

Controversy about three-leaf arrowheads from Lithuania

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1. INTRODUCTION

The group of three-leaf arrowheads from the area of Lithuania, with untypical for the Balts rhomboid or similar leaves has long since been within the focus of interest of the researchers. The most recent study has been conducted by Vytautas Kazakevičius (2004a, p. 28–39), who took into account 52 items (Fig. 1). He also mentions several newly discovered finds from Kernavė and a settlement adjoining the hill-fort of Radžiūnai, raj. Alytus (Kazakevičius, 2004a, p. 35, footnote), but no details about their context or their exact number are given. The majority of the arrowheads come from two hill-forts in eastern Lithuania – Aukštadvaris (34 finds) and Aukuro kalnas (the Sacrificial Hill) at Kernavė (14 finds). Moreover, two arrowheads of this type have been unearthed at a cemetery at Plinkaigalis (central Lithuania) in graves 162 and 336 (Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 35–39, 79–80, 153, 167, fig. 62–65), and discoveries of single ones were made in the hill-fort of Kunigiškiai-Pajevonys and at Gedymin Hill in Vilnius. The two last-mentioned finds can not be analysed in greater detail as to their chronology or find circumstances. The artefact from Gedymin Hill was unearthed in a secondary deposit, i.e., a habitation layer from the late 15th century (Holubovičiai, 1941, p. 664, pl. IV, 10; Kazakevičius, 1988, p. 68), whereas the arrowhead from Kunigiškiai-Pajevonys is a stray find (Kulikauskas, 1982, p. 58; Kazakevičius, 2004a, p. 38)¹.

The dating of three-leaf arrowheads from Lithuania is based mainly on the two assemblages from Plinkaigalis, especially the quite rich grave 336 (Fig. 2) with a pair of crossbow tendril brooches with a triangular foot (a silver and a bronze one), a silver necklace with a hook-and-loop fastening, an iron belt buckle with a thickened frame as well as a socketed axe and a knife. The crossbow

brooches with a triangular foot appeared in central and eastern Lithuania in the Migration Period (LAA, 1978, p. 42, map 27; Budvydas, 2002, p. 259–261, 263, fig. 15–16), and there are two known variants of their construction: with a tendril foot, like the find from grave 336 and with a closed catchplate. The last mentioned ones seem to be slightly later, as they occur together with late brooches with wire coils characteristic for phase E, e.g., Kalniškiai, grave 76 (Kazakevičius, 2004b, p. 16–17, fig. 15). Crossbow tendril brooches with a triangular foot accompany finds characteristic for the Early Migration Period, i.a., buckles with a metope decoration on the pin or bracelets with thickened terminals (e.g. Plinkaigalis, graves 2, 50, 196 – Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 140, 144, 156, fig. 125, 137, 196; Kalniškiai, grave 5B – Astrauskas, Gleiznienė, Šimėnas, 1999, p. 120–122, fig. 1). In his recent study of crossbow tendril brooches from Lithuania Ugnius Budvydas dates the earliest items with a triangular foot, including the one from grave 336 from Plinkaigalis, to the second half of the 5th and first half of the 6th century (Budvydas, 2002, p. 260, fig. 17). Such dating is, however, contradicted by the above-mentioned examples of earlier assemblages, e.g., grave 50 from Plinkaigalis with an imported tongue-shaped strap end (see R. Madyda-Legutko article in this volume).

Going back to the chronology of the assemblage with a three-leaf arrowhead from grave 336 from Plinkaigalis it seems that another element of the grave goods: a belt buckle with an oval thickened frame and without a ferrule, type H 11 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1987, p. 63–64, pl. 19, map 47), clearly indicates a dating to phase D. Such buckles represent a common interregional form which appeared in great numbers also on the Balts' lands where they predominated especially in the Early Migration Period². They were found together with a star-footed

¹ The hill-fort at Kunigiškiai-Pajevonys is dated to the 3rd–5th century (cf. Kulikauskas, 1968, p. 302–308; 1982, p. 63, 110).

² The earliest belt buckles type H 11 come from the later phase of the Late Roman Period, e.g., those found in grave 17 at Onufryjowo/Onufrygowen together with brooches type Almgren 168 (1923); see H. Jankuhn's files.

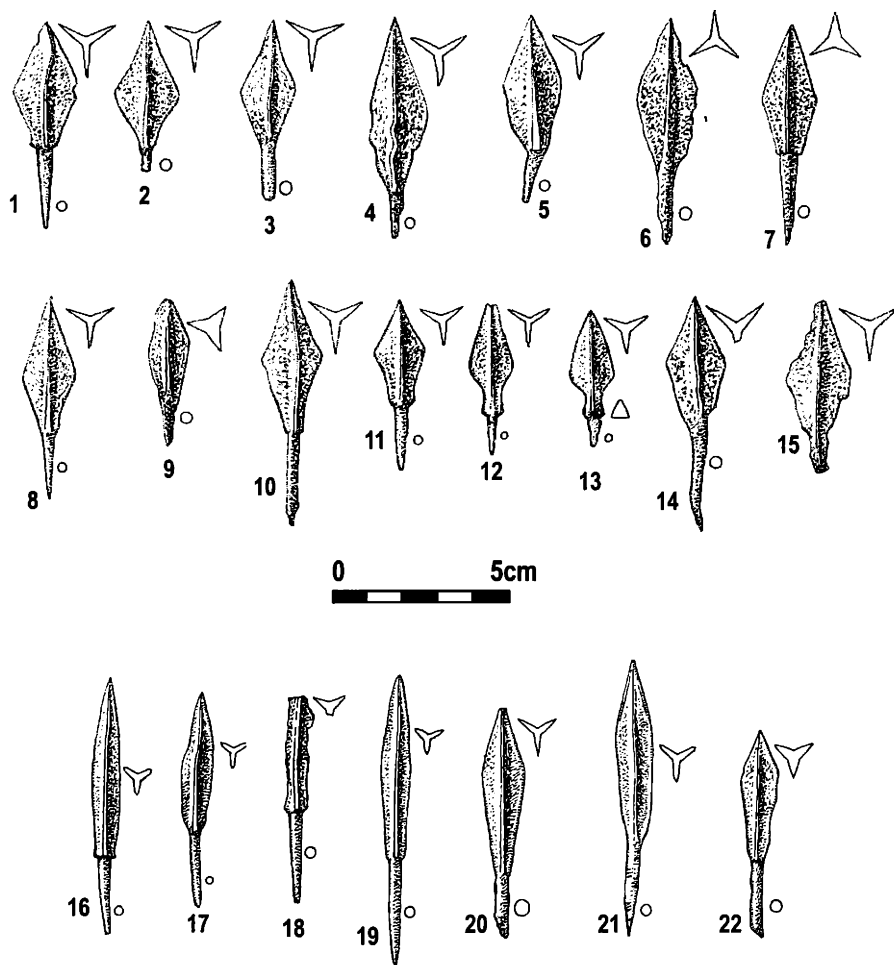


Fig. 1. Three-leaf shaped arrowheads from Lithuania: 1–5, 8, 11–14, 16–22 – Aukštadvaris; 6–7 – Aukuro kalnas; 9 – Gedymin Hill in Vilnius; 10, 15 – Plinkaigalis, graves 162 and 336 (after Kazakevičius, 2004a, fig. 11–12).

1 pav. Tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai iš Lietuvos

brooches (Kovrovo/Dollkeim, graves 161, 164, former Warnikam grave 15 – Tischler, Kemke, 1902, p. 24, 42) and Dollkeim/Kovrovo type brooches (Grunajki/Gruneyken, grave 11, urn X – Tischler, 1879, p. 255). Also the necklace with a hook-and-loop fastening from the discussed burial from Plinkaigalis should be also associated with the Early Migration Period. It represents one of the latest variants with this type of fastening (e.g.

Plinkaigalis, grave 50 – Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 144, fig. 137)³.

³The necklaces with a hook-and-loop fastening, although then generally made of twisted wire, were used also in the Late Migration Period, e.g., the Samland finds from the former Warnikam, grave 1 (Tischler, Kemke, 1902, p. 41–42) or Kovrovo/Dollkeim, graves 92, 114, 116 (Tischler, Kemke, 1902, p. 21–22).

