

**THE TRZCINIEC AREA OF THE EARLY  
BRONZE AGE CIVILIZATION: 1950-1200 BC**

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## Editor's Foreword

The Trzciniec Culture, Trzciniec Cultural Circle and Trzciniec Horizon are the names of a cultural area in the borderland of Western and Eastern Europe at the 2nd millennium BC. For over half a century a discussion has been going on over the taxonomic identification (chronological and spatial) and genetic and ethnic interpretation of this cultural unit.

In the debate, the 1980's and 1990's mark a significant cognitive turn caused by the growth of the corpus of sources, the use of systematic methods for the study of mobile sources and the proliferation of regional <sup>14</sup>C datings.

The present volume of "Baltic-Pontic Studies" is an attempt to register this breakthrough and a proposal for a new fitting of the Trzciniec phenomenon into the synthesis of Early Bronze Age Europe. The records include rudiments of new regional systematizations, foundations of their chronologies based on radiocarbon datings and a discussion of the mechanisms of socio-cultural changes which gave rise to the Trzciniec cultural area and later contributed to its disintegration.

A long-term intention of this volume giving a multifaceted view of the effects of the said cognitive breakthrough is to encourage a careful scrutiny of the development mechanisms of the European Early Bronze Age Civilization, in particular the role played in them by the societies inhabiting the drainages of the Baltic and Pontic Seas.

## Editorial comment

1. All dates in the *B-PS* are calibrated [see: *Radiocarbon* vol.28, 1986, and the next volumes]. Deviations from this rule will be point out in notes.

2. The names of the archaeological cultures (especially from the territory of the Ukraine) are standarized according to the English literature on the subject [e.g. Mallory 1989]. In the case of a new term, the author's original name has been retained.

3. The place names located in the Ukraine have been transliterat from the versions suggested by the author (i.e. from the Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish or Russian originals).

**Marcin Ignaczak, Przemysław Makarowicz**

## THE SOUTH-WESTERN BORDERLAND OF THE TRZCINIEC CULTURAL CIRCLE

### INTRODUCTION

The question of the south-western frontier of the Trzciniec Cultural Circle (TCC), i.e. the relations of Trzciniec societies with Tumulus Culture (TuC) populations, has taken a permanent place among the most important issues of the Bronze Age in the Polish literature (cf. recently Czebreszuk 1996; Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998; Makarowicz 1998c). The issue has been raised many times in textbook syntheses, works dealing with individual regions or monographs of settlements and cemeteries. Interactions between the societies of both cultural units have been discussed especially in connection with two phenomena. In the spatial dimension, the interactions have been associated with the so-called *Trzciniec-pre-Lusatian mixing zone* [Gardawski 1959; Kostrzewski 1961; Dąbrowski 1972; 1987; Gedl 1975; Gediga 1978; Blajer 1989; Kłosińska 1997] while in the taxonomic dimension they have been related to the *Łódź phase* [Gardawski 1959; 1971].

The *mixing zone* has been interpreted as an area of syncretization of the *Trzciniec Culture* (TC) and TuC or as co-occurrence of Trzciniec and Tumulus assemblages within the same settlement or cemetery or in single settlement and sepulchral features. The areas where the contact was taking place were believed to have been located in the left-bank drainage of the Prosna River, between the Prosna and Warta Rivers, in part of Kujawy or on the Middle Warta. The limits of the area, however, have been differently drawn [Gardawski 1959; Cabalska 1961; Kostrzewski 1961; Dąbrowski 1972; 1987; Gediga 1978; Miśkiewicz 1978; Blajer 1989; Kłosińska 1994; 1997]. There have been opinions expressed that the *mixing zone* is "... a typical contact zone of two cultures..." [Gediga 1978] or that the presence of both groups is an effect of their temporal sequence [Gedl 1975]. Different cultural attributions have also been assigned to complexes of sources recorded in the area. At times, this led to the distinguishing of temporary or ephemeral syncretic taxonomic units.

