

# Griffins from the Danube. Early La Tène sword in decorated scabbard from Sotin, Eastern Croatia

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## ABSTRACT

Early La Tène sword in decorated scabbard, kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb, was found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the village of Sotin in eastern Croatia. Through typological, technical, and iconographic analyses of the sword and scabbard decoration (pair of dragons / griffins), the paper discusses introduction of the La Tène culture to southeastern Pannonia and its position in the wider cultural and historical processes that took place in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC in central and southeastern Europe.

## KEY WORDS

Early La Tène, southeastern Pannonia, sword in scabbard, decoration of pair of dragons / griffins.

## INTRODUCTION – THE SITE OF SOTIN

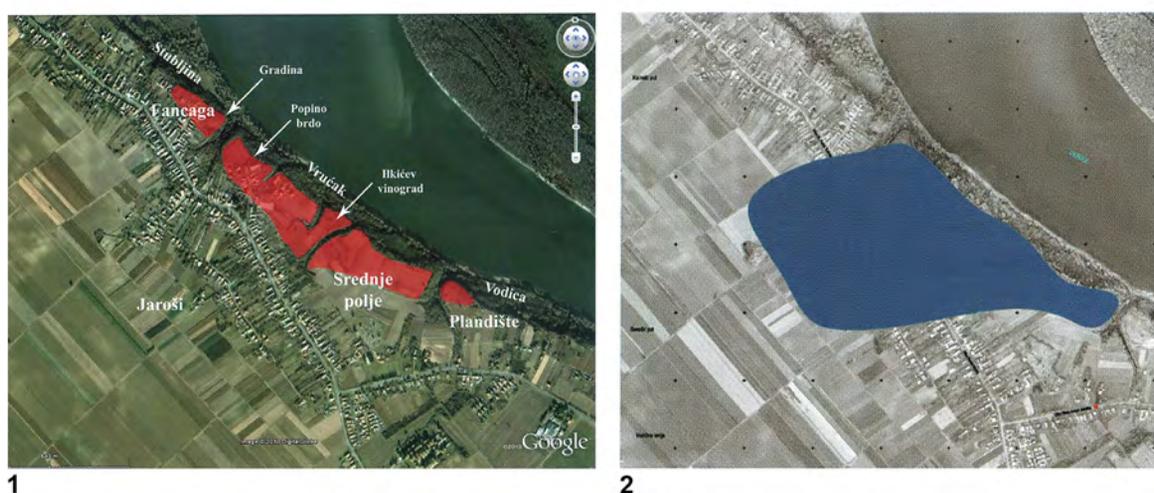
Throughout the European pre- and protohistory, the Danube was an important communication axis connecting areas between the Black Forest in the heart of Central Europe and the Pontic littoral. Thus, it is not surprising that the Danubian region of Croatia is extraordinarily rich in archaeological heritage from all periods testifying to this connectivity. This is also the case of the La Tène culture which – through complex cultural processes – became the dominant material culture in the discussed region in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC marking thus the transition between the Early and Late Iron Age.

A significant point in the research of the La Tène culture in the Croatian Danube region and in south-eastern Pannonia in general is the site in the village of Sotin on the right bank of the Danube River, about ten kilometres south-east of the town of Vukovar in eastern Croatia (**Fig. 1**). The first finds from there came to the collection of the National Museum of Zagreb in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century both through the activities of the Museum's commissioners and through sales by locals as was a common practice at that time. It is in this period that the National Museum acquired the well-known Late La Tène grave assemblages from the nearby site of Zmajevac, situated roughly 2 km south-east of the village (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1971–1972; BOŽIČ 1981, pl. 8: 4–8, pl. 9). With the exception of several minor rescue interventions, no archaeological excavation was carried out in Sotin up until 2008. Luckily enough, surface finds and spatial data were diligently collected by Mate Ilkić and presented in his MA thesis (ILKIĆ 1999) as well as in several subsequent studies, providing thus a solid framework for further investigation of the site (ILKIĆ 2011a; 2011b; DRNIĆ 2013, 61–62, fig. 2: 7–8, pl. 1: 5–6, pl. 2: 1–6).

The Late Iron Age settlement is localized on the high Danube terrace between the Popino brdo elevation in the north and Srednje polje in the south-east, as was confirmed by the excavations carried out by the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb and of the Vukovar Municipal Museum. It is delimited by the Danube to the east while its western border is set by Marko Dizdar (2010, 16, 22) to the western edge of the present day Sotin village based on the distribution



**Fig. 1: Position of the village of Sotin and its aerial photograph (map: d-maps.com, photo: Mario Faubert / Air Photo Max).**



**Fig. 2: 1 - Position of the La Tène settlement in Sotin: 1 - after ILKIĆ 2010; 2 - after DIZDAR 2010.**

of surface finds (**Fig. 2:2**). Ilkić on the other hand considered the Late Iron Age settlement to be considerably smaller and drew its debatable western limit along the eastern border of the present day village, at the foothill of the raised Danube terrace (ILKIĆ 2010, 11–12) (**Fig. 2:1**). In any case, this controversy can only be resolved by future research. It is worth mentioning that in the case of Sotin Late Iron Age settlement, traces of ramparts, characteristic of fortified settlements in south-eastern Pannonia, have not been detected so far.

Surface finds from this area (costume elements such as chain belt links, brooches, and glass bracelet fragments; coins; metal vessel fragments) mostly date to the Middle and Late La Tène period (LT C2–D2), although rare Early La Tène finds attest a certain human activity in the area already in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. These include fragments of bracelets decorated with plastically formed vertical ribs with knobs and brooches which – based on their drawings – seem to be semi-products (**Fig. 3**; ILKIĆ 1999, 77, 80–81, pl. 21: 1–3, 24: 1, 4–5, 10). The brooch in fig. 3: 1 has two ribs on the upper side of the bow which is characteristic of the brooch type Karaburma 63 dated to LT B2, corresponding with the phase Belgrade 1 according to the local relative Late Iron Age chronology (BOŽIĆ 1981, 317, 333, pl. 1: 15). This could demonstrate that a workshop producing a local variety of Duchcov type brooches,

worn in various Iron Age communities in the western Balkans and south-eastern Pannonia at the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (MARIĆ 2015), is to be localized in the site of Sotin. The mentioned bracelets also belong to the same cultural region. It is to the same chronological horizon of the Sotin settlement to which it is possible to date the sword which will be the subject of the following text.

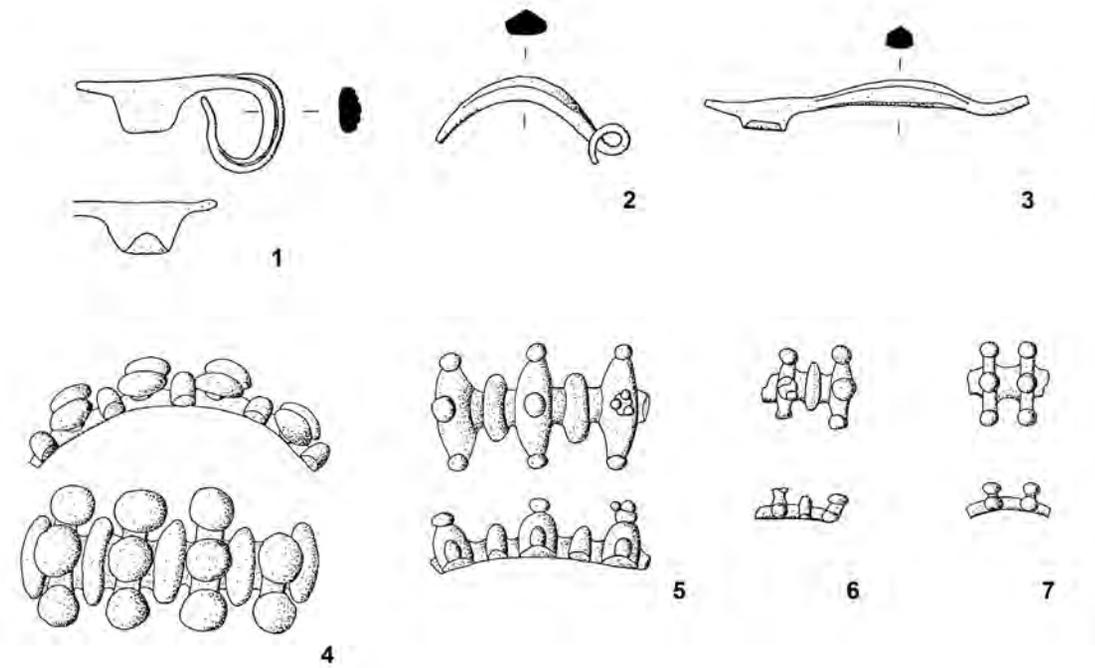


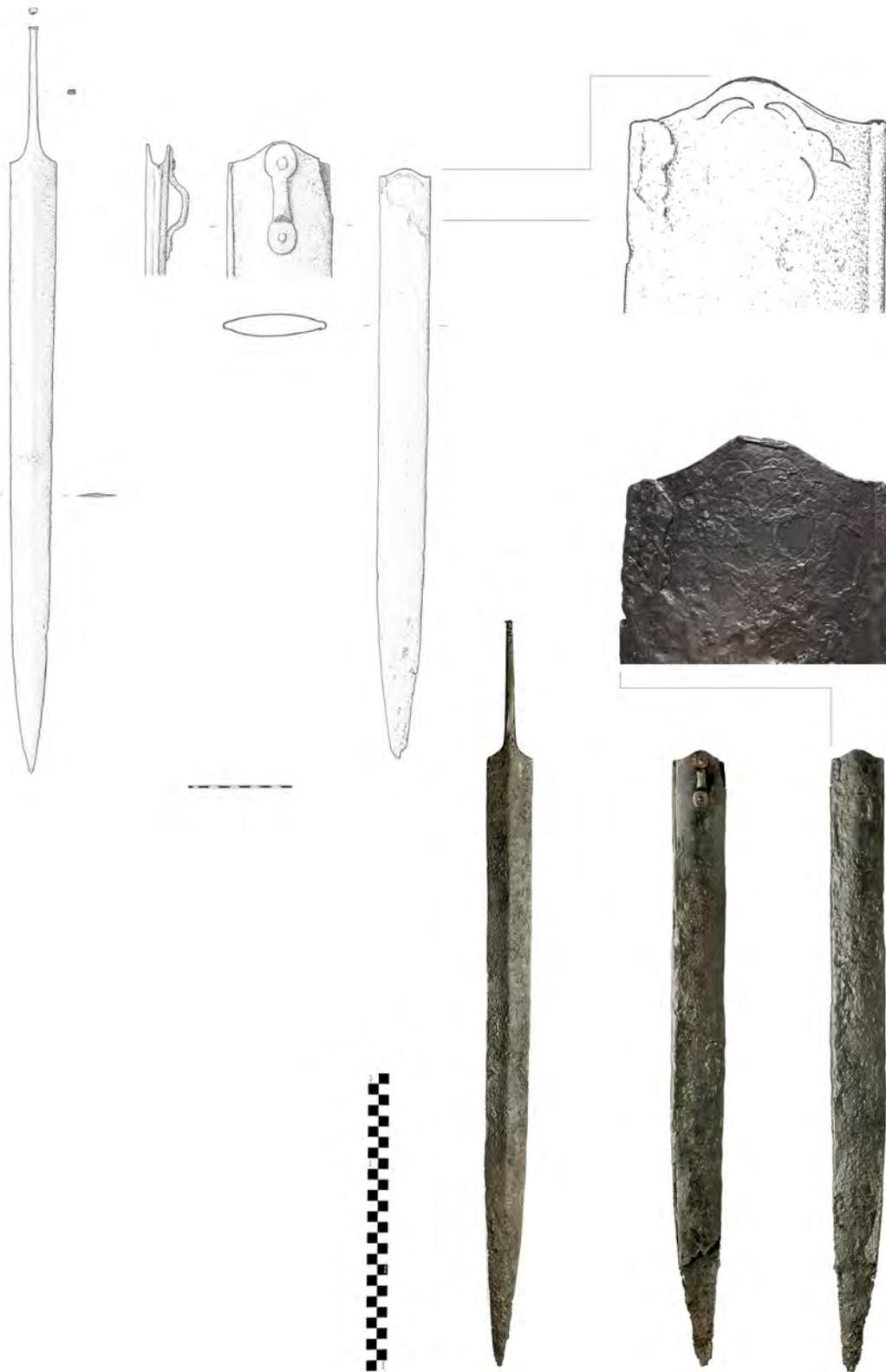
Fig. 3: Early La Tène brooches and bracelets from the La Tène settlement in Sotin (after ILKIĆ 1999).

