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# ŚLĄSKIE SPRAWOZDANIA ARCHEOLOGICZNE

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## HOW FAR DID THE NOMADS GO TO THE WEST AROUND THE MIDDLE OF THE 6TH CENTURY BC?

Grechko Denys

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**Abstract:** The scientists are still debating about quantity, dating and scale of the so-called “Scythian invasions” in Central Europe. The dating of arrowheads sets is important for clarifying the chronology of the settlement structures and burial complexes of the late Hallstatt period in Central and Eastern Europe. The arrowheads sets of the Repiakhuvata Mohyla horizon (Ha D1) in Central Europe are known only in the complexes of the Transylvanian group. The arrowheads from the destruction layers of the settlements in Eastern and Central Europe (Smolenice-Molpir, Wicina, etc.) belong to the transitional period (570/560 – 540 BC) (the boundary of the periods Ha D1/Ha D2). The arrowheads of the chronological horizon of the Vitova Mohyla correspond to those that were found in the classical burials of the Vekerzug culture (Ha D2). The find of the Western Hallstatt trophies at Bilsk may indicate the participation of nomad groups from the East in the destruction of Heuneburg.

**Keywords:** Eastern and Central Europe, Heuneburg, Ha D, “Scythian invasions”, arrowheads

### INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, there are several regional chronological schemes of the late Hallstatt period (HaD), which are not fully synchronized and clearly dated. This fact makes it difficult to study comprehensively the events that simultaneously occurred in different parts of Europe during this period. Among them there were the so-called “Scythian invasions” in Central Europe. Scientists are still debating about their quantity, dating and scale (Bruyako 2005, 299–301; Chochorowski 2014, 37). In recent years, several complexes have been investigated that make it possible to clarify a number of points in the study of these events.

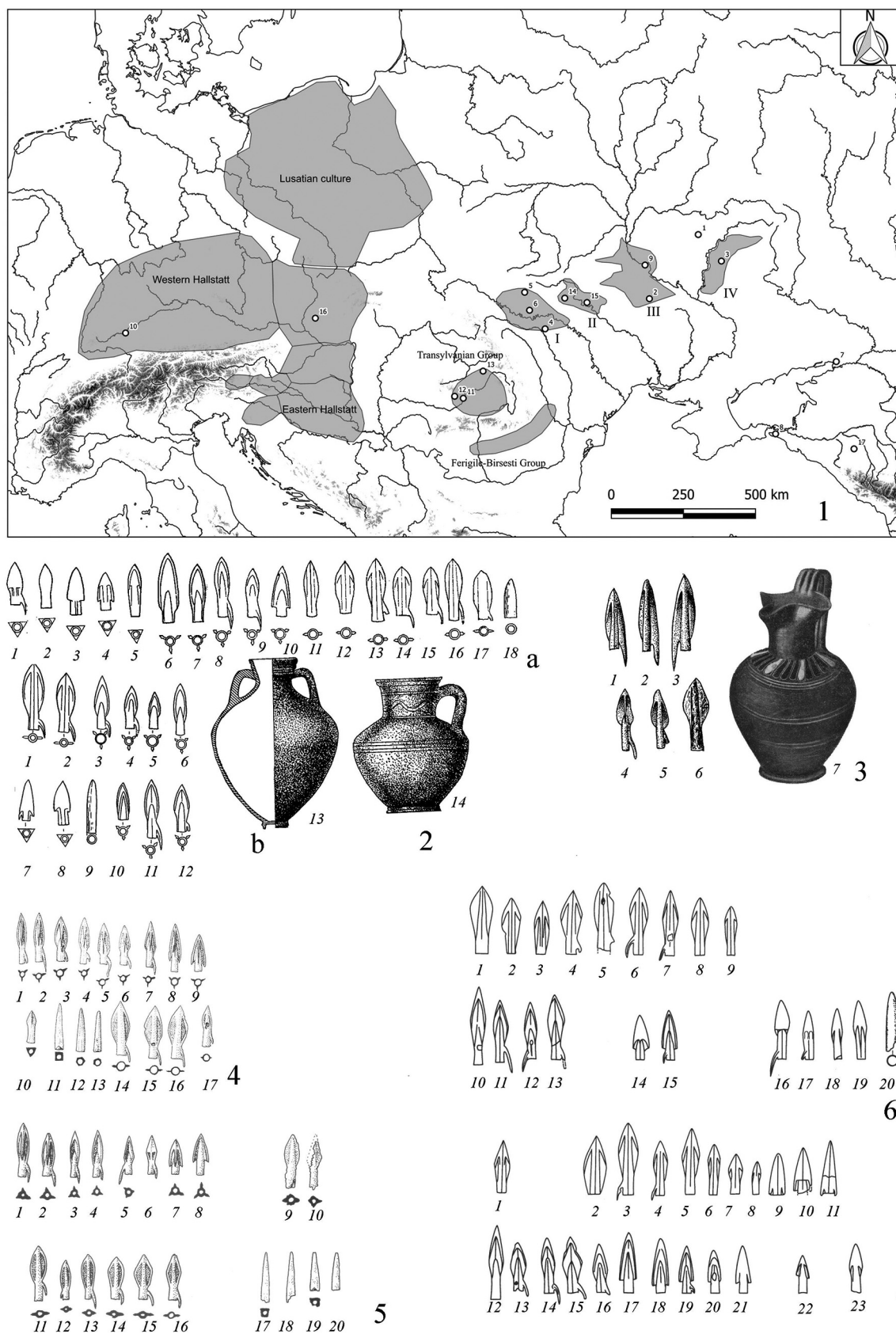
For the dating and extent of penetration of nomad groups into Central Europe in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC in this paper, a new data on the dating of arrowheads sets that come from the destruction layers of ancient settlements from the Dnieper to the headspring of the Danube, as well as from the nomad's burials which have a well-reasoned dating, is discussed. Based on the analysis of quiver sets, an attempt to highlight individual chronological horizons within the framework of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, is made. Particular attention is paid to the funeral inventory from the barrow no. 1/2017 of the Skorobor necropolis near Bilsk hillfort, which was investigated by Irina Shramko (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018). In the burial wares typical for the Western Hallstatt region were found. In the paper a reconstruction variant of the way they occurred in the burial is presented.

### COMPOSITION CHANGE OF THE QUIVER SETS IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE 6<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BC

The dating of arrowheads sets is important for clarifying the chronology of the settlement structures and burial complexes of the Late Hallstatt period in Central and Eastern Europe. At the moment, there are several works that are dedicated to this issue (Bruyako 2005, 299–301; Hellmuth 2006; Chochorowski 2014, 37). In this section, the main characteristics of arrowheads sets of separate chronological horizons of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, which were highlighted by the author earlier (Grechko 2012; 2013; 2016), will be described.