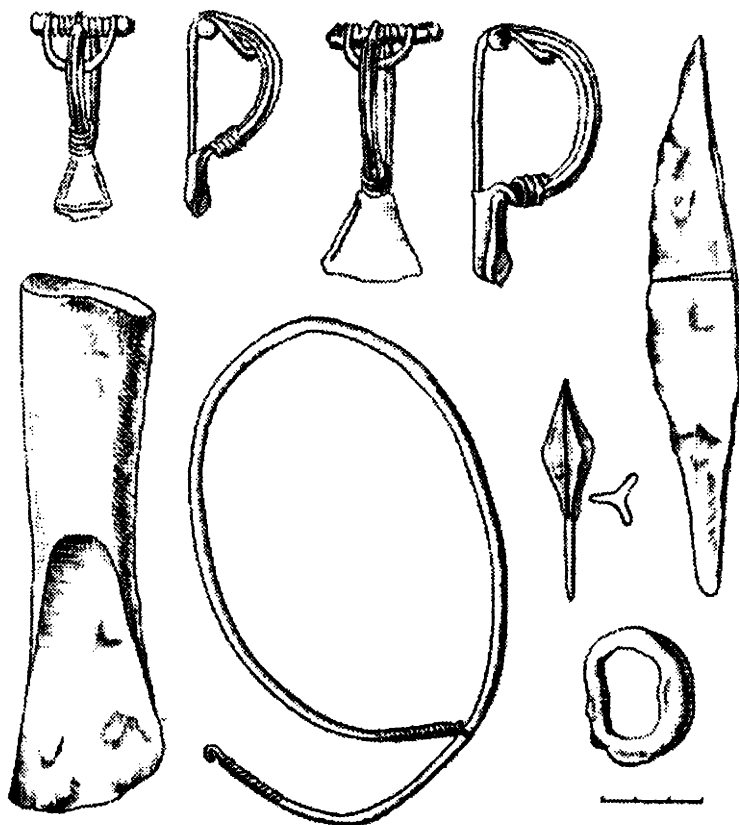


Fig. 2. Finds from the grave 336 at Plinkaigalis (after Kazakevičius, 1993, fig. 65).
2 pav. Plinkaigalis, kapo Nr. 336 radiniai

A dating similar to that of grave 336 has been established for the other assemblage with a three-leaf arrowhead found at Plinkaigalis in grave 162, which contained a *bandförmige Armring*, an iron sickle, and an iron pin with a crozier-shaped head (Kazakevičius, 1988, p. 70). These finds are also dated quite broadly up to the Early Migration Period (Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 115, 119–120).

The chronology of three-leaf arrowheads from the hill-forts at Aukštadvaris and Aukuro kalnas at Kernavė is based on the datings of the layers where they were found (Daugudis, 1962; Kazakevičius, 1988, p. 68; Luchtan, 1997, p. 15; Kernavė..., p. 115). At Aukštadvaris i.a., a bronze crossbow brooch with a triangular foot, the dating of which has been discussed above, was discovered toget-

her with cylindrical spindle whorls decorated with grooves, characteristic for the Migration Period, known, e.g., from the burial ground at Sudata in eastern Lithuania (site I, barrow 10, grave 2; site II, barrow 1, grave 1, barrow 3 – Kaczyński, 1963, p. 145, 147–148, fig. 18, 24–25). It should be noted, however, that some of the three-leaf arrowheads from Aukštadvaris were discovered in later layers and were interpreted as finds from a secondary deposit (Kazakevičius, 1988, p. 68). In turn the layer with three-leaf arrowheads from the hill-fort of Aukuro kalnas from Kernavė may be dated on the basis of the bracelets with thickened terminals. Bracelets of this type appear together with crossbow tendril brooches with a triangular foot (e.g., Plinkaigalis, grave 50 – Kazakevi-

čius, 1993, p. 118–119, 144, fig. 137), brooches with an elongated foot of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo type (Plinkaigalis, grave 37 – Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 143, fig. 109, Aukštakiemiai/Oberhof, graves 75, 132, 254 – Åberg, 1919, p. 133–134, 167), but also with the typical for the developed Migration Period massive brooches with wire coils (e.g., Plinkaigalis, grave 126 – Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 150–151, fig. 102; Aukštakiemiai/Oberhof, grave 76 – Åberg, 1919, p. 134).

For the analysis of the three-leaf arrowheads from Lithuania the archaeological context in which they were found is very important. In all the cases described above, except for the stray finds or finds from secondary deposits, it is a military context. The arrowheads were stuck in the bones of the individuals buried in Plinkaigalis, and in the hill-forts of Aukštadvaris or Aukuro kalnas they come from layers destroyed by fire with evident traces of fighting. At Kernavė the layer contained also fragments of human skulls: the remains of the victims of these attacks.

As it has been mentioned above the three-leaf arrowheads are an element of weaponry which was not used by the Balts. It remains an open question how their finds from Lithuania should be interpreted. Some researchers link them generally with the activeness of the nomadic peoples during the Migration Period (cf. Kazakevičius, 1988, p. 71–72; 1992, p. 98; 2004a, p. 31). Others consider them as a proof of the presence of the Huns who made looting expeditions far into the north of Europe, probably from their bases in southern Poland (Luchtan, 1997, p. 16–17; Luchtanas, 2002, p. 24). As an additional argument for the links with the nomadic peoples or even the Huns, the famous assemblage from barrow 5 in Taurapolis (Kazakevičius, 1992, p. 98–100; Luchtan, 1997, p. 17) is quoted, or the sheet brooch (*Blechfibel*) from grave 144 in Plinkaigalis (Kazakevičius, 1992, p. 98–100). It should be, however, stressed that the two last-mentioned examples indicate that there clearly existed links between central and eastern Lithuania and the Danube region⁴, which has been discussed in detail by Joachim Werner (1977), but they can not be in any way treated as nomadic or Huns' artefacts.

To make any statements about the origins of the three-leaf arrowheads with rhomboid leafs and answer the qu-

estion where they came from to the area of modern Lithuania it is necessary to discuss their distribution. The finds of the three-leaf arrowheads are not limited to the Balts' lands and the nomadic milieu. Although they originated from the latter one, they have been discovered at broadly understood Barbarian territories.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF THREE-LEAF ARROWHEADS IN EUROPE

The finds made the closest to Lithuania come from the lands of their cousins: the Dnepr Balts, where ca 20 discussed artefacts were discovered (cf. Perkhavko, 1979, p. 50). They were unearthed in the hill-forts of Demidovka (Kazanski, 2000, p. 199–201, fig. 1:7–10, with earlier literature), Borsuchaia Gorka (Tarasenko, 1947, p. 105), Bliznaki (Shmit, 1995, p. 106, 108), Nikodimovo (Shmit, 1995, p. 106, 108), „Gostimlia” (Shmit, 1995, p. 108) and the settlements of Uzmen' (Perkhavko, 1979, p. 50) and Kuprino (Shmit, 1995, p. 108). Unfortunately there are no full publications of the material from these sites. However, it is often stated that three-leaf arrowheads were found mainly in the refugial fire layers in the hill-forts of the upper Dnepr river basin dated to the third quarter of the 1st millennium A.D. (Shmit, 1995, p. 106, 108). Only the find from the hill-fort of Borsuchaia Gorka is dated to a slightly earlier time, i.e. the 3rd–4th century (cf. Tarasenko, 1947). The destruction layers in the hill-forts are interpreted as the result of the invasions from the south (Shmit, 1995, p. 109).

Single arrowheads of the discussed type appear also in hill-forts and settlements of the Moshchino Culture, i.a., at Akinschinskoe, Popad'inskoe and Kuncevo (Nikolskaia, 1959, p. 42, fig. 15:4, 7; Rozenfeld, 1982, p. 127–128) as well as in hill-fort at Troickoe, although the arrowhead from the latter site is dated to the 2nd century B.C. and has been described as Sarmatian one (Kris, 1970, p. 162, pl. 10:49; Rozenfeld, 1982, p. 127–128). Unfortunately, there are no data on their archaeological context.

