego kręgu kulturowego*, Poznań.
- Bugaj E., Makiewicz T.  
1995 *Ornamentyka figuralna na naczyniach glinianych okresu przedrzymskiego i rzymskiego w Polsce*, Przegląd Archeologiczne 43, p. 87-122.
- Bujakowska B.  
2004 *Łączany, pow. radomski, woj. mazowieckie*, [in:] *Wandalowie strażnicy bursztynowego szlaku*, J. Andrzejowski, A. Kokowski, C. Leiber (eds.), Lublin-Warszawa, p. 315.
- von Carnap-Bornheim, C., Ilkjær, J.  
1996 *Illerup Ådal. 5 Die Prachtausrüstungen*. Textband, Århus.

- Czarnecka K.  
1982 *Groby okazałe a kontakty między Imperium Rzymskim a Barbaricum w III w.*, *Archeologia* 31 (1980), p. 186–192.  
2007 *Oblin. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk Kultur in Südmasowien*, *Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica* 13, Warszawa.  
2010 *Klucze w grobach kobiecych w okresie wpływów rzymskich. Atrybut pozycji społecznej czy wyraz magicznych zabiegów*, [in:] *Wymiary inności. Nietypowe zjawiska w obrzędowości pogrzebowej od pradziejów po czasy nowożytne*, K. Skóra, T. Kurasiński (eds.), *Acta Archaeologica Lodzienia* 50, Łódź, p. 17-26.  
2017 *An imported bronze casket from the Przeworsk culture cemetery in Lachmirowice, distr. Inowrocław*, [in:] *ROMAN FRONTIER STUDIES 2009 Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (Limes Congress) held at Newcastle upon Tyne in August 2009*, N. Hodgson, P. Bidwell, J. Schachtmann (eds.), p. 260-266.  
2020 *Zamki i klucze kultury przeworskiej. Działanie, zastosowanie, znaczenie symboliczne*, Warszawa
- Dewald F. J., Eiden L.  
1989 *Das römische Holzkästchen aus Grab 2370. Freilegung – Restaurierung – Rekonstruktion*, [in:] *Gräber – Spiegel des Lebens*, A. Haffner (ed.), Mainz, p. 317-326.
- Dobrzańska H., Wielowiejski J.  
1997 *The Early Roman High-status Elite Grave in Giebułtów near Cracow*, *Materiały Archeologiczne* 30, p. 81-102.
- Dzucev F. S. Malašev V. Iu.  
2015 *Beslanskij archeologičeskij kompleks rannealanskoj epochi. (niekotorje itogi issledovanii 1988-2014)*, Vladikavkaz.
- Feugère M.  
1985 *Les fibules en Gaule Méridionale de la conquête à la fin du V siècle après J.-C.*, Paris.
- Florkiewicz I.  
2007 *Figurines in the Przeworsk culture from the early Roman period from the territory of Poland*, [in:] *Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Places in the Tracian world*, Proceeding of the International Colloquium Braşov, 19–21 of October 2006, V. Sirbu, R. Ştefănescu (eds.), Braşov, p. 53-62.
- Gaerte W.  
1929 *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, Königsberg.
- Gáspár D.  
1986 *Römische Kästchen in Pannonien I, II*, Antaeus. Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 15, Budapest.
- Godłowski K.  
1968 *Przyczynki do poznania kultury przeworskiej na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Liber Iosepho Kostrzeuski Octogenario a Veneratoribus Dicitus*, K. Jażdżewski (ed.), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, p. 241-262.  
1978 *Opatów. Gemeinde Opatów, Woiwodschaft Częstochowa. (Ein Gräberfeld der jüngeren Kaiserzeit)*, *Recherches archeologiques de 1977*, Kraków 1978, p. 24-33.
- Godłowski K., Wichman, T.  
1998 *Chmielów Piaskowy. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk Kultur in Świętokrzyskie Gebirge*, *Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica* VI, Kraków.