### THE EARLY LT SWORD IN A SCABBARD FROM SOTIN

Besides the mentioned Late La Tène graves from the Zmajevac position, the presence of other graves somewhere in the Sotin area is suggested by several stray finds kept in the deposit of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. These include elements of costume and jewellery (brooches, bracelets etc.), but also swords as well as spear heads which had been ritually bent prior to the deposition in the grave as is characteristic of the burial customs, mostly in incineration graves, of the La Tène culture. Artefacts from the phases LT C1-C2, and LT D are represented; the earliest objects, however, date as far back as to LT B2 (MAJNARIĆ PANDŽIĆ 1970, 92-94, pl. 32-38).

One of these finds is a well-preserved sword, 72.4 cm long (inv. no. P-21029) (MAJNARIĆ PANDŽIĆ 1970, 93, pl. 33: 4-4a). The blade is of a rhomboid section, 4.5 cm broad at the hilt and gradually tapering towards the pointed tip. The blade shoulders are convex and the tang, rectangular in section, is 12 cm long with the remains of a damaged small plate on the top (Fig. 4). The traces of repairs and soldering roughly in the middle of the blade attest that the sword had been bent originally, probably as a part of the burial ritual, and straightened after it was found in recent times.

The scabbard is 58 cm long, its breadth at the mouth is 5 cm (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, its chape, i.e. the component which is most significant for its typological and chronological classification, has not been preserved. The scabbard was made from two iron sheets; the edges of



**Fig. 4: Early La Tène sword in a decorated scabbard from Sotin (drawing: M. Galić; photo: I. Krajcar)**

the frontal plate are folded over those of the rear one. The entirely preserved symmetrical suspension loop was fixed to the scabbard backside with rivets passing through its small rounded loop plates. On the front side, just beneath the low, slightly bell-shaped scabbard mouth there are the remains of figural decoration executed by engraving. Although it is largely destroyed by corrosion, the preserved remains still permit an unequivocal interpretation.

Two antithetic figures can be distinguished on the surfaces damaged by corrosion. A beak and a small part of a concave outline of the front body part remain from the left figure while a beak, a part of the head with a triangular ear, and a somewhat bigger part of the concave body are preserved from the figure on the right. These traits suggest that the depiction represents a pair of dragons which can be classified as type I in the typology of José Maria de Navararro (DE NAVARRO 1959; DE NAVARRO 1972, 217–218) or type 2A griffins (*griffons de schéma initial*) according to the newer typology of Natalie Ginoux (2007, 44–48, 102–104, tab. 2).

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

In the Croatian-Serbian Danube area, Early La Tène swords appeared in graves dated to the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, i.e. in the phase LT B2 of the Central European relative chronology. This earliest Late Iron Age horizon was traditionally interpreted in the context of the mass migration of Celtic tribes from the north of the Carpathian Basin, accompanied by the spread of the La Tène material culture. These Celts quickly seized power in the region and by mixing with local populations created a tribal alliance known from the ancient sources as the *Scordisci* (TODORVIĆ 1968; PAPAZOGLU 1969; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970; TODORVIĆ 1974; JOVANOVIĆ 1987; TASIĆ 1992, etc.). However, theoretical and methodological progress in the interpretation of ancient written sources but also of material culture as well as the employment of natural science methods, such as stable isotope analysis, made it clear that the migrations and the related cultural, social, and political processes taking place in Central Europe, the Carpathian Basin, and finally also south-eastern Pannonia, were much more complex than that described in the brief accounts of ancient authors and – uncritically – interpreted by archaeologists and historians (DŽINO 2007; HAUSCHILD 2010; SCHEERES *et al.* 2013; SCHEERES 2014; SCHEERES *et al.* 2014; MIHAJLOVIĆ 2019, etc.). An unfortunate circumstance complicating the interpretation of this phenomenon in the territory of south-east Pannonia is the almost dissipating lack of information concerning the settlements of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Thus, archaeological analysis relies almost exclusively on data from burials and on chance finds without a clear archaeological context – as is, after all, the case of the Sotin sword – which significantly limits their interpretative potential.

The picture presented by a few dozen LT B2 grave assemblages from south-eastern Pannonia is that a heterogeneous female costume consisting of Early Iron Age elements on the one hand and on the other hand from La Tène pieces (which after all appeared in southern Pannonia as early as the Čurug phase of the Early Iron Age at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (BOŽIĆ 1981). Besides the, so to say, ‘genuine’ La Tène objects, there are also those adapted to local tastes, such as the already mentioned Karaburma 63 type brooches and plastically decorated bracelets, which found their way to the costumes of various Late Iron Age communities in south-eastern Pannonia and the western Balkans (MARIĆ 2015).

On the other hand, male graves contain weaponry characteristic of the La Tène culture. Appearing in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC they – according to some authors – correspond chronologically with the historically documented movements of

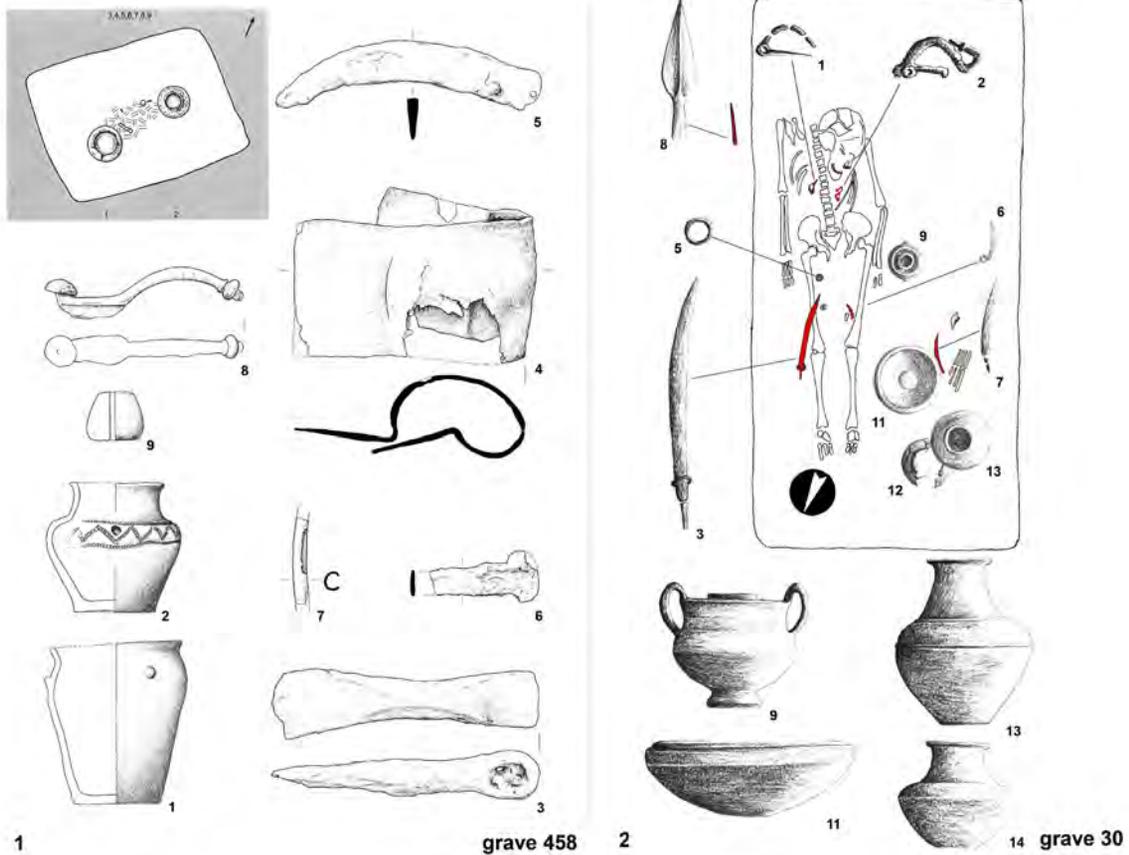
Celts during the so-called great expansion (RAPIN 1991; 1995). These sets of weaponry, documented in hundreds of graves in Western and Central Europe and in northern Italy, consist of a sword, a belt adapted to a scabbard attachment, a spear, and a shield; occasionally a helmet may appear, e.g. in a grave from Batina (Croatia) (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1959, 281, fig. 12–13). It is important to stress that the quantity of weaponry known to date from the territory of south-east Pannonia from to late 4<sup>th</sup> century and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century (LT B2), i.e. the period immediately preceding the Celtic campaign to Greece beginning in 280 BC, amounts to a handful of grave assemblages and several chance finds, and does not in any way imply a concentration of a large number of warriors rallying in the region to set off for the fateful march to the south. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume an intense circulation of smaller mobile groups of warriors, which is suggested by the uniformity of weaponry in the vast territory between the Atlantic coast and the Carpathian Basin, including northern and Central Italy; either as raiders or as mercenaries. Such groups of warriors came into contact with the Mediterranean world already in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (RUSTOIU 2006; 2008; KAVUR – BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2014). Being barbarian foreigners, equipped with weapons produced in the La Tène style and fighting in a particular way, they were seen by the Mediterranean authors as a homogenous group – the Celts.

Unlike personal ornaments, weaponry made in the tradition of the La Tène material culture is not documented in Late Hallstatt graves of the south-eastern Pannonian Sarmatian group. The only exception would be the *phalerae* from Late Hallstatt horse burial 1 from the Vinkovci-Nama site (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 2003, 490–494, fig. 8–10). However, some swords, but also belt buckles and the fittings of sword belts have been found in the south-eastern Alpine region, for example in warrior graves in Magdalenska gora-Laščik (Slovenia) (GABROVEC 1987, 72, fig. 6: 1; TECCO HVALA 2012, 133–134, fig. 52: 5–8) and Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska njiva (Slovenia) (KRIŽ 2013, 48, 143–144, fig. 42, pl. 68: 8), dated to the Negau phase of the Doljenska group, which document contacts between the local late Hallstatt elites and the elites from the Alpine regions and northern Italy (TERŽAN 2014).

