

**THE INGUL-DONETS
EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION
AS SPRINGBOARD FOR TRANSMISSION
OF PONTIC CULTURAL PATTERNS
TO THE BALTIC DRAINAGE BASIN
3200 – 1750 BC**

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BALTIC-PONTIC STUDIES

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Editor's Foreword

In 2009, the 14th volume of *Baltic-Pontic Studies (BPS)* ran a series of papers summing up the state of research at that time into the routes between the Baltic and Black seas between the 4th and 1st mill. BC. They are an expression of an early reflection prompted by the need to look more closely at the impact Pontic cultural environments – where composite metallurgy was practised, designated as Early Bronze in this volume – had on the Decline Neolithic and Proto-Bronze settlement centres in the Baltic drainage basin. It is to this question that successive volumes of the *BPS* shall be devoted.

Specifically, according to the research programme aims mentioned above (initial fruits being the papers included in *BPS*, vol. 18) the environments of Northern Pontic cultures – Yamnaya, Catacomb and Babyno – and the Trzciniec cultural circle were identified as generators of the Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization or their immediate neighbours. In proposing this modification of the gamut of phenomena making up the prologue to the European Bronze Age, we intend to suggest the need for a more integrated ('extra-taxonomic') and at the same time, territorially wide-ranging reading of Northern Pontic civilization environments and its cultural interaction in the period from the 3rd to the first half of the 2nd mill. BC.

More arguments in favour of the above opinion can be found in the introductory paper: *The Baltic Drainage Basin in the Reconstruction of the Mental Map of Central Europe Held in Common by Northern-Pontic Early-Bronze Civilization Communities; 3200 – 1600 BC, An outline of research programme.*

Editorial comment

1. All dates in the B-PS are calibrated [BC; see: Radiocarbon vol. 28, 1986, and the next volumes]. Deviations from this rule will be point out in notes [bc].
2. The names of the archaeological cultures and sites are standarized to the English literature on the subject (e.g. M. Gimbutas, J.P. Mallory). In the case of a new term, the author's original name has been retained.
3. The spelling of names of localities having the rank of administrative centres follows official, state, English language cartographic publications (e.g. *Ukraine, scale 1 : 2 000 000*, Kyiv: Mapa LTD, edition of 1996; *Rèspublika BELARUS', REVIEW-TOPOGRAPHIC MAP*, scale 1:1 000 000, Minsk: *BYELORUSSIAN CARTOGRAPHIC AN GEODETIC ENTERPISE*, edition 1993).

Viktor I. Klochko, Aleksander Koško

THE BALTIC DRAINAGE BASIN IN THE
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MENTAL MAP
OF CENTRAL EUROPE HELD IN COMMON BY
NORTHERN-PONTIC EARLY-BRONZE CIVILIZATION
COMMUNITIES: 3200-1600 BC.
AN OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Since the late 4th and early 3rd mill. BC, the cultural communities occupying the borderland between the east and west of Europe possessed the systems of *mental maps* (*mental chorographies*), a general exploration of which (both in terms of identification methods and attempts at field recording) was already discussed by researchers working on the projects of ‘Intermarine Archaeology’ [see Ignaczak, Koško, Szmyt (Eds) 2011].

A key conclusion of this discussion is a revision of assessments concerning the positions occupied by Baltic drainage basin communities in the system of neighbour (‘frontier’) policies shared by so-called *Early Bronze civilizations*¹ – the most active in this part of the continent – specifically, the Danube-Carpathian and Northern Pontic.

The research has focused so far on the ‘Baltic-Danube’ relations, which reflected their special position in the cultural changes in east-central Europe in the 3rd and 2nd mill. BC [Machnik 1967; 1977; 1978; 1982; 1987; see also a discussion of the research in Ukrainian by Buniatian 2010]. The research covered the prehistory of communities living in the drainage basins of the Odra, Vistula and Neman rivers [see Lakiza 2008:155].