In most cases, however, no attempt has been made to theoretically interpret this phenomenon that would go beyond a purely taxonomic aspect and enter the domain of the theory of cultural change. The debate over the status of the *mixing zone* has been in a sense an effect of the controversies concerning the autonomy of TuC groups in the drainages of the Oder and Warta Rivers. That is why, for instance, the term *pre-Lusatian Culture* has been coined by some scholars to name that branch of the Tumulus Circle [Kostrzewski 1924; 1958; Gedl 1975; 1989].

The *Łódź phase* (ŁP) has been perceived as a taxonomic unit reflecting a stage of transformation from the TC to the LC [Gardawski 1959; 1971; Wiklak 1963; cf. also Jażdżewski 1948]. Stress has been laid on its non-homogeneous character with at least three territorial groups being distinguished or even units of lower order in some cases [e.g. Gardawski 1971]. This led to a paradoxical situation in which “spatial” taxa having the rank of culture groups made up a taxon of a higher order having the status of a chronological rather than spatial unit (phase). The suggestion to interpret the ŁP in processive terms was made by A. Koško [1979] who perceived this set of phenomena as an indicator of the next, after the *Trzciniec Horizon* (TH), stage of cultural integration. The stage was supposed to vary from region to region and to exhibit both TuC and proto-Lusatian patterns [Koško 1979]. The originating mechanism of these cultural transformations were explained by the said author with the help of the then trendy acculturation model.

In our opinion any characterization of the transformation of Trzciniec groups into Tumulus ones should answer the following question: What was the nature of relations of both cultural communities and how can one explain — on the level of the socio-cultural process — the course and nature of these intergroup interactions? The purpose of this contribution is an attempt to provide answers to these questions. At present, the only possible approach to the problem is the one dealing with its selected aspects. Consequently, we are not going to deal with all the aspects of the “Trzciniec-Tumulus transformation”, but we shall focus on the most important, in our opinion, dimensions of the said cultural change.

## 1. CHRONOLOGICAL AND SPATIAL RANGE

In this paper we shall discuss the cultural situation in two different, in respect of settlement and culture, reception zones of Tumulus patterns, i.e. in Kujawy and the Middle Warta Valley (Fig. 1.).

The chronology of the phenomena discussed in this paper is primarily based on an attempt to trace the changeability in time of the material indicators of the Trzci-

