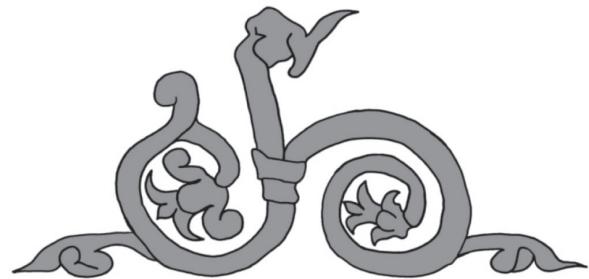


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# Two 10–11<sup>th</sup> century arrow-heads from the environs of Kotori/Cattaro – Herceg Novi/Castelnuovo. Archaeology (?) and art-dealing in the Balkans

Erwin Gáll

**Abstract:** In September 2012, during a visit to some Dalmatian towns, in Budva/Budua (it.), we bought two deltoid-shaped arrow heads from the antique vendors near the museum, which can be categorized as 10–11<sup>th</sup> century finds and have been found in the microregion of Kotor/Cattaro – Herceg Novi/Castelnuovo.

**Keywords:** Balkans, Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Kotori/Cattaro–Herceg Novi/Castelnuovo region, arrow-heads, 10–11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## The acquisition of the objects and suppositions about their places of provenience

In September 2012, during a visit to some Dalmatian towns (Split/Spalato, Dubrovnik/Raguzza, Kotori/Cattaro, Budva/Budua, after visiting the exhibitions of several museums, we had the chance to glance through the archaeological and ethnographical collection of the museum of Budva.

After visiting the museum, in the courtyard nearby the museum, we found antique dealers selling their goods, mainly modern objects. At one of them nevertheless we could find fibulas from the 2–3<sup>th</sup> and 5–6<sup>th</sup> centuries, while at another collector a medieval spear could be bought. Among the objects exhibited on the stand, we noticed two arrow-heads, whose parallels can often be seen among the 10–11<sup>th</sup> century archaeological finds of the Carpathian Basin. After informing the art collector that the objects do not come from Roman time, but are part of the early-medieval armament, he told us to our question that he had got them from the environs of Kotor/Cattaro, 60 km from Budva, using the equivocal expression: „*on the plain*” since on the basis of the context he thought unambiguously of a plough-land and not lowlands. Nevertheless, if the objects were found 60 km from Budva, it could not have been the environs of Kotor/Cattaro, since the town of the Kotor/Cattaro bay is found no more than 10–15 air kilometres from Budva. On the other hand, if we count exactly 60 km in the north-west direction of Kotor/Cattaro, there we will find high mountains, on the seaside then, it is the microregion of Konavle belonging today to Croatia (the environs of Dubrovnik/Raguzza, Zvekovica, Močići, Vitaljina). This latter possibility is very likely to be excluded because of the today political border. Therefore, the place of provenience of the finds can be put into the microregion of Kotor/Cattaro – Herceg Novi/Castelnuovo, in a circle 15–30 km from Budva (Fig. 1).

## The description of the objects

1. Short, curved-edged deltoid arrow-head from iron. A small piece is broken from the lower part of the edge. 1. Length: 7.0 cm (with mandrel); 2. Length (without mandrel): 5.4 cm; 3. Width: 2.8 cm. Weight: 10.0 gramm. The collection of the Department of Archaeology of Szeged University, Hungary (Fig. 2. A, Fig. 3. A).

2. Long-edged (perhaps curved on the bottom), simple, deltoid arrow-head, with fragmental mandrel.

1. Length: 8.0 cm (with mandrel); 2. Length (without mandrel): 5.4 cm; 3. Width: 2.8 cm. Weight: 8.0 gramm. The collection of the Department of Archaeology of Szeged University, Hungary (Fig. 2. B, Fig. 3. B).

## The chronological determination of objects

The two objects are arrow-heads applied specifically with reflex-bow used in early-medieval strategy<sup>1</sup>. Among the archaeological finds of the Carpathian Basin they turned up in the graves of

<sup>1</sup> Sebestyén 1932, 167–180; A.H. 1996, 38.

the conquering Hungarians. Since in case of the 10<sup>th</sup> century burial customs, it was in fashion to put weapons into the graves, and this type of weapon in whole Europe is mostly known from this region, it became so to say classic to attach them to the population of this politico-military structure, generally known as „the conquering Hungarians”.



Fig. 1. The region of Kotor/Cattaro and Herceg Novi/Castelnuovo

The arrowheads found in graves dating from the time of the Hungarian conquest were collected, grouped and categorised by Károly Cs. Sebestyén and his work is still used: he distinguished 6 basic types (types A-F), and in the case of the first three types he distinguished several variants<sup>2</sup>. He discussed the material, the weight and the cross-section of the arrow, the morphology of the parts of the arrow the method of its making and its rules. According to him, the bigger the difference is between the weight of the arrowhead and that of the shaft, i. e. the easier the shaft and the heavier

<sup>2</sup> A-1-5, B-5, C-4. Sebestyén 1932, *Fig. 13.*

the arrowhead, the faster the arrow will fly and the more reliable trajectory it will have. The arrow must be straight, therefore, according to Cs. Sebestyén, only reed (*Phragmites vulgaris*) could have been used, which was strengthened by a method unknown to us. The arrowhead was glued into the pipe of the reed with resin or wax, and it was completely wrapped around in the whole length of the spine. The fletching was attached with fish glue at about 8 cm from the end of the shaft. The ends of the feathers were bound with phloem strings and the proper size of the fletching was also highly important because if the fletching was too big or too strong, it could reduce the speed of the arrow. An arrow was supposed to be 60–70 cm long and the diameter of the reed had to be at least 0.8–1 cm.