What should be stressed in this context is the absence of a parallel attempt to systemically assess Baltic-Pontic relations. This is caused above all by the delays in the dissemination of knowledge on the state of research into the Bronze Age

¹ To use the categories developed by Jan Machnik [1978:9]; another term is: *provinces of Early Bronze metallurgies* meaning ‘composite metallurgies’.

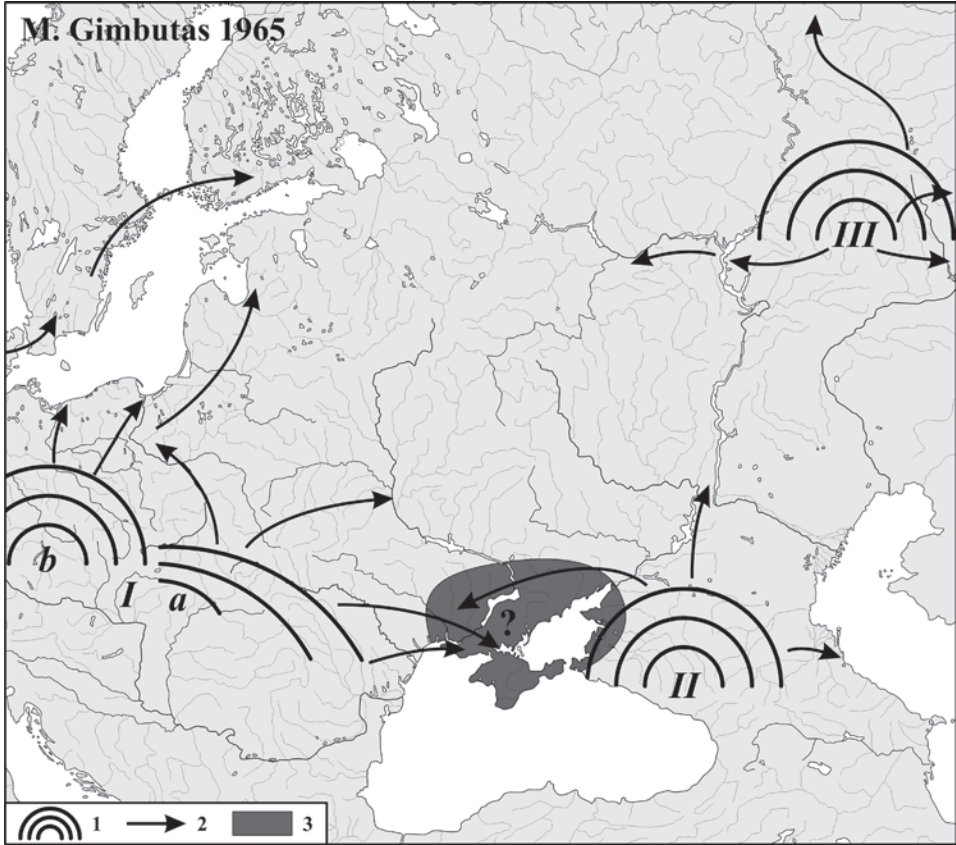


Fig. 1a 'Classic approaches' to European metallurgic centres in the 4th/3rd-2nd mill. BC by Maria Gimbutas [1965] showing the Ingul-Donets centre (in black) mentioned in the text. Legend: 1 – metallurgic centres (I: (a) Carpathian, (b) Bohemian-South-German, II: Caucasian, III: South-Ural); 2 – routes of metallurgic inspirations; 3 – Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization

in the Northern Pontic Area. The knowledge was gathered when the excavation results of 'many thousands of kurgans' were revisited some years after they were obtained in the wake of a 'steppe farming' project carried out in pursuance of one of Leonid Brezhnev's policies from the late 1960s to the early 1990s. The kurgan excavation results create a new situation with respect to the exploration of many cultural aspects of metal ages. One research thread is the study of the Ingul-Donets centre of Early Bronze Age cultures (Yamnaya, Catacomb, Babyno), hereinafter referred to as the *Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization* (I-DEBC) [see Batora 2006; Klochko, Koško 2009].