- Grempler W.  
1888 *Der II und III Fund von Sackrau*, Breslau.
- Grumeza L.  
2014 *Sarmatian cemeteries from Banat (late 1st – early 5th centuries AD)*, Cluj-Napoca.
- Ilkjær, J.  
1990 Illerup Adal. 1. Die Lazen und Speere. Textband, Arhus
- Jakubczyk I.  
2018 *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Mittelpolen*, Kraków.
- Jamka R.  
1959 *Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Starachowicach*, Przegląd Archeologiczny 11, p. 32-61.
- Janowski J.  
1968 *Z badań nad osadnictwem prahistorycznym w Wietrznie, pow. Krosno*, Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego za rok 1966, p. 146-151.
- Kaczanowski P.  
1987 *Drochlin. Ciałopalne cmentarzysko kultury przeworskiej z okresu wpływów rzymskich*, Zeszyty Naukowe UJ DCCCXXVIII, Prace Archeologiczne 40, Kraków.
- Kaszewska E.  
1977 *Cmentarzysko kultury przeworskiej w Gledzianówku (st. 1), woj. plockie*, Prace i Materiały MAEL 24, p. 63-233.
- Kašuba M., Kurčatov S.  
2005 *Ein Grabhügel der sarmatischen Elite von Mokra an mittleren Dnestr*, Praehistorische Zeitschrift 80/2, p. 160-189.
- Keiling H.  
1973 *Ein frühkaiserzeitliches „Fürstengrab“ von Lalendorf, Kreis Güstrow*, Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg, Jahrbuch 1972, p. 127-177.
- Koch U.  
1990 *Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Klepsau in Hohenlohe Kreis*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 38, Stuttgart  
2001 *Das alamannisch-fränkische Gräberfeld bei Pleidelsheim*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 60, Stuttgart.
- Kolendo J.  
2008 *Komentarze*, [in:] *P. Cornelius Tacitus Germania*, Poznań.
- Kontny B.  
2005 *Time of war or well-being? Changes in weapon sets in the Przeworsk culture burials from the late stage of phase B2*, [in:] *Europa Barbarica. Ćwierć wieku archeologii w Masłomęczu*, P. Łuczkiwicz, M. Gładysz-Juścińska, M. Juściński, B. Niezabitowska, S. Sadowski (eds.), Monumenta Studia Gothica IV, Lublin, p. 215-232.
- Kostrzewski B.  
1947 *Cmentarzysko z okresu rzymskiego w Koninie (woj. poznańskie)*, Przegląd Archeologiczny 7, p. 192-294.
- Kramarkowa I.  
1990 *Groby książęce z III/IV w. n.e. we Wrocławiu-Zakrzowie. W stulecie odkryć*, Silesia Antiqua 32, p. 61-174.
- Lund J.  
1992 *Hoveder og ansigter af ler fra ældre jernalder*, Kuml 1990, p. 57-76.

