

**ROUTES BETWEEN THE SEAS:
BALTIC-BUG-BOH-PONT
FROM THE 3RD TO THE MIDDLE
OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM BC**

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BALTIC-PONTIC STUDIES

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Editor's Foreword

As regards the identification of the early forms of Europe's long-distance routes, the area lying between the Baltic and Black seas can be said to be one of relative neglect. Specifically, little research has been devoted to the development stages of the area's socio-cultural map, i.e. to neighbourly forays, itineraries, routes (of varied continuity, range and transport technique), stable segments of roads leading to water crossings, networks of fords and the communication channels running along watersheds. The foremost issue, at present one of great difficulty with respect to a study embracing the whole region in question, is the cultural context of these innovations and the related mechanisms that saw their creation in regard to the socio-economic basis and ritual-epistemological nature of ancient peoples in these regions.

The study by Marija Gimbutas [Gimbutas 1965] of 'amber routes', joining the west and east of Europe, may be considered the first attempt to tackle the issue of the region's early communication channels and was accordingly referred to in the analyses of the distribution of stone 'fluted maces', regarded as hypothetical markers of Baltic-Pontic routes [Koško 2001; 2002]. Generally, this conceptual leaven can be said to have provided broader intellectual stimuli for the international academic community of 'Archaeology Bimaris'. The turning point in the nascent study of ancient routes has been thus given a clear framework: an inter-university and interdisciplinary discussion (see the Poznań-Obrzycko symposium *Routes Between the Seas: Baltic-Bug-Boh (Southern Bug)-Pont* held in October 2008).

The papers included in this volume are a partial record of the discussion. The intentional selectiveness here is seen therefore in the conscious limitation of the scope of papers ('piecemeal' treatment of linguistic or ethnological and anthropological analyses). Moreover, there is a special focus on one of the inter-regional routes, namely the Baltic-Bug-Boh (Southern Bug)-Pont, or more specifically, its early evidence (generally speaking, prior to – widely known to the academia – its use in the times of Goth migrations).

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*, Kiev: Mapa LTD, edition of 1996; *Rèspublika BELARUS', REVIEW-TOPOGRAPHIC MAP*, scale 1:1 000 000, Minsk: BYELORUSSIAN CARTOGRAPHIC AN GEODETIC ENTERPISE, edition 1993).
4. As far as names of administrative units in Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian and English are concerned, a convention has been adopted that województwo = oblast = region and powiat = raion = district.

Paulina Suchowska

COMMUNICATION SPACE OF THE NORTHERN PONTIC AREA AS VIEWED BY AEGEANS

INTRODUCTION

In the literature on intercultural exchange and the course of communication and trade routes, one can encounter several differing views and theories concerning these issues (from simple descriptions to complex theoretical explanations frequently presented in the form of tables, formulae and charts).

Early studies of these questions within archaeology chiefly consisted in the analysis of the objects of material culture and their reliable verification as elements of intercultural exchange [Stjernquist 1966: 7]. Later, in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and especially in the 1990s, the study of these questions was characterized by the borrowing of theoretical and philosophical concepts from other branches of learning, and from both the humanities and natural sciences at that [Irwin-Williams 1977: 142]. Hence, adopted by archaeology, the idea of interdisciplinary studies made it possible to carry out complex comparative analyses. They, in turn, contributed to the finding of solutions to some major research questions.

The occurrence of certain objects of material culture in the Northern Pontic Area and in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Aegean, justifies putting forward a hypothesis about the existence of a network of intercultural, perhaps trade, exchange operating between the two areas. Certain similarities in the sphere of ceremonies and rituals, as for instance types of burials and the funerary rite,

recorded both on the Black Sea and in the Aegean, seem to support the hypothesis. The links discussed in this paper¹ are dated to the 2nd millennium BC.

For organizational considerations, the paper is divided into two major parts: the purpose of the first part is to present the development of contacts between the eastern and central Mediterranean and Mainland Europe in the Bronze Age, whereas the second part deals with specific examples (of material culture and certain elements of rituals and ceremonies) providing evidence for the contacts.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND MAINLAND EUROPE IN THE BRONZE AGE

The societies of central and eastern Europe (northern and western as well), although they evolved independently of the eastern Mediterranean, they were not totally isolated from it. Developed in the Near East (in particular in Anatolia, Egypt and the Levant), urbanization, socio-ideological and politico-economic patterns slowly but profoundly changed the way this part of Europe looked [Werbart 2001: 1]. Urbanization processes were followed by significant changes in material culture (weapons, textiles, means of transport, household utensils, etc.), ideology and symbols (ornaments, rituals, including communal feasts and drinking), social organization (rise of elites and internal stratification of society) and the growth of metallurgy.

There is no doubt that the cultural and trade contacts that developed in the Bronze Age meant a lot for both the societies settling Mainland Europe and the populations of the Mediterranean. Also, it can be safely claimed that the value of objects from the north known from the Aegean was as high as goods of southern provenance found in central, eastern, western and northern Europe [Pydyn 1999: 15]. In particular, the exchange of amber turned out to be of great significance for central European communities as the transcontinental amber route, developed in the 16th century BC and directly joining the Baltic Sea with the Adriatic and the Black Sea, in the opinion of many scholars underpinned a later development of European core centres [Sherratt 1993: 46; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005].

Upon the analysis of archaeological data, it appeared to be possible to distinguish four development phases of cultural contacts between the eastern Mediterranean (Asia Minor) and the Aegean, on the one part, and the remaining parts

¹ I would like to cordially thank Prof. Aleksander Koško, Ph.D. and Prof. Marzena Szmyt, Ph.D. for their inspirations to present this paper in the Baltic-Pontic Studies series, Prof. Janusz Czebreszuk, Ph.D. for his help and support and Justyna Cieszewska, M.A. for the opportunity to discuss with her the question of the presence of Mycenaean objects in the Northern Pontic Area. In addition, I am grateful to the whole community of the Dept. of Polish Prehistory for their inspiration and always selfless help.

of Europe on the other [Sherratt 1993; Kristiansen 1998: 363; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005]. What's interesting here is the fact that researchers frequently date individual phases differently. For instance, K. Kristiansen and T. Larsson [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 118-120] dated the first phase to 2300-1900 BC, whereas A. Sherratt [Sherratt 1993: 22-24] dated it to 1800 BC. The phase was characterized by the domination of the Minoans and communities settling Asia Minor. The intercultural contacts that developed then were based on a traditional network of indirect relations between the Balkans, Carpathian Basin and Black Sea [Bouzek 1985], which had started already in the late 3rd millennium BC [Gerloff 1993; Maran 1997; 2007; Kadrow 2007: 324]. The exchange of information between the societies of the eastern Mediterranean, and southern and central Europe concerned above all the metal (chiefly bronze) sheets technology.

The existence of some relations between areas on the Danube, Transylvania and the remaining areas of central Europe is evidenced by the occurrence in these areas of riveted daggers, rings and lunulae of *Lockenring* and *Ösenring* types as well as pendants and beads made using bronze metal sheets technology [Sherratt 1993: 22]. Known also from these areas, ceramic vessels resembling Aegean kantharoi are excellently exemplified by a vessel with a cut-off rim, resembling one of ceramic types from the Middle Minoan period I-II, was found in Hungary in a context dated to ca. 2000 BC [Bouzek 1996: 180]. The proliferation of wound-wire pins (*Schleifennadeln*) and ring ingots in Moravia and the Levant may also testify to the existence of such relations [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 118].