Another deficiency of the current state of research is the failure to assess the topogenesis of the 'extra-Carpathian' markers of Early-Bronze cultures in the Bal-

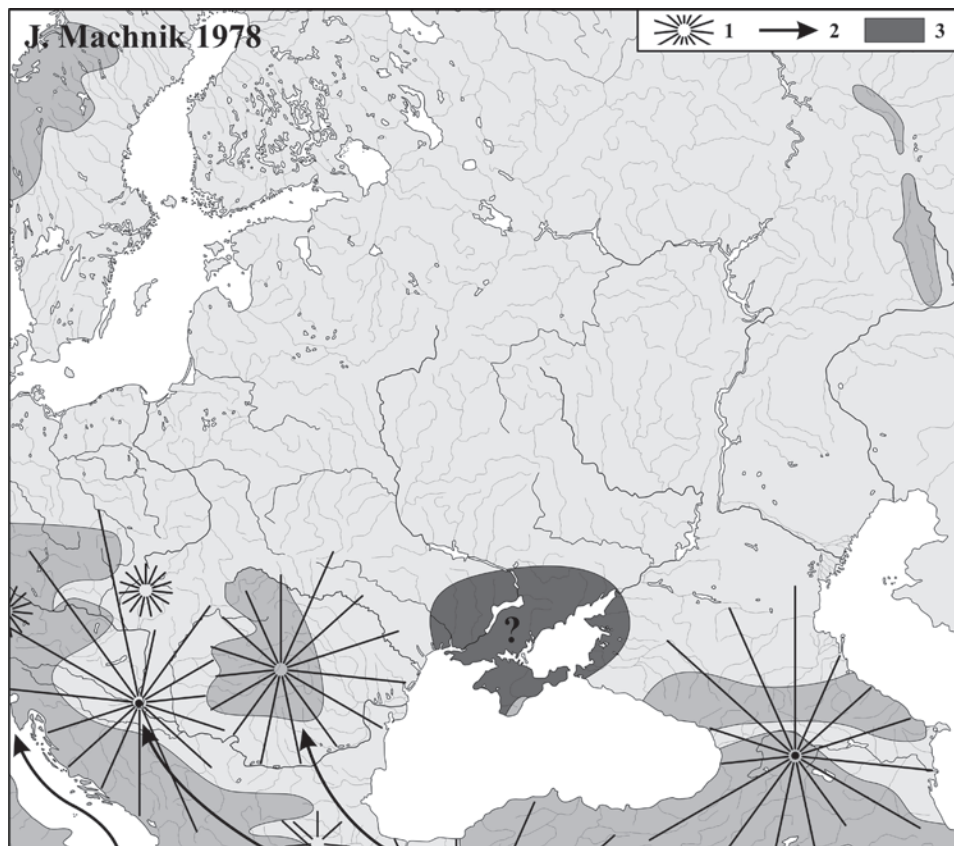


Fig. 1b 'Classic approaches' to European metallurgic centres in the 4th/3rd-2nd mill. BC by Jan Machnik [1978], showing the Ingul-Donets centre (in black) mentioned in the text. Legend: 1 – metallurgic centres; 2 – routes of metallurgic inspirations; 3 – Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization

tic drainage basin. An exception here is the study of an area between the Wieprz and Horyn rivers. This is especially true for the investigations by Jerzy Libera of the Strzyżów manufacture trend of bifacial points [Libera 2001].

This paper shall attempt to review the major research tasks within the above-outlined scope.