The cultural processes occurring in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in the south-eastern Alps and south-western Pannonia, marking the transition between the Early and Late Iron Age, were complex and anything but straightforward. For example, at Kapiteljska njiva cemetery in Novo mesto the continuity in burying is attested in the same area in the Early (barrows) and Late Iron Age (flat graves) with some similar aspects of material culture, such as hand-made pottery, showing that in the course of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the local Hallstatt population adopted some elements of the La Tène material culture without itself undergoing any significant structural transformations. These Laténian elements, including weaponry, were probably brought here by the communication networks established a generation or two earlier, as shown above. However, typical Hallstatt grave assemblages with two spears and axes (tomb 160) also appear among the dominant La Tène weaponry, and in grave 458 there was an interesting combination of a shafted axe, characteristic of the Doljenska group, and a band-shaped shield boss typical for the La Tène culture (**Fig. 5: 1**; KRIŽ 2005, 67–68, 93–94, pl. 39: 3–5, 7, 13, pl. 77: 3–4). A similar combination is witnessed in an incineration grave discovered recently in the vicinity of the Srpnica village in Soča Valley, Slovenia, with an axe, a bent spear head, and a decorated bivalve shield boss (LAHARNAR – MLINAR 2019). On the other hand, small cemeteries from Srednica near Ptuj, Slovenia (LUBŠINA TUŠEK – KAVUR 2011) and Orehova vas near Maribor, Slovenia (GRAHEK 2015) with only a few graves from LT B2 and grave goods manufactured exclusively in the La Tène style (including weapons), imply an influx of a new population in the region, probably small groups of colonists coming from the north.

A hybrid panoply was registered also in the south-eastern part of Pannonia, in skeletal grave 30 at Pećine cemetery in Kostolac (Serbia), dated to LT B2, where an Early La Tène spear-

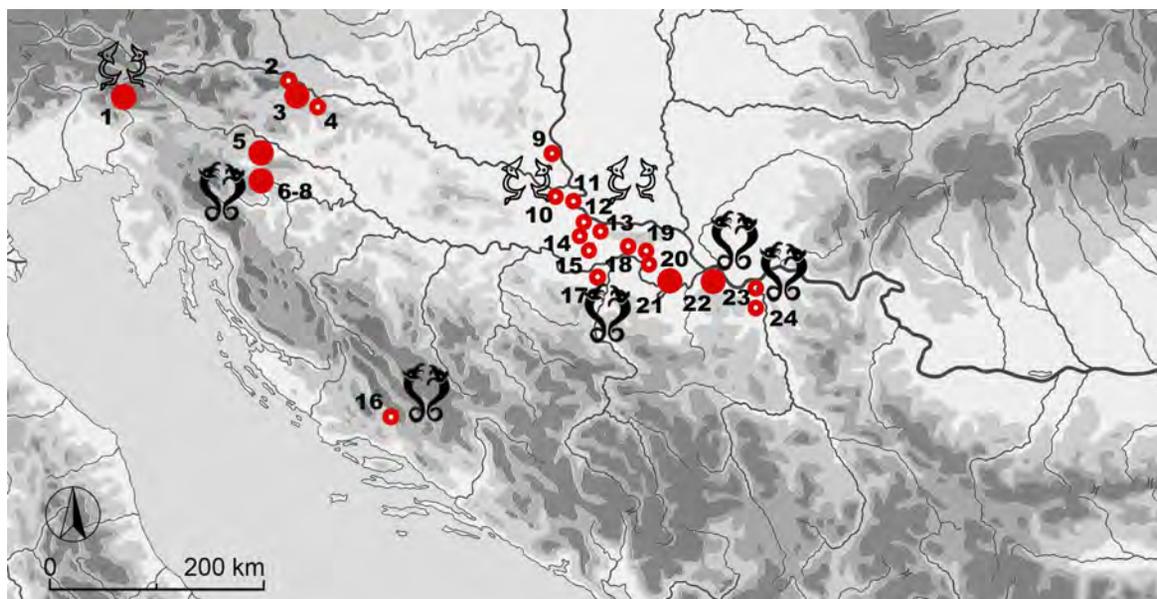
head with a broad blade and a 40 cm long knife with a slightly curved blade were placed next to the inhumed warrior (**Fig. 5: 2**; JOVANOVIĆ, B. 2018, 75–77, fig. 25, pl. 36–37). This type of fighting knife or single edge short sword, sometimes labeled as a falchion or *falcata*, originating from the Greek world, was part of a warrior's equipment in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and probably the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in southern Pannonia (Vučedol, Croatia: BRUNŠMID 1902, 69, fig. 26; TERŽAN 1977, 20, fig. 4: 12; Donja Dolina, Bosnia and Herzegovina: TRUHELKA 1904, pl. 44: 13, pl. 49: 5, pl. 50: 3, pl. 60: 2, etc.) and the western Balkans (Sanski Most, Bosnia and Herzegovina: FIALA 1899, fig. 20, 48, 78, 88, 149, 176).



**Fig. 5: 1 - Grave 458 from Kapiteljska njiva in Novo mesto (after KRIŽ 2005); 2 - grave 30 from Pećine near Kostolac (after JOVANOVIĆ, B. 2018).**

With the appearance of the La Tène culture in south-eastern Pannonia in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the fighting style changed, but also the way in which the warrior identity was expressed in the burial rite. Both these aspects are reflected in the appearance of new weapon sets. One of the most significant novelties was the introduction of two-edged swords, one of the most emblematic objects of the La Tène culture. The size and shape of this cut-and-thrust weapon show that it was used in combination with a spear and shield mainly by foot-soldiers. They were carried in iron sheet scabbards with a round (Hatvan – Boldog – Münsingen type), heart-shaped, or rhomboid chape (PETRES – SZABÓ 1985; 1992; LEJARS 1994), decorated in some cases with the motif of a zoomorphic lyre (type 1) or a pair of griffins (type 2a–c). Somewhat later scabbards were even decorated with lozenge motifs applied in the early Hungarian sword style, as is the case with the piece from Batina (VINSKI GASPARINI 1959, 281–282, fig. 18; SZABÓ – PETRES 1992, 108, cat. no. 102, pl. 99).

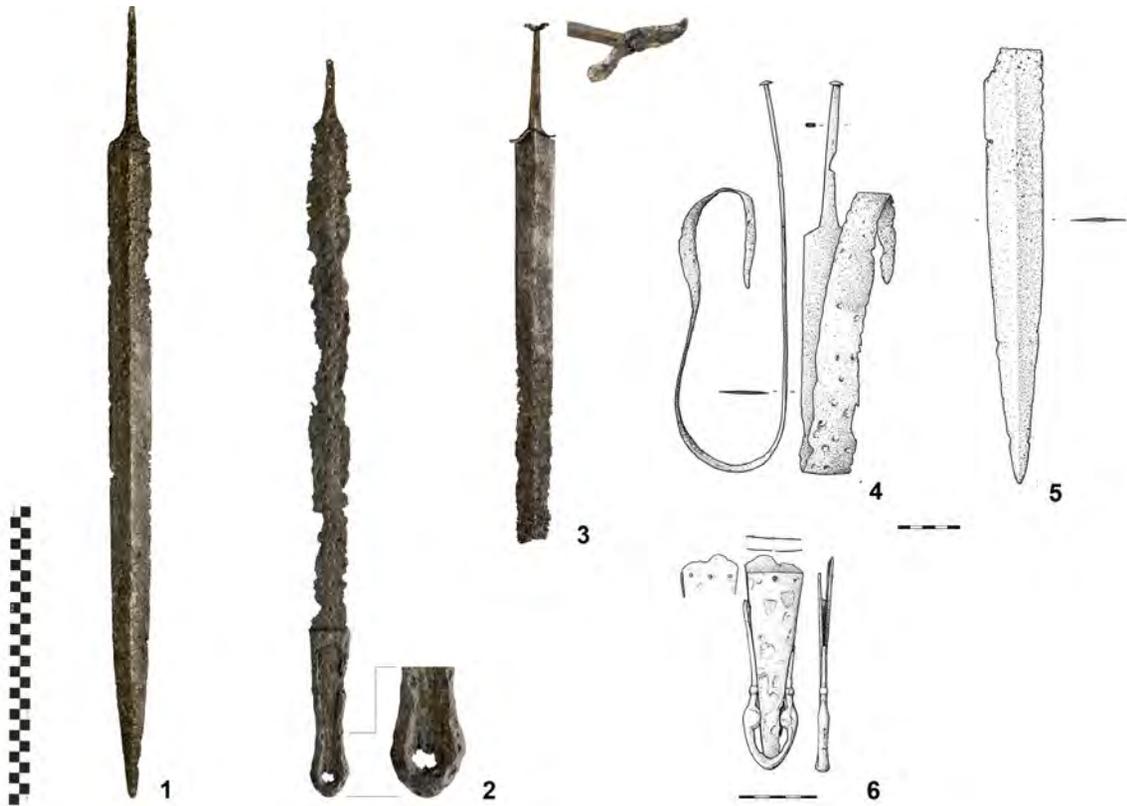
In south-eastern Pannonia, Early La Tène swords have been found in several graves from the cemetery of Belgrade-Karaburma, Serbia (**Fig. 8: 2, 11: 1, 13: 1**; graves 22/23, 51, 66, 71, and 111: TODORVIĆ 1972, 17, 24, 28, 34-35, pl. 7: 2, 19: 2, 25: 1, 33: 4; BOŽIČ 1981, 317, pl. 2, 10: 1-3), in grave 38 from Pećine near Kostolac (JOVANOVIĆ 2014, 28, fig. 5; JOVANOVIĆ, B. 2018, 91-94, fig. 33, 63, pl. 47-48), in a questionable grave assemblage 29 in Zeleno Polje in Osijek, Croatia (SPAJIĆ 1962, 40-41, pl. 16: 12; BOŽIČ 1981, 317, pl. 2, 6: 1), and in disturbed graves from Požarevac, Serbia (**Fig. 11: 2**; BOŽIČ 1981: 317, pl. 2, 6: 5), Batina (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1959, 282, pl. 1:1; TODORVIĆ 1968, 139, pl. 3-5; SZABÓ 1991, 309; SZABÓ - PETRES 1992, 108, cat. no. 102, pl. 99), and Čalma, Serbia (JOVANOVIĆ, M. 2018, 11-13, fig. 2). Apart from the above described sword in a scabbard from Sotin, isolated finds attesting the presence of - unfortunately not preserved - warrior graves of the earliest Late Iron Age horizon of southern Pannonia (LT B2) are documented from Dalj (**Fig. 7: 2**; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 81, pl. 8: 1-1a.), Mikluševac, Croatia (**Fig. 7: 3**; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 91, pl. 29: 3), Lipovac, Croatia (**Fig. 9: 2**; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 102, pl. 56: 1), Šarengrad, Croatia (**Fig. 7: 1**; BRUNŠMID 1900, 68, fig. 58; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 91, pl. 29: 1), Ruma, Serbia (TODORVIĆ 1968, 149, pl. 41: 1-3; SZABÓ - PETRES 1992, 116, cat. no. 137, pl. 123: 1), and Kupinovo, Serbia (**fig. 7: 4-6**; DRNIĆ 2015, 129, pl. 1: 1-2, pl. 12: 1). (**Fig. 6**).