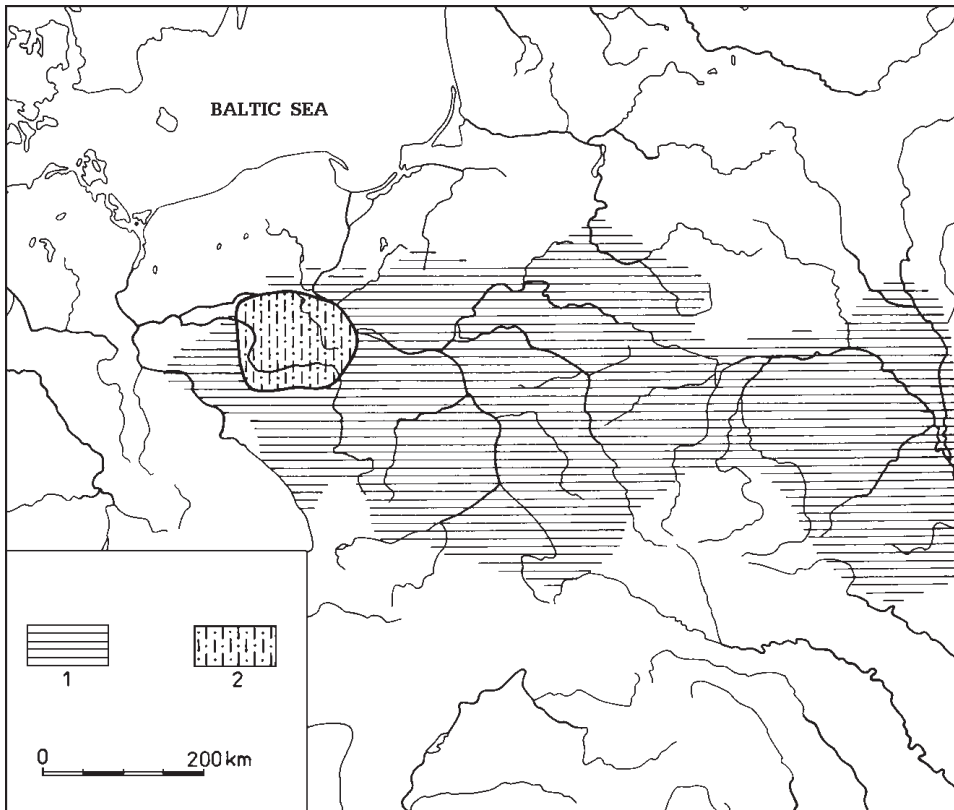


Fig. 1. Western frontier of the Trzciniec Cultural Circle (TCC). 1 - territorial range of the TCC; 2 - Kujawy and the Middle Warta Valley (reception zone of Tumulus Culture patterns).

nic complex that reveal patterns specific to the Tumulus one. The measurements of these tendencies will base on obtained radiocarbon dates for assemblages representing both cultural formations. Due to a lack of stratigraphic records, the dates are of special importance. In this respect greater interpretation opportunities are provided by information from Kujawy from where most  $^{14}\text{C}$  datings come as far as structures distinguished here are concerned [Koško 1979; Czebreszuk 1996; Makarowicz 1998b and 1998c]. From the Middle Warta Valley, a single radiocarbon date has been obtained for one of Tumulus assemblages. However, we do not have any dates from that area for Trzciniec assemblages [Kłosińska 1994; 1997; Makarowicz 1998c].

To complete these introductory remarks it has to be mentioned that information value of source materials from both areas varies [Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998].

## 1.1 KUJAWY ZONE

The Kujawy zone is unique in that the transformation process of the TCC's local branch developed along several parallel lines. Tumulus traits appear in the period equated with the time when TH 5, TH 6 and TH 7 societies developed, i.e. in the late Trzciniec Horizon [Czebreszuk 1996; Makarowicz 1998c; Makarowicz, *Taxonomic...*, in this volume]. These complexes may be interpreted as three independent trends of reception of TuC patterns. The other peculiar characteristic of the area is syncretization which is materially evidenced by a rather frequent co-occurrence of Tumulus traits with indicators of other cultural traditions. The syncretization is particularly visible in the early stage of TH 5.

In Kujawy, only a small number of finds has been recorded, mostly grave ones, where a TuC component has been identified. Only in five sites metals co-occur with ceramics. These are TH 5 grave features at Gustorzyn, site 1; Wolica Nowa, site 1; Marcinków, site 9 and Wojdał, site 1 as well as a TH 6 settlement assemblage at Dobieszewice, site 2 [Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998; Makarowicz 1998c]. In all these cases bronze objects of Tumulus provenience, i.e. leg and arm ornaments and parts of clothing, are accompanied by vessels associated with the TCC style. An absolute majority of metal finds in Kujawy occurs in ceramics-less contexts making there — in each TuC development phase as distinguished by Marek Gedl — a clear cluster [Gedl 1975, maps 4-6; Czebreszuk 1996:178; Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998]. Such a characteristic disproportion in the presence of the two kinds of material indicators of the TuC is almost a repetition of the situation from periods BA1b and BA2 when in the area under investigation a large number of Únětice style metal goods are recorded with almost no pottery of Únětice Culture (UC) populations.

The reception of TuC (“pre-Lusatian Culture”) traits followed three paths represented by TH 5, TH 6 and TH 7 in the Kujawy zone. The polylinear development can be easily observed in settlement materials which — as it seems — were subject to quicker and more intensive changes than in the case of sepulchral assemblages which were unequivocally tied to the ritual sphere of life.