The second phase corresponds to the second period of the Bronze Age and was dated to 1800-1600 BC by A. Sherratt [Sherratt 1993: 24-29]. According to K. Kristiansen and T. Larsson [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 120-127], however, the beginnings of the phase should be dated to 1900 BC. A part of the second phase and the beginning of the third coincide with the rise of the Mycenaean culture in the Aegean and the period of shaft graves (1800/1700-1500 BC). It was then that cultural and trade contacts, which had been established earlier, intensified and encompassed almost the whole world known then [Bouzek 1996; Lichardus, Vladár 1996; Kristiansen 1998; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 120]. The goods that were traded within this exchange network included in all probability tin, copper, amber, gold [Gerloff 1975; Sherratt 1996; Needham 2001] and other perishable products that have not survived.

In this period, in the Aegean and on the Mainland of Europe, social stratification began to take shape. Then, on Greek Mainland, there appeared rich burials (e.g. at Mycenae and Messenia, on Aegina) in which, next to locally made goods, a large number of imports were found, coming from Crete, the Middle East, Egypt along with amber from northern Europe, a horse harness from the Carpathians or the Northern Pontic Area and probably gold and copper from the Carpathian Basin and Transylvania [Hüttel 1977; 1982; Harding 1984; Kull 1989; Sherratt 1993: 25].

The processes of the emergence of aristocracy are especially well seen in central Europe in the classic phase of the Útice culture [Kadrow 2001: 59; Bátorá 2006], in the Wessex culture in Britain [Gerloff 1975], in the Carpathian-Danube Otomani and Fúzesabony cultures [Meier-Arendt (Ed.) 1992] and on the Eurasian steppes [Lichardus, Vladár 1996; Bátorá 2006]. In Bronze period A1b, dated according to H. Vandkilde [Vandkilde 1996: 140] to 1950-1700 BC, these areas witnessed rich burials in barrows, the so-called 'princely graves' (Leubingen, Helmsdorf, Łęki Małe, Bush Barrow, Sintashta), in which along locally-made high quality objects, imports frequently coming from very distant places were found as well.

The spreading of these innovations, which reached central and eastern Europe chiefly via the central and eastern Mediterranean, can be divided into two major phases: the first took place in 3000-2000 BC, when production diversified as a result of adaptation of new patterns, while the second that began after 2000 BC witnessed a much quicker pace of cultural development of individual societies within the territory [Werbart 2001: 1].

Also, in the second phase, metallurgic production intensified leading to the rise of powerful core centres on the continent where bronze and precious metals were worked. In many cases, to win access to new raw material deposits, it was necessary to establish new cultural and trade contacts [Harding 1984; Vagnetti 1993].

In late phase A2 and early B1 of the Bronze Age (corresponding to the late Middle Minoan III A/B and PH I/II A), dated to 1750/1700-1600/1500 BC, the exchange network, covering the shores of the Black Sea and the Pontic Area, was stretched along the Danube as far as the Carpathian Basin and further north [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 125]. Developing in central Europe at that time, Útice culture societies (1800-1600 BC) quickly joined this network of inter-regional and long-distance contacts, encompassing the area from Scandinavia to the eastern Mediterranean [Werbart 2001: 3].

In the 2nd millennium BC, an especially high degree of social and economic sophistication was shown by the societies of the Carpathian Basin – a consequence of its location on the north-south route, which facilitated the inter-regional contacts of populations inhabiting it with Scandinavia, areas on the Black Sea and the Mycenaean world [Kristiansen 1998: Fig. 1]. Not entirely unimportant were deposits of copper and gold in the Carpathian Basin. In addition, the area, together with Moldova, was a major centre of horse breeding, which supplied the populations of north-western Anatolia and the Aegean [Sherratt 1993: 26]. Together with horses, steppe-Carpathian harnesses made of bone and antler, and decorated with compass ornaments spread across the Mediterranean [Sherratt 1993: 26].

The third phase lasted from 1600/1500 BC according to K. Kristiansen and T. Larsson [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 127] whereas A. Sherratt [Sherratt 1993: 29] believes it spanned the period from 1600 to 1300 BC. The phase was characterized by a consolidation and a greater regularity of cultural and trade contacts of Myce-

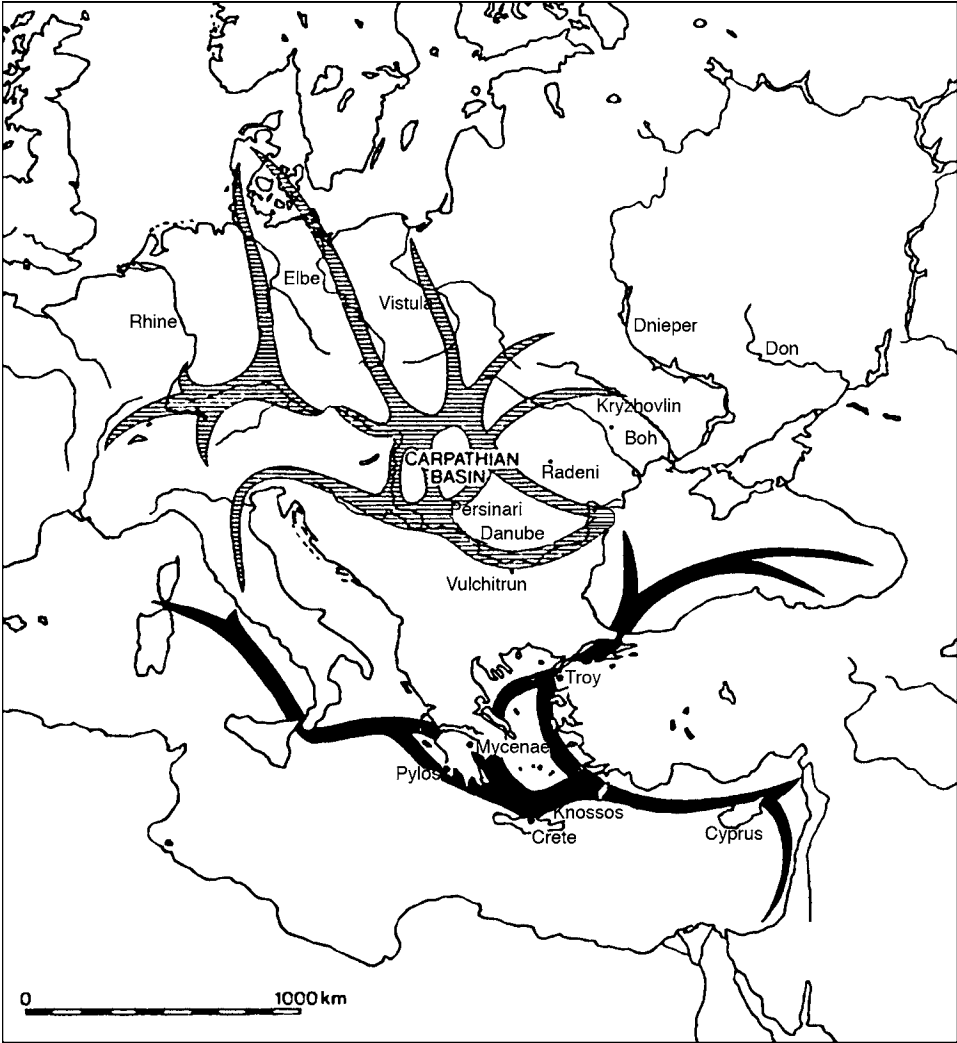


Fig. 1. Routes of cultural and trade exchange in Europe in 2000-1500 BC: land routes developed in central Europe (hatched areas) and sea routes crossing the mediterranean and Black Sea (areas in gray) [Sherratt 1987: 62, Fig. 5.6, amended by the author]

naean communities with the eastern Mediterranean, Italy and the western portion of central Europe; in the final period the contacts shifted to its eastern portion [Sherratt 1993: 29-33; Kristiansen 1998: 363-4; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 127-130].