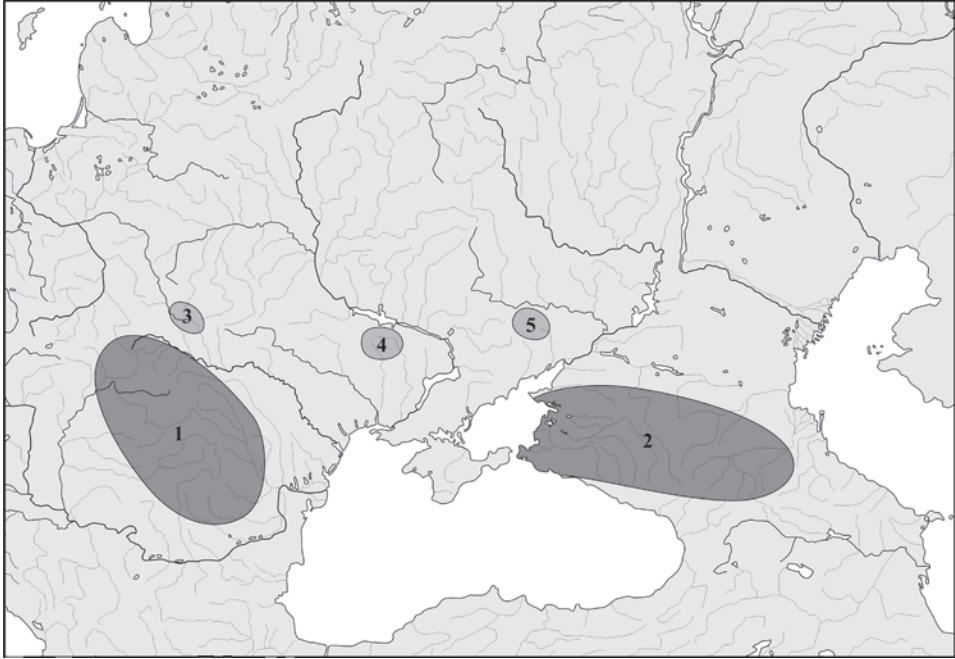


Fig. 2 A current revision of the map of metallurgic centres in the Northern Pontic Area after V.I. Klochko [1994; 2004] and Y.M. Brovender [2009: map 1]. Legend: Metallurgic centres: 1 – Carpathian; 2 – Kuban ('Maikop'); 3 – Volhynian; 4 – Kryvyi Rih; 5 – Donets

1. THE BALTIC DRAINAGE BASIN AS THE AREA OF FRONTIER EMANATIONS OF EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATIONS

The network of settlement-cultural centres referred to as *Early Bronze Civilizations* provides evidence for the conception of a process which led to the rise of the oldest centres (or provinces) of composite metallurgy in Europe. By composite metallurgy is meant here the metallurgy of alloys or possibly hypothetical alloys (of copper, chiefly with arsenic and tin). The most common map shows 3-4 such centres in the late 4th and in the 3rd mill. BC usually identified as Central European (divided further into Carpathian and Bohemian-South-German ones), Caucasian and South-Ural ones [Gimbutas 1965, Fig. 1; Machnik 1978, Fig. 7].

Until the 1960s/1970s, little was known about autonomous metallurgic centres between the Carpathians and Caucasus (Fig. 1a, 1b).

In efforts to make the 'classic' record of *Early Bronze Civilizations* more specific, attempts were made to justify the distinction of their less marked forms that arose in the 3rd-3rd/2nd mill. BC. The attempts relied on microspatial observa-



Fig. 3 Map of features identified as *metallurgists' graves* as charted by L.C. Ilyukov [1985], A.I. Kubyshev and A.L. Nechytailo [1991: Fig. 1] and J. Batora [2006: Fig. 37]. A concentration of such features within the Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization is shown in the box. Right upper corner: illustration of a YC metallurgist's grave, Gromovka, Kherson Region

tions of coincidences between local shallow copper deposits, which hypothetically were accessible in prehistoric times, and local taxonomic units, exhibiting certain ties (in terms of pottery styles) to the circle of *Early Bronze* cultures. Moreover, funerary features identified as *metallurgists' graves* were cited in support as well [Kubyshev, Nechytailo 1991; Batora 2006: Fig. 37]. An entirely new research thread, represented in this volume by Lubov and Viktor Klochko, is started by an

attempt to separate a broad complex of metal artefacts, associated mainly with the Corded Ware culture (CWC) and coming from the area stretching between the Vistula and Dnieper rivers, by performing an integrated analysis of hoards, grave inventories and – newly obtained – many ‘chance discoveries’ (i.e. made without a direct supervision by an archaeologist). The analysis shows a promising composition and typochronology of the complex of sources, offering a fair chance for a major revision of the known approaches to the prologue of the Bronze Age in the area affected by the impact of the ‘Carpathian-Volhynian metallurgic centre’.