The first of the mentioned transformation trends is best illustrated by TH 5 assemblages (Fig. 2:14-21) [Makarowicz 1998c; Makarowicz, *Taxonomic...*, in this volume]. It is characterized by a syncretization of “late Trzciniec” traits and those of southern cultures observable in pottery ornamentation. The southern cultures in this case are late Mad'arovce and early Tumulus. Some Tumulus elements recorded in these assemblages resemble closely ŁP materials [Gardawski 1971]. Sepulchral features show recessive “late Trzciniec” traits (inhumations, common burials, horizontal relief strips as important ornamentation patterns, preference for broken stone of uneven coarseness as a temper making body leaner) and more conspi-

cuous Tumulus ones (vessel macromorphology, e.g. presence of pitchers, peculiar metal goods). The complex is dated to the period from 1650/1600 to 1350/1300 BC (Fig. 3).

The second trend of reception of TuC patterns is represented by TH 6 settlement assemblages (Fig. 2:7-13) [Makarowicz, *Taxonomic...*, in this volume]. What is specific about this complex is a combination of “late Trzciniec” patterns (ornamentation and micromorphology traits) and Tumulus ones (vessel macromorphology, in particular the presence of vases and the so-called handleless amphorae as well as a characteristic duality of vessels: opposition of the neck to the belly). TH 6 as a rule does not exhibit any ŁP traits. The chronological bracket of the complex stretches from 1550/1500 to 1350/1300 BC [Makarowicz, *Absolute...*, in this volume].

The last Kujawy reception trend of TuC patterns is visible in TH 7 assemblages (Fig. 2:1-6) [Makarowicz 1998c; Makarowicz, *Taxonomic...*, in this volume]. This taxon represents materials typical of the ŁP and proto-Lusatian assemblages, especially ornamentation traits specific to the ŁP (domination of vertical grooves and relief buttons; vessel macromorphology — cylindrical neck vases and pitchers). This structure can be dated to the period from 1500/1450 to 1300/1250 BC (Fig. 3).

Summing up, the most important traits setting apart the Kujawy reception zone of Tumulus patterns were syncretism (appearance of TuC traits in the context of patterns of other cultural traditions), polylinearism of the Tumulus trait acquisition process (partial contemporaneity of individual complexes exhibiting ties to the TuC tradition) and a clear domination of bronze objects over the ceramics associated with the TuC. In Kujawy, the number of settlement points of “pre-Tumulus” TCC structures (TH 1-TH 4) is significantly greater than in the period when TCC complexes revealing TuC patterns (TH 5-TH 7) were developing.

## 1.2 MIDDLE WARTA ZONE

This zone is characterized by a different rhythm of changes in the times of “Trzciniec-Tumulus transformations” than that encountered in Kujawy. The present state of research shows that the development of TCC societies in this zone was less complex than that of Kujawy groups. At least two TH structures have been identified here whose societies may have come into direct contact with TuC communities [Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998; Makarowicz 1998c; see also Kłosińska 1997].

The first structure imitates in great detail the TH 2 patterns in Kujawy (Fig. 2:29-38). Its origins are related to territorial differentiation of the decline Iwno Culture (IC). The pottery of this complex is characterized by specific ornamentation, in particular by zone and quasi-metopic patterns made with the use of the pricking-

-impressing and incision techniques as well as relief patterns, namely horizontally arranged buttons and strips [Makarowicz 1989; 1998b]. The style and ornamentation of the pottery reveals ties of this structure with the IC (presence of vases and beakers, incised quasi-metopic ornamentation, horizontal relief strips, buttons, tulip-like rims, fine-grain broken stone), the decline Globular Amphora Culture (GAC) — impressions of a “bird’s feather”, a possible admixture of coarse broken stone, Fig. 2:37), groups of the Mazowsze-Podlasie enclave of the TCC (pricked-impressed ornamentation, carpet incised-pricked patterns, Fig. 2:38) and the late UC (sharp and low placed bends of bellies, Fig. 2:37,38) [Makarowicz 1998b].