At that time, Mycenaean societies continued to expand territorially. The Balkans, as a periphery of the Aegean, became the destination of political and eco-

conomic expansion by the societies [Hänsel 1982; Hochstetter 1982; Teržan *et al.* 1999; Hänsel, Teržan 2000], which followed then a sea route along the coast of the Adriatic to establish contacts with the highly developed Terramare culture of northern Italy. This culture, in turn, across the Alpine Pass, was open on central Europe [Brea *et al.* 1997; Pearce 1998; Artursson, Nicolis 2007: 331]. The relations that had developed in the preceding phase between the Wessex culture and Brittany (ancient Armorica/Aremorica) and between the Carpathian Basin and central Europe were severed [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 127]. Soon, however, new interactions were initiated with Tumulus societies only taking shape then [Sherratt 1993: 31]. In addition, the prestige chain exchange between rulers of individual groups facilitated direct and indirect contacts with southern Scandinavia, especially Jutland [Kristiansen 1987; Quillfeldt 1995; Gillis *et al.* 2004].

A very interesting issue, indicating the development and/or intensification of communication, and cultural and trade contacts along the north-south line, is the finds of oxhide ingots and stone anchors of the Mediterranean type in the Black Sea drainage basin. In the opinion of some scholars, these objects determine the range of sea trade in the period from the 15th until the end of the 13th century BC [Pare 2000: 24] as they occur across the Mediterranean [Gale, Stos-Gale 1986]. Moreover, they clearly show that people sailed also across the Black Sea in the Bronze Age [Frost 1970; McCaslin 1980; Harding 2000: 181, 2005: 299; Paschalidis 2007: 438].

Nevertheless, cultural and trade contacts of European and Mediterranean societies in the period dated to 1600/1500-1300 BC were rather indirect and the movement of goods between them irregular [Sherratt 1993: 33]. The goods that were transported along the trade routes (amber and metal routes) did not move the full length of the trails. The only commodity that around 1600 BC began to move along their full length, from the beginning to the end, was Baltic amber. Large amounts of the commodity appeared (already in the preceding, second phase) in the Mediterranean [Harding, Hughes-Brock 1974] and north of the Black Sea [Klochko 1998; Ślusarska 2007].

The fourth and final phase corresponds to the Late Bronze Age in central and eastern Europe while in the Aegean it coincides with the end of the Bronze Age and the Sub-Mycenaean and Sub-Minoan periods [Warren, Hankey 1989]. Dated to 1300-700 BC [Sherratt 1993: 33-38], the phase was characterized by a rising tide of anxiety in its initial years. The anxiety set on the Mediterranean world in 1200 BC, causing a partial collapse of trade networks and a decline of some political and economic centres (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, the situation offered new opportunities especially for marginal zones and some enclaves, for instance Cyprus, where centres of bronze metallurgy developed at that time [Sherratt, Sherratt 1991].

In this context, it is interesting to see how societies settling central Europe and the areas on the Black Sea participated in the crisis. An attempt to answer this question shall be made later in the text.

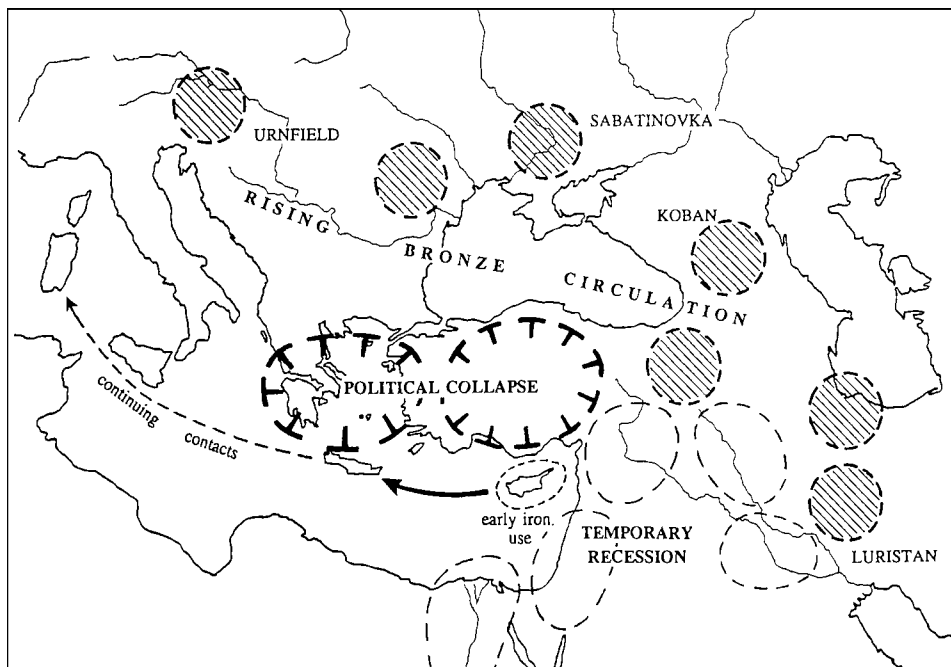


Fig. 2. The range of crisis in the aegean and the development of bronze metallurgical centres in marginal areas (hatched circles) dated to the late bronze age (12th century BC) [Sherratt 1993: 35, Fig. 10]

In the period of Post-Palatial economy, a majority of cultural and trade contacts of Mycenaean societies loosened; however, contacts with southern Italy were maintained and stretched as far as the Po Valley. Many objects of material culture (Tiryns amber beads, Peschiera daggers, a cup imitating type Vaphio from Lake Ledro in Trento and Mycenaean pottery fragments) show that Italy was an important link in the exchange of goods and cultural patterns [Artursson, Nicolis 2007: 335]. The patterns were of both central European provenance, for instance the technology of metal casting and changes in the manner of dressing as illustrated by the appearance of pins and fibulae [Harding 1984], and eastern Mediterranean one, e.g. the technology of making objects from thin sheets of metal or a new type of wheels [Pare 1987].

The proliferation of these patterns across the vast expanses of Europe was related to the rise of the Urnfield complex, which was independent in terms of its economy and organization from the Late Bronze core/peripheries system that collapsed then [Sandars 1983; Sherratt 1993: 36].

2. EXAMPLES OF INTERCULTURAL LINKS BETWEEN THE SOCIETIES OF THE BLACK SEA AND MEDITERRANEAN BASINS

The second part of the paper discusses individual examples of both material culture objects and selected elements of the ritual and ceremonial sphere, as for instance, the funerary rite and related rituals, testifying to the existence of suggested interactions. The part has been further subdivided into three smaller sections reflecting the development of social processes and pointing to geographical locations of the greatest intensity of cultural pattern exchange between the societies in question.

2.1. THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION AND THE NORTH

Here, I would like to recapitulate the findings by Slovak and Hungarian archaeologists who pointed to the genetic ties with the cultures of the Eurasian steppes shown not only by the Carpathian cultures but also by those settling the eastern Balkans and by the Mycenaean culture [Lichardus, Vladár 1996: 25-29; Makkay 2000]. This hypothesis, however, has many opponents [for instance, Dickinson 1977: 51-56; Renfrew 1998: 260; Kadrow 2001: 200].