#### **Repiakhuvata Mohyla Horizon (second phase of the Kelermes period, last quarter of 7–first third of 6 centuries BC)**

This period corresponds with the Ha D1 period. The basic complex for this period is the burials of the Repiakhuvata Mohyla, which are separated, according to experts, in about 30 years – i.e. one generation (Bruyako 2005, 245). The main burial (no. 1) can be attributed to the beginning of this phase, and the inlet is closer to its end. In the main burial, 88 bronze, four bone and five iron arrowheads were found (Fig. 1: 2a). Two quiver sets (151 and 124 arrows, respectively) have been preserved among the inlet burial inventory (Fig. 1: 2b) (Ilinskaia *et al.* 1980). The main differences between quiver sets are the following: in a more archaic first burial, there are significantly more two-winged arrowheads (38% vs 7 and 8%, respectively) and they are more diverse (at least 6 varieties instead of one); in the late burial, three-winged specimens of various shapes absolutely dominate (13% vs 77 and 76%, respectively), and



**Fig. 1.** Cultural groups and arrowhead sets of the second phase of the Kelermes period (Ha D1). 1 – The main monuments groups and basic complexes (1 – Oksiytyntsi, Vovkivtsi (Sula River basin); 2 – Repiakhuvata Mohyla; 3 – Bilsk (Skorobir); 4 – Trinka; 5 – Spasivka; 6 – Teklivka; 7 – Khapry; 8 – Tsukur-Lyman; 9 – Trakhtemyriv; 10 – Heuneburg; 11 – Tejuș; 12 – Cristești; 13 – Mărișelu; 14 – Severynivka; 15 – Nemyriv; 16 – Smolenice-Molpír; 17 – Kelermes. I – West-Podolian group; II – East-Podolian group; III – Kyiv-Cherkasy group; IV – Vorskla group). 2a – Repiakhuvata Mohyla, burial 1; 2b – Repiakhuvata Mohyla, burial 2; 3 – Tsukur-Lyman; 4 – Tejuș; 5 – Cristești; 6 – Kelermes, barrow 24; 7 – Kelermes, barrows 1 and 4/III (after Prushevskaya 1917; Ilinskaia *et al.* 1980; Vulpe 1990; Galanina 1997; Chochorowski 1998).



three-winged arrowheads with an arched head and obliquely cut blades-thorns are not identified (Fig. 1: 2a [10]).

The two-winged arrowheads of this phase are characterized by a laurel head, outer socket with or without a thorn (I.A.a.b after Anna Hellmuth). A series of two-winged arrowheads with a wing-thorn is known (Fig. 1: 3[1-3]). Similar arrowheads were spread in southern Eastern Europe and in the Transylvanian group (Vulpe 1990).

Among the three-winged arrowheads, specimens with a sharp leaf-shaped and laurel-shaped midrib, with outer socket with or without thorn prevail (Fig. 1: 2-7). Three-winged arrowheads with an arched midrib and obliquely cut blades in the lower part are known in another complexes (Repiakhuvata Mohyla 1, Kelermes, Mala Ophirna) (Fig. 1: 2a [7]), which are more typical for the early complexes of this phase (last quarter/third? of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC).

The trihedral arrowheads have an arched or oval head and outer socket (Fig. 1: 2 [1]; 6 [16-19]). Some of them have sharp blades cut at the lower part in the form of thorns with a short outer socket (Fig. 1: 2-3).

Bone arrowheads have a bullet-shaped form (Repiakhuvata Mohyla) (Fig. 1: 2b [18]; 4 [12]) or are tetrahedral (Cruzești, Teiuș, Starsha Mohyla, Teklivka, barrow no. 1) (Fig. 1: 4 [11]; 5 [17]). The two-winged iron arrowheads are predominantly oval or laurel-shaped (Fig. 1: 5 [9]). Three-winged iron examples are also known (Cruzești, Khapry, barrow no. 1).

In Central Europe, quiver sets of this horizon are known only in the Transylvanian group (Fig. 1: 1; 4; 5).

### Transitional period (570/560–540 BC)

This period can be synchronized with the transition from the Ha D1 period to Ha D2. In sets of the second-beginning of the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC arrowheads of the previous horizon are still present (Fig. 2: 2 [18–23]; 4 [1, 7–15]; 6 [9–16]), although changes in their composition are fundamental. The basic complexes for this horizon are burial mound no. 4 near Hladkivshchyna village, barrow no. 2 near Perebykovtsy village and a complex of finds from the Smolenice-Molpír hillfort destruction layer (Fig. 2: 2; 3; 4).

The arrowheads from Smolenice-Molpír were examined by Anna Hellmuth (2006). Today, researchers attribute the arrowhead complexes from the destruction layers of this ancient settlement to the chronological horizon of the inlet burial of the Repiakhuvata Mohyla, and Wicina – to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>1</sup> (Bruyako 2005, 299–301; Hellmuth 2006; Chochorowski 2014, 37), which is not certain for me for today.

Peculiar, different from the previous chronological horizon, are two-winged arrowheads with a tower-shaped head (type I C after Anna Hellmuth). This type refers exclusively to the transitional period. Such arrowheads are known in the Northern Black Sea region (Hladkivshchyna barrow no. 4; Perebykovtsy barrow no. 2) and in the Smolenice-Molpír destruction layers (Fig. 2: 2 [5–10]; 3-1; 4 [2–4]).

In the complexes of the transitional period, two-winged arrowheads with blade bases cut off at an obtuse angle to the socket (Olbia, 1910/12; barrow no. 467 near Aksiutyntsi village

in the Sula River region) (Galanina 1977, 39, Fig. 18, 16), Novoaleksandrivka and Hladkivshchyna, barrow no. 4; Smolenice-Molpír (group 1 D after Anna Hellmuth). During this period, a series of two-winged arrowheads without outer socket appeared (Fig. 2: 5 [5]) (Grechko 2016, 43).

In the earliest quiver sets of the transitional period, three-winged arrowheads with a laurel-shaped head, outer socket and with or without a thorn were found (group II A and B after Anna Hellmuth) (Fig. 2: 2 [18–23]; 4 [7–15])<sup>2</sup>.

