

EXCHANGES BETWEEN SYNCRETIC GROUPS FROM THE MAZURY LAKE DISTRICT IN NORTHEAST POLAND AND EARLY BRONZE AGE COMMUNITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

DARIUSZ MANASTERSKI

Abstract

At the end of the Neolithic and during the Early Bronze Age, trans-regional exchange networks were already functioning in Europe, many of them covering the entire continent. One consequence of them was the rise of multi-directional ties between groups, and exchange on a scale which transcended individual culture groups. One exchange route that was in existence at the end of the Neolithic was associated with the distribution of amber. It followed the line of the River Vistula, from the Bay of Gdańsk to its headwaters. During the Early Bronze Age, this situation underwent a change. Drawing on older and more recent findings from the Mazury Lake District, I have tried to make the case for the existence during this period of an alternative communication route which traversed the Mazury region of northeast Poland.

Key words: Early Bronze Age, Mazury Lake District, routes of exchange, culture syncretism.

Introduction

There is no longer reason to doubt that the Early Bronze Age was a period of the emergence of a trans-regional network of exchange, with many routes running across the entire continent (Clark 1957, pp.217-234; Gimbutas 1965, p.32ff; Machnik 1978, p.19ff, Fig. 7; Koško 1979, p.152; 2001, p.283ff; 2002, p.66ff; Fogel 1983, p.149ff, Fig. 1-2; Bukowski 1998). It was associated mainly with a general demand for metal ores needed to make bronze, obtainable from unevenly distributed deposits (Fogel 1983, Fig. 1), salt, an essential foodstuff and curing agent (Kaczanowska 1989, p.354), and 'prestige objects' made of, for example, stone, flint and amber. A consequence of this situation was the rise of multi-directional ties between groups and, with time, usually changes on a scale which transcended individual culture groups (Kadrow 2001, p.19ff). However, it remains an open question whether during the Early Bronze Age this development included the region to the east of the middle and lower reaches of the River Vistula, areas on the periphery of the agrarian world at the time.¹

General questions

There is evidence of mutual ties which linked Rzucewo culture with Złota culture and made use of the Vistula as an artery of communication (Mazurowski 1983; 1987; 1987a, 1989; 2006, p.105ff; Bukowski 2002).

¹ As posited by J. Dąbrowski (1997, p.88), in NE Poland the Early Bronze Age is confined between ca. 1950 and ca. 1370 BC.

Also observed during the Early Bronze Age is a shift in the direction of contact between the late Rzucewo culture communities settled on the Bay of Gdańsk who supplied the amber, and the people who were recipients of this resource. There is ample evidence in archaeology on exchanges between late Rzucewo culture and Unetice (Únětice) culture (Okulicz 1973, p.162ff; Koško 1979, p.183ff; Cofta-Broniewska, Koško 1982, p.1291ff; Bokiniec 1995; Czebreszuk 1996, p.197ff; Makarowicz 1998, p.253ff; Mazurowski 2006, pp.103-111), and also on the role of Iwno culture as an intermediary in this exchange. The most likely equivalent exchanged for amber would have been Unetice bronzes, in particular ingot torcs, axes and halberds. If we are to accept this assumption, we would also have to recognise that most of these bronzes remained with the major intermediaries, and only a small portion reached the lesser intermediaries and the communities which supplied the raw amber. This is suggested by the distribution of these finds in the littoral zone: from the mouth of the Vistula as far as Sambia, and their corresponding distribution on Iwno culture territory (Dąbrowski 1968, Map 1; 2004, Map 1-2; Sarnowska 1969, pp.27-352; 1975, pp.90-101; Blajer 1990).

The essence

The archaeological material in question and its distribution suggest potential directions of the influx of objects associated mainly with the Unetice culture and Iwno culture environment, that is, produced in the Early Bronze Age style, corresponding to objects