Three-leaf arrowheads are also known from the Kiev Culture area, and it is important to note that they were not discovered in military contexts. They come mainly from settlements, i.a., ones located on the Desna river, at Kolodeznyj Bugor (Tret'jakov, 1974, p. 98, fig. 16:6; Perkhavko, 1979, p. 50) and Khokhlov Vir (Padin, 1960, p. 318, fig. 2:7), as well as at Taimanovo (Gurin, 1982, p. 69, fig. 36:33) and Pesachnoe (Goriunov, 1982, p. 63,

⁴ On the subject of other imports to Lithuania from the Danube region cf. Bitner-Wróblewska, 2005.

fig. 2:20). Moreover, they were discovered at the hill-fort of Vladimirskoe (Perkhavko, 1979, p. 50; Shmit, 1995, p. 108) and in barrow 2 near the settlement of Dem'anki (Perkhavko, 1979, p. 50). As another example one may quote the find from Chertovitskoe III on the upper Don river. The materials of the Chertovitskoe III type include a group of open settlements and hill-forts from the turn of the ancient and mediaeval times, established as early as the Roman Period. These settlements had a mixed character: they contained elements of the Cherniakhov Culture and of the Kiev Culture. An arrowhead of the discussed type (Fig. 3) was found on the floor of one of the houses (No 9) of the Kiev type – a quadrilateral semi-dug-out (Zin'kovskaja, 2003, fig. 6, with further literature)⁵. Another arrowhead was discovered in the hill-fort of Lbishche located in the basin of the central Volga river (Zin'kovskaja, 2003, fig. 1:19). The materials of the Lbishche type are dated from the Late Roman Period to phase D1, and culturally they are also of mixed character, which is interpreted as a reflection of the migrations of the Goths understood as the Wielbark Culture population (Zin'kovskaja, 2003, p. 374–375).

There is one find of an arrowhead of this type from the area of modern Poland (Fig. 4:1). It is a single stray find of an iron arrowhead from the Wielbark Culture cemetery at Cecele in Podlasie region (Jaskanis, 1996, pl. LXXIX, 14). This necropolis is dated from the Late Roman Period to the beginning of the Migration Period (Jaskanis, 1996, p. 110–112), and the latest well-dated artefacts linked with the Wielbark Culture from Podlasie come from the 1st half of the 5th century (Andrzejowski, 2004, p. 119). The arrowhead is an untypical find at a Wielbark Culture cemetery and thus difficult to interpret. It is, however, not possible to accept the hypothesis presented in its publication (Jaskanis, 1996, p. 107) that three-leaf iron arrowheads from Grzybów, Staszów commune can be treated as its analogy. At the cemetery of the Przeworsk Culture at Grzybów (Fig. 4:2), more than a dozen fragments of iron arrowheads were found, but with no archaeological context. They were considered as Roman artefacts which were assumed to have got to the Po-

lish lands during the Marcomannic Wars (Garbacz, 1995). The Roman origin of these arrowheads seems to be dubious. It is equally probable that they were Sarmatian (cf. Dobrzańska, 1999, p. 83, 85). They can not be included in the discussed group of artefacts, for the triangular shape of the majority of arrowheads from Grzybów indicates their earlier date.

It is not possible to agree with the claim that the three-leaf arrowhead from Cecele is of the Huns' origin (Luchtanas, 2002, p. 24). It is far more probable that it belonged to a warrior from the local elite. The phenomenon of adapting of the nomadic weaponry by the Germanic elites will be discussed below also in the context of the find from Cecele.

Before presenting the further, territorially more distant, analogies for the Lithuanian finds, the origins of the discussed form should be dealt with. The three-leaf rhomboid arrowheads appeared and developed in the nomadic milieu. It has been established that they were used by the Sarmatians. They were determined by A. M. Khazanov (1971, p. 38, pl. XIX, 29–31) as type 7 of Sarmatian arrowheads, a not very numerous one, and, according to that author, present in the Sarmatian milieu only as late as the end of the late Sarmatian period, in the 4th century A.D. They were probably the most popular in the post-Sarmatian period (basically in the 5th century). It was also assumed that they evolved in the east (probably in central Asia) from type 6, i.e., relatively rare arrowheads with three triangular leaves extending at an obtuse angle from the tang (Khazanov, 1971, p. 40–41). The models may be also sought in the northern Black Sea littoral among the Sarmatian or so-called late Scythian materials (type 3 after A. V. Simonenko, 2001, p. 196, 204, fig. 2:20, 3:8). M. G. Moshkova (1989, p. 197), in turn, links their appearance in the Sarmatian milieu with the Huns' groups which arrived to the Euro-Asian steppes (in her opinion arrowheads of this type were characteristic for the Huns from as early as the first centuries A. D.). The present authors believe that at the moment it is not possible unequivocally to indicate the area where the prototype for the analysed form appeared, due to the lack of suitably precise chronological data (including the system of relative chronology) for the territory of eastern Europe and Asia. However, taking into account the fact that in the late Sarmatian period the bow played a much lesser part (as it is indicated by the scarcity of arrowhead finds in burials from that period) it seems more probable that the innovation indeed came from the east.

⁵ In a similar context, i.e., in a habitation structure at the settlement of Chitcy of the Penkovka Culture, a bone plaque, originally strengthening a limb of a reflex bow was unearthed (Kazanski, 1999b, p. 414, with further literature). Such bows probably belonged to the same weaponry set as the three-leaf arrowheads with rhomboid blades.

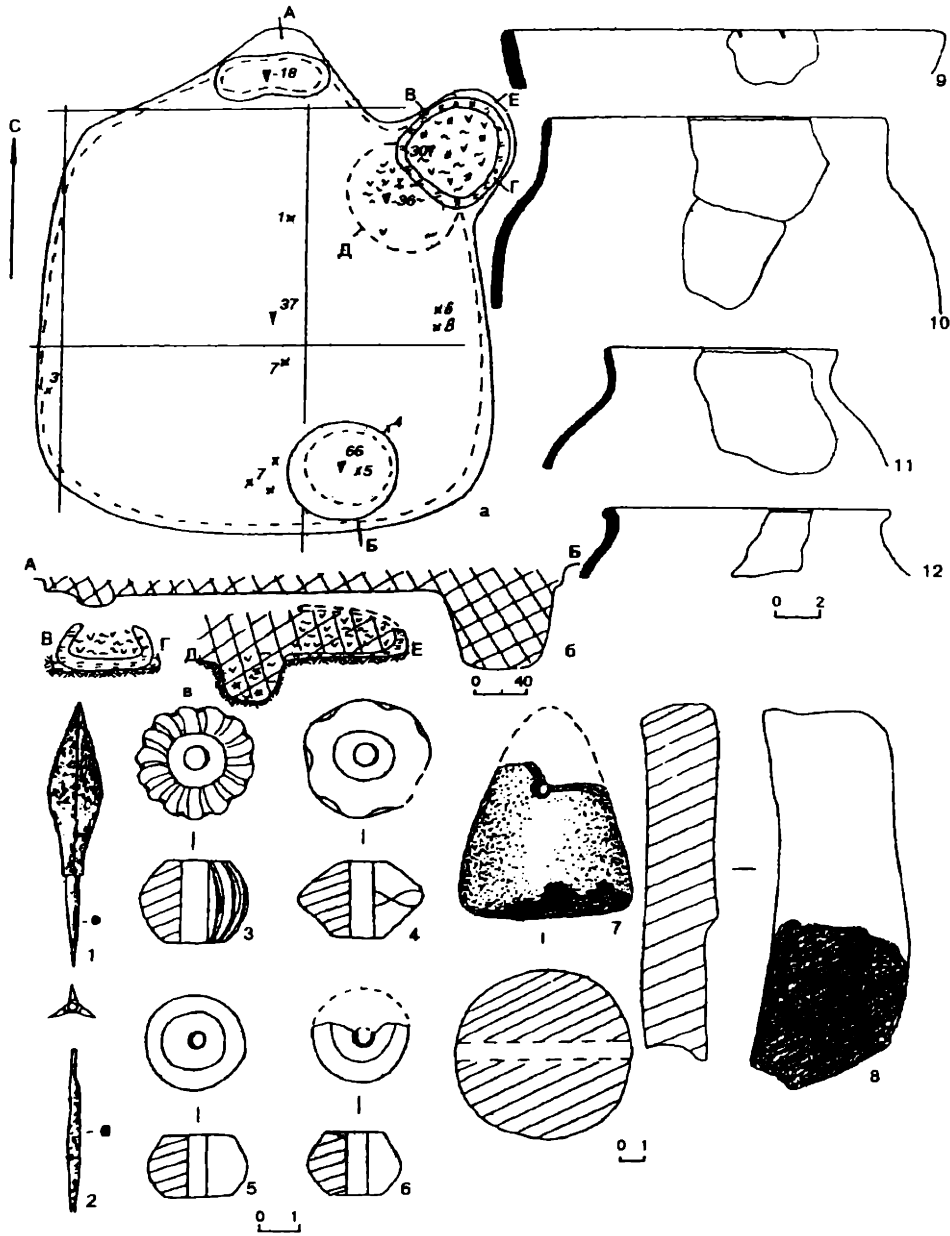


Fig. 3. Chertovitskoe III, house 9 with three-leaf shaped rhomboid arrowhead (after Medvedev, 1998, p. 76).
 3 pav. Čertovitskoje III, namas Nr. 9, jo radiniai, tarp kurių – tribiaunis strėlės antgalis