In the second quarter – middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC in the sets appear three-winged arrowheads with a tower-shaped head (group II C after Anna Hellmuth), with long outer socket, with or without a thorn (Fig. 2: 2 [14–17, 28–29]; 3 [2–5]; 4 [19–24]) (Grechko 2012, 93). Such arrowheads can serve as reliable markers of complexes of the second and the beginning of the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, since in the burials of the last quarter of this century in the amount of more than one example, they are not known (Grechko 2012, Fig. 13, 14).

One group of arrowheads of the transitional period is genetically connected with the three-winged ones of the previous horizon. The socket is reduced, and the shape of the head is elongated and acquires a sharp leaf-shaped (group II D and B after Anna Hellmuth) (Fig. 2: 4 [32]).

Single massive bronze three-winged arrowheads with a tower-shaped head with blades cut off at an obtuse angle to the base of the blades with inner socket appear (Perebykovtsy barrow no. 2) (Fig. 2: 3 [12]) (Grechko 2016, 44–45). Only one item from Smolenice-Molpír is similar to this type (variant II 4.V.a. after Anna Hellmuth) (Fig. 2, 4 [20]). This type of arrowheads will be typical to the next chronological horizon.

Three-winged arrowheads with a weakly outer socket and slender proportions, which will be spread later (Aksai) are presented in a small amount (Fig. 2: 6) (D'yachenko *et al.* 1999).

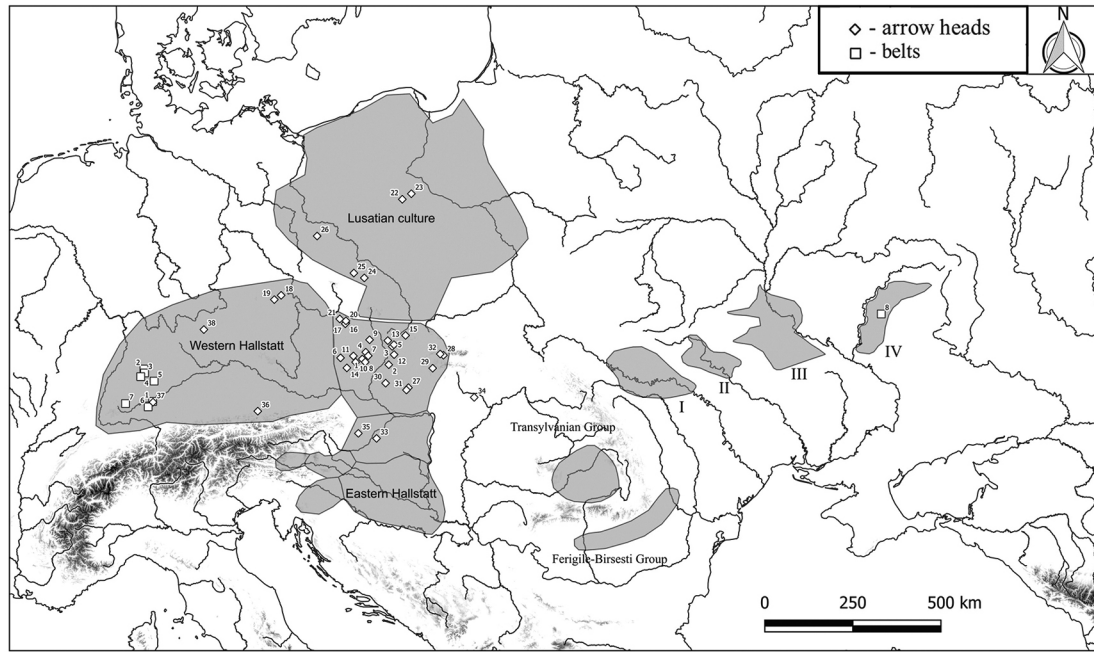
The classical attributive arrowheads are absent in the complexes of the second and beginning of third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, as well as in the Early Scythian time. Single items of massive attributive arrowheads were found in transitional complexes (Vovkivtsi barrow no. 478; Basivka, barrow no. 482) (Galanina 1977, Fig. 23, 25, 26, 28).

A few bronze three-winged arrowheads with a triangular head, similar to the previous horizon ones (Basivka, barrow no. 482) were found (Fig. 2: 4 [47]). The evolution of this type of arrowheads in this period goes towards decreasing the length of the socket, and acquiring a tower-shaped head (Fig. 2: 4 [49, 50]). The arrowheads of this group (III after Anna Hellmuth) are widely represented in the destruction layers from the Middle Dnieper (Khotiv, Trakhtemyriv) to Central Europe (Smolenice-Molpír, Wicina, Celldömölk-Sághegy).

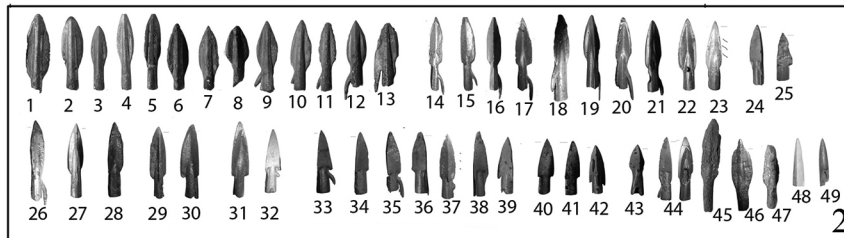
Rare are bronze tetrahedral arrowheads (Vovkivtsy, barrow 478; Perebykovtsy barrow no. 2, the second quiver set (Fig. 2: 3 [13]) (Galanina 1977; Smirnova, 1993, 115, Fig. 9, 15). It is important to note their presence in Smolenice-Molpír (variant IV Bz after Anna Hellmuth) (Fig. 2: 4 [55]). This group of arrowheads is unknown in the complexes of the previous horizon of the East European Forest-Steppe.

<sup>1</sup> In a recent work, Jan Chochorowski attributed the destruction of this settlement by 570/560 BC (2019, 229).

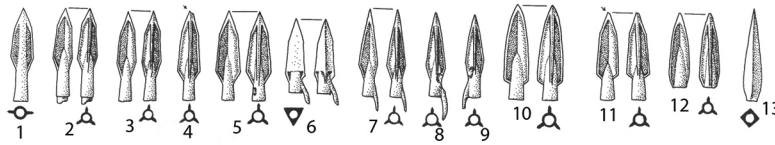
<sup>2</sup> Surviving forms typical for previous horizon.