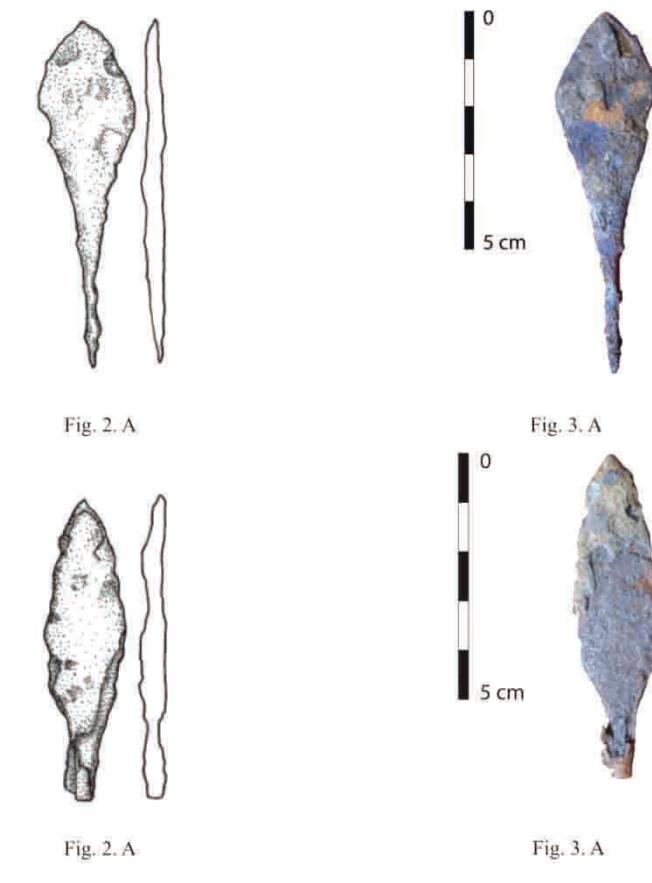


Fig. 2–3. Arrowheads: A–B

Recent researches have confirmed other facts (too). Arrows were not made of reed but wood. According to László Kovács they were made of poplar, birch or willow wickers, and these arguments have been supported with folklore analogies by Károly Mesterházy<sup>3</sup>. In the '20s of the last century Sebestyén didn't know that *long bladed, deltoid and spiked arrowheads* were in use in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (too), and they were present, although in a lower percentage, in the graves from the time of the Hungarian conquest.

Tips with short blades and rhomboid arrowheads were the most common, but long bladed tips have also been found in considerable number. The arrowheads (more than 100 of them have been weighed) have been found to weigh between 4.5–16.7 gr in the Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat<sup>4</sup>. However, the researches of Levente Igaz show that some of them weigh even more<sup>5</sup>. The items found in Kotor belong to the group weighed by us. According to our researches, there is no weight difference between the various types only among single items.

<sup>3</sup> Kovács 2004, 311; Mesterházy 1994, 322.

<sup>4</sup> Gáll 2008, 333.

<sup>5</sup> Igaz 2010, 280.



Fig. 4. Arrowheads from Opaka (Bulgaria), after Jahn et al. 2001, 68

The two arrowheads found near Kotor/Cattaro in September 2012 may give rise to numerous historical assumptions that the writer would prefer to avoid. Being sceptic towards this kind of attitude, I would not like to commence such interpretations.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the rhomboid, short and long deltoid variants of the 10<sup>th</sup> century arrowheads cannot only be connected to the finds from the time of the Hungarian conquest in the Carpathian Basin. More and more of them are found in Bulgaria (Fig. 4)<sup>6</sup> and in the Byzantine fortifications from Dobrudja (dating after 971)<sup>7</sup>. The stray finds in Western Europe are traditionally connected to the Hungarian raids, but this is not the case as has been proved with concrete examples by Péter Langó<sup>8</sup>. As far as we could check the finds ranging from Kotor/Cattaro through Dubrovnik, Split to Zadar, among the finds from the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries no such arrowhead has been found so far<sup>9</sup>. The weapons dating from this era are mainly swords, lances, and axes.

Therefore, we would categorise these two items from Kotor, being aware of the relativity of the situation, and taking into consideration the growing number of Bulgarian and Byzantine finds in the Balkans, as the weapons of this cultural circle.

#### **Erwin Gáll**

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<sup>6</sup> For example: Vitljanov 2004, *Tabl.* 3–4; Jahn et al. 2001, 68.