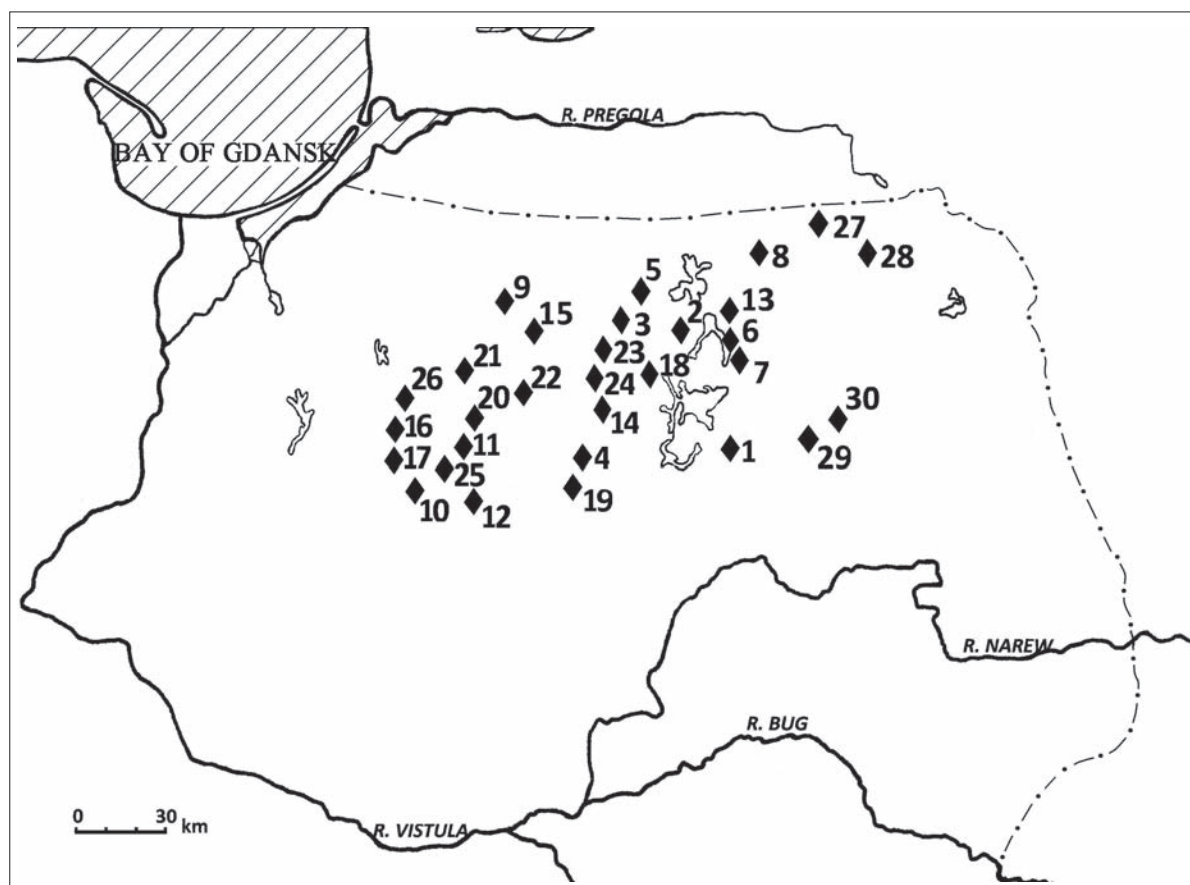


Fig. 1. Finds of Early Bronze Age prestige objects (in bronze 1-9; flint 11, 15-20; stone 11; 21, 22; amber 10-14), and pottery vessels (11, 23-30) from the same period. Location sites: 1 Rybitwy, Pisz commune; 2 Sterławki Wielkie, Giżycko commune; 3 Kętrzyn; 4 Stare Kiejkuty, Szczytno commune; 5 Mażany, Kętrzyn commune; 6 Lipińskie, Miłki commune; 7 Malinka, Wydminy commune; 8 Grunajki, Banie commune; 9 Połapin, Kiwity commune; 10 Domkowo, Gierzwałd commune; 11 Ząbie, Olsztynek commune; 12 Nidzica; 13 Kruklanki; 14 Sąklity, Mrągowo commune; 15 Czerwonka, Biskupiec commune; 16-17 near Ostróda; 18 Żelwagi, Mikołajki commune; 19 Szczytno; 20 Trękus, Purda commune; 21 Barkweda, Dywity commune; 22 Barczewo; 23 Szestno, Mrągowo commune; 24 Wyszembork, Mrągowo commune; 25 Pluski, Stawiguda commune; 26 Woryty, Gietrzwałd commune; 27 Gołdap; 28 Motule Stare, Filipów commune; 29 Skaje-Balcer, Szczuczyn commune; 30 Grajewo.

