

**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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**V O L U M E 14 • 2009**

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Cover Design: Eugeniusz Skorwider

Linguistic consultation: Ryszard J. Reisner, Piotr T. Żebrowski

Printed in Poland

Computer typeset by PSO Sp. z o.o. w Poznaniu

Druk i oprawa: Zakłady Poligraficzne SERIGRAF w Suchym Lesie

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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.



**Viktor I. Klochko, Aleksander Koško**

## THE SOCIETIES OF CORDED WARE CULTURES AND THOSE OF BLACK SEA STEPPES (YAMNAYA AND CATACOMB GRAVE CULTURES) IN THE ROUTE NETWORK BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS

Suggested in the title, the hypothetical 'Corded-Yamnaya/Catacomb' route community should be taken to be a stage in the sequence of broader early agrarian developments in the chorography of lands stretching between the Seas. What is important is the context of a mental map (mental chorography), i.e. a mental image of neighbouring territories, specifically their natural and optimal network of routes and diversified adaptive potentials.

### 1. THE BEGINNINGS OF MENTAL CHOROGRAPHY OF LANDS BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS

From the point of view of Neolithic culture societies settling the central European plains, early forays into adjacent territories belonging to the Black Sea drainage basin must have taken place in the early second half of the 6th millennium BC. Reconnaissance parties set out from the settlement centres of the Linear Pottery culture located in the borderland between the Lublin and Volhynia uplands. Linear colonization covered then the border between the forest-steppe and taiga, reaching as far as the Dnieper valley (Vita-Poshtova 2), and – slightly later – encompassed the lands on the Dniester or perhaps even the drainage basin of the upper Boh (Southern Bug) River, i.e. areas that had been densely settled by the Boh-Dniester culture [Kozłowski J.K. 1985; Kadrow, Zakościelna 2000; Gaskevich 2001: Fig. 1] (Fig. 1). The process was continued by the societies of post-linear cultures: the Malice culture (after 4800 BC) and Lublin-Volhynia culture (after 4200 BC). In connection with the process, another intrusion can be observed: that

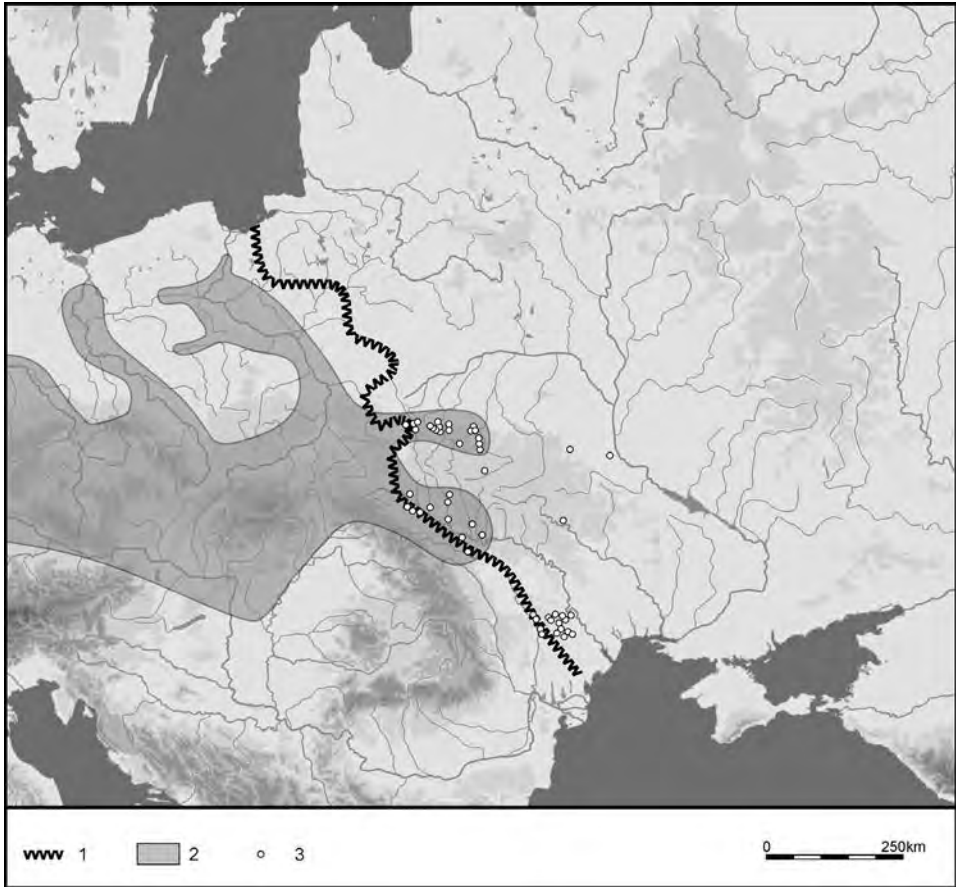


Fig. 1. 'Pontic' routes of migrations by Linear-Pottery culture societies. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – occurrence of the Linear-Incised Pottery culture; 3 – 'Linear' settlement points in the eastern European portion of the Black Sea drainage basin

by the groups of the Funnel Beaker culture (FBC) [Pelisiak 2007: Fig. 2; Koško, Szmyt..., in this volume]. What was novel about it was the colonizers' point of departure. They initiated a new perspective – a 'Lowland' one – in the development of the chorography of lands between the Seas. It was there that 'funnel' colonizers of the western frontier of the Black Sea basin came from (from 3600/3500 BC) (Fig. 2).

Analogous forays into the Baltic drainage basin by eastern European early-agrarian societies precede the processes mentioned above. An interesting mental map of the Vistula drainage was developed by Pontic settlers, who had limited knowledge of animal breeding, of the Late Mesolithic Janisławice-Rudoy Ostrov cultural circle

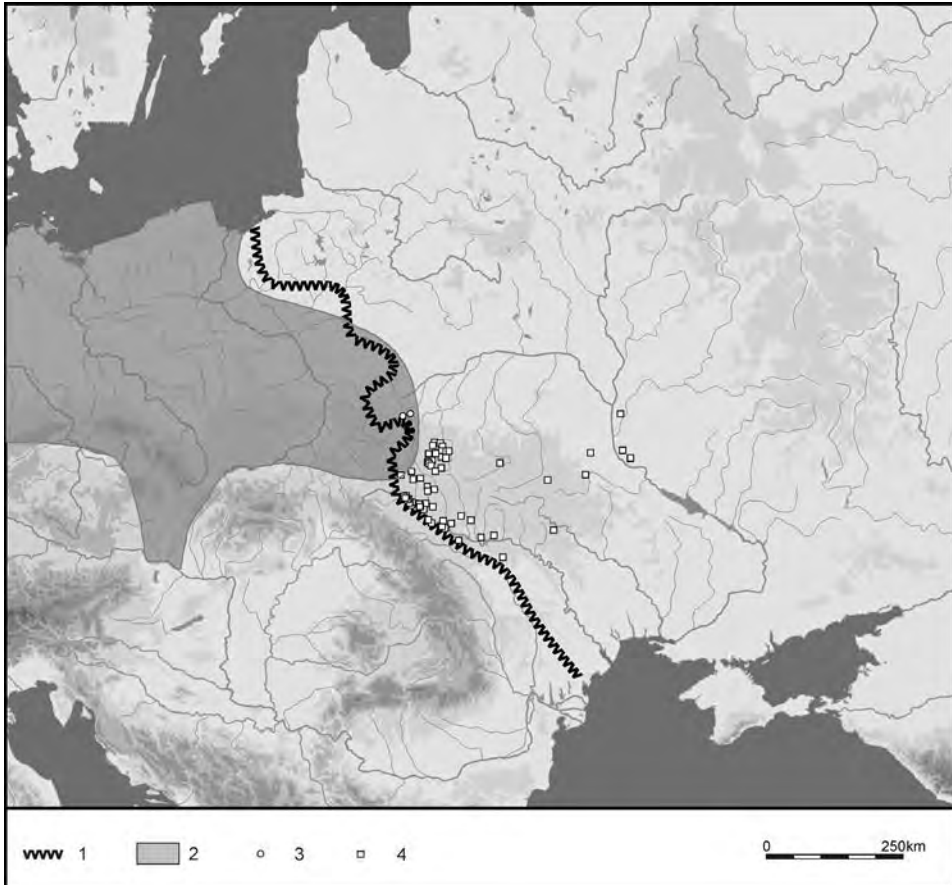


Fig. 2. 'Pontic' routes of migrations/influences by Funnel Beaker culture societies. 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Funnel Beaker culture occurrence; 3 – 'upland settlements' in Gródek Nadbużny and Zimne; 4 – 'Beaker' settlement points (or 'impact/imports') in the eastern European portion of the Black Sea drainage basin [Pelisiak 2007; Koško, Szmyt. . . , in this volume]

towards the end of the 7th millennium BC [Kozłowski S.K. 1985; Domańska 1990] (Fig. 3). However, the process was not continued in the 6th and 5th millennia BC. Neither is it possible to precisely assess its generative significance for the development of Linear colonization routes of the Dniester or Boh drainages. However, we adopt a hypothesis here that such a relationship is very likely [cf. Czerniak 1994: 11ff]. The experience of 'Janisławice' chorography was taken up only by Late Neolithic settlers in the middle of the 4th millennium BC. Specifically, they belonged to phase C of the Tripolye culture (TC) and reached the upper Bug drainage (Slavuta) [Kruts, Ryzhov 2000: Fig.1] (Fig. 4).

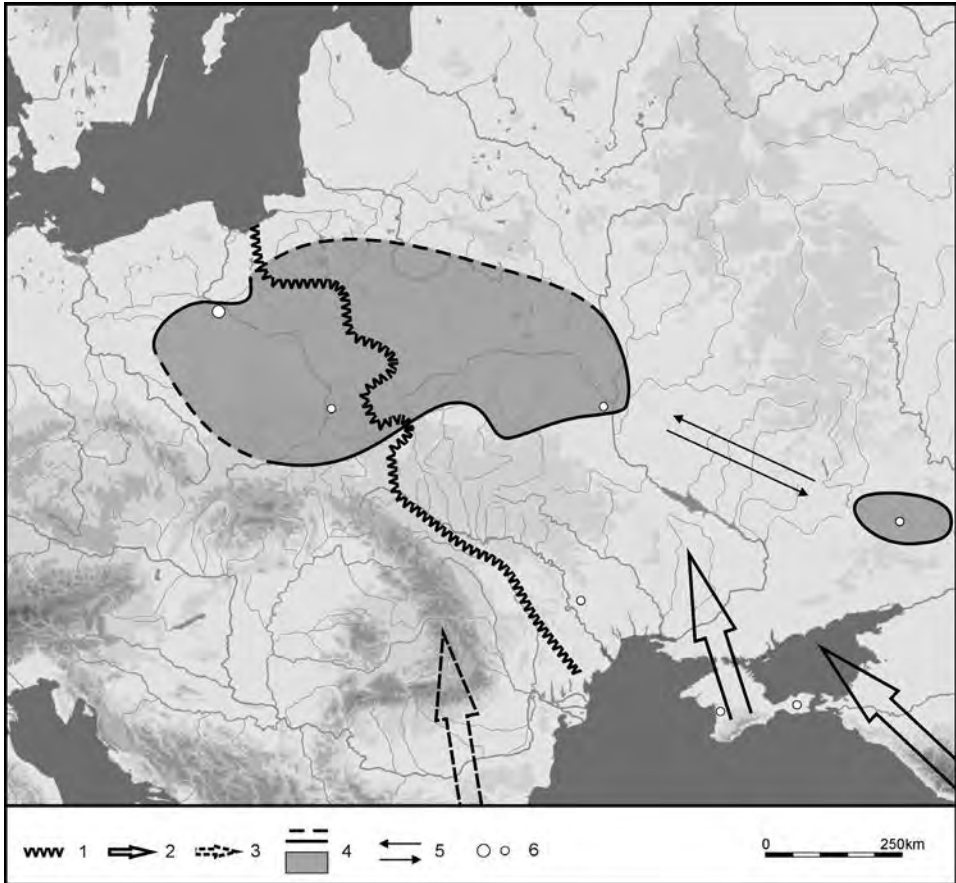


Fig. 3. Distribution map of Late Mesolithic societies of the Janisławice-Rudoy Ostrov circle. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – directions of Caucasus-Black Sea Neolithization; 3 – direction of Anatolia-Balkans Neolithization; 4 – range of Janisławice-Rudoy Ostrov circle; 5 – direction of cultural information circulation within the Janisławice-Rudoy Ostrov circle; 6 – Dęby type inserts [Domańska 1990]

When compared, in the reconnaissance actions prior to the 3rd millennium BC, the societies inhabiting the Baltic drainage basin were more active. They had then extensive knowledge of natural routes in the Black Sea basin and – especially in the 4th millennium BC – of Pontic raw material deposits.

The reasons why early agrarian societies mapped out colonization routes should be looked for above all in an effort to satisfy their economic needs: to expand traditional central European zones/enclaves of adaptation to the environment.