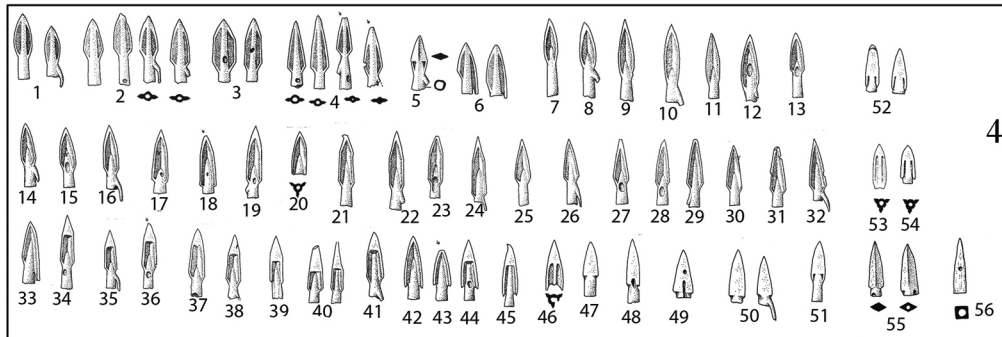
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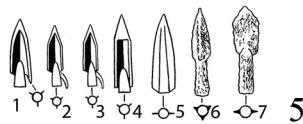
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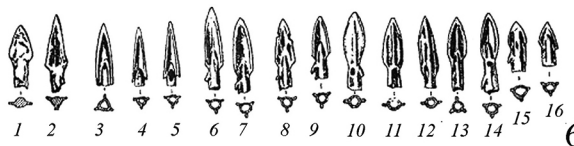
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**Fig. 2.** Traces of the nomad raids in Central and Eastern Europe and arrowheads of the transitional period (frontier Ha D1/HaD2).

1. Arrowheads of the Scythian type: 1 – Blučina; 2 – Boršice u Blatnice; 3 – Brusné; 4 – Horákov; 5 – Chvalčov “Hostýn”; 6 – Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou; 7 – Křenovice; 8 – Krpice; 9 – Malé Hradisko; 10 – Olbramovice; 11 – Oslavany; 12 – Provodov-Ludkovice; 13 – Radslavice; 14 – Suchohrdly; 15 – Štramperk “Kotouč”; 16 – Doly Rabouň; 17 – Lhota; 18 – Měrunice; 19 – Minice; 20 – Pěšice; 21 – Topol “Na skale”; 22 – Kamieniec; 23 – Kruszwica; 24 – Sobótka “Ślęza”; 25 – Strzegom “Bazaltowa Góra”; 26 – Wicina; 27 – Kostolany pod Tribečom; 28 – Liptovská Sielnica; 29 – Prašnica; 30 – Smolenice-Molpír; 31 – Štitáre; 32 – Vyšný Kubín; 33 – Celldömölk; 34 – Dédestapolcsány; 35 – Velem; 36 – Hellbrunnerberg; 37 – Heuneburg; 38 – Kirchehrenbach. Belts: 1 – Hohmichele; 2 – Hirschlanden; 3 – Mühlacker; 4 – Gäufelden-Nebringen; 5 – Erkenbrechtsweiler; 6 – Pfullendorf-Otterswang; 7 – Magdalenenberg; 8 – Bilsk (after Smirnova 1979; Batchaev 1985; D’yachenko et al. 1999; Hellmuth 2006; Daragan 2016).



The variety of iron arrowheads are well-known in transitional complexes. They are found in Aksai, Nartan necropolis barrow no. 5 and no. 8 (Batchaev 1985, 23–24, Fig. 19, 28, Fig. 25, 26–27), Hladkivshchyna barrow no. 4 (Grigoriev, Skoryi 2012; Daragan 2016) (Fig. 2: 2 [45–47]); 5 [6,7]; 6 [1–2]). It is important to note that in the burials of the Northern Black Sea region of the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC iron arrowheads are already missing.

Thus, it can be concluded that the complex of arrowheads from destruction layers of the hillforts in Central Europe (Smolenice-Molpír, Wicina, etc.) correspond to the transitional period (second quarter – beginning of third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), and are not synchronous with the Repiakhuvata Mohyla horizon. The dating of these arrowheads sets from Central Europe by the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC cannot be accepted.

The arrowheads of this chronological horizon are massively represented in the layers of destruction of the settlement structures in Central Europe, which allows them to be used in synchronizing local chronological schemes. In Northern Alföld, there are known burials that can be dated by this period – Sajószentpéter. Jan Chochorowski considers them as earliest complexes of Vekerzug culture (1998, 480). It is worth noting that they are more likely to relate with the movement of nomads from the Middle Dniester region in the direction to Smolenice-Molpír and further to Moravia. In the immediate vicinity from Sajószentpéter, obvious traces of the assault of the Dédestapolcsány fortification were revealed. Arrowheads from the fortifications belong to the transitional period (Szabó *et al.* 2014). In the classical complexes of Vekerzug culture, arrowheads of this chronological horizon are not represented. This fact allows returning again to the consideration of the issue of time and the reasons of this culture formation.

### Vitova Mohyla horizon (530/520 BC)

A period between the transitional period and the oldest complexes of the Middle Scythian time, which can be called Vitova Mohyla horizon, can be distinguished. It synchronizes with the Ha D2 period.

Besides Vitova Mohyla (Fig. 3: 2), an important complex is the one with antique imports in barrow no. 1/2017 in Skorobir tract, near Bilsk hillfort, which was investigated by I.B. Shramko and S.A. Zadnikov (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018). These two complexes allow to date this chronological horizon by 530–520 BC. It can be correlated with the beginning of the nomads generation changing, who returned from the campaign in Central Europe. The destruction of Heuneburg in the upper Danube around 540 BC gives us the terminus *post quem* for this horizon. Moreover, there are more, less important sites such as Opishlianka, Kupievakha, barrow no. 19 and no. 21, Tetiushino and Skorobir, barrow no. 4/1965 (Fig. 3: 4).

Its characteristic features are the disappearance of Repiakhuvata Mohyla horizon arrowheads and the part of the transitional period arrowheads. Bronze three-winged ones with a tower-shaped head, outer socket and a thorn continue to be found (Opishlianka, Vitova Mohyla) (Fig. 3: 2 [1]). At this time, the bronze three-winged arrowheads with a

tower-shaped head and inner socket are spread, preceding the appearance of the classical attributive arrowheads (Fig. 3: 4). Their fundamental difference from the attributive ones is the ratio of the length and width of the base and, accordingly, an elongated shape with a tower-shaped top.

This horizon, according to the arrowheads, correlates with the classical (typical horse bridle, cruciform plaques) complexes of the Vekerzug culture (Fig. 3: 7). The quiver sets of this culture are quite monolithic, like other equipment, which suggests that most Vekerzug complexes can be dated by the Ha D2 period (phase II according to A. Kozubová 2013).