- Lund Hansen U., Przybyła M.J.  
2010 *Rosettenfibeln - ein Klassifikationsversuch*, [in:] *Worlds apart? Contacts across the Baltic Sea in the Iron Age*, U. Lund Hansen, A. Bitner-Wróblewska (eds.), København-Warszawa, p. 241-286.
- Łaszczewska T.  
1992 *Rzymskie importy przemysłowe z terenu Polski*, [in:] *Szlak bursztynowy*, T. Łaszczewska (ed.) Łódź, p. 56-83.
- Machajewski H.  
2006 *Grób kultury wielbarskiej w miejscowości Łobez, woj. zachodniopomorskie*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, M. Dworaczyk, A. Kowalska S., Możdziach M., Rębkowski (eds.), Szczecin-Wrocław, p. 543-555.
- Madyda-Legutko R., Rodzińska-Nowak J., Zagórska-Telega J.  
2010 *Złote wisioriki z cmentarzyska ludności kultury przeworskiej w Prusieku, stan. 25, gm. Sanok*, [in:] *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, A. Urbaniak, R. Prochowicz, I. Jakubczak, M. Levada, J. Schuster (eds.), Łódź-Warszawa, p. 387-395.  
2011 *Opatów Fpl.1. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk-Kultur im nordwestlichen Kleinpolen*, Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 15 (1, 2), Warszawa-Kraków.
- Megaw R. and V.  
2001 *Celtic Art. From the beginning to the Book of Kells*, London.
- Menghin W.  
1977 *Frühmerowingische Schmuckkästen aus Kaltenehgers, Kr. Koblenz*, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, p. 7-16.
- Müller S.  
1911 *Juellinge Fundet og den Romerske Periode*, Nordiske Fortidsminder II, 1, Kjøbenhavn.
- Naglik R.  
2015 *Gliniana figurka antropomorficzna z Aleksandrowic, gm. Zabierzów, pow. krakowski*, [in:] *Od epoki brązu do czasów nowożytnych. Wybrane odkrycia i znaleziska*, J. Chochorowski (ed.), Via archaeologica. Źródła z badań wykopaliskowych na trasie autostrady A4 w Małopolsce, Kraków, p. 137-156.
- Natuniewicz-Sekuła M., Okulicz-Kozaryn J.  
2011 *Weklice. A cemetery of the Wielbark Culture on the Eastern Margin of Vistula Delta (Excavations 1984-2004)*, Monumenta Archeologica Barbarica 17, Warszawa.
- Nosek S.  
1947 *Nowe materiały do poznania kultury wenedzkiej*, Światowit 18, p. 111-160.
- Nowakiewicz T., Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz A.  
2012 *Jezioro Nidajno koło Czaszkowa na Mazurach: niezwykle miejsce kultu z okresu późnej starożytności*, Warszawa.
- Prochorova T.A., Guguiev V.K.  
1992 *Bogatoe sarmatskoe pogrebennje v kurganie 10 kobiakowskogo mogilnika*, Sovetska'a Archeologia 1992/1, p. 142-161.
- Przybyła M.  
2005 *Ein Prachtgürtel aus dem Grab I von Wrocław-Zakrzów (Sackrau). Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch*, Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 35, Heft 1, p. 105-122.
- Pulpánová-Reszczyńska A., Kadrow S., Bober M.  
2017 *Wielokulturowe stanowisko nr 1 w Zamiechowie, powiat jarosławski*, [in:] *Via Archaeologica Ressorviensia* 13, A. Pulpánová-Reszczyńska (ed.), Rzeszów.

- Reszczyńska A., Rogóż J., Makowicz-Poliszot D., Tomek T.  
2013 *A unique double burial from a Przeworsk culture settlement context at Zamiechów, site 1, województwo podkarpackie*, *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 43, p. 135-170.
- Riha E.  
2001 *Kästchen, Truhen, Tische – Möbelteile aus Augusta Rauriaca*, Augst.
- Ryćel G.  
1986 *W sprawie okuć taśmowatych z kolistym uchwytem*, *Prace i Materiały MAEL* 30, (1983), p. 291-308.
- Sazonov A.A.  
1992 *Mogilnik pervych vekov našej ery bliz chutora Gorodskovego*, [in:] *Voprosy archeologii Adygei*, D.Ch Mekulov, P.A. Ditlev, A.A. Sazonov (eds.), Maikop, p. 244-274.
- Schmauder M., Willer F.  
2004 *Römische Kästchenbeschläge aus Buntmetall in Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln*, *Kölner Jahrbuch* 37, p. 137-221.
- Schulz W.  
1933 *Das Fürstengrab und das Grabfeld von Hassleben*, *Römisch-Germanische Forschungen* 7, Berlin-Leipzig.
- Schuster J.  
1999 *Bemerkungen zu einigen Schlössern und Schlüsseln von Kästchen in der späten römischen Kaiserzeit. Schlossbestandteile des Typs Wetzendorf*, *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 40 (4), p. 555-575.  
2010 *Der Kasten (Schlüssel, Riegel, Abdeckbleche, Holzreste)*, [in:] *Das Fürstengrab von Gommern, Ldkr. Jerichower Land*, M. Becker (ed.), Veröffentlichungen des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt – Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, Band 63, I, p. 121- 151.
- Sellye I.  
1939 *Les bronzes émailés de la Pannonie Romaine*, Budapest.
- Sîrbu, V.  
1993 *Credințe și practici funerare, religioase și magice în lumea geto-dacilor*, „Biblioteca Istros”, 3, Ed. Porto-Franco, Galati.
- Stanciu I., Matei A.  
2006 *Un cimitir din perioada de început a epocii romane imperiale târzii în nord-vestul României (Badon-„Doaște”, com. Herecleian, jud. Sălaj). Ein Friedhof aus der Anfangszeit der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit in Nordwesten Rumäniens (Badon-„Doaște”, Kreis Sălaj)*, [in:] *Fontes Historiae, Studia in honorem Demetrii Protase*, C. Gaiu, C. Găzdac (eds.), Bistrița – Cluj-Napoca, p. 587-608.
- Szydłowski J.  
1964 *Cmentarzysko z okresu wpływów rzymskich w Choruli, pow. Krapkowice*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków.
- Szydłowski J., Kubiczek T.  
1960 *Kilka uwag na temat konstrukcji i działania zamków skrzyń z okresu wpływów rzymskich*, *Archeologia Polski* 5, p. 245-255.
- Tempelmann-Maczyńska M.  
1989 *Das Frauentrachtzubehör des mittel- und osteuropäischen Barbaricums in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Kraków.