II

PEOPLE
AT THE
CROSSROADS
OF SPACE
AND TIME

manufactured in the Proto-Mierzanowice phase of Mierzanowice culture. The small number of finds attributed to this environment (Fig. 1), bronzes, worked amber, insignia objects of flint and stone, intimate the existence of an alternative route of exchange linking Iwno culture communities with late Rzucewo culture groups in the eastern area of its distribution range. The existence of economic exchange of this sort is admitted by E. Šturms (1936, p.123ff), A. Koško (1979, p.183ff; 2002, Fig. 22), A. Cofta-Broniewska and A. Koško (1982, p.129ff), P. Makarowicz (1998, p.253ff), and, more recently, D. Manasterski (2009, p.145ff).

An important point in this discussion is to establish the details of the exchange in question. Bronze, as one of the standard equivalents for amber,² in this case should not really be taken into account, although this does

² For more on this subject, see Koško (1979, p.129ff); Bokiniec (1995); Czebreszuk (1996, p.197ff); Makarowicz (1998, p.253ff).

not mean to say that, on rare occasions, exchange of this sort could have taken place. On one hand, this is supported by the scarcity of bronze finds in the study area; on the other, by the fact that, according to universal opinion, it was the Iwno culture community that received payment from Unetice culture in the form of bronze objects. Therefore, it appears unlikely that these valuable objects, with some exceptions, would have been allowed to leave the community. This leaves open the question of payment. It seems rational to suppose that it could have been made in salt, which was prized as much as amber. This resource was available in the lowland zone in the Kujawy region (Koško 1979, p.152; Bukowski 1988, pp.111-128; Kaczanowska 1989, p.356). Despite the lack of conclusive evidence on local salt extraction during prehistory, we can consider the existence of saline springs, for example in the region of today's Inowrocław (Koško 1979, p.152). These could have been used to obtain salt in a process