**Fig. 6: Distribution of Early La Tène swords and scabbards in the south-east Alps and southern Pannonia (small dot - one specimen; large dot - more specimens; black - zoomorphic lyre; transparent - pair of griffins).**

## CONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLY LA TÈNE SWORDS

There are certain differences between these swords in terms of construction details, mainly as far as the blade shape is concerned. The most numerous group is comprised of the swords with a rhombic blade cross section, followed by those with a midrib whose function was - in a similar way to the spear heads - to strengthen the blade structure (**Fig. 8: 1** - Osijek-Zeleno polje, grave 29; **Fig. 11: 2** - Požarevac; **Fig. 11: 3** - Lipovac), and swords with a lens-shaped blade section (**Fig. 7: 4**; Kupinovo). Beginning in LT B2 a general trend can be observed in La Tène swords in which their length increases and in later stages their previously sharp tip becomes blunter, transforming them thus by LT D1 from a foot-soldier cut-and-thrust sword into an



**Fig. 7: Early La Tène swords and scabbards from south-eastern Pannonia: 1 - Šarengrad; 2 - Dalj; 3 - Mikluševci (photo: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb); 4-6 - Kupinovo (after DRNIĆ 2015).**

up to 1-meter-long cavalry weapon adapted only for cuts (LEJARS 1996; DIZDAR 2009b; etc.). In spite of this general trend, there is a considerable size variation of the swords from Early La Tène contexts (or featuring clear Early La Tène characteristics). Their length ranges from 69.5 cm in the case of the sword from Kupinovo (**Fig. 7: 4**) up to the extreme 88 cm of the find from grave 1 in Orehova vas near Maribor (GRAHEK 2015, 295, fig. 3: 1). The Sotin sword, with its 72.4 cm, falls within the shorter examples of this range. Here we have to keep in mind the necessarily individual character of weaponry which to a certain extent could have been adapted to the personal needs and stature of each individual swordsman. It is, however, also possible, that the size variation may reflect different fighting techniques with the large examples enabling its use both on foot and mounted. This hypothesis is supported by two relatively long swords (length over 80 cm) discovered in Bizjakova hiša near Kobarid (MLINAR – GERBEC 2011, cat. nos. 3–5), a cultic context with a strong cavalry component – which further yielded also several bits and metallic components of a horse harness as well as osteological remains of at least six horses of the so-called western Celtic type (TOŠKAN 2011).

### **DECORATION OF THE EARLY LA TÈNE SCABBARDS (DRAGON PAIR MOTIF / MOTIFS OF A GRIFFIN PAIR AND ZOOMORPHIC LYRE)**

As has already been described, the scabbard of the Sotin sword is decorated with a pair of griffins (type 2A). De Navarro in his classification of the motif ('dragon pair type I' in his typology) put forth its origin in the Carpathian Basin under the influence of Scythian models

and then – once established in the La Tène visual repertoire – its spread further west (DE NAVARRO 1972, 230). However, numerous later finds of scabbards decorated with this motif in France and northern Italy disproved this hypothesis and suggested that the motif likely developed from that of the zoomorphic lyre (type II after De Navarro = type 1 after N. Ginoux; BULARD 1982; SZABÓ – PETRES 1992, 32–33; STÖLLNER 1998; GINOUX 2007). The studies by Natalie Ginoux clearly demonstrated that the motif of a zoomorphic lyre, attested in several cases on scabbards from the contexts of the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (LT B1), predates that of the griffin pair (type 2A and 2B) which have only been found in LT B2 assemblages. Their origin is in her opinion to be found in Champagne based on several grave assemblages (Vert-la Gravelle ‘La Moulin’, Gourgauçon ‘La Corbillière’, Villeseneux ‘la Barberie’, Poix) in which the scabbards decorated with this motif feature rounded perforated chapes and were suspended on belts with round links which predate or are partly contemporary with the first chain belts (GINOUX 2007, 90–97, tab. 4). Shortly afterwards, the increasing warrior activity in the territory of Western and Central Europe and of northern Italy – traditionally interpreted as the Celtic expansion of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC – disseminated this iconographic element (a pair of griffins) also further east including in the Carpathian Basin with examples coming from the sites of Dubnik (graves 15, 16, 30, and 31), Kosd (grave 2), Somogytur, and Pişcolt (grave 40), while the only analogy for the Sotin piece can be found in the uncertain grave assemblage 29 from Zeleno polje in Osijek (**Fig. 8: 1**; BOŽIĆ 1981, 317, pl. 2, 6: 1; GINOUX 2007, 154, 161, 163–164, pl. 45–46, 51–56).

Besides their decorative function, the motifs of a zoomorphic lyre and griffin pair surely played a certain symbolic role within the systems of visual communication of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC of the La Tène warrior elites. Making reference to several objects of the formative stage of La Tène art in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Natalie Ginoux suggested that these motifs combining the iconographic features of a warrior and of a monster were meant to protect the sword and thus its bearer (GINOUX 2007, 28; GINOUX 2012, 185). In this context, the past studies of the topic failed to emphasise the fact that the motif disappeared from scabbards at the end of LT C1 (i.e. the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), which is the very moment when the quantity of punch marks on sword blades significantly increased. Although punch marks appear already on some earlier swords, their heyday comes in LT C2 followed by a decline in the Late La Tène period (DEUTSCHER 2012). Given that these punch marks are also attributed an apotropaic role, it is possible that they assumed the role of a zoomorphic lyre and griffin pair as the protector of the sword and its bearer. Besides their apotropaic role, it is possible to assume that these motifs carried specific messages communicating the position or status of its bearer within the hierarchy of laténian warrior groups. Unfortunately, given the lack of written sources, any attempt at a reconstruction of these communication structures is obviously a hard, if not an impossible task.

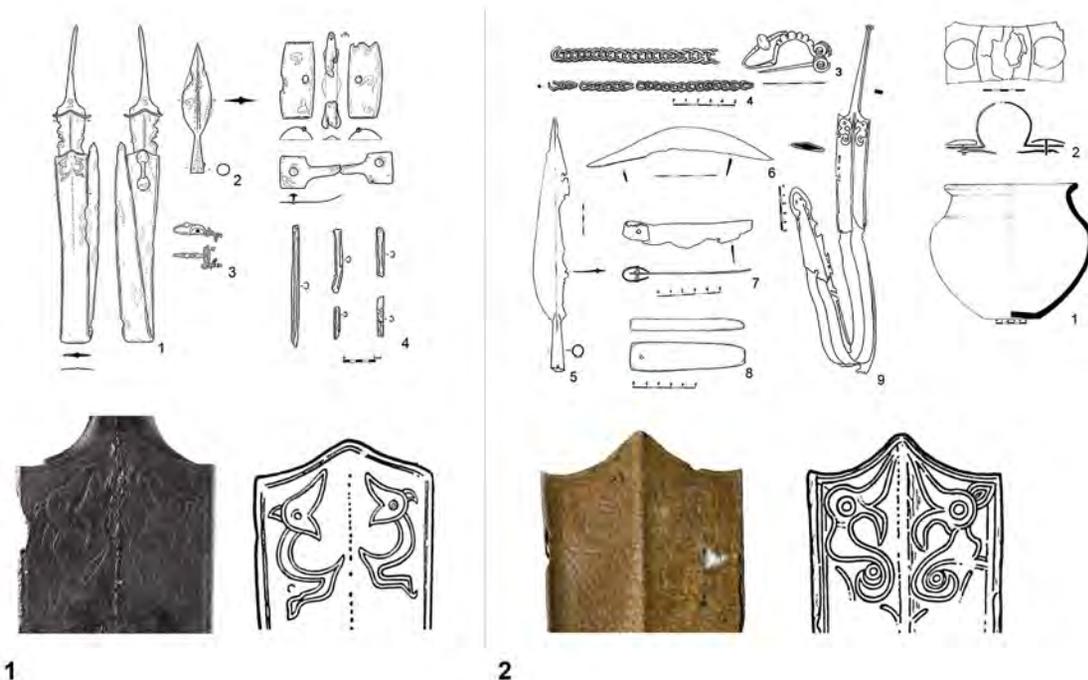
This is well demonstrated by the interpretation proposed by N. Ginoux. In her opinion *‘[t]he diffusion of the »griffin pair« type is linked to the infantryman, as the griffin leg is found on weapons specifically adapted to that function. This short and narrow kind of weapon belongs to the so-called Hatvan-Boldog type, named after the eponymous find spot from Hungary [...] This kind of sword is contemporary with scabbards with a »dragon pair«, associated with longer and wider swords, which may belong to an equestrian elite. [...] The first one, characterised by a bird of prey-head, a leg, a wing and a prominent eye, is the most common; it refers to foot soldiers. The second one is less widespread and corresponds to the warrior elite, maybe the horsemen who were the leaders of the armies, called by Caesar equites.’* (GINOUX 2012, 187).

Although the distinction between foot soldiers and cavalrymen in the Late Iron Age is an undeniable fact, corroborated by numerous artefacts linked to horse harnesses, by iconographic sources stretching from the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, like sword scabbards

from the grave 994 from Hallstatt or the famous Gundestrup cauldron, as well as by ancient written records, Ginoux's attempt to link this distinction on a symbolic level with the two motifs seems untenable from an archaeological point of view.

The extent to which such considerations are flawed is well illustrated by two swords, one from grave 38 from Pećine near Kostolac (**Fig. 9**) and the other from the cult place of Bizjakova hiša near Kobarid (MLINAR – GERBEC 2011, cat. no. 5). In fact, the length of the former – decorated with a zoomorphic lyre (type 1B) – is a mere 71 cm while the sword from Kobarid whose scabbard is decorated with a pair of griffins (albeit somewhat stylized. **Fig. 14: 1**) is as long as 81 cm. Furthermore, the burial 38 from Pećine shows no signs of the buried being a horseman (as is the case in all the burials which yielded such scabbards) while the find context of the Kobarid scabbard could not be more 'horsey' than it is with its six horse skeletons and numerous horse harness elements. Moreover, the sword from grave 29 from the site of Zeleno polje in Osijek decorated with the griffin pair motif of type 2A is 73.5 cm long (**Fig. 8: 1**), while the length of the sword from grave 66 from Belgrade-Karaburma, decorated with a zoomorphic lyre (type 1B), is 70 cm (**Fig. 8: 2**). Finally, the dimensions of the sword from grave 555 in Kapiteljska njiva with its scabbard adorned with a zoomorphic lyre type 1A (KRIŽ 2001, 26, 55, cat. no. 363–364; KRIŽ 2005, 98–99, tab. 91: 4–5) are identical to those of the Sotin sword with a griffin pair on the scabbard and there are no grounds from a functional point of view to assume their use by two different categories of warriors. The list could go on but let us stop here.

Another problem with this interpretation is that according to the chronology of use of these motifs as established by N. Ginoux, the zoomorphic lyre became extremely rare in LT C1 when the swords start growing in length which would mean that the equestrian elite gave up the use of this motif as a status symbol within the warrior hierarchy or that in the last two thirds of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC warriors stopped riding horses which is contradicted by – no matter how rare – finds of horse harnesses dated to that period (Čirikovac, Serbia – TODORVIĆ 1971, 28, pl. 18: 4; Sajópetri, Hungary, grave 28/90 – SZABÓ ed. 2018, 56, pl. 18: 5; etc.).