## THE WARRIOR FROM SKOROBIR, OR THERE AND BACK AGAIN<sup>3</sup>

“If there’s a key, there must be a door!”

J.R.R. Tolkien «The Hobbit, or There and Back Again»

In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC the improvement of climatic conditions led to an increase of nomadic people number in the Steppe. Another factor was the strengthening of Medes, and then the beginning of the Persian Empire formation (the wars with the Massagets). A part of the nomads from Ciscaucasia and the Kuban region began to move to the Northern Black Sea region.

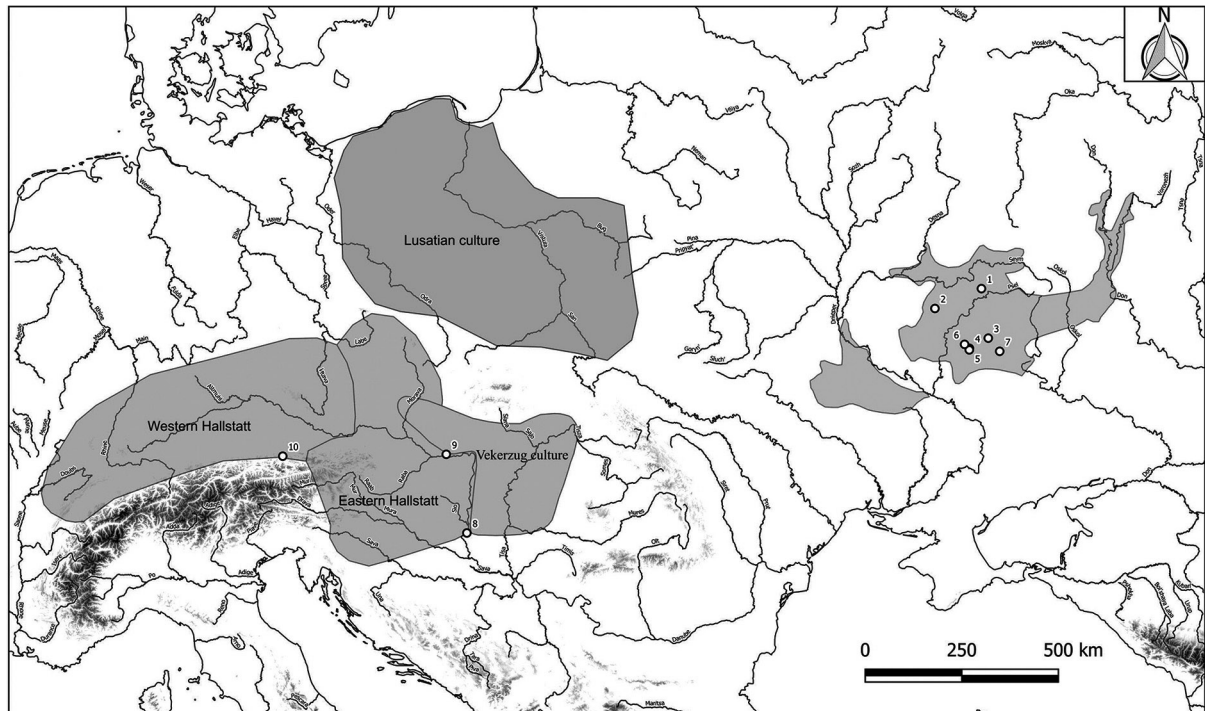
In their movement to the west, nomads reached Central Europe. The results of these events for the East Hallstatt (Smolenice-Molpír) and late Lusatian (Wicina) population are well-known. Separate finds of arrowheads of the “Scythian type” in the Western Hallstatt region have so far not been confidently associated with this nomad campaign.

The situation has been changed after the investigation of the elite burial dated by 530–520 BC (Vitova Mohyla horizon, Ha D2) at the necropolis of the Bilsk hillfort (excavation headed by I. Shramko, 2017) (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018, 15, Fig. 6, 8). This complex fundamentally influenced the reconstruction of the ethno-cultural history of the region in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

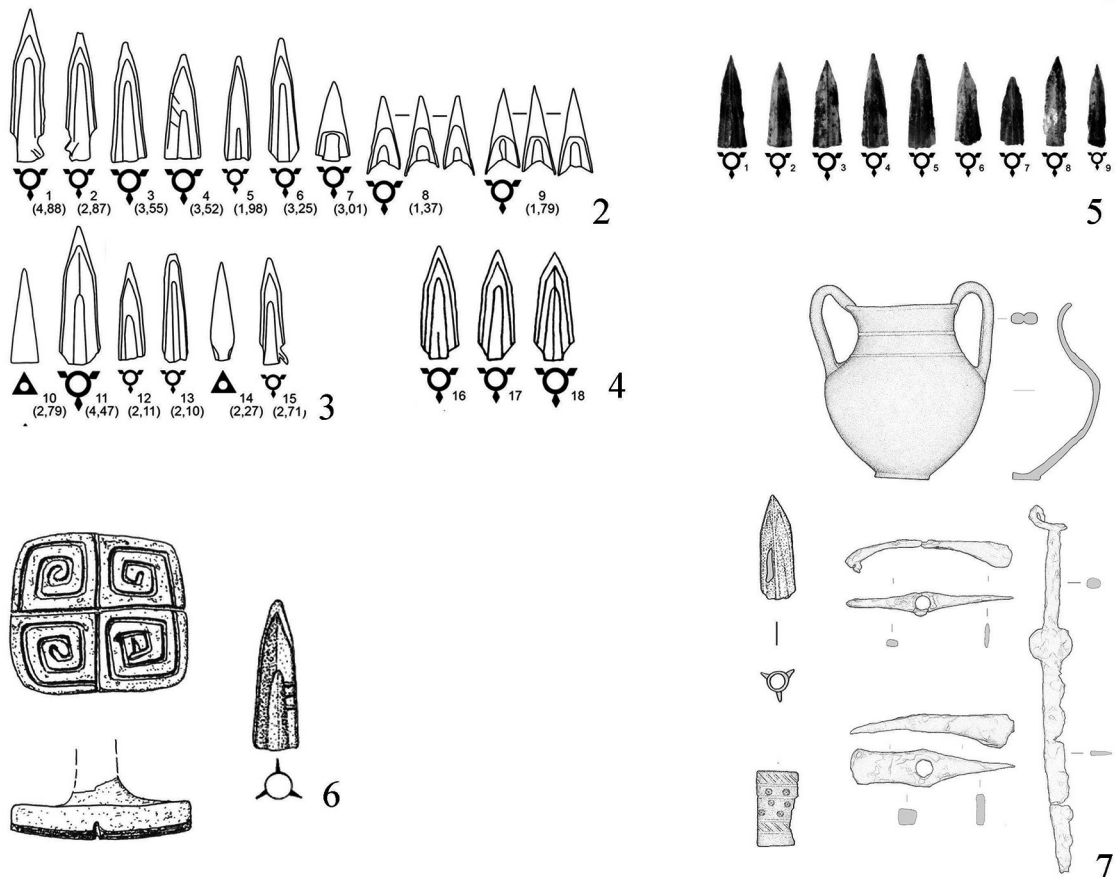
Aristocratic burial in a wooden chamber tomb was examined (Fig. 4) (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018, 7–16). The complex is published only partly, but some of the findings still stand out at this stage of work.