In TH 2 materials one does not find any TuC patterns as far as the style and morphology of pottery are concerned. A certain symptom of Tumulus trait acquisition may be the addition of pink and white broken stone to body. This taxon is dated approximately (there are no radiocarbon dates available for the Middle Warta region) to the period from 1800 to 1600 BC (Fig. 3).

The other of the distinguished complexes corresponds to TH 4/TH 5 structures in Kujawy (Fig. 2:25-28). Its peculiar trait is the syncretism of pottery traits. It manifests itself in the co-occurrence of proto-Tumulus traits (domination of white and pink broken stone as a temper added to body, roughening of ceramics) next to classical Trzciniec patterns (horizontally arranged relief strips, multiple incised lines, straight crest rims), Forest-East-European (Linin group of the Nemen Culture — vessel burnishing, corded ornamentation, corrugated rims, Fig. 2:26) and the Fűzesabony Culture (FC — e.g. a pitcher with relief spiral ornamentation or another one with a band-like handle, Fig. 2:27,28). This complex can be roughly dated to the period from 1700/1650 to 1600/1550 BC (Fig. 3).

TuC societies appear in the Middle Warta zone about 1650/1600 BC [for a different opinion see Zich 1996]. At present, we have two radiocarbon datings for the excavated settlement assemblage of the TuC at Szczepidło, site 17 (Ki-5591–1502±63 BC; Ki-5592–1483±75). The traits of pottery show that it represents the classic development phase of Tumulus groups. The characteristics include pots with cylindrical necks and vases decorated with vertical grooves, vertical burnishing of vessels, Fig. 2:22-24). At the same time one can still observe traits specific to pottery assemblages of TH groups (e.g. pricked-incised ornamentation, horizontal relief strips, quasi-metopic patterns, vessels on legs, straight rims). Insufficient amount of settlement materials does not allow us to verify the standing systematization of TuC development as proposed by M. Gedl [1975] now.

As far as settlement is concerned, TH settlement points clearly dominate over settlement points unequivocally associated with the TuC in the area [Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998:Fig. 1]. Nevertheless, in the Middle Warta zone one can find a number of settlements and cemeteries that undoubtedly represent the Tumulus complex [Gedl 1975; Suryś 1985; Sulczyński 1986; Kłosińska 1994; 1997; Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998:Fig. 1]. There are quite a few sites in the zone that supply materials

whose taxonomic attribution (determined exclusively on the basis of ceramics technology traits) is not certain (TH or TuC). They make up the most numerous class of finds. Bronze goods of Tumulus provenience co-occur with pottery more frequently than in Kujawy. Often, materials traditionally identified with the TC co-occur with sources displaying TuC traits on one site [Kłosińska 1997; Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998].

## 2. TRZCINIEC HORIZON SOCIETIES AND TUMULUS CULTURES SOCIETIES. AN ATTEMPT AT A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In Kujawy, TH settlement points clearly dominate over settlement points associated with the TuC. This disproportion is less obvious in the Middle Warta zone, but even there Trzciniec assemblages are more numerous than Tumulus ones. TuC indicators in the form of bronze goods make a significant cluster in the area north of the Warta. In both zones, assemblages are recorded that reveal states of syncretization. Such assemblages combine traits of the cultural formations under discussion. In the first place they include cultural patterns concerning pottery manufacture (style and technology of pottery) and cases of co-occurrence of Tumulus metal goods with pottery specific to the Late Trzciniec Horizon. Less clear ties can be discerned with respect to settlement, economic, socio-organizational and ideological rules.

In the Middle Warta Valley, various forms of settlement of TH and TuC populations are recorded almost exclusively on the river's meadow terrace, on areas raised above the wet bottom and covered with wind-blown sand and dunes. In Kujawy TH 5-TH 7 settlement points and few TuC ones were placed in higher landscape zones: on edges and in upper parts of valleys of rivers and smaller watercourses. In both regions, Trzciniec and Tumulus settlements were founded in previously settled areas which had frequently undergone considerable anthropogenic transformations.