**Fig. 8: 1** – Osijek-Zeleno polje, grave 29 (?) (after Božič 1981; photo: Muzej Slavonije Osijek); **2** – grave 66 from Belgrade-Karaburma (after TODORVIĆ 1972; Božič 1981; photo: Belgrade City Museum).



Fig. 9: Pećine near Kostolac, grave 38 (after JOVANOVIĆ, B. 2018).

A third circumstance which calls the discussed model into question could be the fact that in many grave assemblages (St. Benoît-sur-Seine 'La Perrière', graves 8 and 31; Belgrade-Karaburma, grave 66; Bologna-Benacci, grave 176; Ensérune, grave 163; Sanislau, grave 1; Rungis; GINOUX 2007, pl. 11, 20-21, 28, 30-31) the scabbards decorated with the motif of a zoomorphic lyre are accompanied by belts with iron chain elements. These belt sets are regarded as specially devised for fixing the scabbard on the side of a foot soldier in order to provide him with better mobility on the battle ground (RAPIN 1991; 1995; MATHIEU 2005). The abandonment of such suspension systems and a return to belts consisting of leather straps linked with metal rings followed the lengthening of swords in LT C2, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century and first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, illustrate thus the transformation of fighting style with

the growing importance of cavalry. This process culminated, at least in the south of the Carpathian Basin, in LT D1 when the sword size lengthens to up to 1 meter and also the quantity of artefacts linked with horse riding increases significantly, which undoubtedly reflects not only the change in the way of fighting, but to some extent also a certain social change (STOJIC 2003; DIZDAR 2020, 92, fig. 10: 4–8; DIZDAR – DRNIĆ 2018, 89–93).

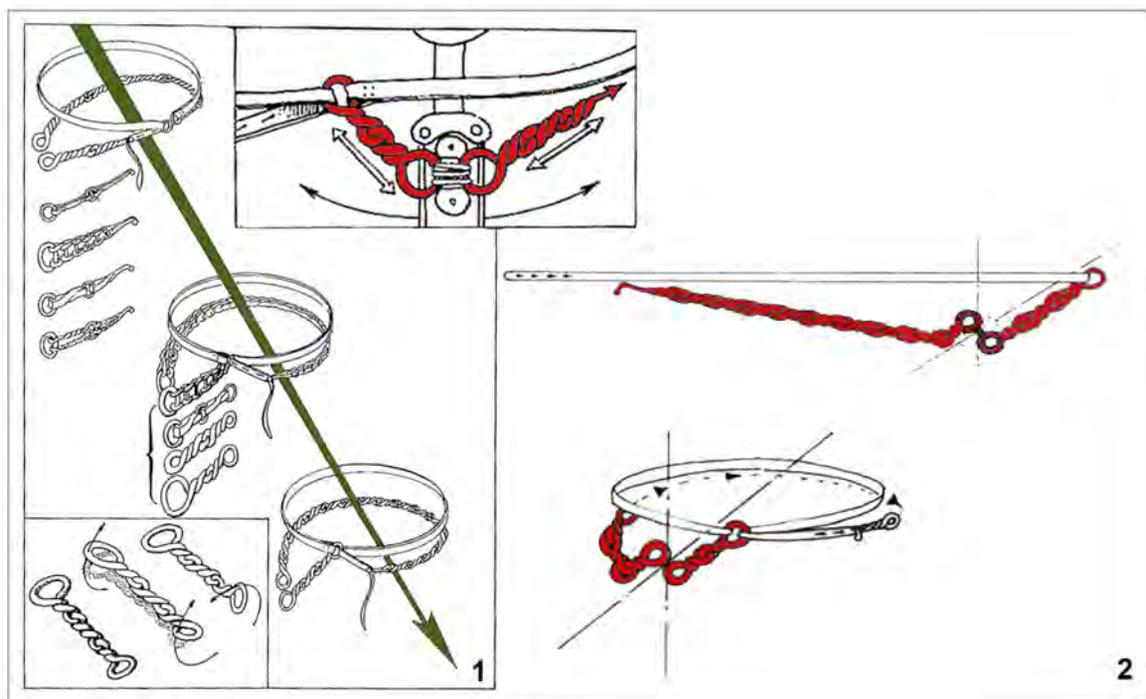
## BELT SETS FOR SWORD SUSPENSION WITH IRON CHAIN ELEMENTS OF THE KARABURMA 111 AND MOKRONOG/CERETOLO TYPES

The scabbards of La Tène swords were suspended on belt sets which right at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (LT B2) underwent a substantial construction transformation, attesting the extraordinary creativity and inventiveness of La Tène craftsmen (**Fig. 10**). Unlike earlier belt sets consisting of leather straps connected with bronze or iron rings, the newly appearing types combine the organic strap components with various iron semi-rigid or chain elements. The function of this sophisticated piece of equipment was – as already mentioned – to fix the scabbard in the vertical (RAPIN 1991; 1995) or diagonal position (MATHIEU 2005) on the warrior's side enhancing thus his mobility.

In the initial period of its production this category of artefacts is quite heterogeneous reflecting different manufacturing traditions in the western and eastern part of the distribution of the La Tène culture (RAPIN 1995, 279–280, fig. 3). Later on, standardisation occurs in this entire territory leading to the use of identical or very similar types. Still, there are some differences between some regions though these are more of a quantitative nature reflecting the number of finds of each type in a given area. A good example are the chain elements of a 'loop-in-loop' type, such as those found in grave 66 in Karaburma (**Fig. 8: 2**; TODOROVIĆ 1972, 27, pl. 24: 4). These chains, which some authors believe were inspired by Mediterranean jewellery, are most common in northern France and in the Carpathian Basin (RAPIN 1995, 280–281, fig. 3 A1, fig. 7; SCHÖNFELDER 1998; RUSTOIU 2014, 258, pl. 11: 1).

On the other hand, the exemplar from grave 22/23 in Karaburma with short links with a single twist are characteristic of Champagne and the Belgrade find is a completely isolated instance in south-eastern Pannonia (TODOROVIĆ 1972, 17, pl. 8: 8–9; RAPIN 1995, 281, fig. 3A4; BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2010, 71–72, fig. 1: 5–6). This – along with other evidence – testifies to the high mobility of warriors and warrior groups at the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. This initial phase of La Tène culture in south-eastern Pannonia is characterised by belt sets with chain elements designated as type Karaburma 111 by Dragan Božič (1981, 317, pl. 1: 2). According to A. Rapin, this is the first standardised form widespread in the entire territory between the Atlantic coast and the Carpathians; based on the fact that the majority of finds come from the Carpathian Basin he postulated their eastern origin (RAPIN 1995, 280–281, fig. 5A). The belt sets with the chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type consist – like most belt sets of this type – of a longer and a shorter chain segment which are made up of links twisted from an iron rod. The number of twists per link varies from two to ten. A significant construction difference from later chain belt types used in the LT B2–C1 phases, which is considered to be an archaic trait, is the fact that the belt hook is located on the shorter of the two chain segments while the longer chain ends with a figure-of-eight shaped loop (**Fig. 10**; RAPIN 1995, 279, fig. 3B1).

There are some minor construction variations within this group of finds since the single pieces may be made from a varied number of small or large links and even in a single belt there may be links of different dimensions. The twisting of the links may be accurate or sloppy, as can be seen on the examples from Kupinovo (**Fig. 12**). The figure-of-eight loop may be made



**Fig. 10: Evolution of belt sets with chain elements (according to RAPIN 1991; MATTHIEU 2005).**

by pinching an oval loop in the centre (Lipovac - **Fig. 11: 2**; Somogytúr: SZABÓ - NÉMETH 1999-2000) or by twisting (Kupinovo - **Fig. 12: 3-5**; Lipovac - **Fig. 11: 3**). On some specimens, the loops and hooks are also decorated with grooves or circles (Kupinovo - **Fig. 10: 2**; Dubník, graves 15 and 30; etc.) which is often the case with the somewhat later belts of the Brežice 2 type (Božič 1987, 874, fig. 44: 4; Božič 1999, 196). There is also a significant variation in the weight of the single specimens - the longer chain of the Lipovac belt weighs 650 g while one of the items from Kupinovo weighs only 450 g.<sup>1</sup>

Only a single chain element of this type from south eastern Pannonia comes from a clear archaeological context - that from the eponymous inhumation grave 111 from Belgrade-Karaburma cemetery which was found in association with a sword in a scabbard with a chape of GSA 3 type (LEJARS 1994), a spear head with a wide blade, a knife, and a whetstone (**Fig. 11: 1**; TODORVIĆ 1972, 34-35, pl. 33: 1-7). Another specimen comes from the disturbed grave assemblage from Batina in which there was - apart from the complete short and damaged longer chain sections - also a sword in a scabbard decorated in the early Hungarian sword style and a rounded perforated chape, two shield bosses (a two-piece and a one-piece with trefoil shaped wings), as well as a metallic shield rim. An exceptional find is a helmet with a reinforced calotte while the spear head is not typical for the Early La Tène period and it resembles Late La Tène specimens (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1959; TODORVIĆ 1968, 139, pl. 3; SZABÓ - PETRES 1992, 108, cat. no. 102, pl. 99). One damaged longer chain element was found in a disturbed grave in Požarevac, associated with a sword with a midrib on the blade, a two-piece shield boss, shears, and two Duchcov type brooches (Božič 1981, pl. 6: 5-10). Although the find context of the chain element from Lipovac is not known, based on the find of an Early La Tène sword with a midrib

<sup>1</sup> It could be possible that lighter chain elements belonged to female costume. Unfortunately, we were not able to weigh most of the known finds, especially those from grave assemblages, so this claim remains purely hypothetical.