A piece of elk antler palm is important in answering the question of the Motherland of the buried warrior, or the place from which he went to the Eastern European Steppe (Fig. 4: 2) (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018, 15, Fig. 6, 2). Its ritual purpose indicates that it was not a commodity, but had a particular importance to the buried man. The authors of the excavation linked the origin of this dish to the territory of the Southern Urals (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018, 10), but the items in the specified region are synchronous to Skorobir. Only the Northern Caucasus (barrow no. 5, 10, 13 of the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC – Ha D1 – of the Novozavedenoe II necropolis) can be considered as the initial migration area (Petrenko, Maslov 1999, 250). I have already pointed to the nomads’ of this region participation in moving to the Northern Black Sea during the transitional

<sup>3</sup> The first publications of the ideas outlined in Grechko 2019, 6; Grechko, Kotenko, Kryutchenko 2020, 53–72.



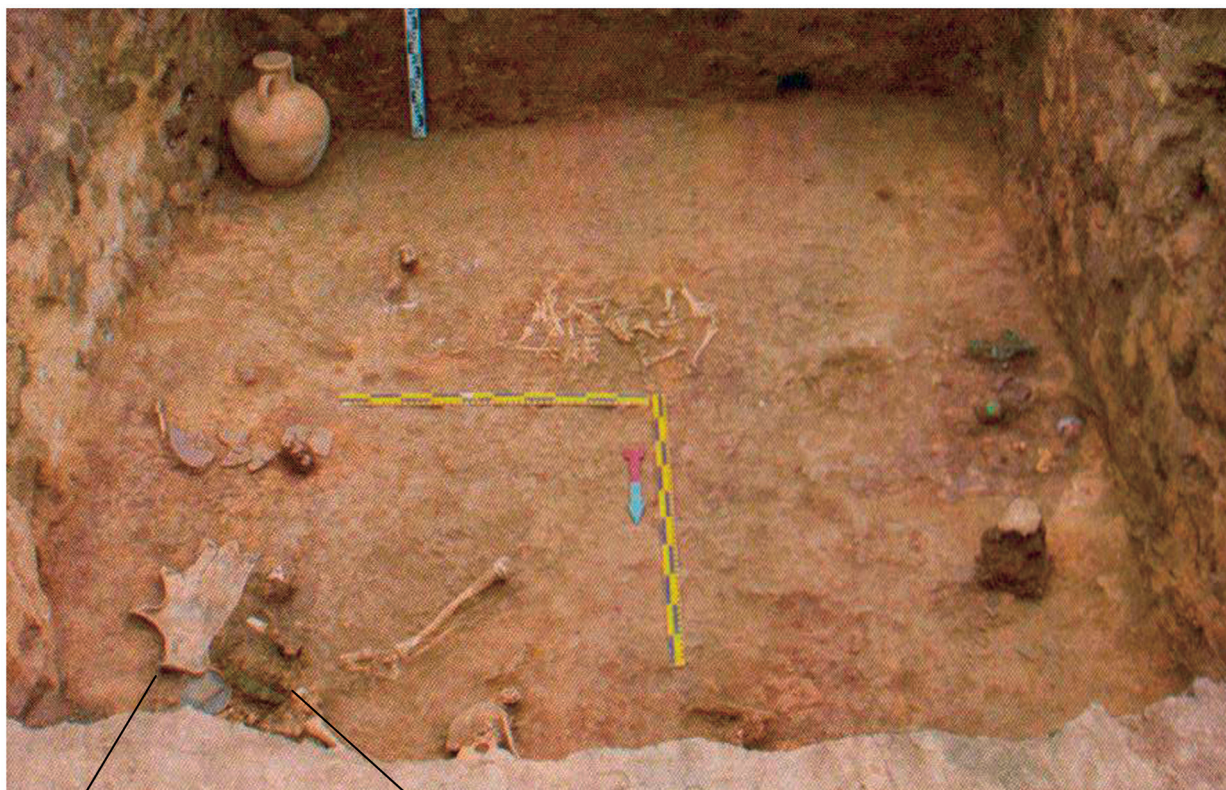
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**Fig. 3.** Ethno-cultural situation in Central and Eastern Europe after the “Scythian invasions” (Ha D2) and arrowheads of the Vitova Mohyla horizon. 1 – cultural groups and burials: 1 – Basivka; 2 – Vovkiivtsi; 3 – Kupievakha; 4 – Opishlianka; 5 – Vitova Mohyla; 6 – Bilsk; 7 – Tetiushchyno; 8 – Bátmonostor-Szurdok; 9 – Chotin; 10 – Hellbrunnerberg; 2 – arrowheads: 1 – Vitova Mohyla; 3 – Opishlianka; 4 – Skorobir, barrow 4; 5 – Sheliuh; 6 – Hellbrunnerberg; 7 – Bátmonostor-Szurdok (Moosleitner 1979; Daragan 2017; Gyucha *et al.* 2015).

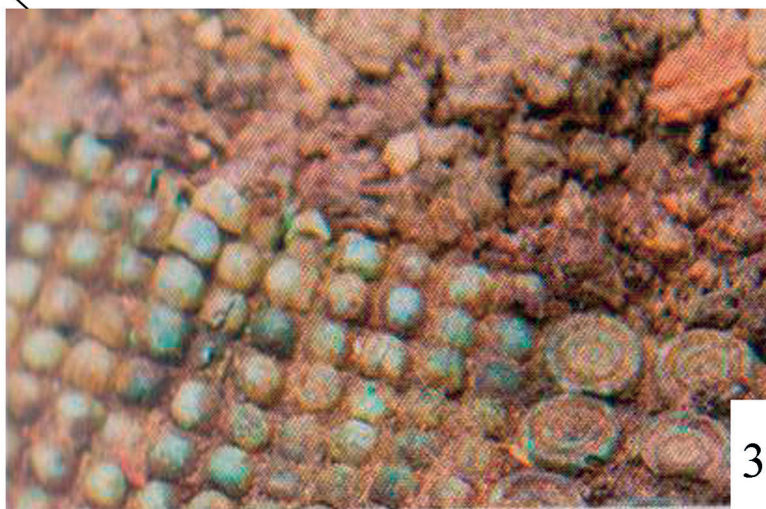




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Fig. 4. Burial in barrow no. 1/2017 of Skorobir necropolis and part of its inventory (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018, Fig. 3 and 6).