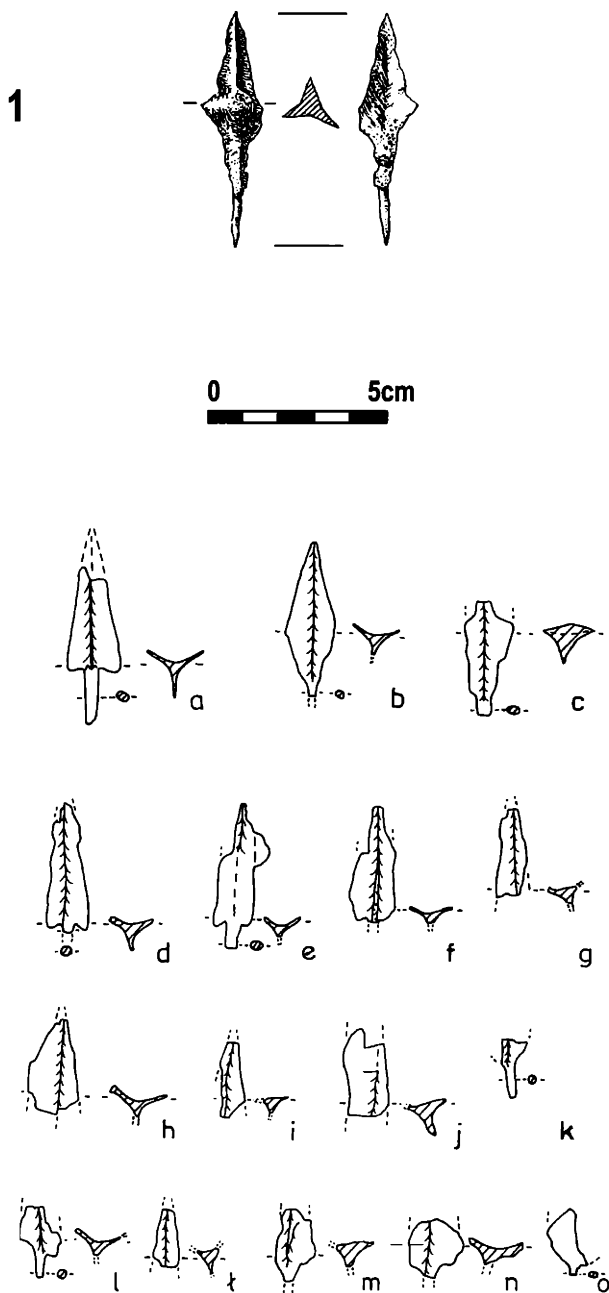


Fig. 4. Three-leaf shaped arrowheads from the territory of Poland: 1 – Cecele, stray find (after Jaskanis, 1996, pl. LXXIX:14); 2 – set of arrowheads from Grzybów, stray find (after Garbacz, 1995, fig. 2).

4 pav. Tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai iš Lenkijos teritorijos

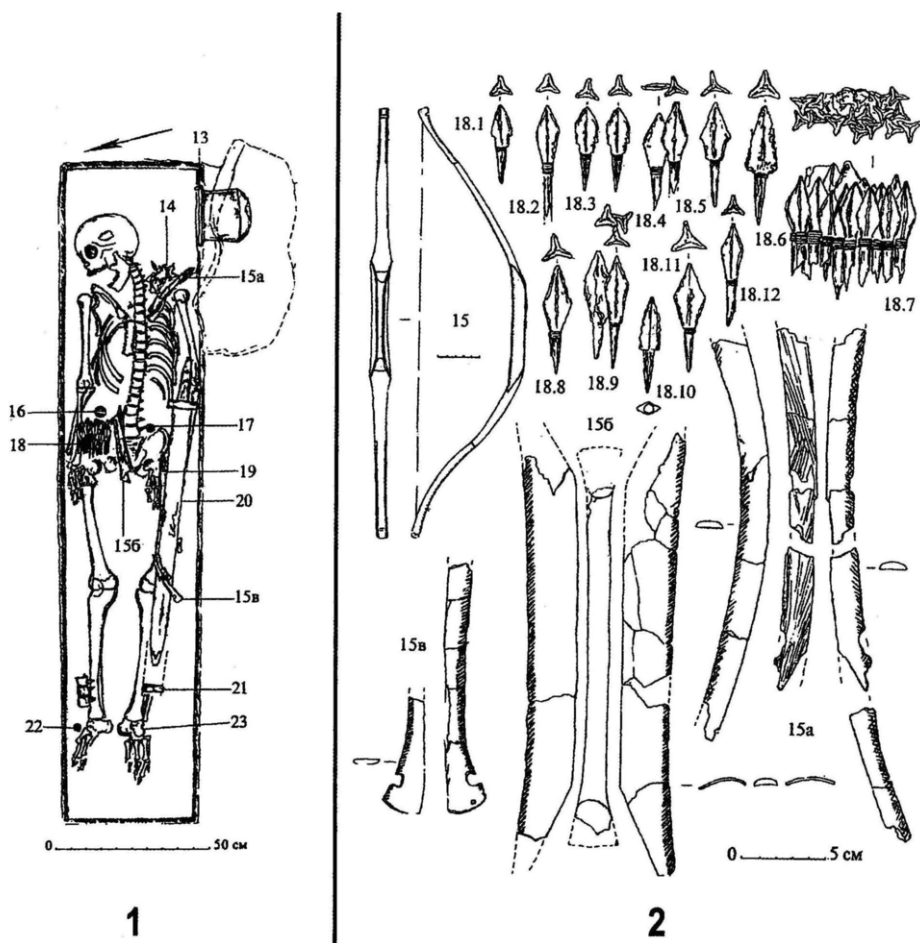


Fig. 5. Tomb 635 from the cemetery Ust'-Al'ma in Crimean Peninsula: 1 – plan of the grave; 2 – bone plaques, arrowheads and reconstruction of the bow (after Puzdrovskij, Zaicev, Nenevolia, 1999, fig. 2:b, fig. 5).

5 pav. Ustj Alma kapinynas Krymo pusiasalyje, palaidojimas Nr. 635: 1 – kapo planas, 2 – lanko detalės, strėlių antgaliai ir lanko rekonstrukcija

The discussed arrowhead form was also discovered in burials from the Pontic steppes of the so-called 1st chronological group (the last quarter of the 4th century – the first half of the 5th century) and the 2nd group (the second half of the 5th century – the early 6th century) after I. P. Zaseckaja (1999, p. 352–253, fig. 1:1–4, 9, 28–29). The finds of rhomboid three-leaf arrowheads have been also made in Crimean Peninsula: 3 items in grave A from tomb 78 at Druzhnoe, and probably one more in the plundered tomb 4, but the bad state of preservation does not

allow exactly to determine the artefact (Khrapunov, 2002, p. 16, 33–34, 46, fig. 75:46, 182:12–14). Both features come from the 4th century A. D. (Khrapunov, 2002, p. 91, 94). The most numerous group of such arrowheads was found in tomb 635 from the so-called late Scythian cemetery at Ust'-Al'ma (Fig. 5). They make up a definite majority among the 36 arrowheads with a tang which were found together with plaques from a large reflex bow of the Hun type (Puzdrovskij, Zaicev, Nenevolia, 1999, p. 201–202, fig. 5:18). The burial was considered to be of

a Hun warrior and dated to the second quarter of the 5th century mostly on the basis of a north-Caucasian bronze kettle (Puzdrowskij, Zaicev, Nenevolia, 1999, p. 195, 203). Such arrowheads were also unearthed at a burial ground at Suvorovo, grave 26 (Zaicev, 1997, p. 110, fig. 62), Sirenevaia Bukhta, tomb 23/11 (Maslennikov, 1997, fig. 53:9), in tombs 154 and 176 from Kerch (Zaseckaia, 1993, p. 74, 88, pl. 47:217, 57:330), at Belaus (cf. Puzdrowskij, Zaicev, Nenevolia, 1999, p. 202, with further literature), and perhaps also in tomb 23 from the necropolis of „Baklinskij Ovrage“ (Aibabin, Jurochkin, 1995, p. 130, fig. 29:12), although the bad state of preservation of the last-mentioned one does not allow to make any definite conclusions. The rhomboidal arrowheads from the northern Black Sea littoral are considered to be an innovation connected with the Huns' expansion across Europe (Puzdrowskij, Zaicev, Nenevolia, 1999, p. 202; Khrapunov, 2002, p. 46). It is assumed that they went out of use in the 6th–7th century (Ambroz, 1994, p. 56, fig. 11:5–6, 22–23; Khrapunov, 2002, p. 46, with further literature).