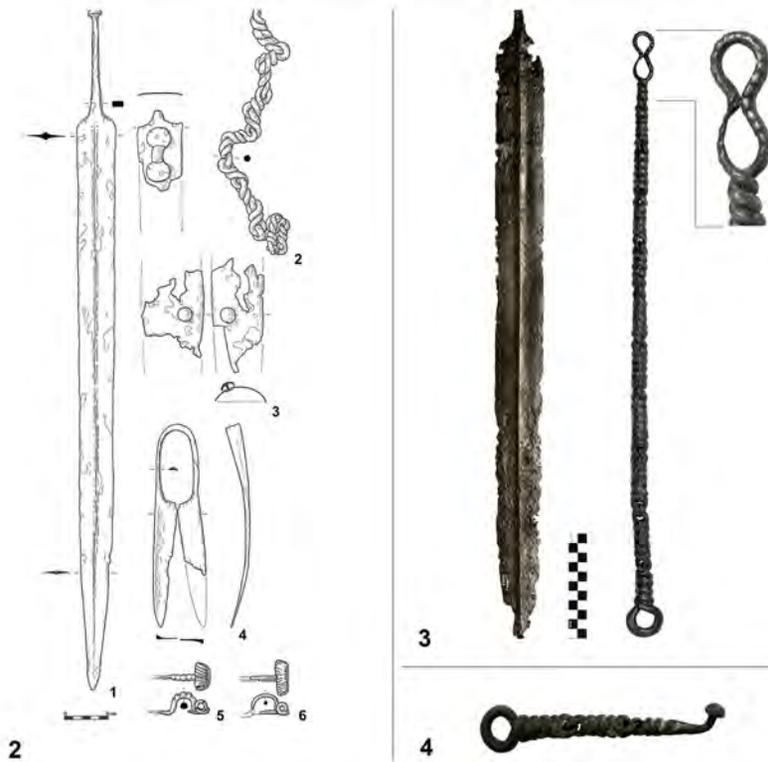
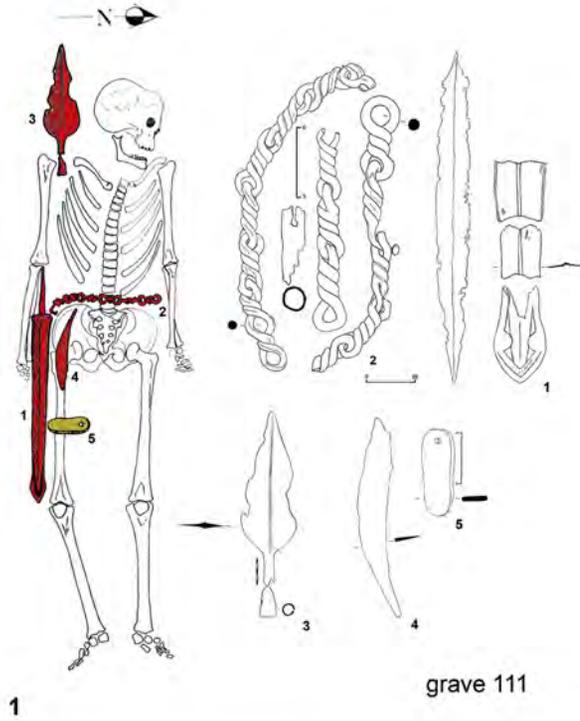


Fig. 11: 1 - Belgrade-Karaburma, grave 111 (after TODORVIĆ 1972); 2 - Požarevac (after BOŽIČ 1981); 3 - Early La Tène sword and a longer chain element of the Karaburma 111 type from Lipovac (photo: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb); 4 - shorter chain element of the Karaburma 111 type from Dalj (photo: Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

from the same site it is possible to assume, with some precaution, that the chain was used for suspending the scabbard (**Fig. 11: 3**; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 102, pl. 56: 1–4). As many as five longer chain elements of this type come from the destroyed graves from Kupinovo (**Fig. 12**; DRNIĆ 2015, 64–65, pl. 29: 1–3, 5; pl. 44: 2), and one shorter piece is kept with the finds obtained during non-professional early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations in Dalj (**Fig. 11: 4**).

Curiously, only a single chain element of the Karabuma 111 type is known from the territory of the Mokronog group, that from grave 9 from the site of Kandija in Novo mesto. It was published as a drawing in 1950 (STARE 1950, 47, fig. 12), but unfortunately its present condition does not allow for any further analysis.

It is important to point out that some of the chain elements, including those of Karaburma 111 type, used in the LT B2–C1 belt sets in the Carpathian Basin are identical to those used in female costumes so that in the case of chance finds without a clear archaeological context it is not possible to distinguish whether they come from male or female graves. Most of the graves with female costumes that include chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type are registered in western and north-western parts of the Carpathian Basin (HORVÁTH 1987, 89–90, 106–107, 123, pl. 11: 11, 21: 8a, 32: 8; BUJNA 2011, 74–75, type Gk-B).

In an effort to produce more comfortable belt sets, certain technological changes in the construction occur – primarily, the hooks shifted from the shorter to the longer chain segment, chain links grew shorter, and the entire belts became lighter. One of the first types which resulted from these changes is the Mokronog/Ceretolo type with its characteristic large circular loops at both ends of the shorter chain and on one side of the longer element (**Fig. 10**).<sup>2</sup>

As was the case with the previous type, only one specimen from south-eastern Pannonia comes from an ascertained grave assemblage – a shorter chain element from the cremation burial 71 from Belgrade-Karaburma which was found together with a bent sword and spear head, and a band shaped rectangular shield boss (**Fig. 13**; TODOROVIĆ 1972, 29, pl. 25, grave 71: 1–5). As many as three pieces come from the questionable grave assemblages from Osijek (graves 2, 6, 37; SPAJIĆ 1954, 9, 11, pl. 1: 6–7, 2:17a; SPAJIĆ 1962, 43, 46; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 2007, fig. 2:1). Two specimens from a destroyed grave in Novi Banovci and Dalj are kept in the deposits of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (DRNIĆ 2015, 65, fig. 17), and a short chain segment from Dalj, also without information about its find context is held in Berlin (JENNY 1932, 240, fig. 3: 4). In his classification of the La Tène material culture in southern Pannonia and the south-eastern Alps (Mokronog and Belgrade groups), Dragan Božič dated chain elements of the Mokronog/Ceretolo type to LT B2, i.e. phases Belgrade 1, and Mokronog 1 (Božič 1981, 317; Božič 1987, 869, fig. 43: 3; Božič 1999, 209). However, since they are, as a matter of fact, technologically more advanced than the chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type, some authors dated them to the transition of LT B2 and C1, and to the beginning of LT C1 (RAPIN 1995, 283–284, fig. 10; BUJNA 2006, 209–210, fig. 3). Their somewhat later chronology is confirmed by the grave 446 in the Kapiteljska njiva cemetery in Novo mesto which contained an older (LT B2) sword and spear head with a broad blade, but also an LT B2/C1 brooch (**Fig. 13: 2**; KRIŽ 2005, 95, pl. 79–80). Another example of Mokronog/Ceretolo type was found in grave 466 together with similar fibula, but with the internal chord, bent sword in scabbards of type GSA 3, and bent spear head with broad blade (KRIŽ 2005, 95, pl. 79–80). Moreover, the analysis of LT B2 grave assemblages in the territory of the Carpathian Basin demonstrated that not even in a single case do the Mokronog/Ceretolo type chain elements appear in association with two- or three-piece shield bosses which represent a more archaic form than those made in a single piece. On the other

2 The term Mokronog for this form of the chain elements was introduced by D. Božič in 1981, while A. Rapin used the term Ceretolo in his 1995 study.

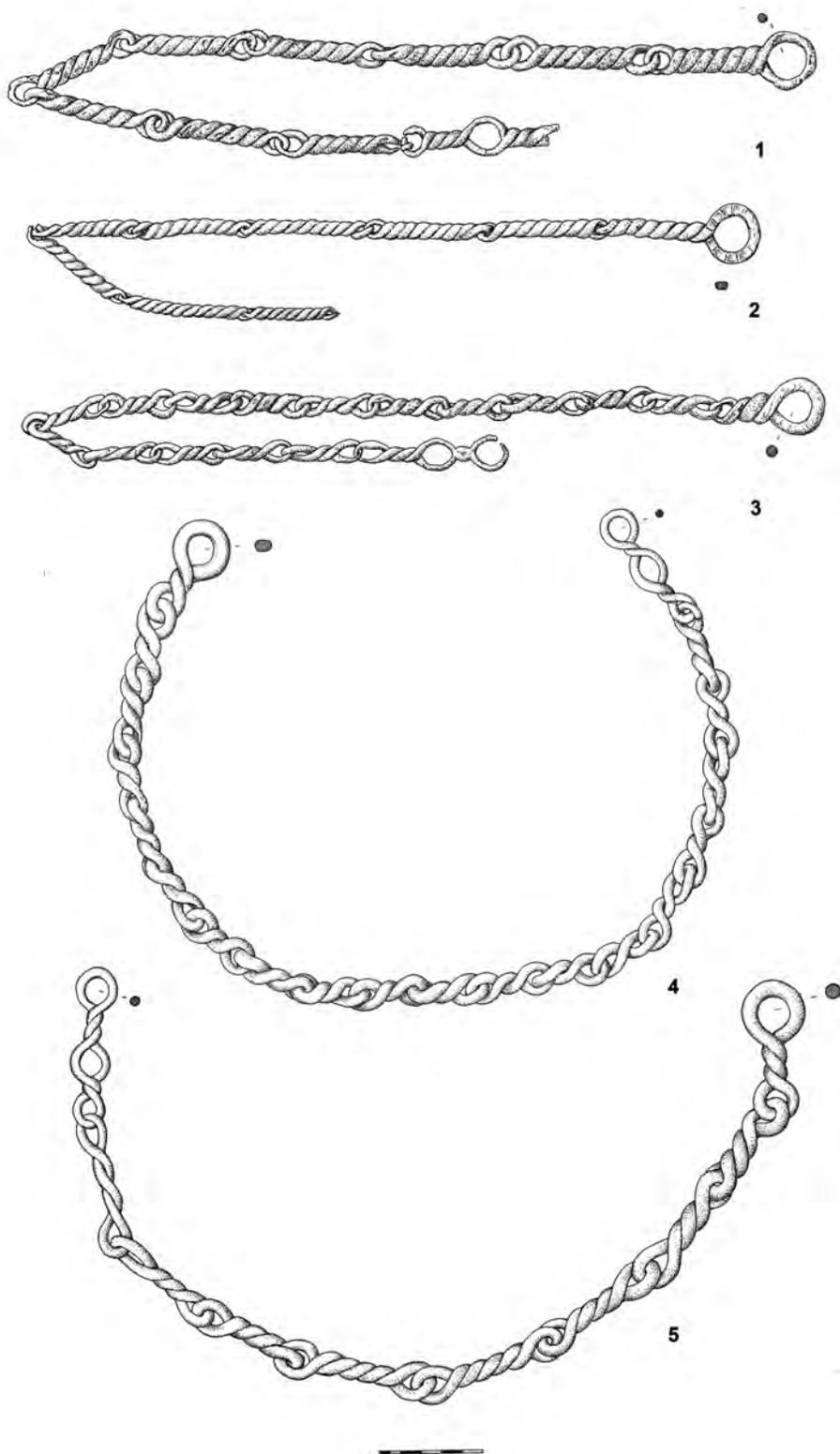
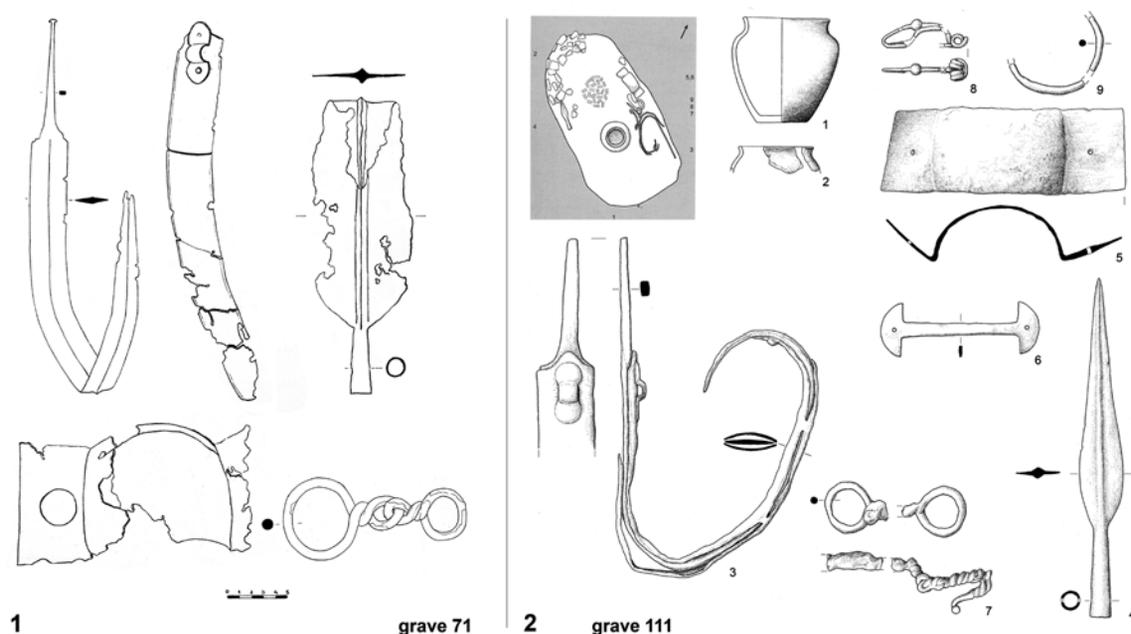


Fig. 12: Chain elements of the belt sets of the Karaburma 111 type from Kupinovo, Serbia (after DRNIĆ 2015).