Its proponents have included in the repertory of northern traits found in the Aegean, *inter alia*, burials underneath a single barrow, burials in stone cists, shaft graves and some rituals related to the funerary rite [Lichardus, Vladár 1996: 34-36]. For example, one of such rituals is the position in which a dead body was placed in the grave (supine, with legs drawn up and positioned vertically) that was observed in burials from Circle B at Mycenae (Gamma, Mi and Ni, most probably in grave Zeta as well) [Mylonas 1973: 44, 102, 150, 161], in Hungary and on Rumanian and Bulgarian steppes [Ecsedy 1979]. In the opinion of the scholars, burials of this type appeared for the first time in the developed phase of the Yamnaya culture [Häusler 1998: 146, 155].

Moreover, an analogy is shown, according to the scholars, by the special manner of preparing the grave known from the Yamnaya culture (lining the bottom of the grave with mats, carpets, hides, furs or timber and bark) [Ecsedy 1979: 37-38] and observed also in graves Gamma and Nu [the bottom was lined with textiles or hides – Mylonas 1973: 38, 406]. From Circle B of shaft graves (graves Alfa, Beta, Eta, Iota, Gamma, Zeta, Mi and Omicron) and later from tholoi, we know of timber structures (roofs, wall and chest foundations) lined with stone pavements or mats of dry branches and leaves, covered with a thin layer of clay [Mylonas 1973: 403; Dietz 1991]. Analogous examples were observed in Yamnaya culture graves [Penner 1998:

181; Makkay 1992: 217, 220, 226]. In the opinion of the scholars [Lichardus, Vladár 1996: 35], the internal organization of graves, too, erecting grave stelae (known from Mycenae, Yamnaya and Catacomb cultures) and the fact that these are multiple burials, containing family/elite members, testify to the similarities between religious and ceremonial spheres of the discussed areas.

In this context, a find from Mycenaean grave Gamma is particularly intriguing. In the grave, in a small gold vessel yellow ochre was found, which is the first such example known in Bronze Age Greece [Andreou *et al.* 1996: 573-574]. The use of ochre in the funerary rite of the Yamnaya and Catacomb cultures was common [Ecsedy 1979: 39; Ślusarska 2006: 144]. Equally interesting is the occurrence of modelled grave masks in both Catacomb culture and Mycenaean shaft graves (and in inventories of many other societies) [Dickinson 1977: 53; Huxley 1996: 146; Lichardus, Vladár 1996: 35; Mallory, Adams 1997: 92; Ślusarska 2006: 146].

It is worth mentioning here that osteological studies of skeletons from shaft graves at Mycenae, both from Circle A and Circle B, revealed that people buried there had differed greatly from the standards of physical anthropology of Middle Helladic populations. Men from Grave Circle B were taller by 5 cm on the average and were more stockily built [Angel 1973: 386]. In the opinion of scholars they represent an older type of population from eastern and northern Europe, the so-called Nordic-Caucasian type [Angel 1973; Dolukhanov 1999: 80; Day 2001]. Completely different conclusions followed from the study of female skeletons, which showed strong Mediterranean characteristics. Relying on these data, S. Penner [Penner 1998] put forward a hypothesis that populations from the northern part of the continent migrated towards the Aegean, supposedly giving rise to the Mycenaean dynasty. Interestingly enough, also the *Iliad* stresses the greater-than-average height of Mycenae's ruler, Agamemnon, in comparison to the other companions of his [Homer II: 444-450].

Long-distance ties of steppe populations with the Carpathians, Aegean and Anatolia [David 1997; 2001; Penner 1998; Boroffka *et al.* 2002] can be seen in movable finds, too, above all in a package consisting of artefacts related to the chariot and horse harness made predominantly from bone and antler. A single item of major significance here is the disc cheek-piece. Other finds include new weapon types (lances, bronze battle-axes, short swords) [Kadrow 2001: 200; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 181]. Additionally, certain analogies can be found in the ornaments of ceramic vessels and metal objects known from the Mycenaean culture, Anatolia and societies living in central and eastern Europe known as the spiral ware culture complex (Otomani, Wietenberg, Fűzesabony, Tei, Monteoru, Komarov, Trzciniec, Vatin, Verbicioara) that emerged towards the end of the Early Bronze Age [Kadrow 2001: 199]. The Caucasian-Anatolian analogy is visible also in portable clay ovens and shell ornaments used in the areas under discussion [Kadrow 2001: 200].

A clear example of north-south ties is the chariot that appeared for the first time on Eurasian steppes, owing, in principle, to the invention of a spoked wheel or a wheel with a perpendicular rod which made the vehicles lighter and faster [Pare 1992]. From the mid 2nd millennium BC come examples of chariots drawn by horses; they have been found in Armenia and on the steppes of southern Russia and Ukraine [Piggott 1983: 95]. The latest radiocarbon measurements of fragments of such vehicles found in graves in the Samara district (*kurgan* cemeteries at Utyovka and Potapovo) and in the southern Urals (Sintashta and Krivoe Ozero) have shown these to be the oldest known specimens of chariots in the Old World (the obtained dates fit into the interval from 1950 to 1800/1750 BC). Moreover, they have confirmed the hypothesis that vehicles of war originated on the Volga River and in the Urals [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 178; Kuznetsov 2006: 643]. It should be stressed here that there is evidence of the use of chariots in the steppe and forest-steppe zones in the Northern Pontic Area earlier, namely, in the Catacomb culture [cf. Pustovalov 1994].

In the opinion of many scholars, horses together with harnesses and chariots appeared in southern Europe in the mid 2nd millennium BC (1700/1600 BC) as a result of the long-distance exchange between western steppes, Moldova, the Carpathian Basin, north-western Anatolia and the Aegean [Hiller 1991: 211; Gillis *et al.* 2004: 34; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 181, 184]. For instance, the studies of the horse harness have shown numerous similarities between steppes, the Northern Pontic Area, areas on the Danube, the Urals and Kazakhstan (Sintashta) as well as the Mycenaean world (Mycenae, Kakovatos, Dendra, Athens) [Kuzmina 1980: 8-21; 1994: 171-189; Vasilev *et al.* 1995: 33-34]. Circular bone cheek-pieces of the steppe and Pontic types are known from graves IV and V at Mycenae [Karo 1930a: 113; Dickinson 1999: 21], others, made of terracotta, bone, including ivory, and bronze were found, by way of example, in the House of Shields at Mycenae, chamber grave no. 15, a fill outside the western wall of Mycenae's citadel and tholos A at Kakovatos or grave no. 7 at Dendra [Wace 1960: 40-44]. Additionally, in shaft grave IV, a wooden whip handle was found covered with a hammered gold foil bearing a repoussé spiral design [Penner 1998: 74-75]. Close analogies to this object come from a grave in south-east Ukraine (Srubnaya or Timber Grave culture) on the Dnieper and from southern Russia (Istomin near Samara) [Makkay 2000: 48].

Together with elements of horse trappings, the ritual of horse burials spread in the Aegean, known for instance from the cemetery in Aidonia, Argolis (not far from Mycenae), where in an unrifled single shaft grave, remains of a horse were found with its head severed [Demakopoulou 1996: 24-25]. Also, in the dromos of another grave, a skeleton of a horse lay underneath which jaws of fourteen other horses had been deposited [Demakopoulou 1996: 24-25]. Similar burials are known from the Urals and the Volga drainage [Gening 1979: 19-20, 23-24; Hiller 1991: 215]. Interestingly enough, osteological studies of four horse skeletons found in graves at

Dendra, in a context dated to the late phase of the Middle Helladic period, have shown that they belonged to a breed developed on the steppes [Payne 1990].