Similar arrowheads were found in another part of the Pontic region: i.e., that occupied by the Tsebelda Culture (Abhkasia) (Fig. 6). They were determined as type 3v after Voronov and Shenkao. Owing to the large number of imports in grave assemblages, the finds from this culture can be dated quite precisely. The simple forms similar to the analysed three-leaf arrowheads with rhomboid blades are earlier and dated to the late 4th and 5th centuries and the items with a profiled tang and lower part of the leaf are assumed to be later, i.e., to have appeared in the 6th century (Voronov, Shenkao, 1982, p. 122, fig. 1:10–14).

In the northern Black Sea littoral and Abhkasia the introduction of these arrowheads may be linked with the Huns' activeness, yet they can not be considered as an exclusive attribute of the Huns' culture. They may have been part of a weaponry set consisting also of the reflex bow of so-called Hun type (larger than the ones used previously)⁶.

The finds of three-leaf arrowheads became quite a popular element of grave goods in Germanic burials from the Migration Period. The three-leaf arrowheads were

discovered in burials from the area to the north of the Danube (Fig. 7), and sometimes several of them can be found in one feature, e.g., Blučina-Cezavy in Moravia, Oradea (Fig. 7:1) on the river Keresh (Tejral, 1999a, p. 256–259, n. 177; with further literature); they were also recorded at the burial ground at Csongrád-Kenderfölk located on the middle Tisa river basin (Tejral, 1999a, p. 262; with further literature) or in the famous burial from Vienna-Leopoldau (Tejral, 1999b, p. 258–259; with further literature).

The rhomboidal three-leaf arrowheads are considered to be an eastern (and, as it is assumed, characteristic for the Huns) weapon form adapted by the central European Germans together with the long two-edged swords with straight bar-like iron guard, light saxes, daggers of the Meotian type, i.e., having a pseudo-guard (indentations at the base of the pommel)⁷ (Tejral, 1999a, p. 256). They are believed to have belonged to the 'nomadised' German elite which took on many traits from their Hun superiors during Attila's rule⁸. The earliest burials associated with these military elites are dated to the mid-5th century, and the new structures of power are believed to have developed after the fall of Attila's state (Tejral, 1999a, p. 266–269; 1999b, p. 261). Also at that time they had traits of the nomadic culture (Tejral, 1999a, p. 271)⁹.

⁷ Cf. Kontny, Savelja, in print, with further literature.

⁸ The broad distribution of nomadic type finds is often explained by the frequent military contacts of the Barbarian tribes, including the joint participation in the Roman army operations in the Late Antiquity. The Goth-Alan-Hun contacts in Pannonia were linked with the affiliation to the Roman army in early phase D (Tejral, 1999a, p. 218–219). In turn the discoveries of the Hun-type objects in western Europe, coming mainly from the mid-5th century were linked with the use of the Hunnic *foederati* in the military actions of the Roman army (Tejral, 1999a, p. 238). The fact that the barbarized Roman army was instrumental in spreading certain kinds of weaponry among the German warriors from various parts of Europe may explain, e.g., the appearance of the Danube patterns in western Europe in phase D (Kazanski, 1999a, p. 308), or the transfer of Germanic kinds of weaponry to the east (Kazanski, 1994, p. 464).

⁹ This most probably may explain the presence of a three-leaf arrowhead at the above-mentioned Wielbark Culture cemetery at Cecele. At this necropolis numerous, unfortunately plundered, burials of the members of the local elite were discovered (Jaskanis, 1996). The nomadic type bow and arrows may have been used there. It is, however, not very probable that the artefact in question comes from a damaged burial as the Wielbark Culture population avoided putting iron into graves. It is more probable that the item was lost.

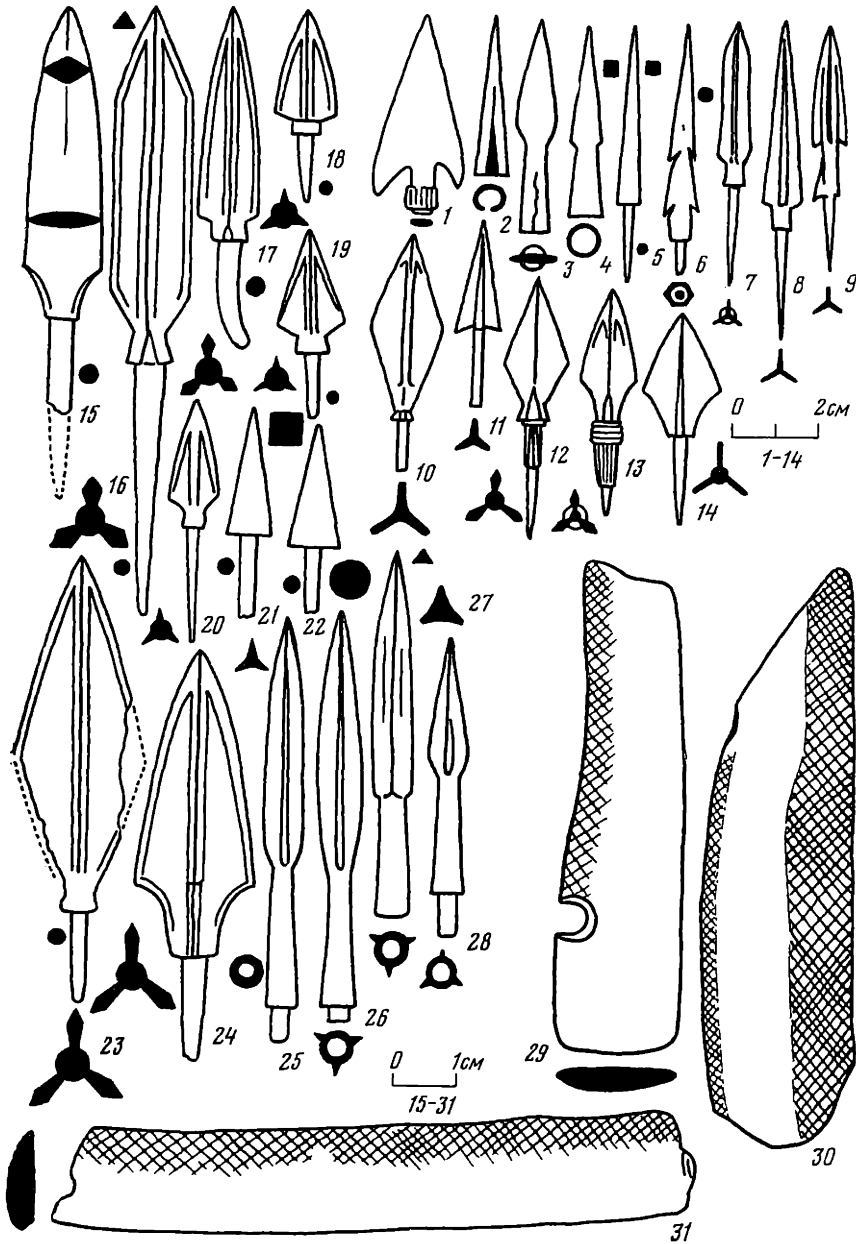


Fig. 6. Archery equipment from Tsebelda Culture: 1–28 – arrowheads; 29–31 – bone plaques strengthening a limbs of a reflex bow (after Voronov, Shenkao, 1982, fig. 1).