In the light of recent paleozoological and paleobotanical (palynological) studies carried out in Kujawy and — to a lesser extent — on the Middle Warta, it seems that societies of “pre-Tumulus” TCC structures had a rather mobile lifestyle related to animal raising (domination of cattle over sheep/goat and pig in livestock). However, ever greater importance was acquired by the growing of cereals with not a minor role being played by assimilation strategies, mainly hunting and intensive exploitation of the water environment [Makarowicz 1998b]. With respect to Tumulus communities we do not have accurate information concerning their economy. Nevertheless, animal raising and intensive cereal cultivation are confirmed [Tobolski 1966; Ignaczak, Makarowicz 1998].



allow us to put forth a tentative hypothesis that Tumulus societies were characterized by a similar degree of mobility and comparable settlement and economic rules.

The least information is available on the social organization and ideological and ritual spheres of life of populations of both groups. Data from Kujawy suggest that Trzciniec TH 1-TH 3 societies must have been based on kinship. Village groups consisted at the maximum of 4-5 nuclear families (16-25 persons) while microlocal (or more properly localized, i.e. territorially oriented *kinship groups*) of one to three village communities [Szynkiewicz 1987; Bednarski 1987; Makarowicz 1998b]. Such communities were characterized by moderate forms of intergroup ranking with the privileged position of adult males typical of animal breeders [Makarowicz 1998b].

Individualist tendencies did not cause any permanent changes in basically communal ideology of *kinship groups*. Bronze goods played primarily a role of prestige objects consolidating the power of the group. Most metal goods is recorded in the so-called hoards which are often interpreted as collective property [Blajer 1992; Bradley 1998; Makarowicz 1998b]. With respect to the funerary ritual, the individualist rite was dominant typically of lowland communities genetically related to the Single Grave Culture (SGC) and the IC. One finds both barrow graves as well as burial features without mounds. Only the funerary ritual of TH 5 societies in Kujawy manifests the change related to the spreading of the collective rite [Makarowicz 1998b].

We do not have similar information for TH 5-TH 7 societies in Kujawy nor for the Middle Warta groups of the TuC. Relying, however, on the size and density of Tumulus settlements in the Middle Warta Valley, it can be assumed that village groups of late Trzciniec Horizon populations (TH 5-TH 7) and of TuC did not differ much in number from the discussed dearly and classic Trzciniec communities in Kujawy. However, in macroscale, the Tumulus population was drastically less numerous than that of TH structures. Most metal goods from that period came from non-burial deposits (hoards). A considerable amount of bronze finds in graves, from the beginnings of TH 5 in Kujawy and the TuC on the Middle Warta, may be a proof of the hypothesis about the spreading of the role of metal as a *prestige medium* and its gradually becoming a commodity. The late Trzciniec populations in Kujawy (TH 5-TH 7) often interred their dead uncremated in stone structure graves, as a rule without a mound. Mounds, however, may not have survived due to intensive farming in the region. Also sepulchral finds on the Middle Warta do not allow us to ascertain whether there were any barrows in the region which form a characteristic element in the cultural landscape of other territorial branches of the TuC.

### 3. AN ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PROCESS. AN OUTLINE OF A PROPOSITION

After this relatively long discussion of the taxonomic manifestations of the intermingling of Trzciniec and Tumulus traditions and a comparison of the cultural behavior of populations of both groups we shall make an attempt to explain the nature of interactions between TH and TuC societies. We shall also put forth a hypothesis explaining the mechanisms of cultural change in the regions discussed earlier.

The discussion of the question of cultural change calls for identifying major factors generating the change. Now, it seems that in both regions under discussion the causes of the “Trzciniec-Tumulus transformation” were radically different. An outline of the history of these changes shall begin with the presentation of the cultural situation in the period prior to the emergence of structures exhibiting TuC traits.