**Fig. 13:** 1 - Belgrade-Karaburma, grave 71 (after TODOROVIĆ 1972); 2 - Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva, grave 111 (after KRIŽ 2005).

hand, the chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type are often found together with the older types of shield bosses (Dubnik, gr. 25: BUJNA 1989, 274, pl. 29: 3; Maňa, gr. 28 and 101: BENADIK 1983, 24, 47, pl. 13: 3, 36: 7; Pişcolt: gr. 164: NÉMETI 1989, 91, fig. 14: 2a-b; etc.), and in some cases with the even more archaic shields with small circular fittings (Curtuiuşeni, gr. 14: TELEAGĂ 2008, 136, pl. 10: 14.6; Ludas -Varjú-dűlő, gr. 703: SZABÓ - TANKÓ 2012, 34-35, pl. 16: 6). (**Tab. 1**).

Just like the chain elements of the previously discussed type, the Mokronog/Ceretolo type also made part of female costumes and can be found in female graves from the end of LT B2 and LT C1 (BUJNA 2011, 76-79, type Gk-C1; Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva, gr. 194; Ludas -Varjú-dűlő - grave 657, etc.), and even in LT C2 as is clear from the examples from the graves from Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery, Croatia (DIZDAR 2009a, 273; DIZDAR 2013, 214).

## CONCLUSIONS

The sword analysed in this paper hints at the presence of a grave dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC somewhere in the area of today's village of Sotin. The occupation of this area in this earliest phase of the Late Iron Age (LT B2) is also suggested by several chance finds (brooches, bracelets) from the assumed position of the La Tène settlement. That was the period of profound cultural and to a certain extent demographic changes in most parts of the Carpathian Basin, including south-eastern Pannonia, with the introduction of the La Tène material culture. The influx of the new groups from the north-west together with the adaptation of the local Early Iron Age population resulted in the formation of the new communities and the new cultural landscape. It seems from the available archaeological record (mostly burials) that the role of the warriors was somewhat different, possibly more prominent, in the newly formed communities in comparison to the Early Iron Age tradition of the region. In this initial phase of the Late Iron Age (LT B2) twenty or more graves with

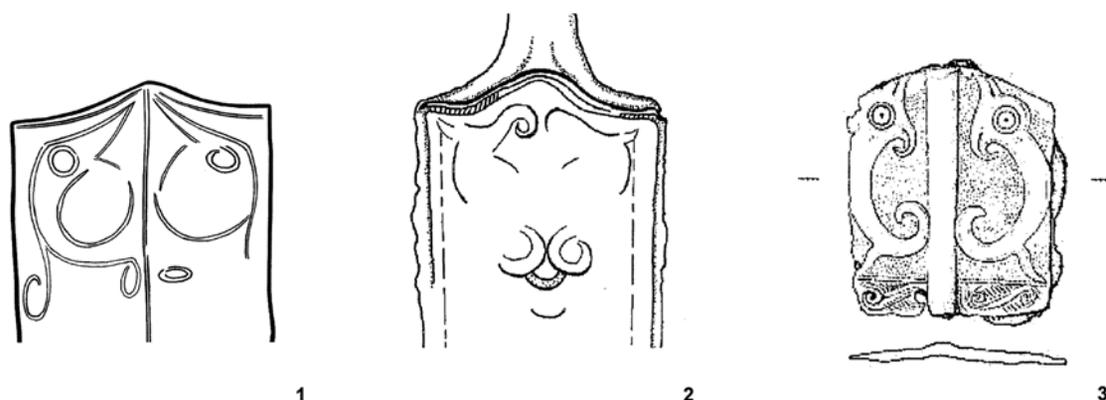
	multiple small round shield fittings	Bivalve / trivalve shield bosses	Karaburma 111 type	band-shaped shield bosses	Mokronog / Ceretolo type
Curtuiușeni, grave 14					
Ludas - Varjú-dűlő, grave 703					
Mannersdorf, grave 230					
Chotín, grave 2					
Chotín, grave 7					
Dubník, grave 15					
Dubník, grave 25					
Maňa, grave 28					
Maňa, grave 101					
Pišcolt, grave 164					
Pišcolt, grave 173					
Kosd, grob 2					
Magyarszeredahely - H. Dűlő, grave 30					
Somogytűr, grave 2					
Chotín, grave 16					
Chotín, grave 28					
Chotín, grave 47					
Trnovec nad Vahom, grave 111					
Trnovec nad Vahom, grave 537					
Dezmir, grave 3					
Ludas - Varjú-dűlő, grave 686					
Ludas - Varjú-dűlő, grave 879					
Sajópetri - Homoki-Szűlűskert, grave 54/122					
Batina (?)					
Hurbanovo-Konkol', grave 18/64					
Inzersdorf					
Budapest-Csepel, grave 149					
Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva, graves 71 and 111					
Belgrade-Karaburma, grave 71					
Ceretolo					

**Tab. 1: The association of the chain elements of the Karaburma 111 and Mokronog/Ceretolo types with two-/three-piece shield bosses in Early La Tène graves in the Carpathian Basin and northern Italy.**

weapons confirms the introduction of new weaponry, characteristic for Central European La Tène culture (sword in scabbard, belt sets, spear, and shield), and consequently implying the emergence of new concepts of combat, but also a different representation of the warriors in the burial ritual. This new type of weaponry, recorded *en masse* in the regions between the Atlantic and Carpathians, does not only point to the introduction of a new material culture, but also the dissemination of a unique warrior ideology shared by warrior elites of numerous communities in temperate Europe in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC through supra-regional networks of communication. Important visual codes in the transfer of that ideology were various symbols used to communicate certain messages, often applied to that very weaponry. The most numerous among these symbols, possibly of an apotropaic function, were depictions of a pair of griffins (or dragons in older interpretations) and the motif of a zoomorphic lyre.

Thus, the Sotin sword with its scabbard carrying the motif of a pair of griffins (type 2A) is also important from an iconographic point of view. The only other scabbard decorated with the same motif known to date from south-eastern Pannonia is the one from grave 29 from Osijek-Zeleno polje. Although the archaeological context of the Sotin find is unknown, we found it valuable, because each new find is useful for a better understanding of this emblematic symbol. The study by Natalie Ginoux (2007) provided an overview of the entire corpus of the specimens published up to that point (152 pieces altogether) but a number of new finds have appeared since then. Out of them we may highlight the pieces from the very interesting and important cult context in Kobarid (**Fig. 14: 1**; MLINAR - GERBEC 2011); the sword from the bottom of the River Cetina (Croatia), outside the area of La Tène culture, which was interpreted in the key of possible mercenary activities of the Celts from the western Adriatic shore (**Fig. 14: 2**; KAVUR - BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2014); or the scabbard from grave 218 in Dürrenberg near Hallein (Austria) decorated with a pair of griffins which could - alongside the specimens from La Tène and Pontoux - represent the stylistic prototype of the classical motif (**Fig. 14: 3**; MOSER - TIEFENGRABER - WILTSCHKE-SCHROTTA 2012, 144, 180, pl. 140: 12).

An important element in the study of the La Tène swords and its use as the most emblematic weapon of the Late Iron Age warriors is an understanding of the construction of the belt sets used for their suspension. This technical innovation with semi-rigid and chain parts appeared in several regions of the La Tène culture in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and it went through significant development over the course of the next century with several different variants. Through a thorough typological and technological study of these objects, together with



**Fig. 14:** Griffin pair depictions from 1 - Kobarid (MLINAR - GERBEC 2011); 2 - Cetina (KAVUR - BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2014); 3 - Dürrenberg near Hallein, gr. 218 (MOSER - TIEFENGRABER - WILTSCHKE-SCHROTTA 2012).

other elements of weaponry, it is possible to reconstruct rapid changes of the forms in this turbulent period, as we have shown in the case of Karaburma 111 and the Mokronog/Ceretolo types, but also the creative potential of the craftsmen who were the driving force of that development.

In the end, the case of the Sotin sword shows the importance of the re-studying of old finds and the execution of adequate conservation interventions, because in the initial publication the motif of a pair of griffins on its scabbard was not even recognized. Similar decoration on La Tène weaponry will not wait forever to be discovered under the corrosion which destroys it irreversibly. The large quantities of artefacts in museum collections in the region definitely promise more surprises in the future.

## LIST OF FINDS

### ***Finds of Early La Tène swords in the contexts of the Negau phase of the Doljenska Hallstatt group***

1. Magdalenska gora-Laščik: 1. Grave V/29 – sword without a scabbard; 2. Grave V/19-20; 3. grave V/26a (GABROVEC 1987, 72, fig. 6: 1; TECCO HVALA 2012, 133-134, fig. 52: 5-8).
2. Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska njiva: grave XV/5 (KRIŽ 2013, 48, 143-144, fig. 42, pl. 68: 8).

### ***Finds of Early La Tène swords and scabbards in southern Pannonia and the south-eastern Alps Slovenia***

1. Kobarid-Bizjakova hiža (cult place): 1. Sword in a scabbard of type GSA 3(?); 2. Sword with a small preserved fragment of scabbard; 3. Sword with a preserved lower part of scabbard with a chape type Kosd C / GSA 3; 4. Sword in a scabbard of the type Kosd A / GSA 1; 5. Sword in a scabbard of the type Kosd C / GSA 3 decorated with a pair of dragons (type I) / griffins (type 2A) (MLINAR – GERBEC 2011, 36, 62-65, cat. no. 1-5).
2. Maribor-Pobrežje: sword without a scabbard (PAHIČ 1966, 312, tab. 13: 4; BOŽIČ 1987, 869, pl. 85: 1).
3. Orehova vas near Maribor: 1. grave 1 – sword in a scabbard of type Kosd C or D / GSA 3; 2. Grave 3: sword in a scabbard type Kosd C? / GSA 3 (GRAHEK 2015, 295, 300-301, fig. 3: 1; 4: 1).
4. Srednica near Zgodnja Hajdina, Ptuj: grave 9 – sword in a scabbard of type Kosd A1 / GSA 1 (LUBŠINA – TUŠEK – KAVUR 2011, 44-48, fig. 11: 6).
5. Mokronog: 1. Sword in a scabbard of the third group of scabbards decorated in Hungarian sword style; 2. Sword in a scabbard with an unclear decoration below the scabbard mouth (GABROVEC 1966, tab. 1: 1, 3; 2; BOŽIČ 1987, 869, sl. 43: 2).
6. Novo mesto-Marof: 1. Sword without a scabbard; 2. Sword in a scabbard (KNEZ 1966, 391-392, pl. 1: 1-2; BOŽIČ 1987, 869, fig. 43: 1).
7. Novo mesto-Kandija: grave 9 – sword without a scabbard (STARE 1950, 47).
8. Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva: 1. grave 71 – sword in a scabbard of type GSA 2; 2. grave 111 – sword in a scabbard; 3. grave 466 – sword in a scabbard of type GSA 1; 4. – grave 555 sword in a scabbard of type GSA 3 decorated with a pair of dragons (typ II) / zoomorphic lyre (type 1 A); 5. – grave 620 sword in a scabbard of type Kosd A / GSA 1; 6. grave 641 – sword in a scabbard; (KRIŽ 2001, 26, 82, 86, 123, 135, 141, 144, cat. no. 5253, 83, 302, 363364, 403, 416; KRIŽ 2005, 46, 95, 98, pl. 7: 3, 80: 2, 91: 5).