6 pav. Cebeldos kultūros ginkluotės detalės: 1–28 – strėlių antgaliai, 29–31 – refleksinio lanko plokštelės

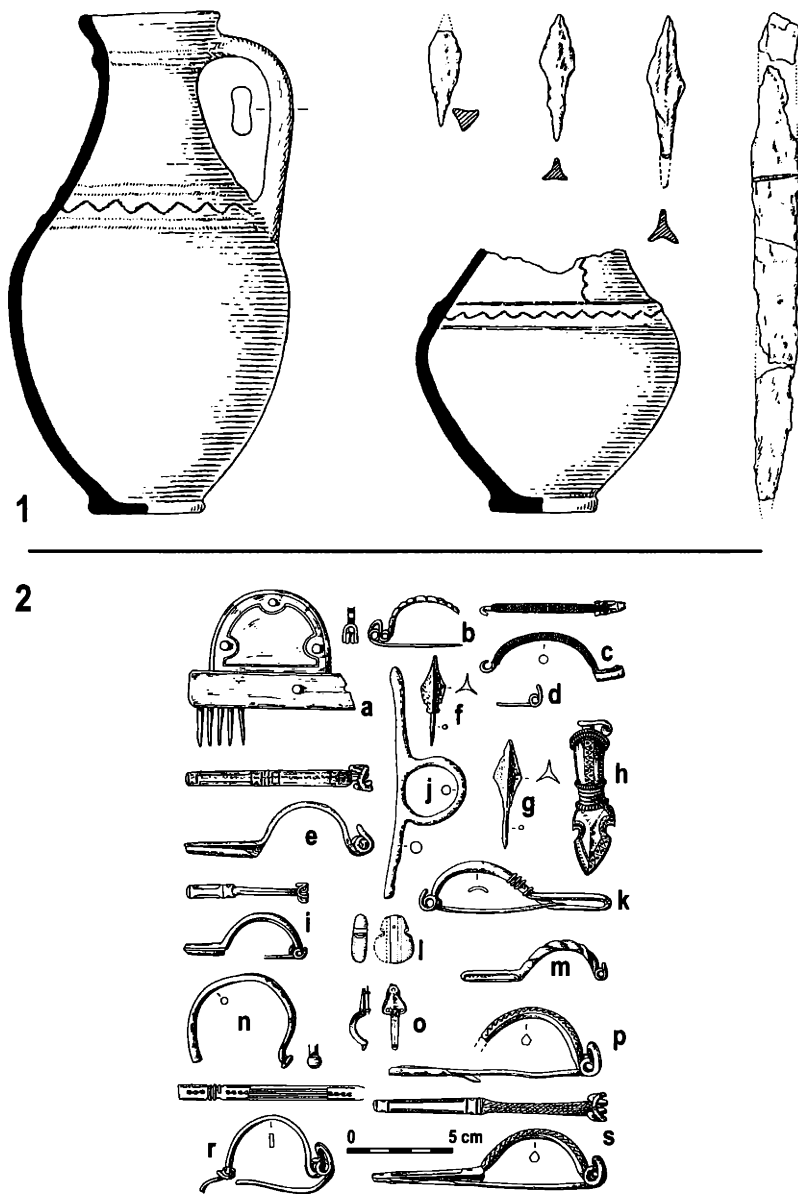


Fig. 7. Three-leaf shaped arrowheads from Central European *Barbaricum*: 1 – grave from Oradea, no scale (after Tejral, 1999a, fig. 28:3); 2 – small finds from 4th–5th cent. A.D. from the territory of Central Slovakia: 2a – Blatnica; 2b – Prečín; 2c – Vyšehradné; 2d, 2k–2s: Banská Bystrica-Sásová; 2e – Žiar n. Hronom; 2f–2i – Banská Bystrica-Selce; 2j – Rakytovce (after Pietá, 1999, fig. 8).

7 pav. Tribriaunių strėlių antgaliai iš europinio *Barbaricum*: 1 – kapas iš Oradea, be mastelio; 2 – smulkūs IV–V a. radiniai iš Centrinės Slovakijos

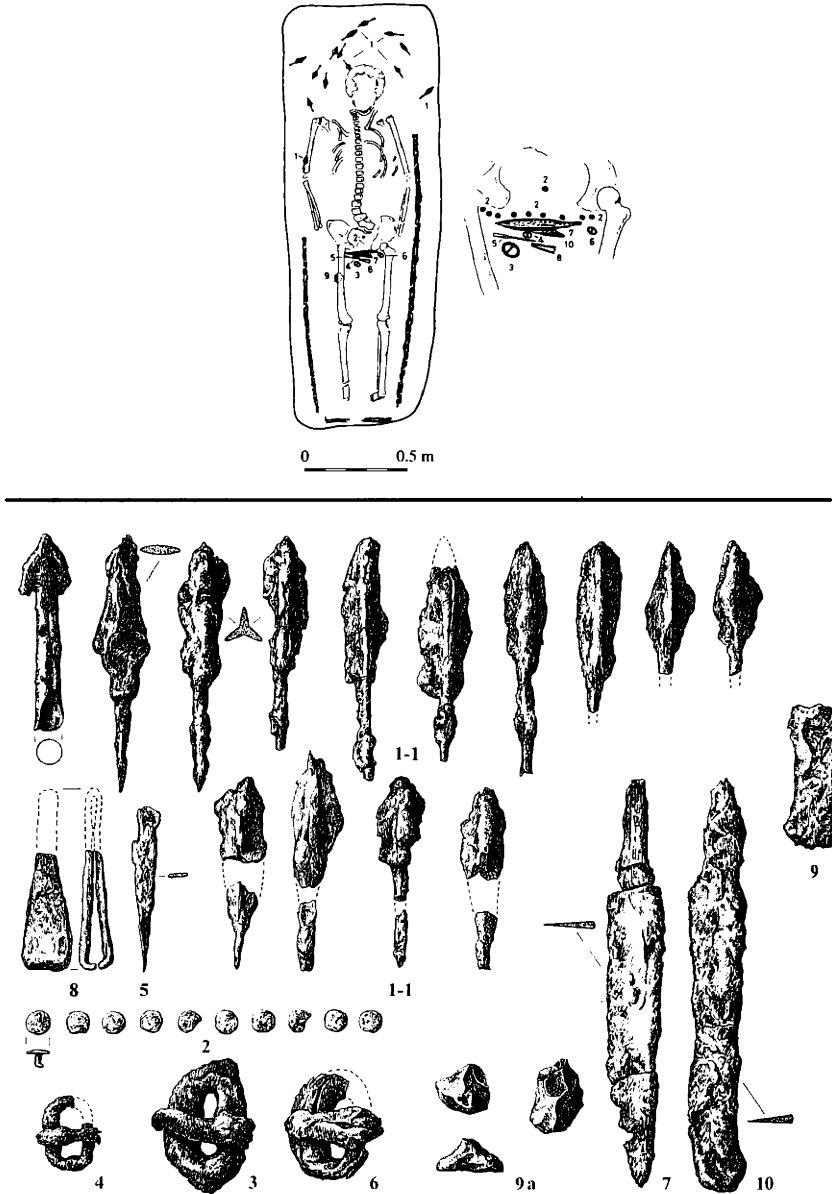


Fig. 9. Gepidic grave no 191 from cemetery Szolnok-Szanda and its furnishing (after Bóna, Nagy, 2002, fig. 92, pl. 52).