The origins of the post-Iwno TH societies in Kujawy and the Middle Warta region were related to the parallel axis of intercultural interactions between IC societies and the West, i.e. the SGC and BB (TH 1) and the East, i.e. Linin Group of the Nemen Culture (TH 2) which dominated in this area from at least the middle of the 3rd millennium BC until ca 1600/1650 BC. These ties were rooted in common origins. First, in the real or biological sense (kinship relationships that were expanded owing to a stable system of exchange of women, ethnic community?) [cf. Shennan 1989; 1991; Olsen, Kobylński 1991; Kadrow 1995; Barford 1996; Czerniak 1996; Werbart 1996; Makarowicz 1998b] and second, in the sense of having common consciousness, i.e. sharing a myth of descent from a single ancestor. A radically different character was manifested by the contacts of IC societies and later post-Iwno TCC communities (TH 1-TH 3) with the South, especially with the UC. It was mainly an economic relationship based on far-reaching forms of exchange of prestige objects (e.g. bronze, amber; the “demand for prestige” was peculiar to cultural peripheries of the then Europe) [cf. Sherratt 1994; Kadrow 1995; Czebreszuk 1996; Makarowicz 1998] and processed raw materials (e.g. textiles) for unprocessed products. The relationship did not cause any radical change of the traditional lifestyle of the populations genetically deriving from the IC. After the decomposition of the UC, TH 3 and TH 4 societies revived the contacts with the South. The para-economic nature of these contacts, related to the obtaining of prestige objects, was modified because of a frequent practice of exogamy with groups originating with the Małopolska enclave of the TCC. Trzciniec societies from the South also transmitted the patterns of Mad'arovec (MaC), Věteřov (VC) and Füzesabony Cultures to the north.

In the beginnings of BB1, since about 1650 BC, inventories of TH 5-TH 7 in Kujawy and TH 4/TH 5 in the Middle Warta region begin to include TuC indicators.

They are recorded mostly in pottery. Their presence is also attested by Tumulus style bronze objects on the Polish Lowlands [Koško 1979]. TuC societies must have reached the Middle Warta region from the Silesian agglomeration encountering there intensive and relatively stable settlement of Trzciniec communities (TH 2). The appearance of syncretic TH 4/TH 5 assemblages in that zone as well as TH 5-TH 7 farther north (Kujawy) may be evidence of relatively quick establishment of contacts between TuC populations and late Trzciniec Horizon societies.

It seems that the nature of such ties differed in the Middle Warta Valley from those in Kujawy. The Middle Warta region may be identified as the northern frontier of compact TuC settlement. The Trzciniec populations occupying that zone earlier had developed contacts with southern societies due to the proximity of the zone to Małopolska and Silesian cultural centers [Makarowicz 1995; 1998b]. Later, these interactions became more intensive because Tumulus and Trzciniec societies neighbored on each other. Exploitation of the same eco- and landscape zones (lower terraces of the Warta Valley) and similarities in settlement and economic strategies (e.g. the rise of permanent houses, longer sojourns in one place, domination of animal raising over plant cultivation) were among the factors facilitating the contacts. Furthermore, TuC societies had an attractive cultural offer for Trzciniec communities, i.e. metal goods of individualized character raising the status and prestige of an individual. Although there are proofs of local manufacturing of bronze objects (following Únětice patterns), both on the Middle Warta and in Kujawy [Makarowicz 1998b], the metallurgy of Tumulus populations was arguably technologically more advanced and diversified as far as its assortment is concerned both in terms of quantity and quality. Instructive in this respect are proposals by H. Case [1987] who identified amateur and professional blacksmiths in the European Copper Age (Bell Beakers) [see also Vandkilde 1996]. Most scholars relates Tumulus circle structures with chiefdom type organizations characterized by high social ranking [Kristiansen 1994:16; Vandkilde 1996]. A highly stratified model of society with a high degree of individualism was yet another cultural pattern worth imitating for members of Trzciniec communities.