Viewed from the Northern Pontic Area, the outcome of attempts made so far to review (or make more specific) maps of metallurgic centres justifies distinguishing three new ones: *Volhynian* (or more broadly speaking: *Carpathian-Volhynian*), *Kryvyi Rih* and *Donets* ones. Of which the second and third can be interpreted to have jointly brought about the rise of a broader province: an Ingul-Donets one (in this approach the Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization, in another: Ingul-Donets Cultural/Civilization Centre – see the paper by Vitaliy V. Ortoshchenko in this volume) [Klochko 1994; 2004; Klochko *et al* 2000; 2003; Klochko, Koško 2009; Brovender 2009]. Clear evidence for the existence of this province comes from the Ingul-Donets concentration of *metallurgists’ graves*, belonging to the Yamnaya and Catacomb cultures and being one of the two largest concentrations of this type in the Europe of the 3rd and 3rd/2nd mill. BC [Chapter 2; Kubyshev, Nechytailo 1991; Batora 2006] (Fig. 3).

While studying the cultural phenomena taking place in the Baltic drainage basin in the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd mill. BC, we encounter the question of the strength and nature of their ties with the Early Bronze Civilizations mentioned earlier. Generally speaking, their ‘frontier emanations’ have been identified in various manners: mainly in taxonomic attributions and far less often in broader programme or interdisciplinary studies such as the following research projects in Wielkopolska: Janusz Czebreszuk in Bruszczewo and Przemysław Makarowicz in Szczepidło [Müller, Czebreszuk, Kneisel 2010; Makarowicz, Gorbacz-Klempka 2014].

In the case of Danube-Carpathian civilization centres, the reception mechanisms of their patterns on the Baltic varied. They included inter-regional ‘segmental’ adaptation owing to permanent contacts (chiefly mediated by the ‘northern’ communities of the Globular Amphora culture – GAC, CWC and Bell Beakers culture). Other such mechanisms were intrusion (proto-Únětice culture followed by Otomani-Fúzesabony culture), colonization (Únětice culture) and, in the broadest version, the formation of frontier affinity-based communities (examples include the Carpathians Foothill Cultural Circle and later the Trzciniac culture).

In the areas occupied by the above-named taxa, I-DEBC traits are recorded as well or rather – in widely held opinions – those of Black Sea *Early Bronze cultures*. As mentioned earlier, the presence of these traits there has been discussed so far mainly in relation to flint working [Libera 2001; Libera, Zakościelna 2011:97] and the Strzyżów culture [Głosik 1968; Machnik 1978:79; Klochko, Koško 2009:283].