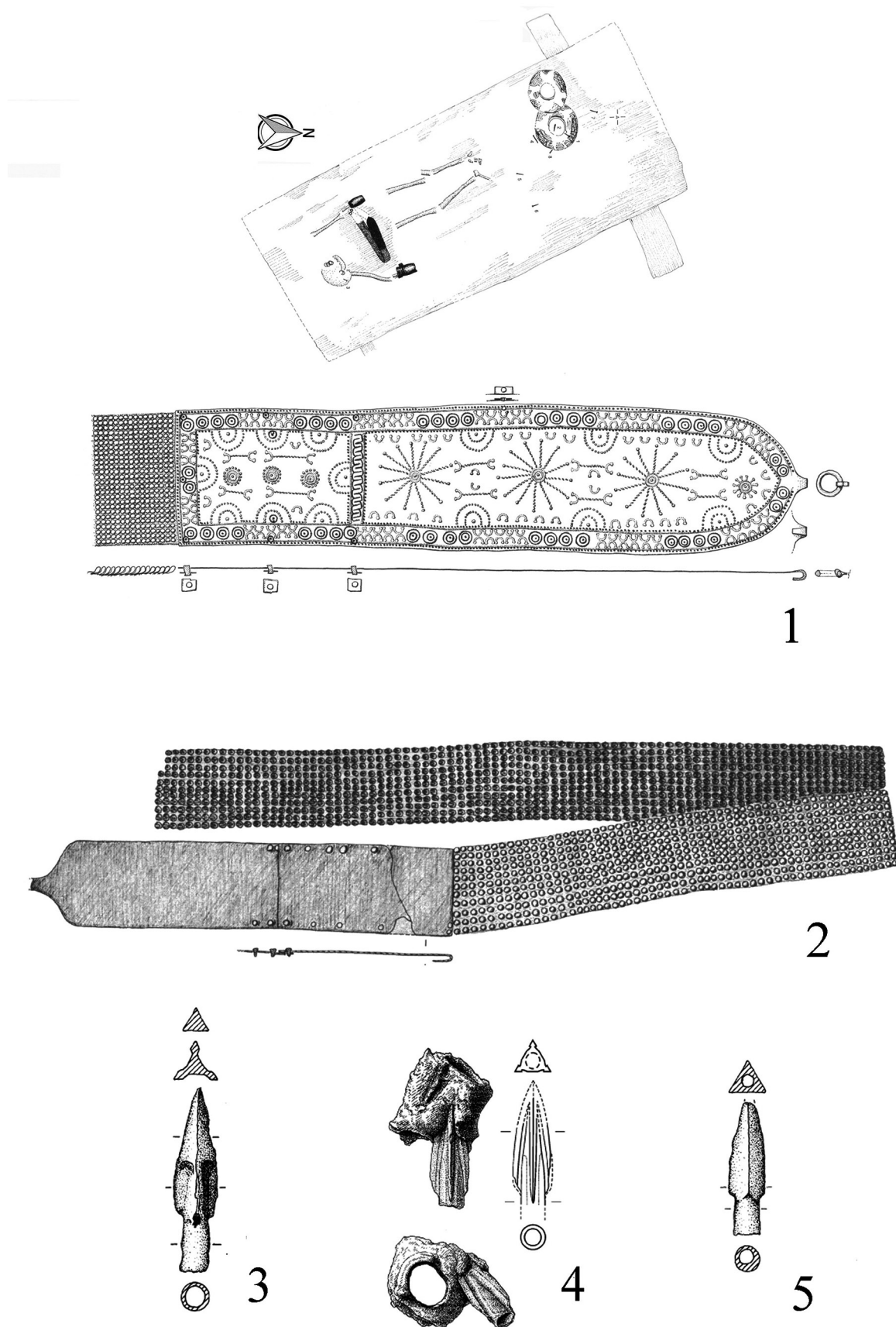


Fig. 5. Belts and arrowheads of the Western Hallstatt region. 1 – Magdalenenberg, burial no. 78; 2 – Magdalenenberg, burial no. 21; 3–5 – Heuneburg (after Spindler 1972; 1973; Sievers 1984, Taf. 110; Bofinger 2006, 553, Abb. 1, 1).

period (Grechko 2016, 57). Finding the piece of antler only confirms my assumption.

The finding in his burial mound of two leather “belts” decorated with parallel rows of hemispherical bronze plaques can give an answer to the question of which places the warrior from Skorobir visited (end of Ha D1 – beginning of Ha D2) during his “military career” (Fig. 4: 3) (Shramko, Zadnikov 2018, 15, Fig. 6, 8). The authors of the excavations published only a photograph of a part of these findings (Fig. 4: 3). Analogous “belts” are widely represented in the Western Hallstatt region. A whole series of such products was found in the burials of the period HaD1 at the necropolis of Magdalenenberg (Ha D1, last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC) (Fig. 5: 1–2) (Spindler 1971, taf. 14, 4, 5; 15, 3; 21, 3; 33, 9; 38, 4; 40, 1; 1972, taf. 11, 12; 23, 13; 35, 1; 1973, taf. 3, 2; 17, 3; 25, 1; 28, 1; 31, 1), Hohmichele near Heuneburg (Ha D1) (Arnold, Murray 2006, 124–127, Fig. 9. 5; 9. 9) and in several complexes of the Ha D2 period (Zürn 1970, taf. 29, 6, taf. 40, 4; 1987, taf. 55, 11; taf. 73A, 13; taf. 376, 8). The lack of analogies in the intermediate territories may indicate that the belts from Bilsk are trophies.