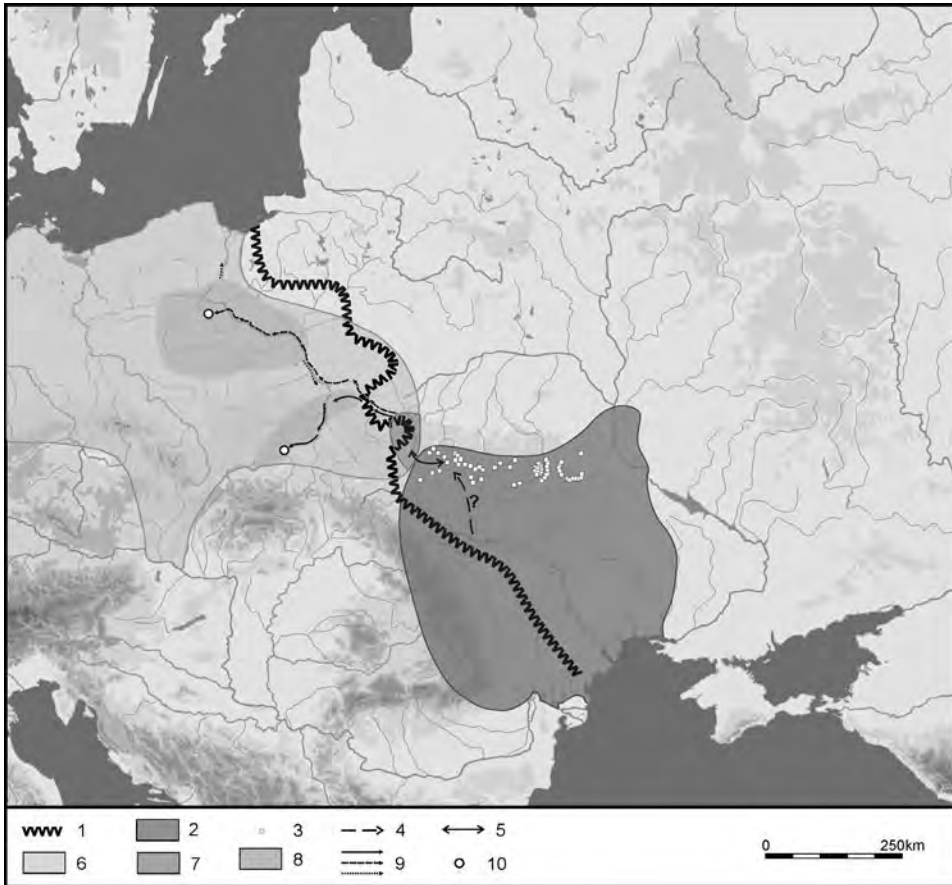


Fig. 4. Routes of influence by Tripolye culture societies on the Baltic. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Tripolye culture oecumene; 3 – settlement points of Gorodsk-Volhynia group; 4-5 – western migration routes of ‘Tripolye’ societies; 6 – Funnel Beaker culture oecumene; 7-8 – areas of Tripolye impact on the cultural environments of the Vistula and Oder drainages (showing intensity degrees); 9 – routes of Tripolye influences; 10 – reception centres of Tripolye culture influences [Koško 1981; Kruts, Ryzhov 2000]

## 2. A WATERSHED: EXODUS BY THE SOCIETIES OF THE GLOBULAR AMPHORA CULTURE

The appearance of Globular Amphora culture (GAC) societies on Black Sea steppes in the early 3rd millennium BC is a watershed between reconnaissance missions, launched as part of an egalitarian colonization strategy (by early agrarian

societies), and organized long-distance migration programmes, being an expression of the needs of elites. The latter were formed on an inter-regional scale generally in the period of transition between the Neolithic/Eneolithic and the Bronze Age. One of such programmes could have been the participation of GAC populations in the distribution of raw materials or prestige objects: banded flint or amber and perhaps glass products, too [Żuławka 1 on the middle Noteć River, ca. 2550-2450 BC: Rola 2006: 114, footnote 14]. Additional factors, on which the expanded range of such programmes depended, were technical transportation innovations closely connected to the 3rd millennium BC, namely the wagon (with a team of oxen), roads [Rola 2006: 112ff] and the horse.

GAC settlers on the Black Sea (identified as the culture's eastern group) formed a vigorous long-distance structure for the circulation of cultural patterns in which three subsystems or route foundations can be distinguished. These are Volhynia, Podolia and Siret (Moldavian) subsystems (Fig. 5). The structure was used for about 500 years from the 30th to 25/24th century BC [Szmyt 1999a; 2001; 2004b; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, Szmyt 2003] and left in its wake Pontic elements assimilated by societies inhabiting the Lowlands on the Vistula River. Among these elements are adaptations of the funerary rite of the horse [Koško, Szmyt 2004b: 110ff]. Some inspiration can be drawn as well from the hypothesis about an early reception of niche grave structures by the Złota culture mediated by GAC settlers from Black Sea steppes [Włodarczak 2006: 159]; however, there is no convincing evidence of their contacts with Black Sea communities applying a given type of funerary rite, e.g. the Ingul group of the Catacomb culture (CC) (see section 3).

### 3. THE RANGE OF CHRONOLOGICAL AND SPATIAL COHABITATION OF POPULATIONS OF THE GLOBULAR AMPHORA, CORDED WARE, YAMNAYA AND CATACOMB CULTURES BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS

In what follows we rely on the conception of parallel development – in the 3rd millennium BC – of all the cultural communities named in the title of this section. A joint consideration of the Yamnaya culture (YC) and the CC is exclusively motivated by the current state of exploration of these 'Pontic traditions' in the Baltic drainage basin.

\* The relationships between the GAC and Corded Ware culture (CWC) vary greatly from region to region; nonetheless, it is possible to devise a general simplified division into the Lowlands manifestations of cohabitation and Old Uplands evidence of development in opposition to one another [Szmyt 1999a]. Because of the

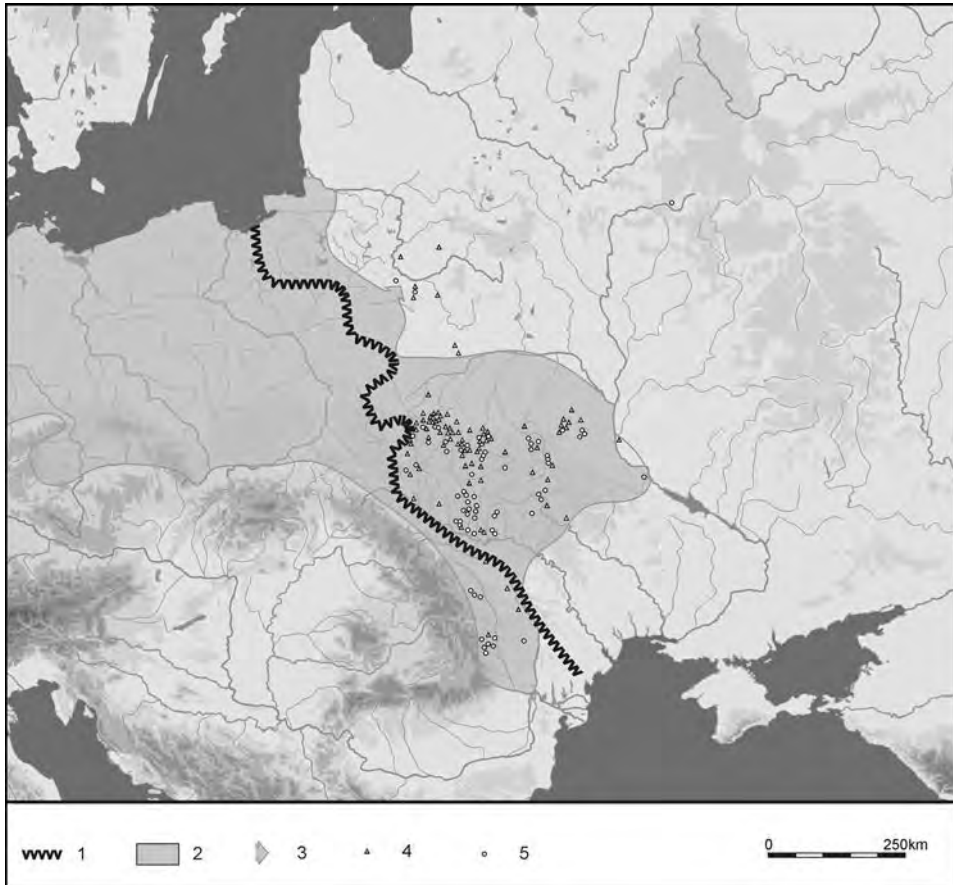


Fig. 5. Routes of 'Pontic' exodus of Globular Amphora culture societies. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Globular Amphora culture oecumene; 3 – route leading to the taiga; 4-5 – settlement points (graves, settlements, loose finds) in forest-steppe and steppe zones [Szmyt 1999a; 2001; 2004b]

problems discussed here, we focus on the latter model of relationships. In J. Machnik's approach [Machnik 2004: 139], observations made on Małopolska loess soils justify a conclusion about an initial sharp distinction between the oecumenes of the GAC and CWC whose communities developed contemporaneously (GAC, eastern group: 3000-2500/2300 BC – see section 1; CWC: 2800-2300/2200 BC [Włodarczak 2006: 127]). On western Małopolska loess uplands, their cohabitation can be seen first in the vicinity of Sandomierz ('Złota phenomenon') and in a macrospatial version, after ca. 2700 BC, as part of the processes leading to the formation of the

Kraków-Sandomierz group of the CWC (phase II) [Włodarczak 2006: 159]. In his latest approach to the problem – considered against the background of migration barriers – J. Machnik presents a view that CWC migrations across the frontier between the west and east of Europe were made possible by the weakening of settlement and undermining of the GAC social structures [Machnik 2006: 35]. It should be remembered, keeping in mind earlier findings, that in this approach the prologue of penetration of the Małopolska CWC by Black Sea populations should be associated with the time around the middle of the 3rd millennium BC (phase IIIA: 2550-2450 BC) [Włodarczak 2006: 126-127; cf. Szmyt. . ., in this volume].

\* The studies of development of the relationships of the GAC and the cultures of Black Sea steppes – YC and CC – favour the former ‘steppe’ taxon [Szmyt 1999a: 142ff; 2001: 192], whereas the evidence of contacts between the GAC and CC (2800-2100/1900 BC) [Telegin *et al.* 2003; Ślusarska 2006] is debatable and may refer to the effects of contacts mediated by the YC or MDC [Serdyukova 1996; Szmyt 1999a: 164-165; Krywalcewicz 2007: 95-97]. ‘Globular amphora’ traditions are present within the loess (Kiev) group of the CC, known by the name of the Iskovshchina type, where they could come along the Volhynia route. More specifically, this concept concerns syncretic settlement materials from the middle Dniester area, identified also – in an earlier version – with the MDC [Serdyukova 1996: 149ff]. Unavailability of detailed analyses makes it hard to be more specific about the time of the hypothetical contact; it can be claimed, however, that what we see here might be recessive forms of the Pontic exodus of the GAC, taking place ca. 2500/2300 BC. No clear manifestations of the cohabitation between the GAC and the Ingul group of the CC (Ingul culture) have been recorded (we ignore here the evidence of the presence of GAC traditions on the Sea of Azov, reaching the area possibly along the Dnieper route [Szmyt 1999a: Fig. 27]). No evidence of cohabitation of the GAC with the communities of the western reaches of the latter culture have been found, either [see Toshev 1991].

\* In the relationships of the CWC with the YC/CC [Pustovalov 1994 – YC/CC cohabitation; Telegin *et al.* 2003], the routes of ‘globular amphora’ societies are continued, however – at least so far – they are hard to identify archaeologically [see Machnik 2003; Bunyatyan 2007]. This applies specifically to the Volhynia and Podolia (Dniester) routes; there is no evidence, however, of the continuation of the Siret route. Here, we shall focus in particular on its Volhynia-Podolia variant, seen as part of a broader structure: Baltic – Bug – Boh (Southern Bug) – Black Sea.

The approach taken here attempts to indicate a spatial framework for a two-way circulation of Corded and Yamnaya/Catacomb patterns (see sections 4 and 6). So far, source evidence of such contacts has been searched for among exogenous artefacts – imports – being chiefly single finds or grave-goods. Only rarely has any such evidence been found in settlement assemblages [see ‘Caucasus’ pins: Machnik 1979b: 366]. Far more evidence of this kind has been provided by funerary rites: in Yamnaya



[Koško, Kločko 1991: 129ff; Koško 1991; 1992; see Włodarczak 2006: 50ff] and Catacomb/niche designs of grave chambers [Włodarczak 2006: 50ff, 59; Ślusarska 2006: 133-135], and circular barrow mounds [recently Włodarczak 2006: 157].