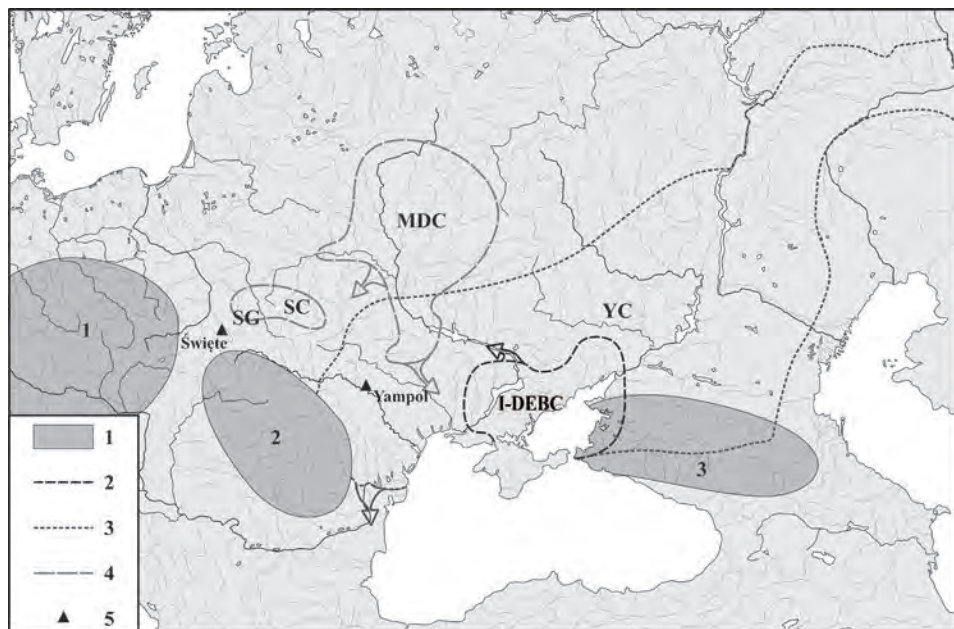


Fig. 4 Map of Early Bronze civilizations in the drainage basins of the Baltic and Black seas with frontier cultures marked. Legend: 1 – metallurgic centres (1 – Bohemian-South-German, 2 – Carpathian, 3 – Kuban); 2 – Ingul-Donets Early Bronze Civilization I-DEBC; 3 – Yamnaya culture circle = YC; 4 – Corded Ware cultures = CWC (SG = CWC Sokal group, SC = Strzyżów culture, MDC = Middle Dnieper culture); 5 – diagnostic micro-regions for the purpose of assessing ‘route cohabitations’

New opportunities to learn more are offered by – commenced around the year 2000 – investigations headed by Jan Machnik, focusing on a very clear strengthening of ties between the Małopolska CWC, specifically from the region of Roztocze [CWC Sokal group, Machnik, Bagińska, Koman 2009] around 2500 BC with ‘apparently distant’ – according to known approaches – cultural environments on the Dnieper such as the Middle Dnieper culture [Buniatian, Samoliuk 2009]. What we see in this case is a sequence of chronometrically well-documented (^{14}C) instances of inter-regional cohabitations in the area between the Vistula and Dnieper rivers [Machnik 2009] (Fig. 4).

The year 2010 witnessed the inauguration of the Polish-Ukrainian programme of field investigations in the vicinity of Yampil on the middle Dniester aimed at documenting a hypothetical cohabitation zone of the Małopolska CWC and Pontic *Early Bronze* hypotheses [Koško 2011]. At present, volume 1 of ‘Yampil studies’ is in print [Kloczko, Koško, Razumow, Włodarczak (Eds) 2014].

2. INGUL-DONETS EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION: PROBLEMS WITH THE IDENTIFICATION OF PONTIC COMPOSITE-METALLURGY CENTRES

Arguments in favour of distinguishing I-DEBC were supplied by the study of two key centres of the Catacomb culture (CC): Ingul and Donets (Ingul CC and Donets CC), respectively [Popova 1955; Bratchenko, Shaposhnikova 1985; Bratchenko 1976; 2001; 2012; Siniuk, Matveev 2007]. A special role in assessing the culture-making creativity of both centres is played by two threads of research. The first focuses on the ‘Ingul-Donets’ concentration of metallurgist burials (of the YC and CC – as already stressed – one of the largest on the map of the then Europe), while the other is preoccupied with the ties connecting individual concentrations to local metal deposits: Kryvyi Rih and Donets ones [Kubyshev, Nechytailo 1991; Batora 2006; Brovender 2009].

At this juncture it is appropriate to sketch the foundations of a synthesis encompassing the genetic background for the Northern Pontic metallurgic centre.