Scholars studying north-south intercultural ties report certain analogies in the area of weaponry as well. First, they have considered the bow and arrows a characteristic piece of equipment of steppe warriors, especially in the Urals and on the Volga [Lichardus, Vladár 1996: 35]. At the same time, they point to numerous finds of similar arrowheads in shaft graves (Circle A, grave IV; Circle B, graves: Delta, Lambda and Nu) [Karo 1930a; Mylonas 1973: 422]. In the opinion of S. Penner [Penner 1998: 181-210], these are the earliest specimens of points known in Greece, showing rather close analogies to those from the Borodino hoard [Penner 1998: 186] and the inventories from burials dated to the Early Bronze Age in the northern Caucasus and on the lower Volga. Typologically similar spearheads are also known from the Levant (Byblos, Kültepe), however, in the literature they are dated to 2000/1900-1750 BC. Other elements known from steppe cultures and Mycenaean Circle B shaft graves include tanged knives and lances [Penner 1998].

An interesting discussion developed among archaeologists concerning the provenance of helmets made of wild boar's tusks. The earliest specimens (dated to the Middle/Late Helladic period) of perforated plates made of wild boar's tusks in Greece were found at Mycenae in Circle A, graves IV and V [Makkay 2000: 46]. Plates known from the Pre-Mycenaean period (Middle Helladic period), found at Malthi, Asea, Eutresis and Phaistos, are few and do not provide clear evidence that they were used as an outer covering for helmets. Moreover, the technology of making perforations differs, according to scholars, from that used in the Mycenaean period [Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 40-45; Bloedow 1999: 287-288]. Therefore, J. Makkay [Makkay 1982: 6-14; 2000: 47] and J. Borchhardt [Borchhardt 1972: 20-22] came to a conclusion that helmets of this type appeared first on the steppes, in the area between the lower Danube and the Volga (including north-eastern Bulgaria) in the developed phase of the Yamnaya culture and in the early phase of the Catacomb culture. Also, graves dated to the Middle Bronze Age in the Carpathian Basin contain perforated plates made of wild boar's tusks which must have served as an outer helmet covering [Makkay 1999: 49]. This means that this custom was known in both Greece, and central and eastern Europe. However, a different opinion is held by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier [Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997: 50] who claims that helmets made of wild boar's tusks were an invention made independently in the Aegean, in particular on its mainland.

In the opinion of some scholars, the new inventory, rituals and customs that were introduced to Greece in a short period of time (Middle/Late Helladic periods) may be related to the situation that prevailed in the cultures of the steppe and forest-steppe zones in the Early and Middle Bronze Age [Makkay 2000: 60-61], reflecting transformations in social, economic and religious spheres. According to the scholars, these changes commenced in the steppe zone, in the Sintashta cultural complex, on the Tobol River, east of the Urals [Lichardus, Vladár 1996: 55-56].

The investigation of the site suggested a strongly stratified social group headed by military aristocracy. Moreover, a sophisticated chieftain system was in place there or even an early archaic state comparable to the Mycenaean civilization [Gening *et al.* 1992]. A complex inner social organization and proto-urban settlement plans, which were recorded at the site, indicate connections to Anatolia as well [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 174].

In the opinion of scholars, Sintashta populations migrated south to assimilate with Middle Helladic societies; by adopting local customs, pottery and other objects the newcomers formed a special ‘cultural hybrid’ [Makkay 2000: 61].

Regardless which hypothesis concerning the origins of the Mycenaean culture is adopted [Anatolian – Renfrew 1998: 260 or Pontic – Lichardus and Vladár 1996: 26], it remains a fact that there are numerous ties between and analogies in many spheres of life between the Aegean and the steppes and forest-steppes of the Northern Pontic Area. They form an irresistible impression that a cultural exchange between the societies in question preceded the Greek colonization of the Pontic Area.

2.2. THE BLACK SEA BASIN

Our understanding of ties and relations between the societies of the Mediterranean and the populations of the Balkans, central and eastern Europe and the steppes, in light of the recent archaeological discoveries and research projects, must radically change² [Kristiansen, Larsson 2005: 171]. The presence of objects of eastern Mediterranean provenance, including Aegean (Fig. 3), in the Black Sea basin shows that a communication route must have joined the Northern and Eastern Pontic Areas to the Mediterranean in the period preceding the Greek colonization of these areas.

For geographical reasons, a vital role in the organization of the route of cultural and trade exchange was played by the populations of the Troad, primarily of Troy, serving as a link and controller of access to the Black Sea [Sherratt, Sherratt 1991: 372]. Eastern Balkan pottery found in Troy and eastern Mediterranean objects (and/or their imitations) unearthed in the Black Sea basin prove that the Sea of Marmara was not a barrier to communication. E. Bloedow [Bloedow 1988: 50-52] believes that the Trojan War was an attempt to deprive Troy of the monopoly of controlling the entrance to the Black Sea and the excavation of West Pontic copper deposits. A reminiscence of such expeditions could have survived in the myth of the Argonauts’ journey [cf. Cieszewska. . . , in this volume].

² The paper ignores objects of material culture, which, in the present author’s opinion, are too controversial; cf. Fol, Schmitt 2000; Lichardus 2001.

A majority of southern elements found in the Black Sea basin and Pontic objects known from the Mediterranean originated in contexts dated to Bronze Age D and Hallstatt A1 (1300/1200 BC). This was a rather special period of prehistory as the Mediterranean world was affected by a political crisis (decline of Egypt, fall of Hittite, Mycenaean and Mitanni states as well as the city-states of Syro-Palestine) and an economic one (disruption of trade routes, collapse of palatial-type economy) of which one of the causes was the migrations of the so-called Sea Peoples. It is suggested that this conglomerate of societies included groups of the central European Urnfield culture [Sandars 1978; Bouzek 1985] and the Coslogeni-Noua-Sabatinovka complex [Klochko 1990: 10-17; 1993].

The hypothesis that the Sea Peoples (or at least some of them) were of northern origin is borne out by material-culture objects known from the eastern and central Mediterranean. Among them are Dremailovka type spearheads from graves at Ialysos on the island of Rhodes, at Enkomi on Cyprus and on Crete, in Iolkos in Attica and in Thessaly [Sandars 1963: 149; Höckmann 1980; Müller-Karpe 1980]. From Knossos come North-Pontic-type flat axes, knives and kettles as well as amber beads showing technological and stylistic affinities to specimens known from the cemetery at Hordeevka, situated on the right bank of the middle Boh River (Southern Bug) [Klochko 2001a: 280]. At Enkomi, a spearhead was found having a leaf-shaped blade and a short socket. It had been made following the type of Belogradovka culture artefacts [Klochko 2001a: 282]. From Ugarit comes a dagger known from the inventories of the Sabatinovka and Belozerkka cultures; curiously enough the find was accompanied by a sword bearing a cartouche of the pharaoh Merneptah whose reign is dated to 1224-1214 BC. It is him who tells about the Sea Peoples in an inscription at the Karnak temple and on the stele of Merneptah (also known as Victory Stele) [Müller-Karpe 1980]. In addition, contexts dated to Late Helladic II-III in Mainland Greece, the Cyclades, Asia Minor and Sardinia yielded different types of arrowheads of North Pontic provenance such as shafted arrowheads, bush-based arrowheads, three-petal arrowheads, sharpened arrow-shafts [Buchholz 1962: 29; Müller-Karpe 1980; Klochko 2001a: 201]. Known in the Northern Pontic Area, casting moulds of such arrowheads indicate their provenance and places where they were made; they must have reached Greece together with northern populations forming part of the Sea Peoples when they migrated south [Klochko 1993].