#### 4. MARKERS OF A HYPOTHETICAL ROUTE COMMUNITY OF CORDED WARE, YAMNAYA AND CATACOMB CULTURES

Referring to the earlier discussions of cohabitation, it is possible to distinguish two groups of source evidence seen as markers of migration or routes followed by migrants: **(a)** occasional objects, chiefly of an insignia type, and **(b)** traits of funerary rites. In the present assessment of the extent of borrowings – due to the state of research – we limit the discussion of reception of the stylistic characteristics of pottery (for an exception see CC ‘ornamental baroque’). The analysis covers areas believed to have diagnostic characteristics with respect to long-distance contacts along the routes studied here:

- Lowland (Lower Vistula) and Old Upland (Małopolska, Volhynia) CWC ones, and
- Ingul (Podolia, Zaporozhye region, Black Sea steppes) and, selectively, Donets-Don CC ones.

More importantly, the quality of recording of relevant sources varies greatly on the individual segments of a hypothetical route (e.g. excellent specification and taxonomic processing of group ‘a’ markers on the upper Bug River, in the former Chełm region [Bronicki 1991]). Keeping this in mind, in 2003 and 2007, a project was completed whereby museums located on selected fragments of a route were searched for relevant evidence. The project covered, on the Polish side of the border, the Pomerania, Łódź and Mazovia regions as well as parts of the Cuiavia-Pomerania region. On the Ukrainian side, the project covered both museums and para-museum collections (remembrance halls, school collections) as well as private holdings from the regions of Vinnytsia and Volhynia (Fig. 6).

An effort was made to explore two-way circulation of ‘imports’ or, more broadly, cultural patterns:

- (a)** YC/CC markers (‘Yamnaya and Catacomb traditions’) in the Vistula zone of the CWC (routes/regions in the drainages of the Bug, Wieprz and middle and lower Vistula rivers), and
- (b)** CWC markers (corded and post-corded traditions), more broadly, Late Neolithic and Circum-Baltic ones, in the zone of Ingul and Donets-Don groups of the CC (with extending the search to include not only the Ingul area but also the whole Boh drainage).

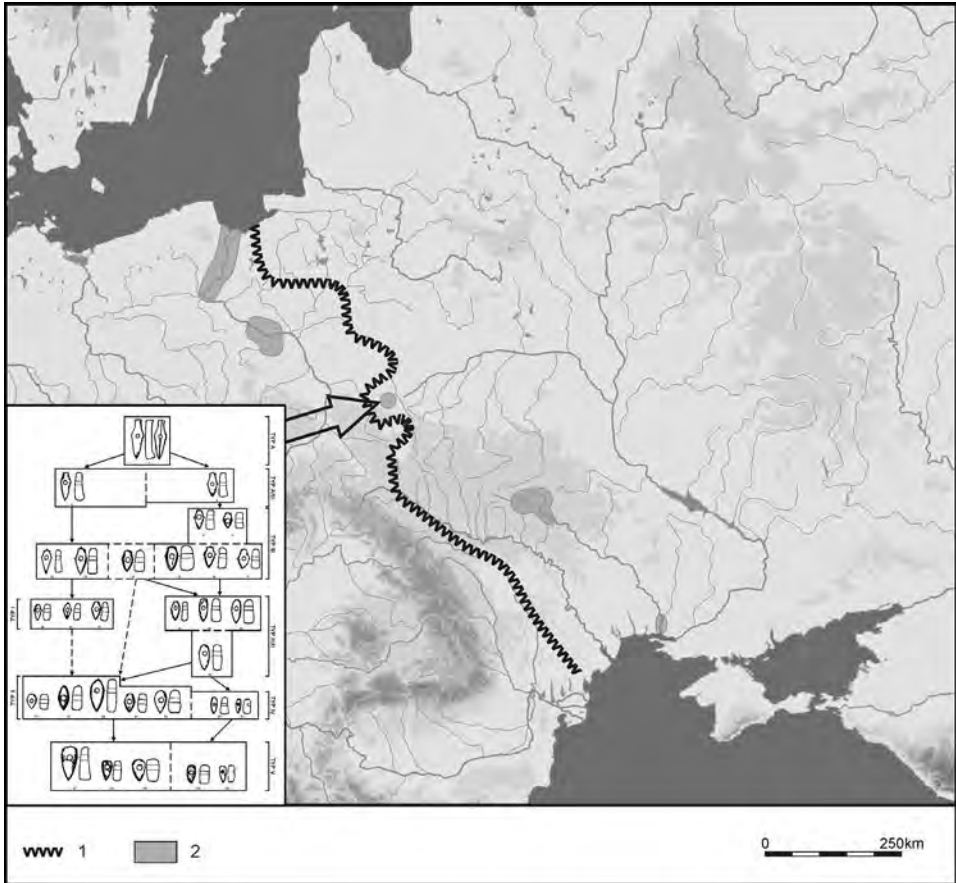


Fig. 6. Areas of museum searches and a list of types from the former Chełm region [foll. Bronicki 1991]. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – areas covered by museum searches

The list of markers presented below must be treated as highly preliminary and purposefully restricted as far as comparative analysis of pottery is concerned (making up for this deficiency should be regarded as an urgent task for the future). (a) The basic list of ‘Yamnaya-Catacomb’ traits in the Baltic drainage basin is made up of (aa) pit- and catacomb/niche-graves or ‘Pontic’ traits of funerary structures; (ab) highly controversial, topogenetically ‘Strzyżów’ complex of reception signs of production patterns typical of the Donets Basin and Caucasus centres of metallurgy and glass-making, and single finds of insignia-type forms; the latter include (ac) ‘Catacomb’ axes (or their local imitations), mainly stone, but also metal ones, or (ad) fluted maces.

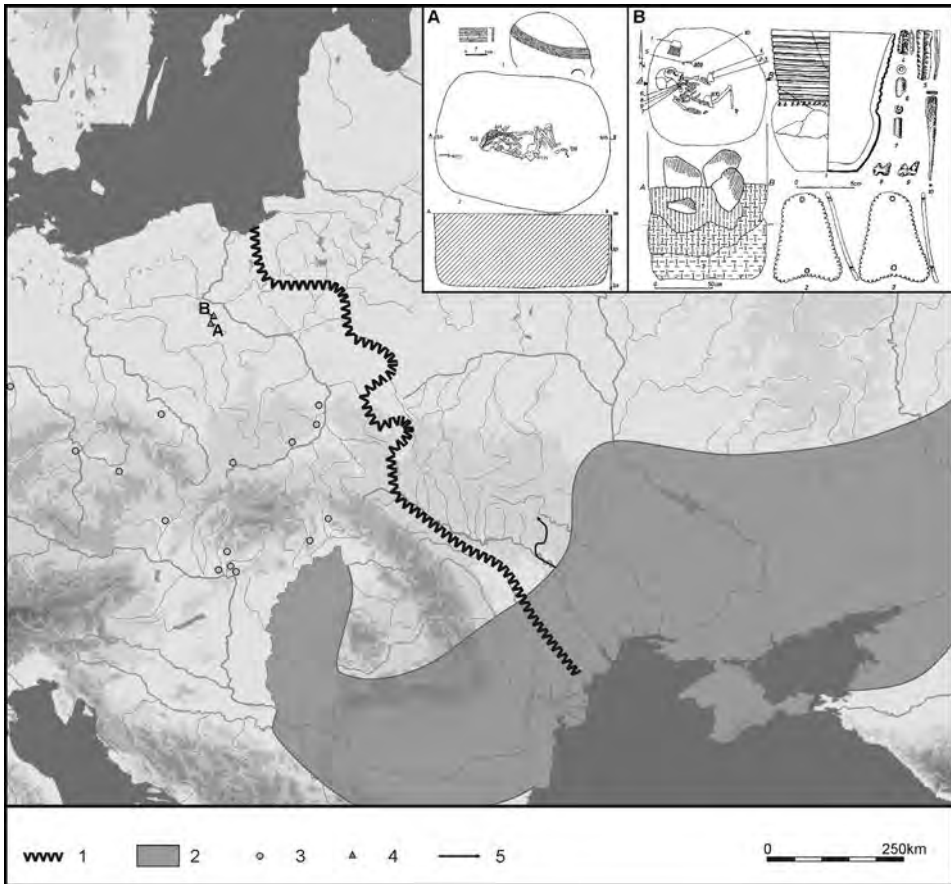


Fig. 7. Routes of Baltic influences of Yamnaya culture societies. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Yamnaya culture oecumene; 3 – graves with the so-called ‘frog-like’ skeleton arrangement; 4 – Late Neolithic graves on the Polish Lowlands showing ‘Yamnaya’ ritual characteristics (A – Bożejewice 8; B – Krusza Zamkowa 3); 5 – hypothetical route following Dniester – Boh – Bug. . . ? [Batora 2006: Fig. 134, as amended by authors; Koško, Kločko 1991; Koško 1992]

The list is supplemented by occasional finds: Black Sea traits/artefacts unearthed within ritual, settlement (**ae** – Łasin) and funerary (**af** – Bożejewice 8; **ag** – Biskupiec, Gromowo) features.

**aa.** In the Neolithic of the Vistula drainage, there are no prototypes (genetic inspirations) of ‘Yamnaya’ designs of grave chambers or single burials underneath barrows that appear in the early stages of CWC development. On the Lowlands these are deep, straight-walled excavations 0.85-1.0 m deep, dated to 2850-2700 BC

[Bożejewice 8: Koško, Kločko 1991: 123ff; Krusza Zamkowa 3: Koško 1992: 86ff]. On Małopolska Old Uplands – where niche chambers dominate – our attention is attracted by a particularly ‘original’, distinctly ‘Yamnaya’ chamber from a feature located underneath a barrow at Koniusza 1. Its pit is slightly trapezoidal, 1.75 m deep and dated to ca. 2500 BC [Włodarczak 2006: 50ff]. These structures may be deemed an element of an exogenous funerary tradition, genetically related to the YC. Its spreading towards the Vistula drainage could have followed the left-bank tributaries of the Dniester towards the Boh drainage (perhaps this took place at Murawa) – see YC barrows in the district of Yampil [cf. Yarovoy 1985: 27ff; *Archiwum* no. 11] (Fig. 7). To assess how far the tradition was observed in the Baltic drainage, it is necessary to conduct detailed studies taking into account ‘Yamnaya’ features of unclear functional and cultural identity (cf. modest grave goods in the YC funerary tradition [Yarovoy 1985: 27ff]).

Leaving out – mentioned already earlier – the problem of Black Sea funerary patterns found in the syncretic Złota culture (next to niche chambers also the use of ochre and the custom of deforming – artificially elongating – of skulls), it can be said that catacomb structures occur on Małopolska ‘classic’ CWC territories in two clusters: Kraków-Sandomierz and Grzęda Sokalska (Roztocze, near of Lubaczów). The first cluster can be dated to phases II-III (after 2700/2600 BC), while the other to phase III (after 2600 BC), especially IIIB [Włodarczak 2006: 130ff] (Fig. 8). A comparative analysis of detailed characteristics of both clusters of niche structures reveals closer affinities between features from Grzęda Sokalska and forms known from Black Sea steppes [Ślusarska 2006: 133-135; Włodarczak 2006: 135, footnote 74]. Nothing is known of such structures so far in the CWC on the Dniester [Włodarczak 2006: 135]. Hence, it can be concluded that the ‘Grzęda Sokalska’ observations testify to a direct contact between CWC societies in the region of Roztocze and the Ingul group, i.e. the Boh drainage (Fig. 9). An important clue to the tracing of the course of the assumed route may be a high share of Middle Dnieper culture (MDC) patterns in the style of Grzęda Sokalska pottery; they are recorded also on both the Boh and lower Vistula rivers [Machnik 1999; 2003; see ‘Middle Dnieper’ pottery in the graves of the ‘Ingul’ CC on the lower Boh – studies by O.G. Shaposhnikova’s team –oral communication by K. Bunyatyan; also Gzin near Chełmno – *Archiwum* no. 19].