The above named factors contributed to quick establishing of contacts between early Tumulus and late Trzciniec groups in the region. The contacts, in turn, brought about a syncretization of the cultures of both societies possibly resulting from the circulation of women, exchange of prestige objects of bronze and amber (cf. Ruszków, site 3 and Biechowy, site 3) as well as other objects, raw materials and food. Not all TH societies were rapidly transformed. Some of them must have continued the traditional lifestyle. A hypothesis may be put forth that between 1650 and 1550 BC, on the Warta, three different cultural formations developed next to each other. These were *Trzciniec* TH 2 structures, *Trzciniec-Tumulus* formations (including syncretic TH 4/TH 5 complex) and “purely” *Tumulus* ones.

The attraction of socio-cultural patterns of TuC populations caused finally the Trzciniec structures to disintegrate in the second half of the 16th century BC. In terms of the socio-historical process, the disintegration should be interpreted as an effect of the final demise of the Trzciniec identity indicators that had ensured until then cultural cohesion of the structures [Olsen, Kobylński 1991; Shennan 1989; 1991; Kadrow 1995; Barford 1996; Czerniak 1996; Werbart 1996]. In the Warta region we deal then with a relatively homogeneous community that may have represented a type of social organization with far-reaching intergroup *stratification*.

The status of TuC patterns was, as it seems, different in Kujawy. In that zone we are faced almost exclusively with prestige objects of Tumulus origin. Their appearance there may be interpreted as an effect of para-trade contacts being a peculiar continuation of earlier ties of this type between IC and UC societies within a long distance exchange network [Koško 1979; Czebreszuk 1996; Makarowicz 1998b].

The paucity of sites where ceramic indicators of the Tumulus complex have been recorded may be a sign that the interactions between TH societies and TuC groups were based on the exchange of prestige objects. Exogamy was practiced in a narrower extent, significantly lower than in the Middle Warta region. This phenomenon, corroborated by, for instance, a large disproportion of settlement points of TH 1-TH 4 (“pre-Tumulus”) and of TH 5-TH 7 (“Tumulusized”), may be linked to the hypothesis about a gradual depopulation of Kujawy after 1600 BC [Czebreszuk 1996]. TuC societies infiltrating the southern and south-eastern area of Kujawy must have been demographically sparse. They may have been made up of groups oriented towards the exchange of metal goods (and other processed goods), amber and raw and unprocessed materials [Makarowicz 1998]. In such a case one may expect to encounter dispersed — in the diversified cultural environment of Trzciniec societies — Tumulus communities consisting of specialized metalworkers and their families and customers. The occupation of blacksmith was associated with a high social status. Such persons often performed leadership or religious functions [e.g. Koško 1979; Harrison 1980; Eliade 1993; Vandkilde 1996; Makarowicz 1998b]. One of many possible scenarios of contacts takes into account the practice of obtaining Trzciniec women by migrating TuC communities. It seems that this practice may have been one of the causes of the cultural syncretism visible in the development of TH 5-TH 7 societies.

The reception of Tumulus traits did not lead to a radical transformation of late Trzciniec societies and the rise of a uniform TuC complex in the Kujawy zone, unlike in the Middle Warta region. We should think that the cause of this development was a considerable demographic domination of Trzciniec societies over Tumulus ones and the strength of their traditional quasipastoral lifestyle with its ideology, rituals and social, economic and settlement rules [Makarowicz 1998b].

In the light of the above comments, the so-called *Trzciniec-Tumulus mixing zone* may be interpreted as a highly diversified area, as far as the rhythm of cultural development is concerned, where Tumulus identity patterns were received by late Trzciniec Horizon communities. Within the area, the two discussed zones stand out, the populations of which adopted these patterns in different ways.

*Translated by Piotr T. Żebrowski*

## ABBREVIATIONS

AP	– Archeologia Polski, Warszawa
APL	– Archaeologia Polona, Warszawa
AR	– Arkheologia, Kiev
BPS	– Baltic-Pontic Studies, Poznań
ESA	– Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, Helsinki
KSIA AN USSR	– Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN USSR, Kiev
MANH	– Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty, Kraków
MIA	– Materiały i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR, Moskva
PBF	– Praehistorische Bronzefunde, München
SA	– Sovetskaya Arkheologia, Moskva.
SPA	– Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Kraków.

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