9 pav. Gepidų kapas Nr. 191 Szolnok-Szanda kapinyne ir jo įkapės

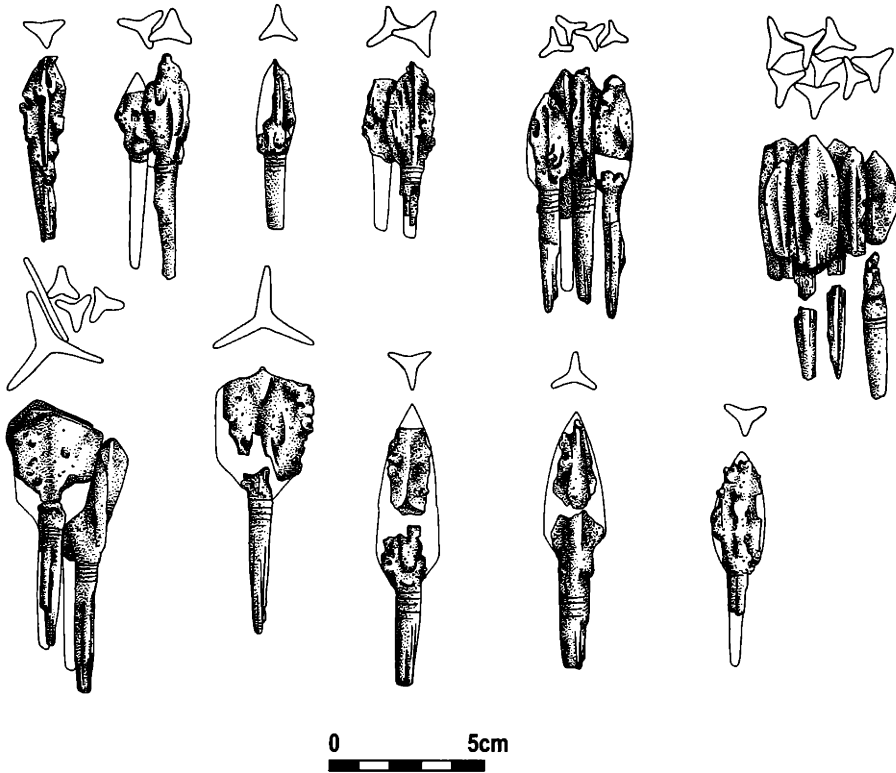


Fig. 10. Avaric three-leaf shaped arrowheads from chieftain grave at Bócsa, Kom. Bács-Kiskun (after Garam, 1993, pl. 17–18).

10 pav. Avarų tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai iš Bosca, Kom. Baes-Kiskun kapo

Similar Thuringian elites with traits of the Hun culture are believed to have been instrumental in conveying the nomadic elements to the area of *Vorpommern* as early as the late 5th and early 6th centuries. Among them also three-leaf arrowheads have been recorded (Teterow, grave from 1905 and stray finds from Neukirchen and Rachow – Machajewski, 2002, p. 396–397, fig. 5).

The analysed type of arrowheads was not always discovered in a 'peaceful' context at Germanic sites. According to K. Pieta in central Slovakia three-leaf arrowheads were found in destruction layers recorded in mountain settlements and, together with the hoard horizon, they determine the end of the settlement in this area, which took place in the early 5th century (the rest of the popula-

tion probably migrated to the middle Danube area) (Pieta, 1999, p. 182, fig. 8:6–7).

The three-leaf arrowheads did not disappear from the Germanic milieu in phase D and, as the finds from Thuringia and Pomerania indicate, they were used in the Late Migration Period. Artefacts of this kind are known also from Bayern, e.g., Hammelburg, Kr. loco, grave from 1895 (Fig. 8), dated to the late 5th and early 6th century (Koch R., 1967, p. 65, pl. 25:3–4; Menghin, 1983, p. 58–59, 196–197), and single items were discovered in central Germany for phase E, e.g., the bronze arrowheads from grave 1 at Rathewitz, Kr. Naumburg and the iron one from Weimar, grave at Cranachstraße (Schmidt, 1961, p. 154, fig. 57k). It can not be forgotten

that they were also used by the Gepids (Fig. 9), which has been confirmed by the finds from the burials in the Tisa basin¹⁰.

An exceptionally late find determined as representing so-called group IV, dated to the 7th century, comes from the cremation burial assumed to be an early Slavonic one, from Dresden-Stretzch (Schmidt, 1961, p. 9, 154, fig. 44b). This artefact is clearly different from the discussed arrowheads in its form as it has a clearly curved and not rhomboid shape. Three-leaf arrowheads with a tang, considerably differing from the rhomboid shape and usually longer, appeared among the Germans as late as the 7th century, e.g., in Kelheim-Gmünd, grave 54 (Koch U., 1968, pl. 30:3). Their concentration embraces the upper Danube river basin but they were also found on the upper Rhine, Main and upper Elbe, and even further to the south: in northern Italia, Istria and at the southern base of the Alps (Koch U., 1968, pl. 100:20). Although these late forms also derive from the nomadic milieu, they are probably of a different, Avaric origin (Fig. 10) (Koch R., 1967, p. 65; Koch U., 1968, p. 92; cf. Bóna, 1956, p. 207). They also got into the Germans' possession thanks to the links with the Avars (the case of Bayuvars)¹¹, as well as with the Langobards (the case of Alamans)¹² (Werner, 1953, p. 63–64; Koch U., 1968, p. 92). Although arrowheads only exceptionally appear in burials of Langobardian (Germanic) warriors (Bóna, 1956, p. 206–207), it is assumed that they took on the reflex bow and three-leaf arrowheads from their allies, the Avars (Werner, 1953, p. 63–64), and transferred this model farther to the west. This does not mean, however, that this kind of weapon was common in the Germanic world. The late three-leaf

arrowheads were an exotic addition to the Germans' arsenal (cf. the burial from Bülach quoted above); e.g., the Franks generally did not use them.

The Avaric influence on the weaponry of the European peoples was also manifested by the spread of the stirrup, the saddles of the new, eastern type, and for a short time, also of lamellar helmets of the *Niederstotzingen* type. This list may be extended also by the elements of plate armour (trunk and limb coverings), new kinds of shafted weapon heads, axes and military standards (Świętosławski, 2001), and in the light of the above discussion, also by the late (7th century) forms of three-leaf arrowheads. It should be stressed that the last-mentioned ones have no direct connection with the earlier rhomboid three-leaf arrowheads introduced by the Huns.

3. CONCLUSIONS

As the above analysis has indicated, the distribution of Huns' three-leaf arrowheads exceeds considerably the area occupied by the Huns as known from the written or archaeological sources. The phenomenon of adopting elements of foreign weaponry, including the bow and arrows, by the 'non-nomadic' milieu, especially by the Germanic elites, is well recorded in the archaeological sources, which is clearly indicated by the above-presented examples. Therefore it seems justified to mention not "Hunnish" or even "Hun-type" arrowheads but rather arrowheads from the "Hunnish period", even exceeding this chronological stage. The broad distribution of the nomadic type finds may be explained by the military contacts between the Barbarian tribes, which in this "epoch of unrest" of the Migration Period, were particularly easy. This is probably how the three-leaf arrowheads were adopted by the Kiev Culture population as well as those from the other areas of eastern Europe (Penkovka, Moshchino, Lbishche and other cultures). M. Kazanski associates the appearance of this kind of arrowheads in the forest zone with the military expansion of the Kiev Culture population to the north (Kazanski, 2000, p. 201).

The Balts, in turn, had direct, especially military, contacts with the forest zone population, which is indicated by the Balts' costume, decorations, and weapons registered there (Kazanski, 1999b; 2000). The Balts' presence in the forest zone is particularly well evidenced by barrow 45 from Dolozhskij Pogost where the body was buried according to the Lithuanian burial rites and with Lithuanian elements of weaponry (Kazanski, 1999b, p. 409, fig. 6).

¹⁰ E.g.: in the Gepidic cemetery at Szolnok-Szanda single ones were found in graves 7 (Bóna, Nagy, 2002, pl. 30:3) and 30 (Bóna, Nagy, 2002, pl. 33:4) whereas in grave 191 as many as 12 items were unearthed, accompanied by only two arrowheads of another form (Bóna, Nagy, 2002, pl. 52:1–1).

¹¹ The finds connected with the Bayuvars are those from grave 26 at Sprendlinden, grave 18 from Sirnau, grave 116 from Elgg, rich burial from Gammertingen (Werner, 1953, p. 64; with further literature); cf. also the long three-leaf arrowheads with a tang from Inzing-Hartkirchen, grave 21b, dated to the second half of the 6th century. (Menghin, 1983, p. 242, with further literature).

¹² The finds from the Alamannic territories include two items from grave 18 at Bülach, Switzerland, which were accompanied by other, local forms, altogether 12 items (Werner, 1953, p. 64, 87, pl. XXXVII, 4–5).