**ab.** Strzyżów culture (SC) occupied the eastern portion of the Lublin Upland, from the upper Wieprz River as far the Bug and south-western Volhynia as far as the Horyń River. In the south, the SC was bounded by Grzęda Sokalska and in the north by Poles’ye Marshes. Chronometric documentation of the SC is unsatisfactory; at present its preliminary – ‘rough’ – chronology should be located towards the end of the 3rd millennium BC. The centre of the SC must have been somewhere between the Styr and Horyń rivers and was related to the Volhynia deposits of basalt and flint, and especially of copper (possibly also of inland amber). It is hard

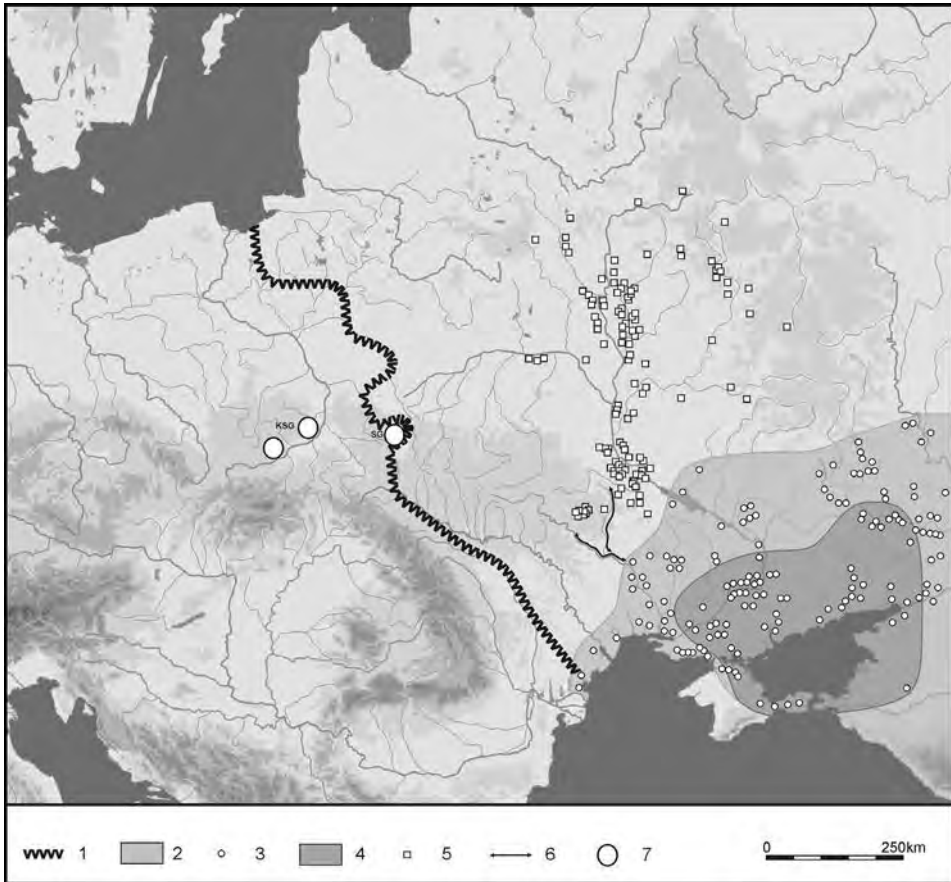


Fig. 8. Funerary evidence of influence by Catacomb culture societies on the Baltic. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Catacomb culture oecumene; 3 – ‘Catacomb’ settlement points; 4 – range of metallurgists’ graves; 5 – Middle Dnieper culture settlement points; 6 – Boh – Bug ? – and Boh – Sinyukha routes; 7 – concentrations of niche (catacomb) graves within the circle of CWC groups in the Vistula drainage (KSG – Kraków-Sandomierz group; SK – Sokalska group) [Artemenko 1967: Fig. 42; Bratchenko, Shaposhnikova 1985: Map 9; Batora 2006: Fig. 134]

to assess the range of penetration of the Vistula drainage by SC communities. In the south, a discovery of a ‘Strzyżów’ vessel around Kraków/Nowa Huta merits attention [Godłowska 1984]. Insufficiency of data prevents us from assessing the impact of the SC in the north; a certain clue, however, is offered here by J. Libera’s idea of zone A in the distribution of bifacial forms of daggers [Libera 2001: 124ff].

In the SC distribution area, including also SC assemblages, there were discovered collections of copper and faience artefacts standing in a marked contrast, in

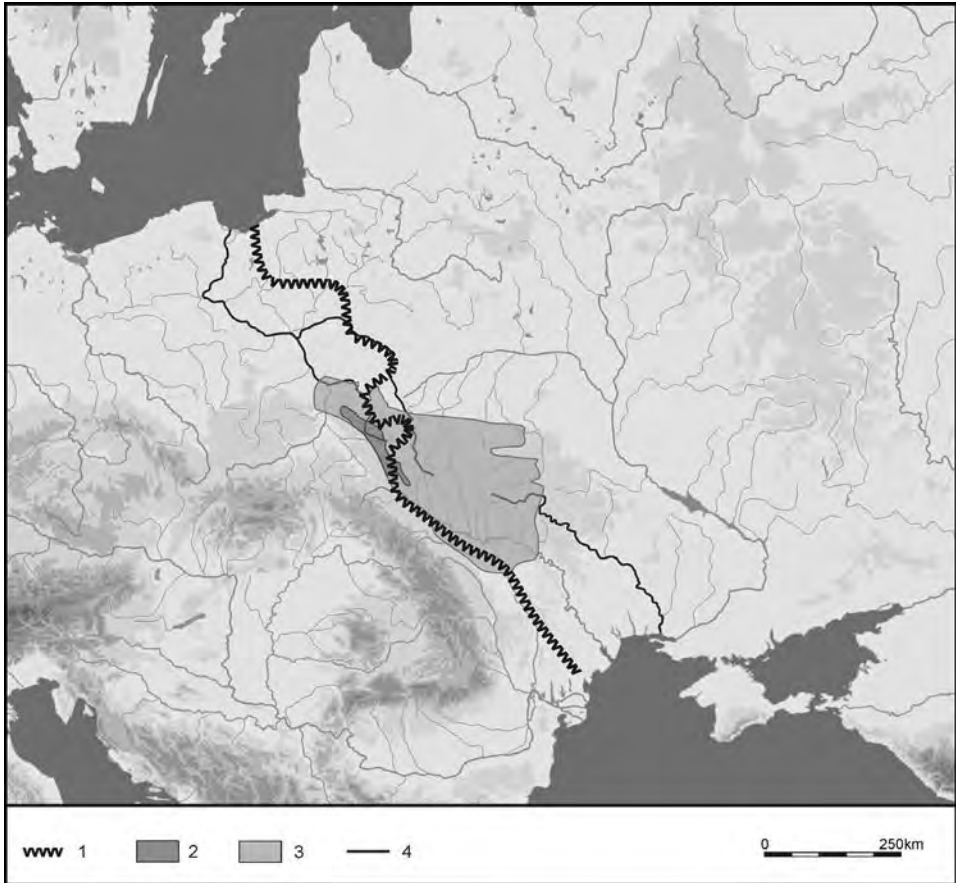


Fig. 9. Frontier of Bug and Boh drainages: Meta-Carpathian Uplands (Roztocze route hub is marked). Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Roztocze; 3 – Meta-Carpathian Uplands; 4 – route: Boh – Bug-Wieprz – Lower Vistula [physiographic presentation: Maruszczak 2002]

terms of their technological, formal and functional complexity, to the inventories of other cultures from the Carpathian epi-Corded circle [Kadrow 2001]. General analogies (in terms of manufacturing and formal aspects) to these collections can be found in the cultural environment of the Dnieper (MDC) and Don (CC) drainages, and – which has been done far more often so far – in Caucasus foothills. However, such analogies are also to be found in the Carpathian Basin or more broadly in the zone of central Europe where the impact of the said civilization centre was felt. These observations primarily concern the inventories of ‘hoards’ from Stebliwka (Stułbno), Horodysko and Lipa [Majek 2003] (Fig. 10).

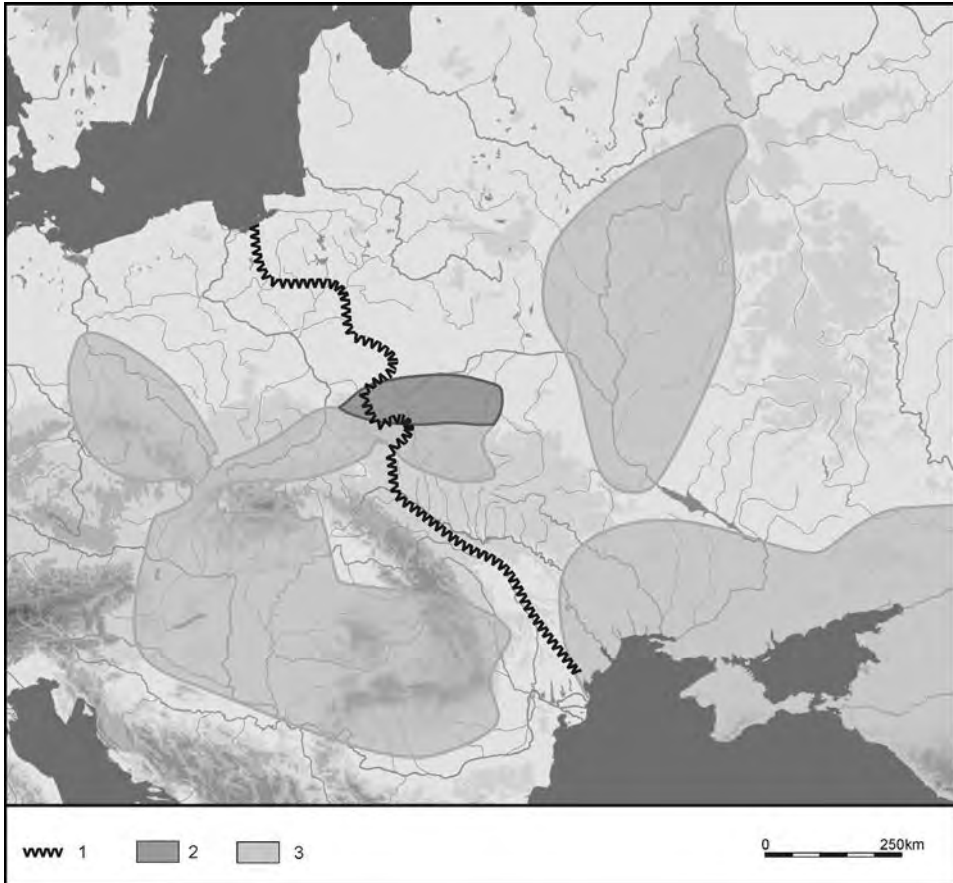


Fig. 10. Strzyżów culture ocumene and areas of hypothetical formal analogies mentioned in the discussions of ‘Strzyżów hoard’ origins. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2 – Strzyżów culture range showing the chief direction of contacts; 3 – areas of hypothetical analogies [Majek 2003]

**ac.** In battle-axe classifications used in the analyses of sources from the Oder and Vistula drainages (in general from central Europe), there are no attempts to identify ‘Catacomb’ (‘Ingul’ and ‘Donets Basin’) battle-axes. This is also true for areas where ‘Black Sea traits’ have been noticed on many occasions (e.g. areas with niche graves – see earlier comments). A thorough examination of axes believed to be ‘corded’ or still better ‘Late Neolithic’ from areas on the Vistula, Volhynia and from upper and middle Boh justifies – in our opinion – a hypothesis about a possibility of identifying a category of ‘Ingul’ forms, i.e. also outside the CC. They functioned here as ‘imports’ or possibly as local imitations of their Black Sea preforms. Among

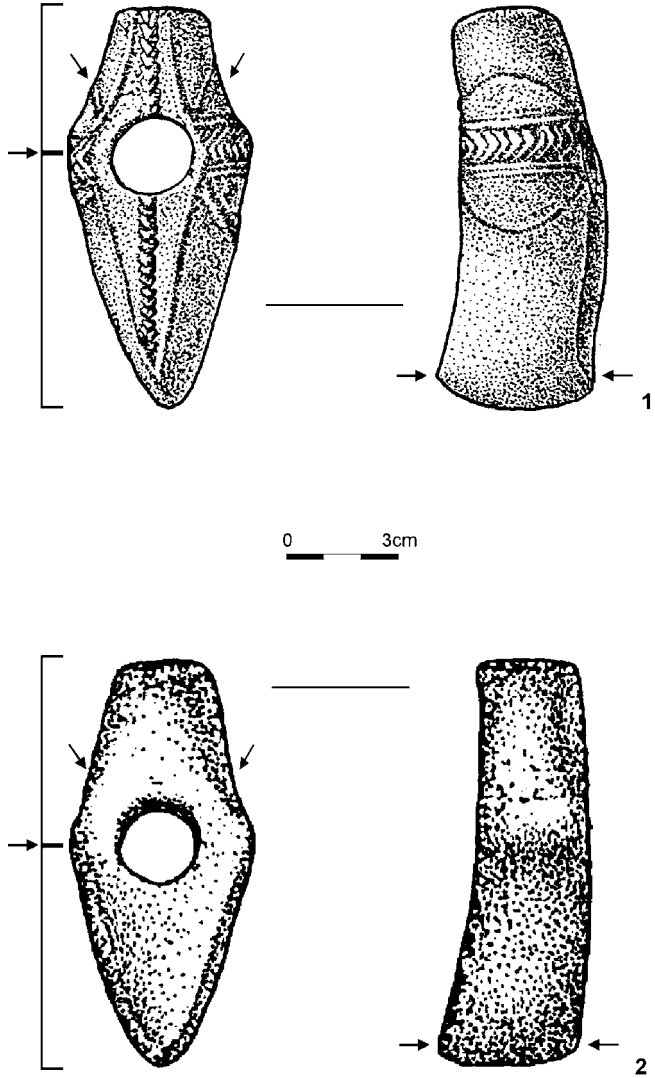


Fig. 11. A module of an Ingul type axe [see Klochko 2001a]

- the diagnostic characteristics are:
- a curved profile in side view with a slight broadening, one- or two-sided, next to the cutting edge, and
  - a short butt with concave walls when viewed from above (Fig. 11).



Battle-axes fitting into this morphological module were recorded in the drainages/valleys of the upper Boh (Vinnytsia region) and upper Bug (Lutsk region; former Chełm region) as well as on the middle (around Płock) and lower (between Gdańsk and Bydgoszcz) Vistula.