The Hohmichele necropolis is located near the ancient city of Heuneburg, near the headspring of the Danube. Researchers recorded the destruction of this site about 540 BC (final of period IVa/1) (Krausse *et al.* 2016, 91). During investigation, three arrowheads were found (Fig. 5: 3–5) (Sievers 1984, taf. 110; Bofinger 2006, 560), which are typical for the transitional period (Grechko 2016, 44–45). There are analogies to these arrowheads in the destruction layers of the Central Europe hillforts (types II. B, II. F, III. according to Anna Hellmuth 2006, 69–70, 114, 121). Before the burial in Skorobir was discovered, the reasons for the destruction of Heuneburg were unclear. The researchers were confused by the considerable distance of this point from the main routes of the nomad campaign around the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. On the way to Heuneburg from Bohemia, only one point is known with finds of similar arrowheads – Kirchehrenbach “Ehrenburg” (2 items) (Novák 2017, 207, Fig. 9), therefore, the movement of the nomads along the Danube cannot be excluded.

Arrowheads and trophies from Bilsk suggest that Heuneburg was destroyed as a result of campaigns by representatives of a number of tribes from South–Eastern Europe and possibly the Middle East (*Sigina*) to Central Europe in the Late Hallstatt period. The nomads raids along the Danube are well-known in the early Middle Ages (Huns, Avars, Hungarians). In addition, it is evident that a part of the military units returned to the Dnipro Left–Bank forest-steppe.

It is a good idea of Jan Chochorowski that the *Sigynnae*, a Median tribe, after a series of raids, remained in Alföld and participated in the formation of the Vekerzug culture (2013, 64). In developing this thought, the answer to the question of who was the warrior from Skorobir, who remained in Bilsk to live out his age, having acquired a new homeland, can be tried to find. It can be assumed that in the raid (raids?) to the Upper Danube could participate, in addition to the *Syginnae*, *Gelonians* and *Melanhlens*, which the ancient authors first mentioned in the Northern Caucasus (Romer 1998,

79; Shipley 2011, I, 110; II, 14) and later within the Eastern European Steppe (Herod. IV, 107, 108).

The consolidation of new nomads in this region, even before the Scythians arrived in the Northern Black Sea region, is consistent with the information of Herodotus that at the time of the campaign of Darius I, these tribes were independent, had their kings and territories (Herod., IV 102, 118, 119).

## CONCLUSION

The arrowheads sets of Repiakhuvata Mohyla horizon (Ha D1) in Central Europe are known only in the complexes of the Transylvanian group. The arrowheads from the layers of the settlements destruction in Eastern and Central Europe belong to the transitional period (570/560–540 BC), the boundary of the periods Ha D1/Ha D2. The sets of arrows of Vitova Mohyla chronological horizon correspond to those which were found in the classical burials of the Vekerzug culture dated to Ha D2.

The find of the Western Hallstatt trophies in Bilsk may indicate the participation of nomad groups from the East in the destruction of Heuneburg. It is possible that acquaintance with this proto-city stimulated the idea of building a phenomenal Bilsk hillfort. Such a reconstruction does not exclude the legitimacy of the assumption that Bilsk is a city of Gelonus of Herodotus.

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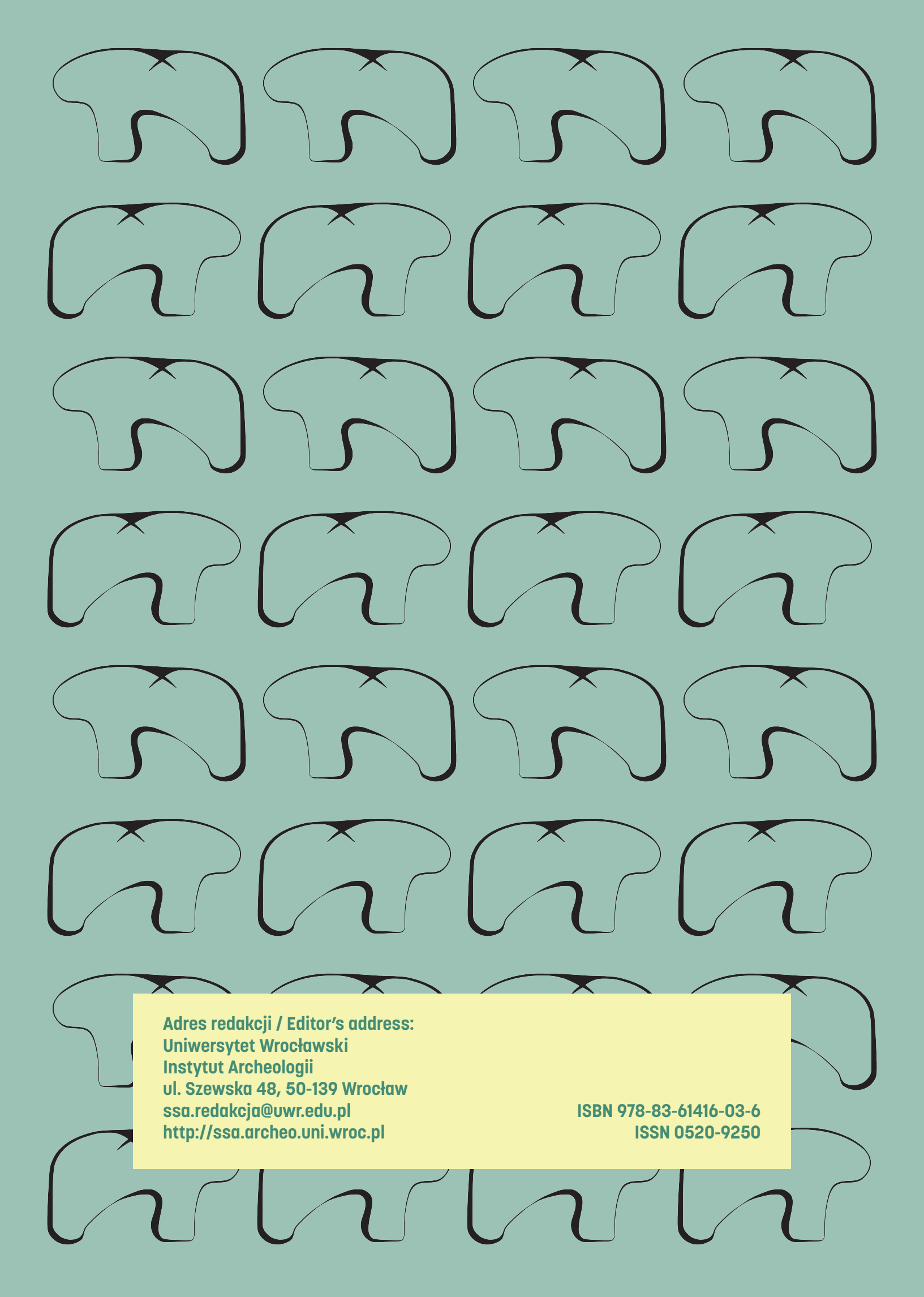
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