The uncertain situation in the forest zone was also indicated by the appearance of hill-forts at a large area extending from Lithuania to the upper Volga river. Their number increased rapidly from the 5th century and traces of destruction of probably military character are often recorded in them (Kazanski, 1999b, p. 414). In this context it seems the most probable that the discoveries of three-leaf arrowheads in Lithuania, made exclusively in military context, are the outcome of tribal fights with the forest zone population which had adapted the nomadic "Hunnic" elements of weaponry. There is no basis to treat the discussed artefacts from Lithuania as a proof of direct contacts with the Huns. It is hard to imagine that the distant, inaccessible and relatively poor Balt lands might have been attractive for the nomads who had the rich in gold areas of the Empire within their reach, and the Hun warriors' greed has been broadly attested in the written sources (Priskos of Panion, Iordanes, Ammianus Marcellinus). Moreover, no clear evidence of the Huns' physical presence in Lithuania has been found so far. It is worth to stress that even the evidently Hunnic elements from southern Poland such as the bronze kettle from Jędrzychowice, the burial with a deformed skull from Przemęczany, the gold plates originally covering a reflex bow from Jakuszowice, or the typically Hunnic earring

from the hoard of Świlcza, are interpreted as signs that these regions remained within the sphere of Huns' influence rather than as a proof that they were included into Attila's state (cf. Godłowski, 1995; Mączyńska, 1999).

Finally, we would like to remark, that some of the three-leaf arrowheads found in the hill-forts at Aukštadvaris and Kernavė in Lithuania, and distinguished by V. Kazakevičius as variant b (Kazakevičius, 2004a, p. 38–39, fig. 12), should not be linked directly with the nomadic world of the Huns' era. They are much longer, have different proportions and they probably should be considered as local production inspired by the solutions from the nomadic world but having a specific form. It is also possible that they were modelled after the arrowheads from other nomadic groups, e.g., the Avars. The latter ones have, i.a., the broadest part of the leaf closer to the top, are longer and very often the base of the leaf is clearly separated from the tang¹³. These features may be found in items determined by V. Kazakevičius as variant b of the three-leaf arrowheads. This issue, however, requires further detailed studies, also in terms of chronology.

Translated by Sylwia Twardo

¹³ Cf. e.g., arrowheads from Böcsa, Kom. Jasz-Nagykun-Szanda (Garam, 1993, pl. 17:1–13, 18:1–14).

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TRIBIAUNIAI STRĖLIŲ ANTGALIAI LIETUVOJE, DISKUSIJA-POLEMIKA

Anna Bitner-Wróblewska, Bartosz Kontny

Santrauka

Lietuvos teritorijoje aptikti tribiauniai strėlių antgaliai netipiškomis baltams rombinėmis ar panašiomis plunksnomis jau seniai domina tyrinėtojus. Naujausioje Vytauto Kazakevičiaus mokslinėje studijoje minimi 52 tokie radiniai (34 iš jų rasti Aukštadvaryje, 14 – Aukuro kalne Kernavėje, 2 – Plinkaigalyje (kapai Nr. 162 ir 336), 1 – Kunigiškėse-Pajevonyje, 1 – Gedimino kalne Vilniuje). Autorius taip pat mini keletą naujai rastų radinių Kernavėje ir gyvenvietėje šalia Radžiūnų piliakalnio. Pabrėžtina, kad Lietuvoje tribiaunių strėlių antgalių randama čia vykusių karinių veiksmy kontekste (įstrigę individų, palaidotų Plinkaigalyje, kauluose, ugnies sunaikintuose sluoksniuose, kuriuose akivaizdūs kovos pėdsakai).

Tribiaunių strėlių antgalių, randamų Lietuvos teritorijoje, datavimas remiamas Plinkaigalio radiniais, ypač turtingo kapo Nr. 336, kuriame rastos dvi lankinės segės trikampe kojele ir sagtis pastorintu lankeliu (pagal R. Madydos-Leguko H 11 tipą). Pastarasis pavyzdys akivaizdžiai datuotinas D periodu. Aukštadvaryje ir Aukuro kalne rastų strėlių antgalių chronologija grindžiama sluoksnių, kuriuose jie buvo rasti, datavimu – tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu.

Lieka neatsakyta į klausimą, kaip reikėtų interpretuoti šiuos Lietuvoje aptiktus radinius. Vieni tyrinėtojai juos sieja su klajoklių aktyvumu, o kiti pateikia kaip hunų buvimo Lietuvos teritorijoje įrodymą.

Tribriaunių strėlių antgalių paplitimas neapsiriboja vien baltų ir klajoklių kraštais. Nors šie antgaliai yra kildinami iš minėtų vietovių, jų taip pat randama didelėse barbarų teritorijose. Radiniai, artimiausi rastiesiems Lietuvoje, yra iš giminiškų kraštų, Dniepro baltų, kur gaisraviečių sluoksnuose buvo rasta apie 20 aptariamų artefaktų (piliakalniuose: Demidovka, Borsučaja Gorka, Bliznaki ir gyvenvietėse: Uzmen' ir Kuprino). Pavienių aptariamo tipo strėlių antgalių randama ir Moščino kultūros piliakalniuose bei gyvenvietėse (Akinšinskoe, Kuncovo). Tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai taip pat žinomi iš Kijevo kultūros arealo (Kolodeznyj Bugor, Demjanki, Čertovitskoje).

Aptariamų formos strėlių antgalių rasta įvairiose Ponto regiono dalyse, pradedant paskutiniu IV a. ketvirčiu ir baigiant VI a. pradžia (Ustj Alma, kapas Nr. 635; Kerčė, kapas Nr. 154 ir 176). Rombiniai tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai taip pat gana dažni tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio germanų palaidojimuose, į šiaurę nuo Dunojaus (Blučina-Cezavy) iki pat Tiuringijos (Hammelburg, 1895 aptiktas kapas) ir Vorpomerno (Teterow, 1905 aptiktas kapas). Manoma, jog jie priklausė „klajokliškai“ germanų aukštuomenei, perėmusiai kai kuriuos rytietiškos (klajoklių) ginkluotės elementus.

Platus klajokliams būdingų radinių paplitimas gali būti aiškinamas kariniais kontaktais tarp barbarų genčių. Tai tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, „neramumų epochoje“ lengvai galėjo atsitikti. Greičiausiai tokiu būdu tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai buvo pradėti naudoti Kijevo kultūros gyventojų ir kitose Rytų Europos teritorijose (Penkovka, Moščino ir kitos kultūros). M. Kazanskis šio tipo strėlių antgalių pasirodymą miško zonoje sieja su Kijevo kultūros karine ekspansija į

šiaurę. O baltai turėjo tiesioginių, ypač karinių, kontaktų su miško zonos gyventojais. Tai rodo čia aptinkami baltiški papuošalai ir ginkluotė. Baltų buvimą miško zonoje ypač liudija pilkapis Nr. 45 iš Določskij Pogosto. Šiame pilkapyje mirusysis buvo palaidotas pagal lietuviškus laidosenos papročius ir su lietuviškos ginkluotės elementais.

Miškų zonoje buvus neramią situaciją rodo ir piliakalnių atsiradimas didelėje teritorijoje nuo Lietuvos iki Volgos aukštupio. Piliakalnių skaičius ėmė sparčiai didėti nuo V a., juose dažnai randama greičiausiai karinio pobūdžio konfliktų pėdsakų. Šiame kontekste atrodo įtikinama, kad Lietuvoje tribriauniai strėlių antgaliai, randami išskirtinai kariniame kontekste, yra kovų su miško zonos gyventojais, perėmusiais klajokliškus „huniškuosius“ ginkluotės elementus, pėdsakai. Nėra jokio pagrindo aptariamam artefaktui iš Lietuvos traktuoti kaip tiesioginių kontaktų su hunais įrodymą. Sunku įsivaizduoti, kad tolimos, sunkiai pasiekiamos ir sąlyginai skurdžios baltų žemės galėtų būti patrauklios klajokliams, kuriems buvo ranka pasiekiami turtingiausi Imperijos regionai, juo labiau hunų kariams, kurių godumą plačiai aprašo šaltiniai.

Maža to, nebuvo rasta jokio aiškaus hunų buvimo Lietuvoje įrodymo. Svarbu pabrėžti, kad net neabejotinos hunų kilmės radiniai Lenkijos pietuose, tokie kaip bronzinis katilukas iš Jędrzychowice'ės, kapas, kuriame rasta deformuota kaukolė iš Przemęczany'ų, auksinės plokštelės, dengusios refleksinį lanką iš Jakuszowice'ės ar tipiškas hunų auskaras iš Świlczos lobio, interpretuojami kaip šių regionų buvimo hunų įtakos zonoje ženklai, o ne kaip priklausymo Atilos valstybei įrodymas.

Iš anglų kalbos vertė G. Vėlius

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