- In the Vinnytsia region at least five axes have been recorded (Fig. 12A) analogous to the ‘Ingul’ forms [see Klochko 2001a: Fig. 44-46; 2006: Fig. 41-43] (Fig. 12B). They have been recorded in museum collections (Pyatkivka, Bershad district; Kapustyani, Trostianets district; Strilniki, Tyvriv district; Tulchyn district and Vinnytsa region) and in the PLATAR collection [see Platar 2004] (Fig. 12A). From the Vinnytsia region there come a large number of axes typical of the CWC (Fig. 12C). It is obvious that in this area relatively intensive contacts of both cultural circles took place, with the southernmost finds of ‘Corred’ axes coming from the Bershad district. Hence, they were discovered close to CC cemeteries investigated by O.G. Shaposhnikova and G.T. Kovpanenko’s expedition to the Boh valley.
- In the Lutsk region (Volhynia) – right-bank Bug drainage – at least six axes have been recorded (Fig. 13) showing connections to both ‘Ingul’ forms [Klochko 2001a: Fig. 44; 2006: Fig. 41] and ‘Donets’ ones [Klochko 2001a: Fig. 36; 2006: 33]. They were found in the holdings of the following institutions: the Regional Museum and the Museum of the Lesya Ukrainka Volhynia State University in Lutsk as well as the District Museum in Lyuboml’ (Nesvizh & Peski, Horokiv district; Staryi Zagoriv, Lokachi district; Ludin Volodimir, Volodymyr Volhyniaski district; Liuboml’ district x 2).
- While investigating the area lying opposite, i.e. the left-bank Bug drainage, covering the former Chełm region, we encountered an exceptional situation where axe finds (Fig. 14) included in museum collections had been fully recorded on file. After a systematic review of all the collections, the files showed 16 forms that could be identified as ‘Catacomb’ or as imitating CC axes ([Bronicki 1991]: Okszów, Chełm commune – no. 5; Horeszkowice, Białopole commune – no. 9; Kopina, Cyców commune – no. 10; Rejowiec, Rejowiec commune – no. 13; Bachus Kolonia, Sawin commune – no. 15; Chełmiec, Kraśniczyn commune – no. 16; Husynne, Dorohusk commune – no. 17; Chełm, Chełmno commune – no. 20; Siedliszcze, Siedliszcze commune – no. 25; Klesztów, Żmudź commune – no. 29; Dobryłów, Ruda Huta commune – no. 30; Graniak, Urszulin commune – no. 32; Zakręcie, Krasnystaw commune – no. 36; Chutcze, Sawin commune – no. 38; Stupin Duży, Chełm commune – no. 39; Majdan Ostrowski, Wojsławice commune – no. 96). The data for the Chełm area should serve as a valuable clue as to the critical assessment of current research possibilities when source records are highly deficient along the studied ‘route’ [see also source records from Roztocze – the upper Wieprz valley in Balcer *et al.* 2002: Fig. 23, 42, 44, 45, 51, 52, 57, 59, 61].

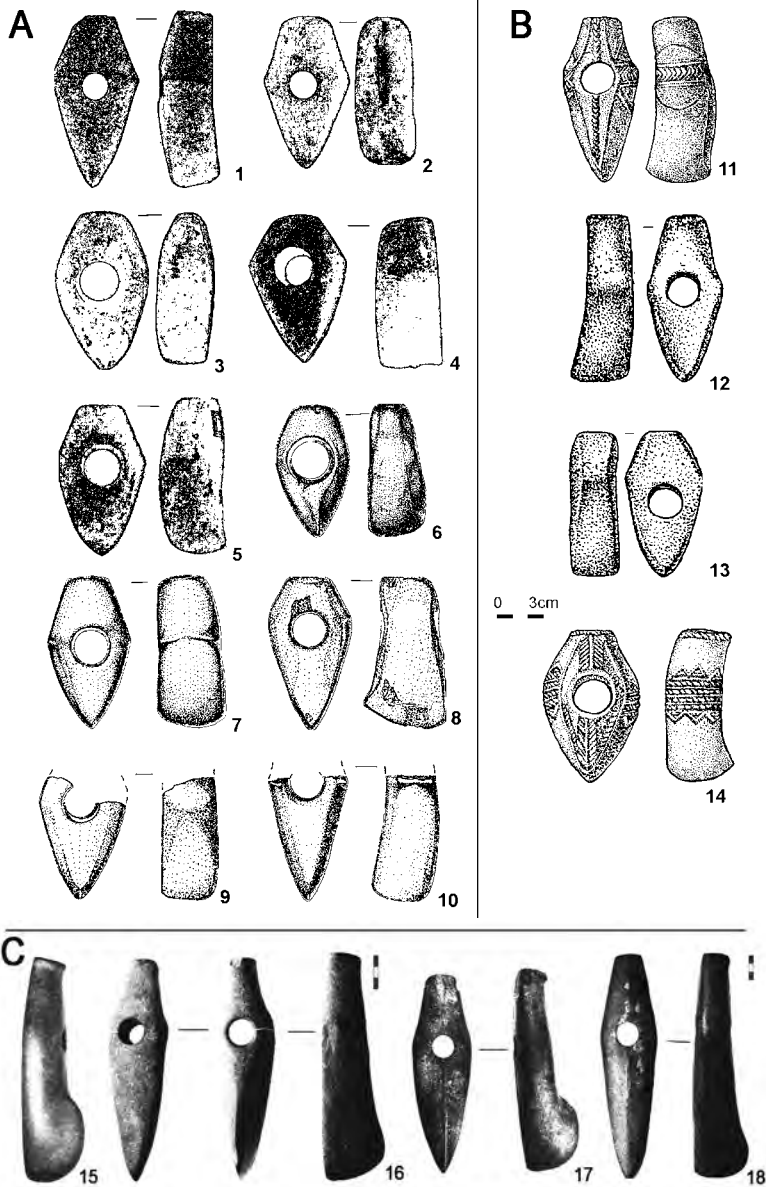


Fig. 12. Ingul type axes from the Vinnytsia region or hypothetically linked to this area – PLATAR collection (A). Analogies from the circle of the Catacomb culture (B) and neighbourhood forms from the circle of Corded Ware cultures (C) are included. A: 1- Kapustyani, Trostianets district; 2 – Pyatkivka, Bershada district; 3 – Tulchyn district; 4-5 Vynnytsia region; 6-10 – Strilniki, Tyrviv district. B: 11 – Shiroke 3.6, Kherson region; 12 – Holovkovka 6.6, Kirovohrad region; 13 – Holovkovka 3.4, Kirovohrad region; 14 – Zamozhne 5.2, Zaporizhzhia region. C: 15 – Vinnytsia region; 16 – Medzhybizh, Letychiv district; 17 – Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka district; 18 – Hnivan, Tyrviv district

- In central Powiśle or, more precisely, in the drainage of the Bzura River, a left-bank tributary of the Vistula, in museum collections (as a result of programme museum search), a single axe has been recorded (Łowicz, Łowicz commune; Fig. 15A) displaying hypothetical ‘Catacomb’ analogies (Fig. 15B).
- Far more analogies to CC forms are shown by axes yielded by the programme search of museums located along the Vistula valley, in lower Powiśle. At least five forms have been recorded (Toruń-Rozgarty, Toruń-Rozgarty commune; Bydgoszcz, Bydgoszcz commune; Kałdus, Chełmno commune; Komórsk, Warlubie commune; Gdańsk–Orunia, Gdańsk–Orunia commune; Fig. 16A), showing connections to both ‘Ingul’ [Klochko 2001a: Fig. 44; 2006: Fig. 41] and Donets [Klochko 2001a: Fig. 36; 2006: 33] forms (Fig. 16B).

Along the ‘route’ no ‘ceremonial items’ have been recorded – a form of axes known from the closest – ‘Ingul’ – variety of the CC. Their surface bore fluted and incised ornaments [Sharafutdinova 1980; Koško 2001: 60ff]. The functional position of all discussed objects fits roughly into an inter-regional module of battle-axes – in broad terms, markers of the rise of elites and chiefdoms (see section 4). It can be assumed that at least some of alleged ‘imports’ or imitations of ‘Ingul’ or ‘Donets’ battle-axes should mark the routes along which – in the territory of the central European CWC – traditions of Black Sea, specifically CC, elites spread. To verify this hypothesis, it is necessary, above all, to conduct specialist analyses (e.g. petro-archaeological ones) (Figs. 12-16).

In addition, to the societies of the YC/CC are linked two finds of metal battle-axes of the Pidlissya type, unearthed in the drainage of the San River at Rudna Mała and Munina, Sub-Carpathian region [Klochko 2001a: 124, Fig. 53:1, 3; 2006: Fig. 50:1, 3] (Fig. 10). It can be assumed that they are a reflection of an alternative Baltic-Pontic connection: the “San-Dniester”.

**ad.** Maces, or more specifically a special type of them with a fluted surface (type B), were recently (in 2002) thoroughly analyzed [Koško 2002]. The analysis revealed that these forms, inspired by power symbols originating with Near East civilizations, were first made – about the middle of the 3rd millennium BC – in the circle of the CC as prestige markers. They may have served a similar purpose to that of the ‘ceremonial’ examples of ‘Ingul’ axes. No direct confirmation is available still of the chronology of the beginning of their use in areas neighbouring on the CC, specifically in CWC environments (i.e. discoveries within assemblages) – certainly in the second half and at the end of the 3rd and in the early 2nd millennia BC. However, there have been significant amendments made to the list of fluted mace finds after 2002 (Fig. 17:6). When reanalyzed, it bears out a view that we have a significant and highly credible record of the course of early routes between the Baltic and Black seas. The communities of fluted mace users could have travelled from the circle of the CC to the agglomerations of the CWC circle along the following routes:

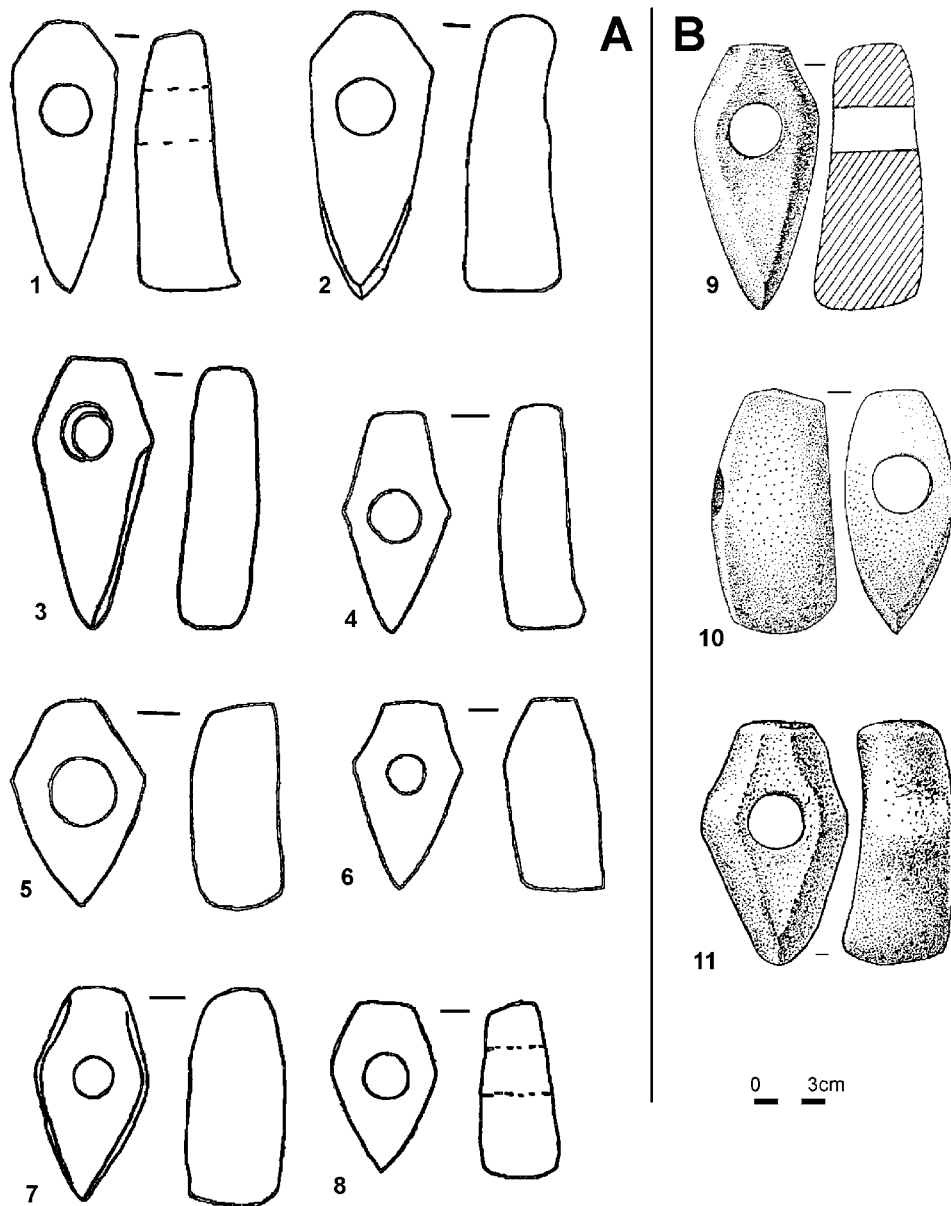


Fig. 13. Ingul- and Donets-type axes from the Lutsk /Volhynia/ region (A). Analogies from the circle of the Catacomb culture (B). A: 1-2 - Lutsk Regional Museum; 3 - Peski, Horokhiv district; 4 - Liuboml district; 5 - Liuboml Regional Museum; 6 - Nesvizh, Horokhiv district; 7 - Ludin, Volodymyr Volhyniaskyi district; 8 - Staryi Zahoriv, Lokachi district. B: 9 - Bubnova Slobidka 8.2, Cherkasy region; 10 - Donskiy 5.29, Rostov region; 11 - Vinogradne 32.10, Zaporizhzhia region