- Treister M. Yu.  
1998 *New discoveries of Sarmatian complexes of the 1st century A.D.* Survey of publications in VDI, Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia 4(1), p. 35-100.
- Turk P.  
2005 *Images of Life and Myth*, Ljubljana.
- Vang Petersen P.  
2004 *Warrior art, religion and symbolism*, [in:] *Spoils of Victory. The North in the shadow of the Roman Empire*, E. Jørgensen, B. Storgaard, L. Gebauer Thomsen (eds.), Copenhagen, p. 286-294.
- Voss H.-U.  
2000 *Das Fürstengrab 9/1995 von Hagenow in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, [in:] *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer. Zivilisatorisches Erbe einer europäischen Militärmacht*, Katalog Handbuch zur Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern, Rosenheim 2000, L. Wamser (ed.), Mainz, p. 197-200.  
2016 *Beschlagteile vorwiegend militärischer Verwendung im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum zwischen Rhein und Oder – Formenspektrum und Fundkontext*, [in:] *Archäologie zwischen Römern und Barbaren. Zur Datierung und Verbreitung römischer Metallarbeiten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Reich und im Barbaricum – ausgewählte Beispiele (Gefäße, Fibeln, Bestandteile militärischer Ausrüstung, Kleingerät, Münze)*, H.-U. Voss, N. Müller-Scheessel (eds.), Bonn, p. 711-733.
- Walther W.  
1993 *Zu den Aufgaben des Wissenschaftsbereiches Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Bodendenkmalpflege an den Mühlhäuser Museen in den Jahren 1991 und 1992*, Mühlhäuser Beiträge 15, p. 19-44.
- Wichman T.  
2004 *Giebułtów, pow. krakowski, woj. małopolskie*, [in:] *Wandalowie strażnicy bursztynowego szlaku*, J. Andrzejowski, A. Kokowski, C. Leiber (eds.), Lublin-Warszawa, p. 294, 295.
- Witteyer M.  
1996 *Alte und neue Funde der Römerzeit aus Bad Kreuznach-Planig*, Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift 3, p. 57-103.
- Zagórska-Telega J.  
2000 *Bogaty pochówek kobiety na cmentarzysku kultury przeworskiej w Opatowie, stanowisko 1, woj. śląskie*, [in:] *Superiores Barbari. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Profesora Kazimierza Godłowskiego*, R. Madyda-Legutko, T. Bochnak (eds.), Kraków, p. 313-326.
- Zahlhaas G.  
2000 *Römische Kästchenbeschläge*, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsbücher 65, p. 143-153.
- Zielonka B.  
1951 *Groby ludności kultury przeworskiej w Lachmirowicach, pow. Inowrocław, Z Otchłani Wieków 20*, p. 120-128.  
1953 *Cmentarzysko z okresu cesarstwa rzymskiego w Lachmirowicach w pow. inowrocławskim*, Przegląd Archeologiczny IX, 2-3, 1951-52, p. 353-386.

Address of the Author

**Katarzyna Czarnecka**  
State Archaeological Museum  
in Warsaw  
ul. Długa 52  
00-241 Warszawa, Poland  
kczarnekapma@gmail.com  
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0529-8603