The discussions of the autogenesis of the I-DEBC (in another approach: Yamnaya-Catacomb stage in the development of Pontic Early Bronze cultures) can be summed up as a sequence of the following conclusions:

- In parallel to the disintegration of Late Tripolye cultures, a ‘Caucasian reorientation’ takes place, shifting neighbour contacts of steppe settling communities towards Maikop culture → Kura-Araxes culture centres.
- The first taxonomic record of the reorientation is the Zhivotilovka-Volchansk group/type (horizon?). On the Northern Pontic steppe, Caucasian metal goods appear then.
- Simultaneously, another identifiable direction in the set of ‘new ties’ of steppe populations points to the Middle East civilizations: those of Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean.
- In the development of Northern Pontic steppe communities, the I-DEBC should be identified with the time of demographic and economic growth, and the reception of exogenous ideologies and rites. This is illustrated by complex forms of space organization: central settlements (of the Mikhailovka or Leventsovka type) – situated in the nodes of the trade route network – and monumental – in comparison to the practices followed until that time – ritual centres [Pustovalov 1994; 1995; 1997; 2005; Rassamakin 1994; 1999; Klochko 2008].
- Keeping in mind the above comments, one must notice the developmental autonomy of the ‘Ingul-Donets’ Early Bronze civilization centre (Fig. 1a, 1b, 2, 3). This is especially true for the ‘classic’ discussion of its development relations with the Caucasian civilization centre.

- The I-DEBC is part of the Circum-Pontic metallurgic province covering, according to Evgenij N. Chernykh (Chernykh *et al.* 2000), vast expanses of land with varied composite metallurgy centres in the Caucasus, Anatolia, parts of Mesopotamia, the Balkans, Carpathian Basin and Northern Pontic Area, including the Carpathian-Volhynian zone [*see* Klochko, Klochko ..., in this volume].

3. INGUL-DONETS EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION: A WESTERN NEIGHBOUR PERSPECTIVE

The question of the I-DEBC's western neighbours has been most extensively dealt with by Gennadiy N. Toshev [1991; 1998]. However, his work primarily concentrated on the steppe route, leading towards lands stretching between the Dniester and Prut rivers, and the Danube, hence generally extending southwest.

The question of 'northwest' routes, crossing steppes and continuing across forest-steppes towards the Baltic drainage basin, however, has not been directly raised. This is true for both the cited approaches and the works by other authors, taking up the question of the external impact by the 'catacomb cultural-historic community'. As an important finding concerning the 'preliminary exploration' of the impact direction under discussion must be considered the recording of a CC grave on the middle Dniester, in a kurgan in Očnița (Moldova). The grave is dated to the early phase of the CC, exhibiting 'Ciscaucasian-Manych' topogenetic references [E.O. Kłoczko 1990].

It must be said, too, that the analyses of the topogenesis of catacomb graves ('niche' ones) recorded in the Vistula drainage basin – in the cemeteries of the Małopolska CWC and the Złota culture – have not brought any hard evidence for their allegedly Pontic sources of inspiration [Kłoczko, Koško, Razumow, Włodarczak 2014].

4. THE QUESTION OF BALTIC-PONTIC ROUTES OF CULTURAL CONTACTS AS THE FIRST STEP IN THE STUDY OF THE COHABITATION OF THE INGUL-DONETS EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION AND THE CULTURES OF THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF THE DANUBE EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION

The study of the development of a route network between the Baltic and Black seas shows the late 4th and early 3rd mill. BC to have been the time when the



Fig. 5 Routes between the seas in the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd mill. BC. Legend: 1 – routes as charted by Maria Gimbutas [1965]; 2 – routes charted after taking into account the distribution of fluted maces [Koško 2002; Klochko, Kosko 2009: Fig. 17]; 3 – a revision taking into account the studies of the Volhynian GAC route [Lysenko, Szmyt 2011]; 4 – finds of fluted maces; 5 – diagnostic features for the assessment of ‘societies of the route’

network stabilized the (dividing line of wagon use, [Koško, Klochko 2009; Koško 2011]). Hence, it may be assumed that the study of various forms of the movement of people, objects and ideas from the I-DEBC zone towards the communities of the Baltic drainage basin, as well as in the opposite direction, ought to take into account the ‘network system’.