### ***Croatia***

9. Batina: sword in a scabbard of type Kosd B / GSA 1 decorated in the early Hungarian sword style (VINSKI – GASPARINI 1959, 282, pl. 1: 1; TODOROVIĆ 1968, 139, pl. 3-5; SZABÓ 1991, 309; SZABÓ – PETRES 1992, 108, cat. no. 102, pl. 99).
10. Osijek-Zeleno polje: grave 29 (?) – sword in a scabbard decorated with a pair of dragons (type I) / griffins (type 2A) (SPAJČIĆ 1962, 40-41, pl. 16: 12; BOŽIČ 1981, 317, pl. 2, 6: 1).
11. Dalj: sword in a scabbard with a preserved chape of type Kosd C / GSA 2 (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 81, pl. 8: 1-1a).
12. Sotin: sword in a scabbard decorated with a pair of dragons (type I) / griffins (type 2A) (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 93, pl. 33: 4-4a).
13. Šarengrad: sword without a scabbard (BRUNŠMID 1900, 68, fig. 58).

14. Lipovac: sword without a scabbard (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 102, pl. 56: 1).
15. Mikluševci: sword without a scabbard (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 91, pl. 29: 3).
16. Cetina: sword in a scabbard of type Kosd D / GSA 3 decorated with a pair of dragons (type 2) / zoomorphic lyre (type 1) (KAVUR – BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2014).

#### Bosnia and Herzegovina

17. Dvorovi near Bijeljina: fragment of a scabbard decorated with a pair of dragons (type II) / zoomorphic lyre (type 1B) (MARIĆ 1961; SZABÓ – PETRES 1992, cat. no. 117, pl. 117: 1).

#### Serbia

18. Čalma: sword in a scabbard (JOVANOVIĆ, M. 2018, 11–13, fig. 2).
19. Ruma-Borkovac: sword in a scabbard of type Kosd D / GSA 3 (TODOROVIĆ 1968, 149, pl. 41: 1–3; SZABÓ – PETRES 1992, 116, cat. no. 137, pl. 123: 1).
20. Sremska Mitrovica (or Vojvodina): fragment of a scabbard decorated with a pair of dragons (type II) / zoomorphic lyre (type 1B) (SZABÓ – PETRES 1992, cat. no. 127, pl. 119: 1).
21. Kupinovo: 1. Bent sword without a scabbard; 2. Lower part of a sword blade; 3. Lower part of a scabbard with a chape type Kosd C / GSA 3; (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 83, pl. 12: 7; DRNIĆ 2015, 129, pl. 1: 1–2, pl. 12: 1).
22. Belgrade-Karaburma: 1. grave 22 – sword in a scabbard of type Kosd D / GSA 3; 2. grave 51 – sword in a scabbard type Kosd B / GSA 1; 3. Grave 66 – sword in scabbard of type Kosd C / GSA 3 decorated with a pair of dragons (type II) / zoomorphic lyre (type 1B); 4. Grave 111 – sword in a scabbard of type Kosd C / GSA 3 (TODOROVIĆ 1972, 17, 24, 28, 34–35, pl. 7: 2, 19: 2, 25: 1, 33: 4; BOŽIČ 1981, 317, pl. 2, 10: 1–3).
23. Pećine near Kostolac: grave 38 – sword in a scabbard decorated with a pair of dragons (type II) / zoomorphic lyre (type 1B) (JOVANOVIĆ 2014, 28, fig. 5; JOVANOVIĆ, B. 2018, 91–94, fig. 33, pl. 47–48).
24. Požarevac: sword in a scabbard (BOŽIČ 1981, 317, pl. 2, 6: 5).

#### **Finds of chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type in the Carpathian Basin (graves with weapons):**

##### Austria

1. Grabelsdorf-Gracarca: ‘grave’ A 15/A21, cenotaph? (GLEIRSCHER 2009, 147–149, fig. 5: 2a–b).
2. Mannersdorf: grave 230 (RAMSL 2011, 103, pl. 228).
3. Obersburg-Gracarca: (GLEIRSCHER 2009, 157, fig. 8: 3a–c).
4. Dürrnberg near Hallein: Moserstein, grave 9 (PENNINGER 1972, 48, pl. 7: 9)

##### Slovakia

5. Chotín: graves 2, 7, 16, 28, 47 (RATIMORSKÁ 1981, 17, 27, 35, 56, 78, pl. 5: 3, 8: 7, 13: 4, 21: 10, 28: 5).
6. Dubník: graves 15, 25, 30 (BUJNA 1989, 260, 274, 279, pl. 12: 5, 29: 3, 32: 2).
6. Maňa: graves 28, 101 (BENADIK 1983, 24, 47, pl. 13: 3, 36: 7).
7. Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov: graves 111, 460, 537 (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROZ 1957, 16, 31–32, 36, fig. 5: 11–12, 14, pl. 1: 4, 10: 2, 12: 1, 5).

##### Slovenia

8. Novo mesto-Kandija: grave 9 (STARE 1950, 47, fig. 12).

##### Romania

9. Curtuiuşeni: grave 14 (TELEAGĂ 2008, 136, pl. 10: 14.6).
10. Cluj-Napoca: Dezmir, grave 3 (CRIŞAN 1964, 97–99, pl. 2: 10, 14; BERECKI 2015, 104–105).
11. Pişcolt: graves 164, 173 (?) (NÉMETH 1989, 91, 95, fig. 14.2a–b, 16: 4b–c).

##### Hungary

12. Balatongyörök-Kövesmező: grave 1 (HELLEBRANDT 1999, 71, pl. 2: 4).
13. Kosd: grave 2 (GINOUX 2007, 161, pl. 46).
14. Ludas – Varjú-dűlő: graves 686, 703, 879 (SZABÓ – TANKÓ 2012, 30, 34–35, 44, pl. 11: 3, 16: 6, 22: 8).
15. Magyarszeredahely – Homoki dűlő: grave 30 (HORVÁTH 1987, 94, pl. 13: 3).
16. Somogytúr: grave 2 (SZABÓ – NÉMETH 1999–2000, 25–252, fig. 2, 5, fig. 7: 6a–f; GINOUX 2007, 163, pl. 51).
17. Sajópetri – Homoki-Szőlőskert: grave 54/122 (SZABÓ ed. 2018, 83, pl. 32: 5).

## Croatia

18. Batina (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1959, 282, pl. 1: 4-6).
19. Lipovac (?) (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, 102, pl. 56: 1).

## Serbia

20. Beograd-Karaburma: grave 111 (TODORVIĆ 1972, 35, pl. 33: 1-2).
21. Požarevac (?) (BOŽIČ 1982, 317, pl. 6: 6).

**Finds of chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type in the Carpathian Basin (graves without weapons):**

## Austria

1. Grabelsdorf-Gracarca: grave 21 (GLEIRSCHER 2009, fig. 5: 2a-b).

## Slovakia

2. Bajč-Vlkanove: grave 52 (?) (BENADIK 1960, 404, pl. 11: 12).
3. Maňa: graves 113, 131 (BENADIK 1983, 51, 61, pl. 41: 11, 53: 10).
4. Palárikovo: graves 27, 30, 86 (BUJNA 2011, 76, pl. 50, fig. 33: 6a-b).

## Romania

5. Ciumești: grave 18 (ZIRRA 1967, 10, fig. 5: 8).

## Hungary

6. Magyarszerdahely – Homoki dűlő: grave 13 (HORVÁTH 1987, 90, pl. 11: 11).
7. Ordacsehi: graves 27, 30 (NÉMETH – ZOFFMANN – BARTOSIEWITZ 2002, 59-60, fig. 3, pl. 2: 10, 3: 1).
8. Rezi-Rezicséri sandpit: graves 22, 64 (HORVÁTH 1987, 106-107, 123, pl. 21: 8, 32: 8).
9. Sávoly: grave 1 (HORVÁT 1973, 81, pl. 66: 6).

**Stray finds of chain elements of the Karaburma 111 type in the Carpathian Basin**

## Austria

1. Grabelsdorf-Gracarca (GLEIRSCHER 2009, fig. 5: 6-8).

## Slovakia

2. Trenčianske Teplice (?) (PIETA 2000, pl. 6: 17-18).

## Hungary

3. Rezi-Rezicséri, sandpit (HORVÁTH 1987, 123, pl. 34: 5).
4. Vác (?) (HELLEBRANDT 1999, pl. 20: 1).

## Croatia

5. Dalj (**Fig. 11: 4**; unpublished).

## Serbia

6. Kupinovo (MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1970, pl. 11: 4, 12: 2; DRNIĆ 2015, pl. 29: 1-5, 44: 2).

**Finds of chain elements of the Mokornog/Ceretolo type in graves with weapons in Central Europe and northern Italy**

## Germany

1. Straubing, grave 3 (KRÄMER 1985, 149, pl. 84: 4).

## Slovakia

2. Hurbanovo-Konkol', grave 18/64 (BUJNA 2006, 205, 209-210, fig. 3, pl. 1: 2).

## Austria

3. Inzersdorf (NEUGEBAUER 1996, 127, pl. 26: 2).

## Hungary

4. Budapest-Csepel: grave 149 (HORVÁTH 2014, 253, fig. 4: 1-2).

## Slovenia

5. Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva: graves 71, 111, 466 (KRIŽ 2001, 82, 124, cat. no. 56-57, 306; KRIŽ 2005, 46, 95, pl. 7: 7, 79: 6).

6. Novo mesto-Marof: tumulus A, grave 22 (?) (KNEZ 1966, 392, pl. 2: 6).

## Romania

7. Sanislau (ZIRRA 1971, 188, fig. 8; ZIRRA 1974, 148, fig. 6: 1-1a).

## Serbia

8. Belgrade-Karaburma: grave 71 (TODOROVIĆ 1972, 29, pl. 25, grave 71:3).

## Italy

9. Monte Bibele-Monte Tamburino: graves 85, 116 (LEJARS 2008, 137, 205, 212).

10. Ceretolo (KRUTA POPPI 1979, 13, fig 2: 4-5).

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