Here, one should mention another rather interesting find, namely, the so-called barbarian pottery which E. French [French 1969: 136] considered as belonging to a separate ethnic group, distinguished in Mainland Greece within Late Helladic III C.J. Rutter [Rutter 1975: 26] pointed to the similarities between the pottery and vessels coming from the western Balkans, especially from the Coslogeni group. He also saw some analogies in Noua-Sabatinovka cultural complex, which developed in steppe and forest-steppe zones. However, it must be made absolutely clear that the technological traits of vessels found in Greece display a wide horizon of similarities:

to vessels known from Epirus (north-western Greece), Thrace and Thasos [Harding 1984: 220], to Coarse Ware from Troy, to north and south Italian pottery, and finally to north-western Balkan (Coslogeni-Noua-Sabatinovka) and central European pottery [Rutter 1975: 26; Lewartowski 1989: 123].

In view of the above, it has been suggested that the rulers of city-states and kingdoms in the eastern and central Mediterranean hired mercenaries from central and eastern Europe to serve in their armies [Sandars 1978; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005]. The suggestion seems to be supported by wall paintings and reliefs in Egyptian temples and tombs depicting warriors wearing clothes and carrying weapons that indicate their northern origin [Klochko 1990; 1991; 1993; 2001a].

Many objects of eastern Mediterranean and Aegean (Mycenaean) provenance were recorded also in the Northern Pontic Area, in the Volga River drainage and in the Urals. After studying them, in particular the so-called hoards, scholars formulated a hypothesis about a trade and cultural exchange route joining Eurasian steppes with the Balkans and further on to the Mediterranean [Subbotin, Cherniakov 1982: 20-21]. A. Harding [Harding 1975: 200] has suggested also that such objects are markers indicating that Minoan-Mycenaean artisans were active on the Black Sea. This claim is supported, according to its proponent, by the presence there of Aegean pottery dated to 1500-1300 BC.

The literature mentions many artefacts of Aegean and eastern Mediterranean origin found in the Northern Pontic Area, e.g. a hoard from Kosorisiv, Mykolaiv district, containing an Aegean double axe [Tallgren 1926], a hoard from Chtetkov, Kirovohrad district, consisting entirely of eleven sickles and six Aegean double axes (*labryses*) [Gimbutas 1965: 90] although metal analyses suggest that they were manufactured locally [Chernykh 1976: 106] and a hoard from Kozorezov comprising two double axes and twelve sickles [Gimbutas 1965: 89-90, Ślusarska 2007: 374]. Double axes of southern provenance are known from the town of Kerch on the Crimea [Buchholz 1983: 90, 94; Bouzek 1985: 4, 45], from Yekaterinoslav and from the seaport of Berezan; however, the last mentioned artefact had been lost before 1926 [Bouzek 1985: 46; Paschalidis 2007: 439]. Single finds of Aegean double-axes were recorded in the Dnepropetrovsk district and in the town of Bulgarovo, Burgas district [Tallgren 1926: 173; Harding 1984: 241]. In addition, along the Black Sea coast, close to Cape Kaliakra, in the town of Cherkovo, Burgas district, and in Sarköy, oxhide ingots were found [Harding 1984: 241], most probably of Cypriot origin [Lichardus *et al.* 2002: 160-167, 173-176; Paschalidis 2007: 438]. The copper ingot from Cherkovo bears traces of inscriptions in a linear script interpreted to be a Cypriot-Minoan dialect [Harding 1984: 49; Hiller 1991: 209-210]. Stone anchors, in turn, were recorded in Sozopol, on Cape Kaliakra, at Troy and in a deposit from Sarköy (which comprised also a Syrian and a Mycenaean sword, Mycenaean double axes and sickles characteristic of Anatolia and Pontic areas) on the coast of the Sea of Marmara [Catling 1964: 297; Hiller 1991: 209]. In total, the Black Sea basin has

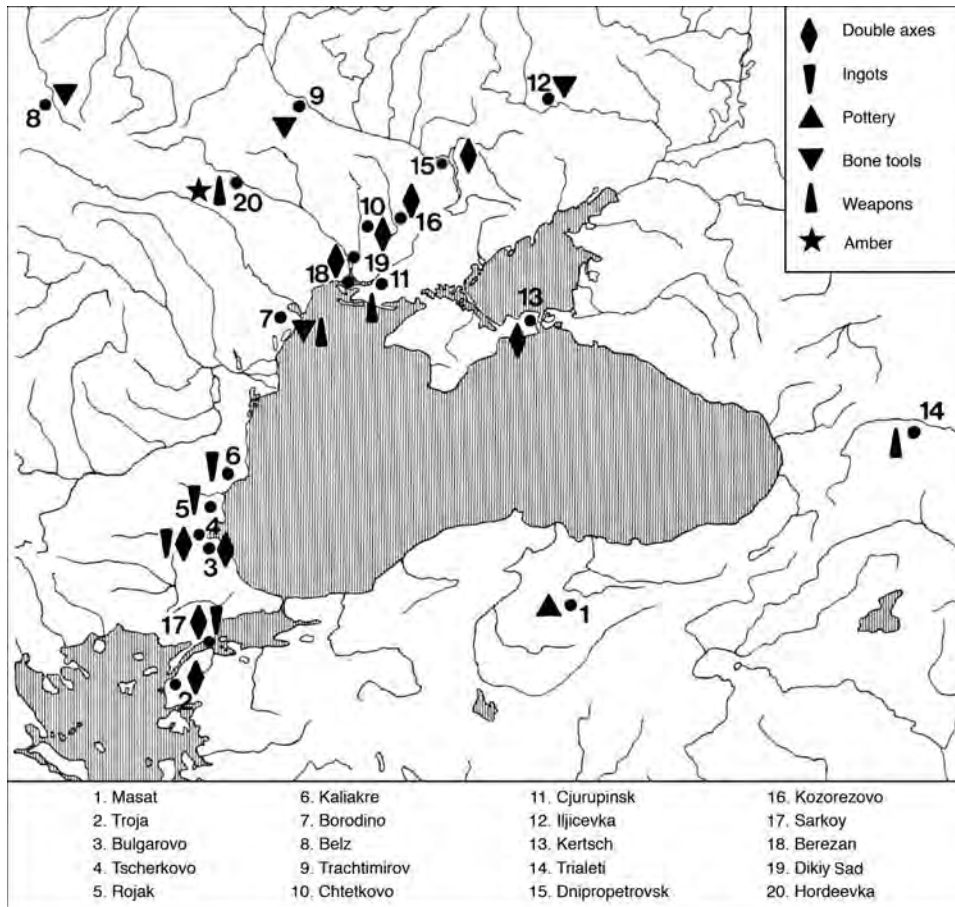


Fig. 3. Distribution of selected mediterranean elements in the Black Sea basin in the latter half of the 2nd millennium BC [Hiller 1991: pl. LVIII; Paschalidis 2007: pl. CVIII e; amended by the author]

yielded 150 anchors [Hiller 1991: 209], dated in principle to the Late Bronze Age [McCaslin 1980].

Broad, transcontinental contacts joining central Europe, forest steppes and steppes to the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean are evidenced by many hoards of metal vessels found in the Black Sea basin. They are also markers of the exchange of knowledge and technological skills in metallurgy and ornamentation. The most important and most frequently cited examples include the hoards from Borodino in Bessarabia [Harding 1984: 200; Sherratt 1993: 26; Kaiser 1997] and Vulchitrun, Plevn district [Bonev 1995: 277-289].