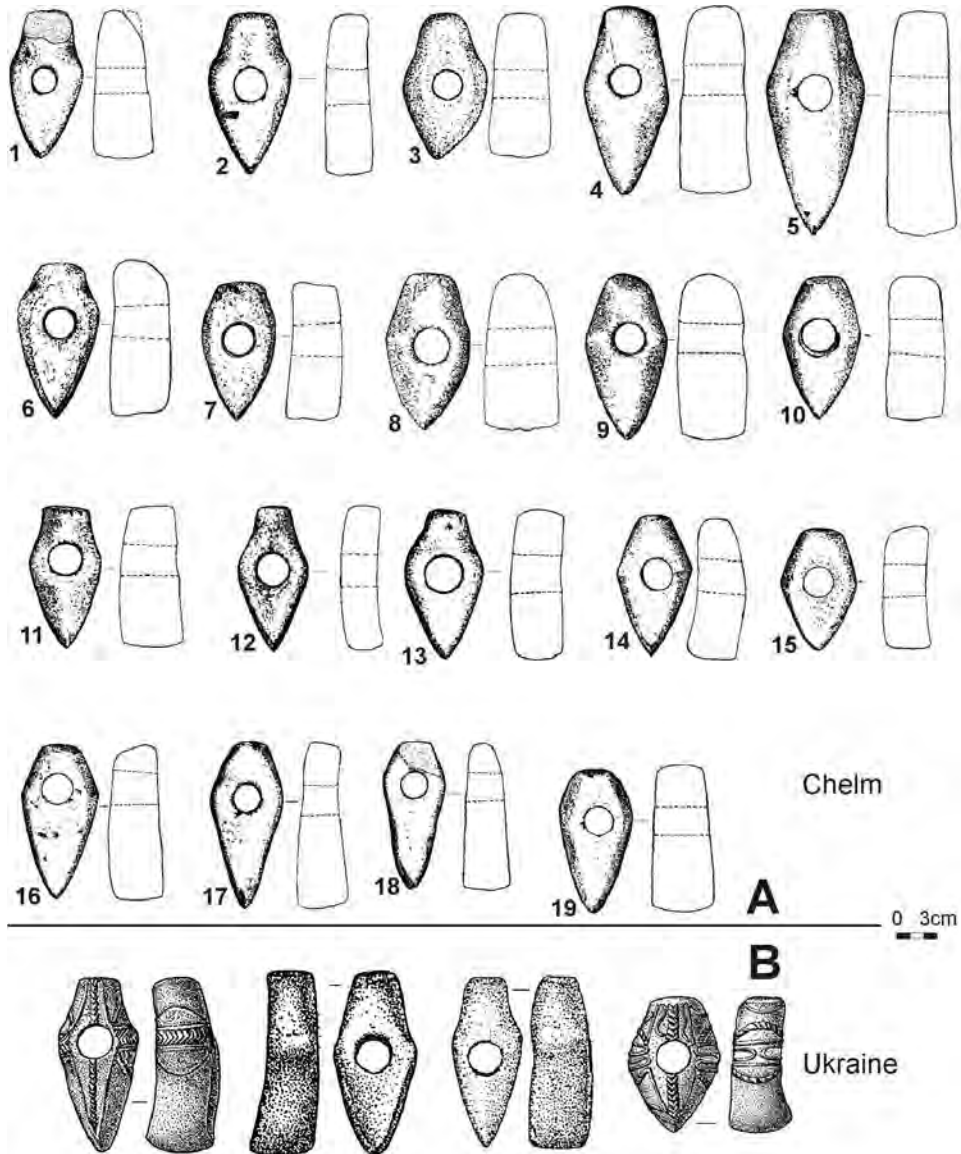


Fig. 14. Ingul type axes from the former Chełm region (A). Analogies from the circle of the Catacomb culture (B). A: 1 - Okszków commune Chełm; 2 - Rejowiec, Rejowiec commune; 3 - Husynne, Dorohusk commune; 4-5 - district Krasnystaw; 6 - Chełm; 7 - Bachus Kolonia, Sawin commune; 8 - Chełmie, Kraśniczyn commune; 9 - Zakręcie, Krasnystaw commune; 10 - Majdan Ostrowski, Wojstawice commune; 11 - Siedliszcze, Siedliszcze commune; 12 - Horoszkowice, Białopole commune; 13 - Kopina, Cyców commune; 14 - Chutcze, Sawin commune; 15 - Strupie Duży, Chełm commune; 16 - Klesztów, Żmudź commune; 17 - Dobryłów, Ruda Huta commune; 18 - Grabniak, Urszulin commune; 19 - Krasnystaw, Krasnystaw commune B: See 12B

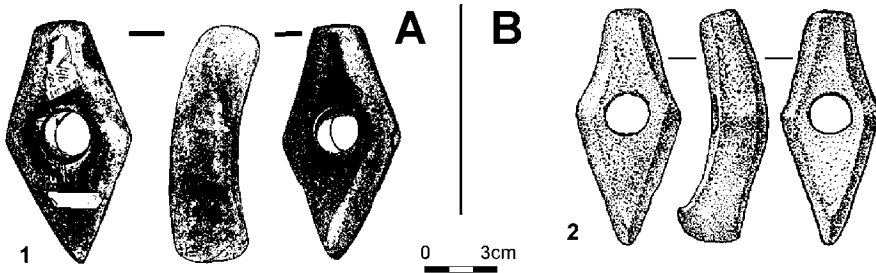


Fig. 15. Ingul type axes from central Powiśle: the Bzura drainage (A). Analogies from the circle of the Catacomb culture (B). A: 1 – Łowicz, Łowicz commune. B: 2 – Zamozhne 8.1, Zaporizhzhia region

- \* Boh — Bug — Wieprz — Vistula (upper and lower);
- \* Dnieper (Ingul — Dnieper) — Pripet — Bug — Vistula;
- \* Dnieper (Ingul — Dnieper) — Bjarezina — Neman [Koško 2002: 71].

Fluted maces acquired a new dimension and new applications in the drainages of the Vistula, Oder and Morava rivers as well as on the middle Danube. They began to be used as position markers of local communities – of the Western Trzciniec and Tumulus cultures – participating in exchange programmes along north-south routes joining the Baltic drainage to the middle Danube; one of the goods so distributed was amber [cf. the background of finds of amber ornaments in Bukowski 2002: Map 1]. This annexation of a Pontic insignia began with ca. 17th century BC and proceeded rather dynamically, which can be seen in the most recent discoveries made in central Poland. However, there are no satisfactory analytical mechanisms to pinpoint the differences in its use in both route systems: Baltic-Pontic and Baltic-Danube [cf. division of type B into subtypes B1-B4: Koško 2002: Fig. 2] (Fig. 17:2-5). Also, one should not ignore a hypothesis that both systems were interconnected, if only partially.

**ae-ag.** The assemblages defined earlier as occasional are, in this approach, seeds of broader micro-spatial phenomena – hypothetical taxa ('site types'), a more detailed description of which is not possible at present (Fig. 18).

**ae.** Łasin 2. (Chełmno Land). On one of the islands on Lake Łasin – presumably in a post-ritual arrangement – ceramic objects exhibiting traits 'alien' to the local environment of the Chełmno Land were recorded, namely, a female figurine and fragments of two vessels bearing 'corded' ornaments [Kirkowski 1984]. The figurine – relying on formal analogies – was related to the simplification trend in the figurative art of the Tripolye culture (Serezliyevkia type), suggesting a connection to a rather indeterminate, syncretic population of 'Tripolye-steppe'. If one accepts the hypothesis that it was made in 'the final period of the Tripolye culture's lifetime' then its origins will have to be placed in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC.

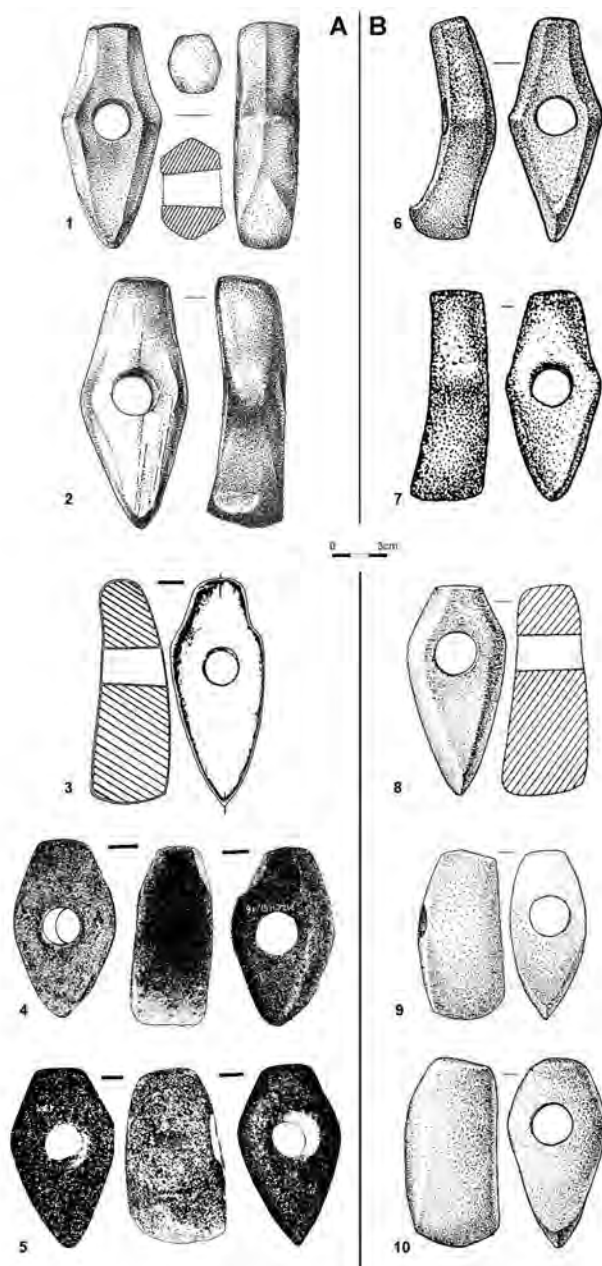


Fig. 16. Ingul type axes from the lower Powiśle (A). Analogies from the circle of the Catacomb culture (B). A: 1 – Gdańsk-Orunia, Gdańsk-Orunia commune; 2 – Toruń-Rozgarty, Toruń-Rozgarty commune; 3 – Bydgoszcz, Bydgoszcz commune; 4 – Kałdus, Chełmno commune; 5 – Komorsk, Warlubie commune; B: 6 – Zamozhne 8.1, Zaporizhzhia region; 7 – Golovkovka 6.6, Kirovohrad region; 8 – Bubnova Slobidka 8.2, Cherkassy region; 9 – Donskiy 5.29, Rostov region; 10 – Zlatopol 25.15, Zaporizhzhia region