<sup>7</sup> Diaconu, Baranschi 1977, II. *Fig.* 104. 5, 7, 17; Štefan et al. 1967, 343–344, *Fig.* 182. 30, 35; Stănică 2005, 85: second figure.

<sup>8</sup> Langó 2010, 586–587.

<sup>9</sup> For example: Cetinić 2010, 1–23; Jurčević 2007, 249–265; Perkić 2008, 63–122; Petrinec 2005a, 21–52; Petrinec 2005b, 173–212; Petrinec 2009, 71–129.

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## Abbreviations

AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Cracovia.
AARMSI	Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. București.
ACSSTU	Annals. Computer Science Series Tibiscus University. Timișoara.
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AÉ	Archaeologiai Értesítő. Budapest.
AGGH	Acta Geodaetica et Geophysica Hungarica. Budapest.
AIINC	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională Cluj. Cluj-Napoca.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice. Sibiu.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology. New York.
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis. Az István Király Múzeum Közleményei. Székesfehérvár.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău. Zalău.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului, Serie nouă. Timișoara.
Analele ANTIM	Analele Asociației Naționale ale Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova. Chișinău.
Apulum	Apulum. Alba-Iulia.
ArchKorrbl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Urgeschichte, Römerzeit, Frühmittelalter. Mainz.
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală. Brăila, Reșița, Cluj-Napoca.
AS	Acta Siculica. Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septencastrensis. Sibiu.
AUVT	Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Târgoviște.
BAM	Brykenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR International Series	British Archaeological Reports, International Series. Oxford.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan. Reșița.
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve. Szekszárd.
BCSS	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești. Istorie-Arheologie-Muzeologie. Alba Iulia.
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. M.- Berlin.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române. Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
Caietele CIVA	Caietele CIVA. Cercul de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Alba Iulia.
CCA	Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. București.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Muzeul Dunării de Jos. Călărași.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
CNA	Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
Corviniana	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis. Hunedoara.
Crisia	Crisia, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
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Drobeta	Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier. Drobeta Turnu-Severin.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület. Cluj-Napoca.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek – Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
FdI	File de istorie, Muzeul de Istorie. Bistrița.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Budapest.
Germania	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Komission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
História	História – történelmi folyóirat. Budapest.
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények. Budapest.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei. Brăila.
JAHC	Journal for the Association of History and Computing. Michigan University.
JahrbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
JAMÉ	Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve. Pécs.
KL	Kartografické listy. Bratislava.
Korall	Korall Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat. Budapest.
Közl	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
Lucrări	Lucrări Științifice. Istorie-Științe-Pedagogie, Institutul Pedagogic. Oradea.
GT	Geographia Technica. International Journal of Technical Geography. Cluj-Napoca.
Marisia	Marisia. Marisia. Studii și materiale. Arheologie – Istorie – Etnografie. Târgu-Mureș.
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MFMÉ MonArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Monumenta Archeologica. Szeged.
MHB	Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia. Budapest.
MIM	Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie a Municipiului București. București.
MSW	Materialy Starożytne Wczesnosredniowieczne. Kraków.
MW	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne. Kraków-Wrocław-Warsawa.
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat. Budapest.
NNT	Norsk Numismatisk Tidsskrift.
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift, herausgegeben von der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Wien.
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology, Oxford.
OpHung	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde.
Potaissa	Potaissa. Studii și comunicări. Turda.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Régészeti Füzetek	Régészeti Füzetek. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum. Budapest.
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RM	Revista Muzeelor. Centrul pentru Formare, Educație Permanentă și Management în Domeniul Culturii. București.
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Savaria	Savaria – a Vas megyei múzeumok értesítője. Pars historico-naturalis. Szombathely.
SCIVA	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”. București.
SCȘI	Studii și Cercetări Științifice. Istorie.
SIB	Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea de Vest Timișoara.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Bratislava.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”. București.
SMK	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Kaposvár.
SSCR	<i>Social Science Computer Review. North Carolina State University.</i>
Speculum	Speculum. Cambridge Journals Online. Cambridge.
StComCaransebeş	Studii și Comunicări. Etnografie. Istorie. Caransebeş.
StComSatuMare	Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare.
Stratum plus	Stratum plus Journal. High Anthropological School University. Cultural Anthropology & Archaeology.
Studia Caroliensia	Studia Caroliensia. A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem szakfolyóirata. Budapest.
Studia Comitatensis	Studia Comitatensis. Tanulmányok Pest Megye Múzeumaiból. Szentendre.
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata. Budapest.
Terra Sebus	Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Sebeş.
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica. București.
Transilvanian Review	Transilvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie. Cluj-Napoca.
TS	Történelmi Szemle. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetének Értesítője. Budapest.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorische Archäologie. Bonn.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.
VMMK	Veszprémi Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Veszprém.
World Archaeology	World Archaeology. London.
ZfA	Zeitschrift für Archäologie. Berlin.
Ziridava	Ziridava, Complexul Muzeal Arad. Arad.
ZMSW	Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde. Berlin.