The Borodino hoard, unearthed 100 km from the Black Sea coast, comprised 17 objects: two silver arrowheads, four axes made from semiprecious stones and fragments of a fifth, three stones, perforated maces, a silver dagger with a gold inlay, a silver pin and several other objects preserved only in fragments. What is most controversial about the hoard is the form and ornamentation (chiefly spiral) of the objects as well as their origins, any analogies they may have and their chronology. By and large, scholars can be divided into those who favour an early dating of the hoard, contemporaneous with the period of shaft graves [Hachmann 1957: 171; Hänsel 1968; Goldmann 1981], and others who tend to date it to a late period, namely to the 14th-12th century BC [Gimbutas 1965; Bochkarev 1968; Safronov 1968; Schickler 1974]. Analogies to ornaments on Borodino hoard elements and to their forms can be found in both the Mycenaean world and in Carpathian Basin cultures. Hence, it is not possible to identify without any doubt where their inspirations came from nor to trace their provenance. For instance, stone maces were popular and widely geographically distributed in the Bronze Age [Hachmann 1957: 172; Safronov 1968: 90-91]. In turn, axe forms found in the Borodino hoard are also known from Troy (layer II) and the Caucasus (Koban phase). In the case of the dagger, the inlaid ornament shows analogies to weapons found in shaft graves, dated to Late Helladic I (Aegean-Anatolian technique); however, the only specimen so far of a similar dagger dates back to the Koban phase (Caucasus), i.e. the 11th to 9th century BC [Safronov 1968: 119]. The ornaments of the pin show, in turn, strong Greek influence [Bouzek 1985: 39-41, 84; Hiller 1991: 211; Harding 2000: 228]. The Borodino arrowheads display many more analogies, for instance, to objects found in Hungary; however, if one takes into account ornamental motifs, they also have analogies in the Northern Pontic Area [Sulimirski 1971: 711-712, 719].

The other hoard came from Vulchitrun and comprised 14 gold objects – vessels with a single (kantharos) or double handle (a kind of bowl), three cups, five small ‘lids’ with handles, two bowls decorated with silver, and vessels resembling three joined leaves [Sherratt, Taylor 1989: 116; Bonev 1995: 277]. The objects were decorated using reliefs, inlaying and engraving techniques. It must be stressed here that no other hoard has raised so many controversies so far with respect to origins and dating as the Vulchitrun hoard. B. Filov [Filov 1925: 233], for instance, identified the objects as Proto-Bulgarian and dated them to the 7th-8th century AD. J. Andrieşescu [Andrieşescu 1926: 10-11, 25-27] pointed to their similarity with the finds from Mycenaean graves 4 and 5, Shaft Circle A, considered them to be closely linked to the complex of Carpathian and Danube cultures and dated them to the former half of the 2nd millennium BC. Similarly, to 1600-1400 BC, the hoard is dated by A. Sherratt and T. Taylor [Sherratt, Taylor 1989: 127]. P. Reinecke [Reinecke 1926: 51-52], in turn, claimed that the hoard had Cimmerian-Early Scythian origins and found it wrong to refer to Aegean traditions in this context. Since then, attempts to trace the provenance of the hoard have been made by many

scholars [*inter alia*: Mikov 1958; Venedikov, Gerasimov 1973; Venedikov 1987; Bonev 1995].

A jug from Vulchitrun bears a strong similarity to the kantharoi known from the Mycenaean world and it seems that it was modelled on this tradition. A similar example of this type of a gold-sheet vessel was found in Krizhovlin, Odessa district; this is also the north-westernmost example [Chernyakov 1981: 151-161]. Five similar vessels have been found in Radeni, Romania, too. All the vessels from the three hoards show the same technology and ornamentation horizon, and most probably chronological one as well [Sherratt, Taylor 1989: 124]. Dippers (kyathoi), included in the Vulchitrun hoard, were a leading ceramic form in the Aegean, but also, however later, were popular in the area stretching from the Carpathian Basin to the north-western shores of the Black Sea [Bonev 1995: 284]. A triple, joined vessel resembling leaves has no direct analogies; however, similar specimens are known from the Lower Danube, Mycenaean centres, above all from Late Bronze contexts in Cyprus [Buchholz, Karageorghis 1972]. Vulchitrun gold discs have no direct analogies, either; in terms of their ornaments a similarity may be found to decorations encountered in the Carpathian-Danube area (especially in a Lower Danube culture with inlaid pottery) and the Minoan-Mycenaean world [Bonev 1995: 285]. Hence, it seems appropriate to date the hoard to Late Helladic III or ca. latter half of the 14th century, or ca. 1300 BC [Bonev 1995: 286-287]. The Vulchitrun hoard is exceptional in every respect (ornamentation, manufacturing technique, vessel shapes), which made Chernykh [Chernykh 1978b: 282] formulate a hypothesis that it had been made by culturally independent skilled itinerant goldsmiths.

On the shores of the Black Sea, several other hoards have been discovered consisting of precious metal objects (chiefly vessels and weapons) and showing close analogies to the Aegean world. For instance, hoards from Potapovo, Utjevka, Țufalău, Măcin, Vulchitrun, Kryzhovlin, Rădeni and Hajdú-Bihar comprised hand-made objects and others made using lathes [Sherratt, Taylor 1989; Lichardus, Vladár 1996; Klochko 2001a: 165]. In the case of a gold sword, too, being part of the hoard from Perșinari, near Târgoviște (northwest of Bucharest), despite the fact that it was made locally, its inspirations (or an artisan-goldsmith) should be looked for beyond the cultural borders of the region [Palincas 2007]. Interestingly, next to gold artefacts, very rare silver ones have been found here as well. The closest analogies to this sword, it is claimed, are found in Mycenaean shaft grave Delta in Circle B [Gimbutas 1965: 55-56; Bouzek 1985: 33-34, 39, 82].

Further east, certain north-south contacts, in particular in metallurgy, can be seen in the Trialeti culture whose range encompasses Georgia and continues as far as the southern range of the Caucasus. Nine long swords found in a barrow of this culture are compared to type A and claimed to be of Aegean provenance [Hiller 1991: 211; Paschalidis 2007: 441]. In the case of bronze spearheads, too, found in a Trialeti group barrow and at a cemetery in Prosymna, Argolis, likeness is striking

[Gimbutas 1965: 92-93]. There are also analogies in the production technology of gold spherical beads (combination of granulation with filigree and the cloisonné technique) found in the Aegean and in the Trialeti culture, dated to the 15th century BC. In this case, however, a study by E. Konstantinidi-Sybridi [Konstantinidi-Sybridi 2002-2003] showed that the technique had developed in the north. In addition, from Kirovakan in Armenia comes, still unpublished, a very interesting example of a silver vessel of the Vapio type, dated to the 16th-15th century BC [Hiller 1991: 213].

2.3. THE MOUTHS OF THE SOUTHERN BUG AND DNEIPER RIVERS

The Southern Bug and Dnieper lowland is a rather special place within the Northern Pontic Area. For what is clearly seen there (Fig. 3) is the concentration of material culture objects of eastern Mediterranean and Aegean provenance (individual examples are discussed in 2.2 above). In addition, two exceptional sites located in the Southern Bug drainage and in its mouth make the place highly intriguing. These are Hordeevka [cf. Ślusarska. . . , in this volume] and Dikiy Sad [cf. Gorbenko, Grebennikov. . . , in this volume]. They testify to broad intercultural links, including Mediterranean civilizations.

The location of the Hordeevka site (cemetery) in the borderland between the steppe and forest-steppe and between the influence of Carpathian-Danube groups and eastern Caucasian, and Volga-Ural ones – of the east and west – exerted a decisive impact on the emergence of this cultural group [Subbotin, Cherniakov 1982: 20-21; Berezanskaya, Kločko 1998]. In the cemetery of Hordeevka's populations, objects of both Mediterranean and central European origin have been found, which is believed [Berezanskaya, Kločko 1998] to stress the significance of multidirectional links for this society.