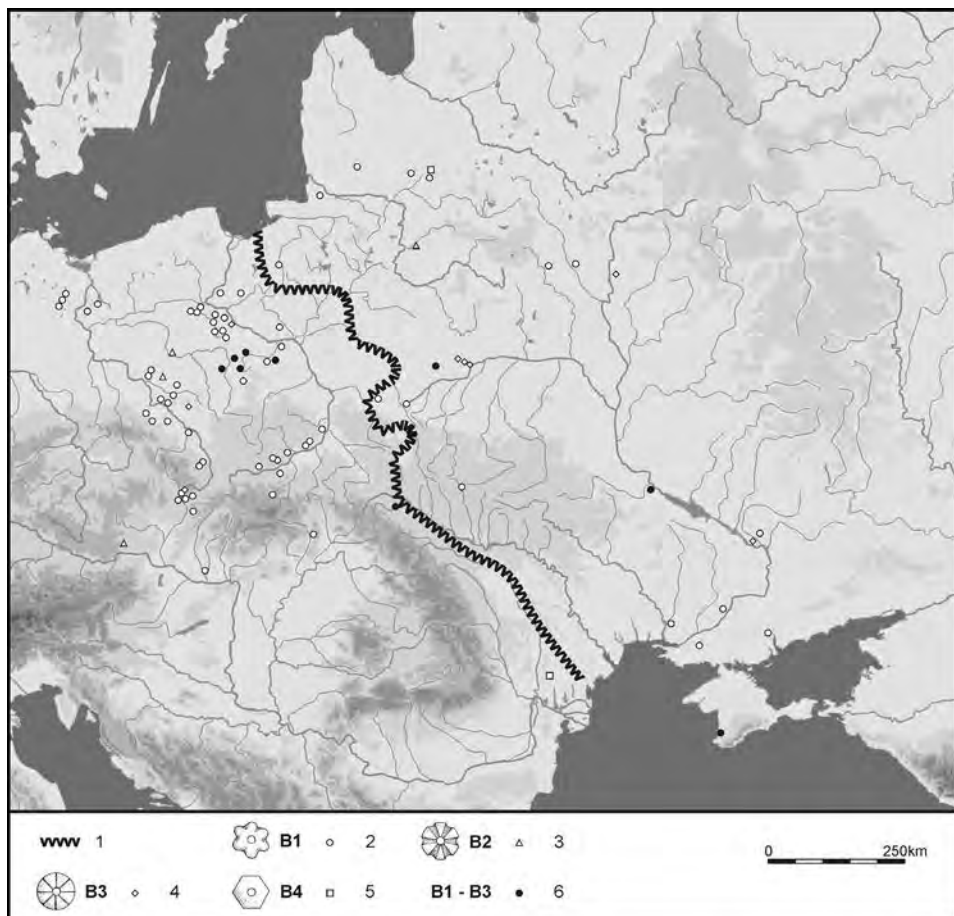


Fig. 17. Distribution of stone fluted maces. Legend: 1 – physiographic frontier between the West and East of Europe; 2-5 – localities where specific types of fluted maces were found [Koško 2002]; 6 – localities of the latest finds of fluted maces (museum identifications; published after Koško 2002)

In the case of vessels, ‘both technology and the type of cord used for making ornaments’ pointed to the CWC (of its late stage). Specific vessel forms, however, bore no analogy to any materials from the Chelmno Land or adjacent areas. Nevertheless, the similarity of their technology with that of the figurine made R. Kirkowski ‘look for analogies among Ukrainian groups of the CWC or the decline Tripolye culture’ (this was particularly true for the so-called northern group in T.G. Movsha’s approach).

Suggestive analogies to the object from Łasin seem to be supplied by more recent investigations of a settlement at Pribierezhnoe on the Vislinskiy Zaliv, Sambia,



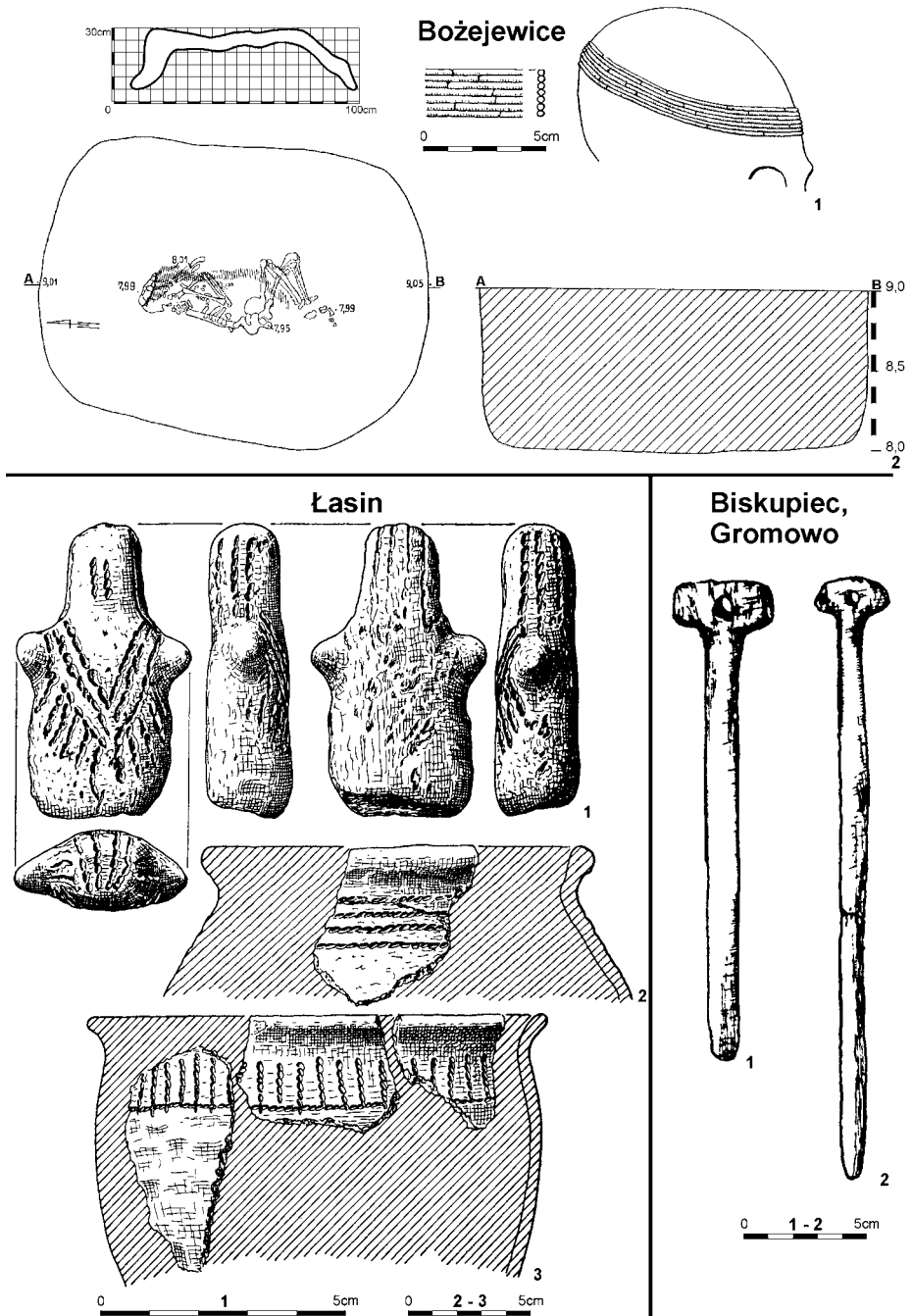


Fig. 18. 'Pontic' traits at Late Neolithic sites in the Baltic drainage basin ('incidental sites'/site types): Bożejewice, Łasin, Biskupiec, Gromowo [Okulicz 1973; Koško, Kločko 1991; Koško 1992]

carried out by E. Zalcman. A new pottery style has been identified there, characterized by complex cord patterns, closely resembling – in our opinion – the ornament convention of the ‘northern group’ of the decline Tripolye culture [Zalcman 2004: Fig. 117-118]. However, making the chronology and topogenesis of the ‘Pribierzhnoe type’ more specific calls for broader, interregional studies concentrated on the frontier between the drainages of the Baltic and Black seas.

**af.** Bożejewice 8 (Kujawy). On a chernozem plain of the Kujawy Upland, a circular barrow was discovered over a grave of a woman 25-30 years old [Koško, Kločko 1991]. The grave pit is unusual because of its Yamnaya form: it is rectangular when viewed from above, measuring 245×185 cm and 100 cm deep. The body had been placed along the north-south axis in a ‘slightly flexed’ position – in type C position according to A. Häusler. The grave goods included a copper diadem (made up of seven cords-tubes 2.7-3.0 mm in diameter) and a wooden object identified as a composite bow. The wood of the bow was subjected to a <sup>14</sup>C analysis, which yielded a result of ca. 2700-2600 BC. The feature has no close analogies. The structure of the grave chamber and mound could point to – in the closest range – a group of Małopolska CWC mounds, while a broader, Pontic-steppe context of these traits was mentioned earlier in item aa. The copper diadem of a ‘band-cord’ type was made of ‘Balkan-Carpathian’ copper (i.e. without a significant content of arsenic). From the formal perspective, prototypes of such artefacts should be looked for among ornaments using copper tubes recorded among the pre-Yamnaya groups of the Northern Pontic Area. The closest analogy – in terms of design and chronology – to the diadem may be a band from Strelica – of the ‘band-cord’ type as well – associated with the late phase of the MDC (from ca. 2100 BC). Also in the case of the hypothetical composite bow, the range of genetic suggestions covers analogies from the Pontic area (for Pontic specimens of hypothetical prototypes of the Bożejewice composite bow see Natalivka – Lower Mikhailovka culture or Zvanec – TC [Koško, Kločko 1991: 127ff]).

**ag.** Biskupiec-Gromowo and Machovoje (the area between the Vistula and Neman rivers). In the CWC culture settlement concentration on the south-eastern shores of the Baltic, known as the Masurian group, a synthesis of patterns coming from diverse regions was observed. This applies to both corded circle traits – both central and eastern European – and taxa associated with the circle of comb-impressed cultures [Okulicz 1973: 108ff; Machnik 1979b: 364ff]. The beginnings of the complex are currently dated to the 4th/3rd-3rd millennium BC, most certainly to the period from 2800 to 2200 BC [cf. Matuszewska 2007]. It must be observed that the state of exploration of the ‘Masurian group’ is highly unsatisfactory, which must affect presented opinions [cf. lately Sobieraj 2004; Zalcman 2004]. In the set of exogenous traits, our attention is drawn to objects coming from graves and associated primarily with the Middle Dnieper culture and secondarily with ‘steppe-Caucasian’ cultures. These are: bone hammerhead pins (Biskupiec, Varmia-Masuria region; Gromowo,

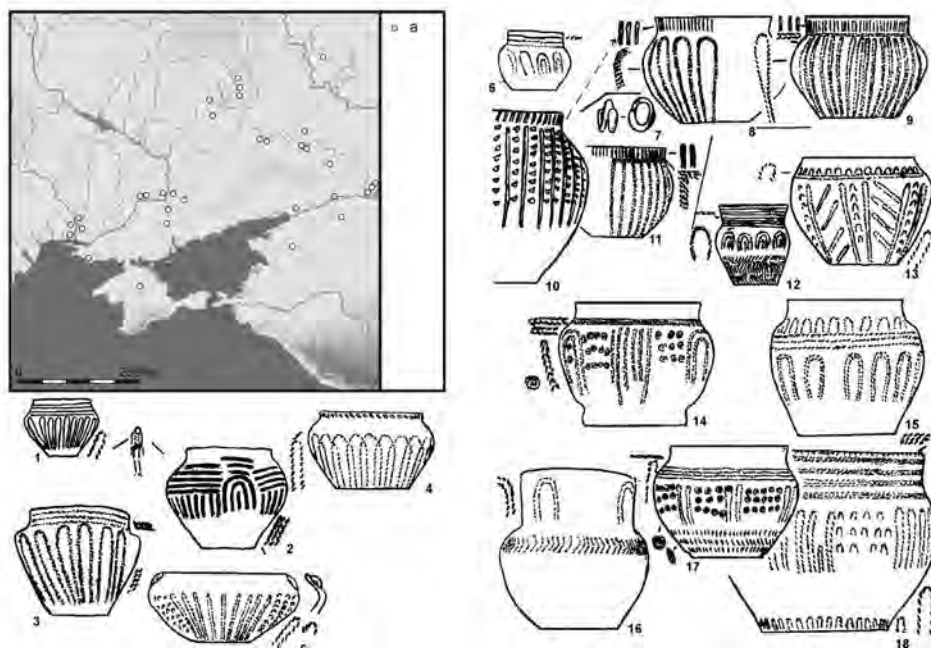


Fig. 19. Catacomb culture sites with pottery identified as 'ornamentation baroque' (a) [Bratchenko 2007]

Sovietsk district) and a pot decorated with a broad band of horizontal lines of chevron impressions (Mochovoye, Primorsk district). The list is being continually expanded (communication from J. Sobieraj – a paper delivered at the seminar organized by Prof. J. Machnik in Igołomia in 2002). There are two versions of the route along which the traits could have reached Sambia:

\* Dnieper – Pripet – drainages of the Vistula or Neman [cf. Lakiza 2004: 183 – Podgornaya group] and

\* Boh – Bug – Wieprz (Sokalska group) – lower Vistula (see Gzin near Chełmno).

**b.** The list of cord traits in the drainages of the Boh – Dnieper – Donets is made up of (**ba**) stylistic traits of pottery (**bb**) axes and (**bc**) amber artefacts.

**ba.** Of particular interest is the style of CC grave pottery, defined as baroque, recorded primarily in the area occupied by the Donets-Don group but encountered also in the drainage of the Boh, i.e. within the range of the Ingul group. In total, 39 sites have been recorded with pottery bearing baroque ornament patterns and dated to the decline of the middle phase of the CC. They are considered an exogenous phenomenon linked, in general, to the Caucasus [Bratchenko 2007: 103ff]. One of

the markers of the style is a segmented pattern of vertical lines, ending in loops and made using cord impressions (Fig. 19). Looking for the origins of this pattern, S.N. Bratchenko [Bratchenko 2007: 104, 109] notices analogies to the central European CWC and epi-Corded Mierzanowice culture. Taking up the suggestion, it must be said that in central Europe belly ornaments of vertical cord lines, ending in loops, are a continuation of crescent ornaments. The former appeared first in the middle Elbe drainage in the CWC and on the Oder in the GAC (phase IIIa) in the late first half of the 3rd millennium BC [Czebreszuk, Szmyt 1992: 113]. However, they developed rapidly outside of the Lowlands, in the drainage of the upper and middle Vistula, precisely in the area occupied by the Carpathian Cultural Circle, after 2300/2200 BC [Kadrow 1991: 43ff, Tab. I-VI; Kadrow, Machnik 1997].