Accepting the above assumption, we should try to trace, within the currently identified ‘network’, *potential routes of two-way inspirations* and, along them, localize *diagnostic features* as well. Specifically, this ought to be done by studying already available materials and searching for new sources by holding excavations of features known as clusters of ‘Early Bronze kurgans’ whose locations suggest their connection to routes leading to the Małopolska and Circum-Baltic CWC oecumenes.

The procedure outlined above justifies accepting as a *diagnostic feature* the Yampil Kurgan Complex (*see* earlier comments). It is held to be a frontier complex on the Dniester route [*see* a broader approach: a cluster of Yampil-Kamenka complexes; Manzura, Klochko, Savva 1992; Koško, Potupczyk, Razumow 2014; Klochko E.O. 1990 – data on an ‘early Catacomb’ feature].

What we know now of the north-western frontier of Pontic ‘Early Bronze kurgans’ is enough to identify – for the purpose of inspiration – at least two more diagnostic features in which we can expect to find interesting source assemblages.

a. YC kurgans from the drainage basin of the upper Roś, Plaskiv (Pogralishchenskiy District). In 1985, in one of such features a collective grave was unearthed holding five individuals and having affinities with central European funerary traditions (GAC or CWC – information courtesy of Mykhailo Potupchik). An important background for the interpretation of this find is provided by the observations that the Ros’ River played a special role in the construction of the Volhynia routes along which GAC communities reached the Middle Dniester Area [Szmyt 1999; Lysenko, Szmyt 2011].

b. ‘Early Bronze’ kurgans in the upper Boh drainage basin, on the Rov River, close to the town of Severinivka (information courtesy of Dr. Yuriy Boltrik). The interpretation background in this case is provided by the studies of the Boh-Bug route as one of the major thoroughfares of the Baltic-Pontic intermarine area [Koško 2002; Klochko 2008; Koško, Klochko 2009] (Fig. 5).

5. PROBLEMS WITH SOURCE IDENTIFICATION: CIRCUM-BALTIC RECEPTION INDICATORS OF INGUL-DONETS EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION TRADITIONS

The research programme under discussion suffers from territorial-archaeometric discrepancies in the source evidence. In the South – in the Pontic steppe and forest-steppe zones and on loess uplands in the upper Vistula drainage basin – we are faced with a clear domination of funerary sources, whereas in the North (in the forest zone – modern-day Belarus – or on the Polish Lowland) settlement sources dominate. An exception in this context, the Kujawy enclave supplies material evidence indicating connections largely to the South.

The discrepancy of sources manifests itself in research: we will differ in the language of source analysis we use and the system of conceptual references we make.

The culture of the age of rising nomadism – the 3rd-3rd/2nd mill. BC – can be portrayed better, relying on a series of funerary sources. Settlement sources from

this period – originating with the Lowland of the ‘interstage’ between the Neolithic and Bronze Age’ – because of their ephemeral nature (dispersion and differences between micro-regions) – cannot be taxonomically categorized in the same way as synchronous materials from the South are. Neither do they supply, as a rule, any ‘non-object’ materials, which are helpful in specialist analyses.

The recent years, at least as far as Polish experience with rescue archaeology is concerned, namely large-scale excavations carried out along the routes of linear construction projects on the Lowland, have revealed – for the most part – very limited usefulness of such excavations for obtaining sources from the ‘age of rising nomadism’. Specifically, we mean here excavations, dominating in this procedure, with the excessive use of mechanical equipment. This has greatly reduced the recovery of evidence for the existence of *ephemeral settlements*.

Can, therefore, the Baltic drainage basin be the area of a balanced analysis of the Pontic ‘mental map’ from the period of 3200-1600 BC?

Translated by Ryszard J. Reisner

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