The graves in the cemetery produced, for instance, knives exhibiting close Aegean and eastern Mediterranean analogies and resembling objects known from Thassos, Sicily, Boghazköy, central Turkey, Mycenae, Pylos and Karphi, central-eastern Crete, as well as Hungary [Berezanskaya, Kločko 1998: 8]. The inventory includes also an interesting bronze knife with an iron handle, which resembles specimens known from Crete (Knossos), Cyprus (Enkomi) and Rhodes (Ialysos) [Kločko 2001a: 277]. J. Bouzek [Bouzek 1985: 154] believes that they were prototypes of later central European knives, dated to the early period of the Urnfield culture.

Hordeevka's inventory has also included discoid amber beads showing links to ornaments known from central Europe and the Carpathian Basin as well as the eastern Mediterranean, from contexts dated to Late Helladic III A-C [Harding,

Hughes-Brock 1974: 159-170]. The greatest significance, however, is attached to Tiryns and Allimuere beads of northern Italian/Aegean provenance (known from Ialysos, Encomi, Ugarit, southern Adriatic coast), dated to Late Helladic III C and the Sub-Mycenaean period (12th-11th century BC). They add special significance to the site by showing that it lay on a communication route joining the Mediterranean Sea to the Northern Pontic Area [Klochko 1998: 349; Ślusarska 2007: 373-374]. The Hordeevka group is believed to be an intermediary and controller in a down-the-line exchange of, *inter alia*, amber along the so-called Bug branch of the amber route [Klochko 1996: 131; 1998: 349].

Another significant site is a fortified settlement, Dikiy Sad, situated on a high plateau in the drainage of the Ingul and Southern Bug rivers. The present stronghold covers the area of 3 hectares while in the prehistoric times it must have spread over 4 to 5 hectares [Gorbenko, Grebennikov 2007: 3]. What is significant about Dikiy Sad, which was occupied between the 12th and 11th centuries BC, is the fact that it lay on a communication route joining (via a system of rivers) the Black Sea to the Baltic [Gorbenko, Grebennikov 2007: 2]. Owing to the concentration of objects of eastern Mediterranean and Aegean provenance (e.g. double axes, Tiryns and Allimuere amber beads) in the Southern Bug and Dnieper drainages (see Fig. 3), it seems to be justified to suggest that the route be extended as far as the Mediterranean coast. Hence, the Dikiy Sad fortified settlement is interpreted by its discoverers as a major town-port [Gorbenko, Grebennikov 2007: 2].

Regular investigations at the site, begun by J.S. Grebennikov and K.V. Gorbenko, have continued since the early 1990s. They have yielded many archaeological features such as defensive structures, remains of stone house foundations and cult objects with an altar in the form of a raised platform, which the researchers interpreted to have been early temples [Gorbenko, Grebennikov 2007]. The discoverers believe that the rituals performed in them by the inhabitants were related to the cult of ancestors, the sun, the moon, fire and phallus, and had not been known earlier in the north [Gorbenko, Grebennikov 2007: 3].

To describe the situation in the Southern Bug drainage and mouth, I will use the concept of gateway developed for the purposes of economic geography. The gateway is defined as a point of entry to a given territory and, at the same time, a point of exiting it [Burghardt 1971: 269-285], and, in addition, connecting individual settlements with the world beyond. It has been observed that such gateways are frequently formed in contact zones between areas differing in the intensity of production and in places of special communication significance that are characterized best through long-distance trade relations. Gateway communities, in turn, stand for the societies that developed in places where the movement of goods and people potentially could be controlled. Exercising such control must have provided the communities with sizeable profits. In view of these facts, it seems that both Hordeevka and Dikiy Sad could be taken to be North Pontic gateway communities.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The study of the occurrence of material culture objects of Aegean and eastern Mediterranean provenance on the coast of the Black Sea and North Pontic ones in the Mediterranean basin justifies the tracing of a communication route joining the two areas. The presence of imports, analogies and certain ideas from the Carpathians and the Danube drainage makes the route extend further north.

To the north-south cultural and technological exchange may testify similar rituals and the funerary rite, known from the early Mycenaean culture and the zones of steppe and forest-steppe, as well as the diffusion of such innovations as the chariot, horse harness, and new weapon types as well as drinking vessels found in numerous hoards in the Northern Pontic Area and showing close analogies to the Aegean world. It is worth remembering here that some elements, which were related to trade in the Mediterranean, such as oxhide ingots and stone anchors, were found on the Black Sea coast as well. Thus, it seems that the possibility of eastern Mediterranean and Aegean societies of the Late Bronze Age being interested in the Northern Pontic Area cannot be totally excluded. From the geographical point view, such a penetration of the Northern Pontic Area was possible as the Sea of Marmara did not offer a communication barrier (this belief seems to be borne out by the Sarköy hoard mentioned earlier).

What is also important is the fact that almost all objects mentioned here (and many others left without mention) are very similar, arguing in favour of a certain *koine* with respect to forms, shapes and motifs prevailing in the Bronze Age (in the 2nd millennium BC) over vast areas. The *koine*, being evidence of transcontinental exchange of patterns and ideas, is, alas, very troublesome when it comes to precisely determining the provenance of some objects.

Translated by Piotr T. Żebrowski

ABBREVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Berlin
ActaArch – Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen
ActaArchHung – Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest
- AAS – Anatolian Archaeological Studies. Tokio
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology. New York
AoF – Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin
AnSt – Anatolian Studies. London
APŚ – Archeologia Polski Środkowoschodniej. Lublin
ARM 4 – Dossin G., Lettres. Textes cunéiformes, vol XXV. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, 1951. Paris
- AVL – Arkheologia Vostochno-Evropeiskoi Lesostepi. Voronezh
BAR IS – British Archeological Raports. International Series. Oxford
BICS – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. London
- BPS – Baltic-Pontic Studies. Poznań
BSA – The Annual of the British School at Athens. London
CAD – Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, I.J. Gelb, B. Landsberger, A.L. Oppenheim, E. Reiner (Eds), 1964 - . Chicago
- JBS – Journal of Baltic Studies. Abingdon
JCH – Journal of Cultural Heritage. Amsterdam
JCS – Journal of Cuneiform Studies. Chicago
JESHO – Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. Leiden
- JIES – The Journal of Indo-European Studies. Waschington D.C.
JRAI – Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London
JRGZM – Jahrbuch der Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. Mayence
- KSIA – Kratkiye soobscheniya Instituta Arkheologii. Moskva
KSIIMK – Kratkiye soobscheniya Instituta Materialnoy Kultury. Moskva
MDP 22 – Scheil V., Actes juridiques susiens. Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse, Vol XXII, 1930. Paris
- MIA – Materialy i issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR. Moskva-Leningrad
- NA IA NANU – Nauchniy Arkhiv Instytutu Arkheologii Natsionalnoy Akademii Nauk Ukrainy. Kiev

- NHMU – National History Museum of Ukraine. Kiev
 OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. Oxford
 PBS 8/2 – E. Chiera, *Old Babylonian Contracts*, 1922. Philadelphia
 Posiedzenia P.I.G. – Posiedzenia Państwowego Instytutu Geologii. Warszawa
 PPS – Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society. London
 PZ – *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*. Berlin
 RA – *Rossiyska Arkheologiya*. Moskva
 RA 36 – *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie orientale*, 1938. Paris
 Riftin – A.P. Riftin, *Staro-vavilonskie iuridicheskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniakh SSSR*, 1937. Moskva
 SA – *Sovetska (Sovetskaja) Arkheologiya*. Moskva
 UET V – H.H. Figulla, Martin W.J., *Letters and Documents of the Old Babylonian Period. Ur Excavation Texts*, 1953. London
 VDI – *Viestnik Drevney Istorii*. Moskva
 WA – *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*. Warszawa
 ZA – *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. München

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