**bb.** CWC axes were recorded in the Boh drainage, in the whole Vinnytsia region, from the localities of Zhmerynka in the north-west to Bershad in the south, on the border with the Mykolaiv region, i.e. not far from CC cemeteries, investigated by the expedition of O.G. Shaposhnikova and G.T. Kovpanenko (Fig. 12 C). What's interesting is the fact that relatively many CWC axes were recorded – as loose finds – also in the Donetsk region (Amvrosiivka; Mariupol; Mikolayivka; Stepanivka; Temryuk; Volodarsk district; Museum in Mariupol) [see Catalogue 1993: no. 61, 62, 63, 64, 78, 79, 81, 113]. The area produced also 'corded' axes found in the graves of the 'Donets' CC (Donsiy 5.29; Kamyanka 4.2.9; Kamyanka-Dniprovska; Noviy Aksay [Klochko 2001a: Fig. 35-36; 2006: Fig. 32-33]). The forms mentioned here have close analogies at the eastern frontier of the CWC circle (e.g. Dashava; Khmilova; Klimivci; Kolokolins; Krilos – “Nastina Mogila”; Zdovbtsya [see Klochko 2001a: Fig. 50-51; 2006: 47-48]).

**bc.** Amber artefacts were found in the drainage of the Donets River, on the Krasnaya River [Novonikolskoye by Krasnorechensk, grave 1/6; Bratchenko, Shvecov 1991: Figs. 9, 6]. The axe-like beads that have been recorded here show close affinities with Proto-Bronze and Early Bronze forms known from Kujawy (class 1CV – ‘in the shape of a pentagonal axe’ according to R.F. Mazurowski), i.e. dated to the period after 2300/2200 BC [Dobre, Wąsosz; Mazurowski 1983: 30; Bukowski 2002: Figs. 20, 21] (Fig. 20).

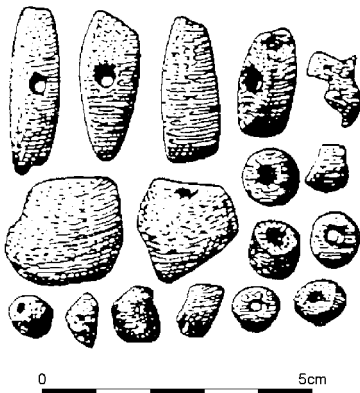
## 5. THE SOCIETIES OF THE ROUTE COMMUNITY OF CORDED WARE, YAMNAYA AND CATACOMB CULTURES

Generally speaking, CWC and YC/CC societies must be regarded as quasi- or early pastoralist [for the most recent treatments of the subject see: Pustovalov 1994; 2005; Kruk, Milisauskas 1999; Kruk 2004; Machnik 2004; Włodarczak 2006]. Both

## Dobre



## Wąsosz



## Novonikolskoye

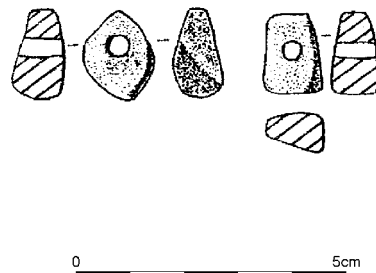


Fig. 20. Axe-shaped amber beads from the Baltic drainage basin (Dobre, Wąsosz) and from the CC steppe zone in the Donets drainage (Novonikolskoye) [foll. Bratchenko, Shvecov 1991; Bukowski 2002]

taxa, identified as grave cultures, supply little information that could help in a detailed reconstruction of their economies [this is particularly true for CWC: Kruk, Milisauskas 1999: 249ff]. This fact imposes certain limitations on their socio-organizational interpretation as well. Keeping in mind a broader context of observations made across Europe, one should associate the times of CWC and YC/CC development (3rd millennium BC) with the prologue of the rise of permanently stratified societies [Czebreszuk 2001a: 37ff; Włodarczak 2006: 152].

There were two major processes that contributed then to hierarchy building. First, exchange of goods became professionalized and, second, conflicts over the protection of goods and herds became more frequent, leading to the rise of a new social category: elites of warriors. In the case of quasi- and early pastoralist societies special attention is drawn to chiefdoms.

\* However, no traces of their presence are found in Corded groups in the Vistula drainage. In respect of the Old Upland CWC – or rather its Małopolska groups – P. Włodarczak says that ‘there are absolutely no archaeological data that would testify to the existence of such a system’ [Włodarczak 2006: 153]. A similar opinion can be found with respect to the societies of the Lowland CWC (in the area remaining under the influence of the Single Grave culture) in J. Czebreszuk [Czebreszuk 2001a: 187]: ‘they can be called the most simple variety of ranked communities’. A comparative analysis of grave-good inventories from the areas in question does not yield, in principle, any chieftain burials; a constant package of grave-goods dominates. In the case of few departures from the norm, as for instance in the case of prestige markers found among the grave-goods of a child burial (*Infans* I) from Krusza Zamkowa 3, Inowrocław district, Kujawy, (2850-2700 BC), attention is drawn to its exogenous traits, namely, Pontic linked to the YC funerary traditions (Yamnaya grave chamber, arrangement of the body [Kośko 1992]). Similar topogenetic observations (suggesting CC funerary traditions) are induced by a barrow grave from Pałecznicza on the Miechów Upland. A catacomb explored there was a large room (3 × 4 m) about 3 m high, fitted with posts supporting the ceiling. It contained a body (with no traces of permanent offerings) of an elderly man (60-70 years). The grave had been covered with a mound surrounded by a palisade of oak posts 30-40 cm in diameter. Relying on the identification, J. Kruk and S. Milisauskas [Kruk, Milisauskas 1999: 258] draw a conclusion that ‘the dimensions of the structure and the effort that must have been put in to build it testify to the high status of the individual buried in it, possibly exceeding the kin group’.

The cited cases seem to corroborate the hypothesis that Pontic, steppe societies (YC-CC) could have inspired not only radical changes in the funerary rite (barrows with circular mounds, grave chambers both pit and catacomb ones, some grave-goods; section 4) but also a remodelling of social structures [Włodarczak 2006: 157].

\* The Pontic centres located along the Bug-Boh route are characterized by a different, considerably more advanced, state of social stratification [Pustovalov 1994; 2005; Krywalcewicz 2007: 92ff]. This can be seen in both the clear category of shepherds-warriors (see scale of weapons production, hypothesis about ‘unstable politico-military structures’) and economic specialization (cf. graves of metallurgists – Fig. 8:4) in both western (Ingul) and eastern (Donets) CC and the late YC, defined jointly as a broader ‘North-Pontic, ethnopolitical community’ [Pustovalov 1992].

## 6. GENERATORS AND MECHANISMS OF ROUTE OPERATION. AN ATTEMPT AT CONCLUSIONS.

Beginning with ca. 2900/2800 BC and especially with the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, when the societies of the ‘eastern European’ CWC were replacing the GAC (2500-2300 BC) in contacts with the civilization centres of the Northern Pontic Area, we see a rapid development of a bilateral system of migration initiatives or cooperative relationships commence between the societies of the west and east, with the latter being clearly more active. Direct observations concern the increase in the bilateral reception of objects or ritual norms. It can be assumed that we also see then the rudiments of the route from the Baltic through the Bug and Boh rivers to the Black Sea. Its development rested on long-distance migration programmes manifesting the ideological (‘occasional’) needs of rudimentary, narrow elites. In the Vistula drainage, they took shape in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC being related to an earlier influx of exogenous communities from the Black Sea (cf. Bożejewice type) into the area. The ‘occasional’ needs must have concerned different values. Relying solely on material sources (i.e. archaeologically identifiable), it is difficult to reconstruct clearly a system of their application (preferences, equivalents). This is true for a wide gamut of artefacts made of flint, stone, amber, copper and glass-faience [see Balcer 1981; 1983; Mazurowski 1983; Klochko, Stolpiak 1995; Petrougne 1995; Chachlikowski 1996; Rola 2006: 114, footnote 14; Czebreszuk 2007]. A separate issue is the question of ‘material evidence’ of salt import [see salt deposits around the neck of the Crimea known as ‘Syvash salt’ – Koško 2002: 70, or at the mouth of the Boh – cf. J. Boltryk . . . , in this volume]. What we lack is relevant (interdisciplinary) studies how to identify ‘raw material-object’ imports; it does not seem, however, that this was the principal object of their bilateral interests. We need to work on the assumption that along the frontier such ‘imports’ were an addition to archaeologically discreet values understood within the kinship system and taking into account the cycle following a ritual calendar. What’s more, a syntactic assessment of recognizable source inspirations is not possible, which would be helpful in

the process of necessary selection of an anthropological module – a framework for the interpretation of archaeological data referred to earlier. As a helpful hint may possibly serve a female motif found in settlement rituals (Łasin – a ritual place on an island) and the funerary rite (Bożejewice – grave under a barrow).

\* CWC settlers reached the middle Dnieper along the Volhynia route (along the northern limit of the forest-steppe), later taking part in the development of the northern frontier of the YC on the Dnieper (Volodarka type, Kiev region). It is hard to tell now how far the process corresponds, in terms of its course and final culture-making structure, with, contemporaneous and much better explored, the southern module of the CWC-YC synthesis. The module was based on the Dniester route, known as the syncretic Budzhak group (Odessa region). The third of the Pontic ‘corded’ routes interesting us here, the Volhynia-Podolia one, with the Boh valley tentatively assumed to be a direction marker, led to the communities of the CC Ingul group. There is no taxonomic evidence for a possible ‘synthesis’ of the CWC-CC. An important hint for tracing its course is MDC traits recorded on the Boh River. This may indicate a need to include in the picture the mediation of the said societies in the building of ties between the central European CWC and Ingul CC, and the creative role of the Sokalska group (CWC/MDC) as a stage coupler. From the upper Wieprz drainage, patterns could have radiated that were successively transmitted to the south-east, towards the Dnieper and Boh rivers, and to the north-east, towards the lower Vistula (e.g. a ‘middle Dnieper’ beaker from Gzin by Chełmno).

\* Reciprocating western migrations of YC and CC populations can be especially easily identified in the region of Roztocze (Sokalska Group where apart from ‘Middle Dniester’ patterns, we encounter ‘Pontic’ traits of catacomb chambers) and in the settlement centres of the middle and lower Vistula drainage: Sandomierz Upland (Złota phenomenon), Kujawy (Bożejewice type – possibly evidence of a syncretic CWC/YC society?), Chełmno Land (Łasin type), Masuria Lake District and Sambia (Biskupiec type: Gromowo, Makovoye or Gzin by Chełmno already cited a few times earlier). This set of areas can be considered as evidence of continuation – the use of a mental map of the Baltic drainage basin from the 4th millennium BC [see Mątwy group of the FBC – Koško 2003a: Fig. 8].

A share in the piecing together of the Bug-Boh route could have belonged, on the part of the Vistula basin CWC, to barely emerging elites, undoubtedly forming under the inspiration of Pontic patterns (settlers?) (after ca. 2900/2800 BC – Bożejewice type). With no signs of status inheritance and relative demographic paucity of the society, which had a network-like structure, its operative elements could not have numbered more than 25 people. From the perspective of the Northern Pontic Area, the seeds of Baltic migrations could have been sowed by the culturally syncretic societies (CWC/YC) mentioned earlier that had long experience in the cultivation of bilateral – Baltic-Pontic – contacts. All the typo-chronological



data point to the second half – mainly the final part – of the 3rd millennium BC as the time span for the phenomenon.

Still, the use of experience of the 3rd millennium BC in the ‘Early Bronze’ cultures of the 2nd millennium BC remains an issue in controversy. In the structure of the societies of the Trzcinec Cultural Circle there are no signs of clear elites. Hence, it is difficult to identify the mechanisms of handing down the ‘route experience’. One should note, however, that the clearest manifestations of the route ought to be dated to the middle of the 2nd – early 1st millennium BC, i.e. to the period documented by the elite cemetery at Hordeevka [Berezanskaya, Kločko 1998; Ślusarska. . . , in this volume]. This opinion is elaborated on in the latest – still unpublished – results of investigations held in the Vinnytsia region.

*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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153	Koško, Szmyt 2007	Marciniak 2004
526	Koško A., Szmyt M.  2004a <i>Nomadyzm a pastoralizm w międzyrzeczu Wisły i Dniepru</i> . Archeologia Bimaris 3. Poznań.	Koško A., Szmyt M.  2004a (Eds) <i>Nomadyzm a pastoralizm w międzyrzeczu Wisły i Dniepru</i> . Archeologia Bimaris 3. Poznań.
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