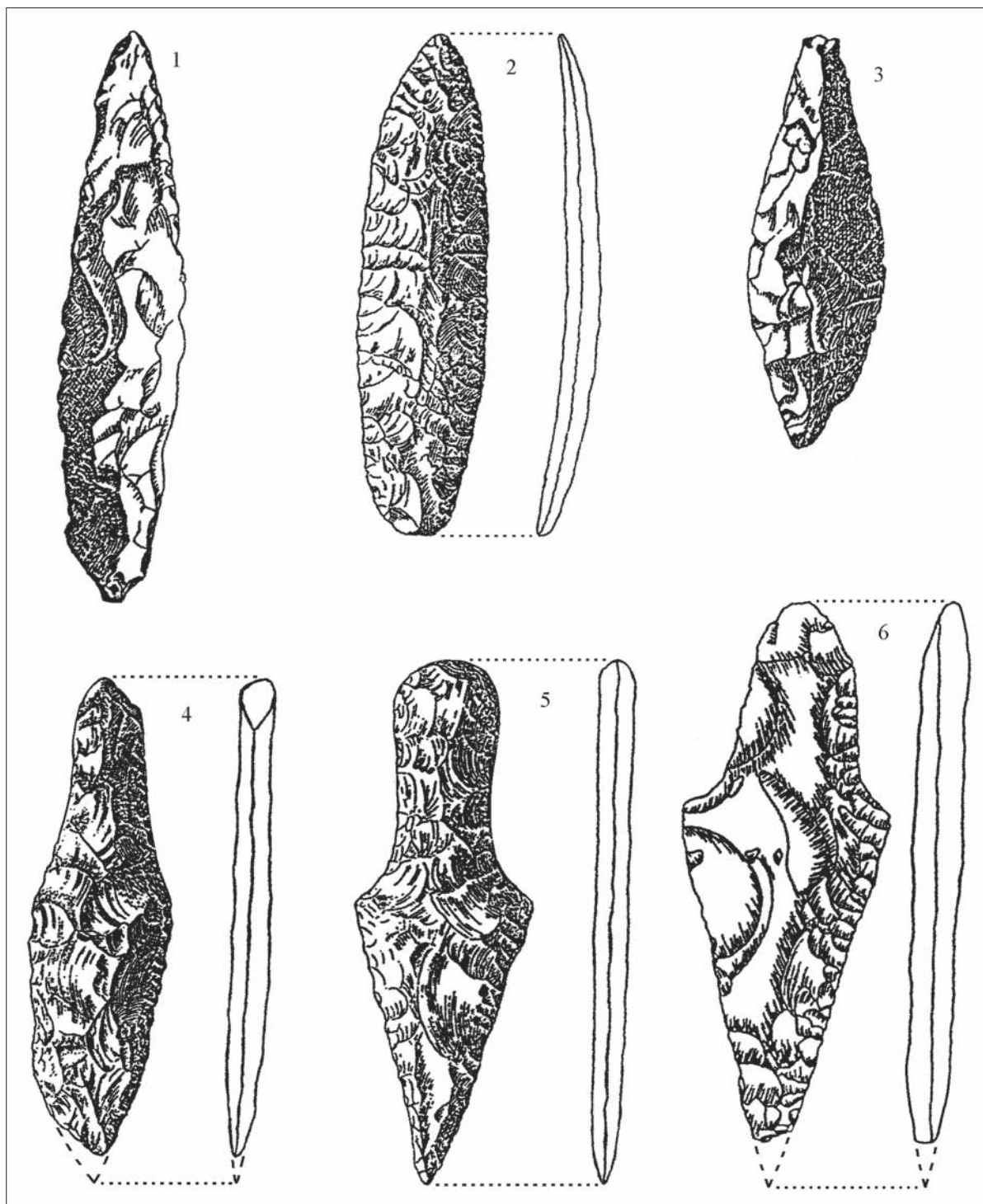


Fig. 2. Flint dagger finds from the Mazury Lake District (1-3 Ostróda; 2 Czerwonka, Biskupiec commune; 4 Żelwagi, Mikołajki commune; 5 Szczytno; 6 Trękus, Purda commune. After: 1-5 Gaerte 1929; 6 Bargiel, Libera 2004).

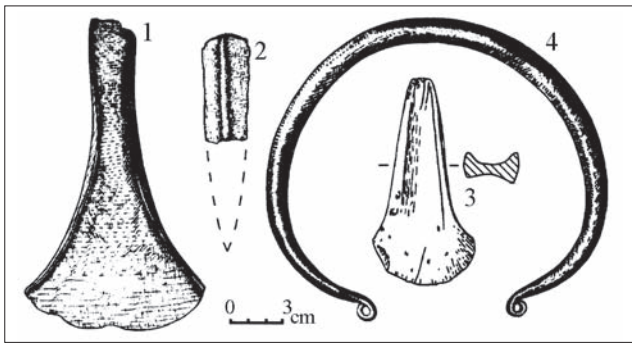


Fig. 3. Unetice bronze finds from the Mazury Lake District (1, 2 Sterławki Wielkie, Giżycko commune; 3 Stare Kiejkuty, Szczytno commune; 4 Kętrzyn; 1, 2, 4 after Okulicz 1973; 3 after Dąbrowski 1997).

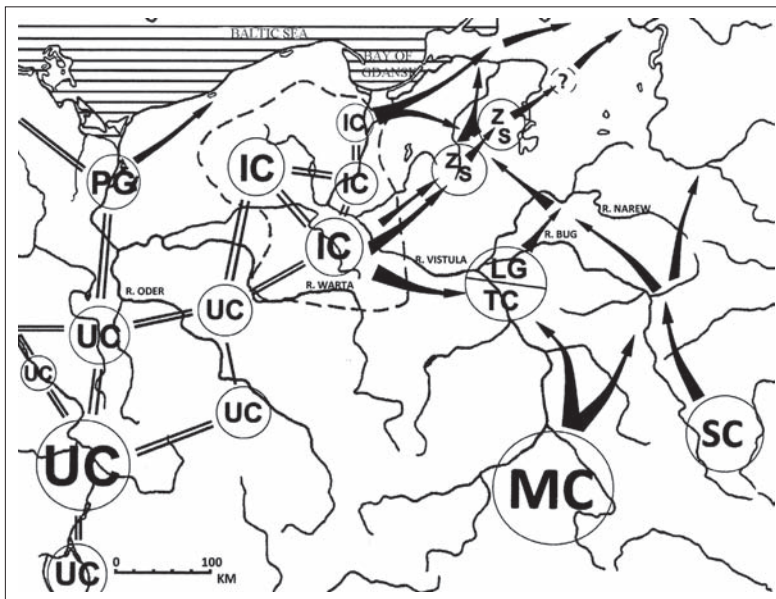


Fig. 4. The network of culture exchange in Poland during the Early Bronze Age (after A. Bokinić, supplemented by Manasterski). UC – Unetice culture, IC – Iwno culture, MC – Mierzanowice culture, SC – Strzyżów culture, TC – Trzcinniec culture, PG – Płonia group, LG – Linin group, ZS – Ząbie-Szestno type.

II
PEOPLE
AT THE
CROSSROADS
OF SPACE
AND TIME

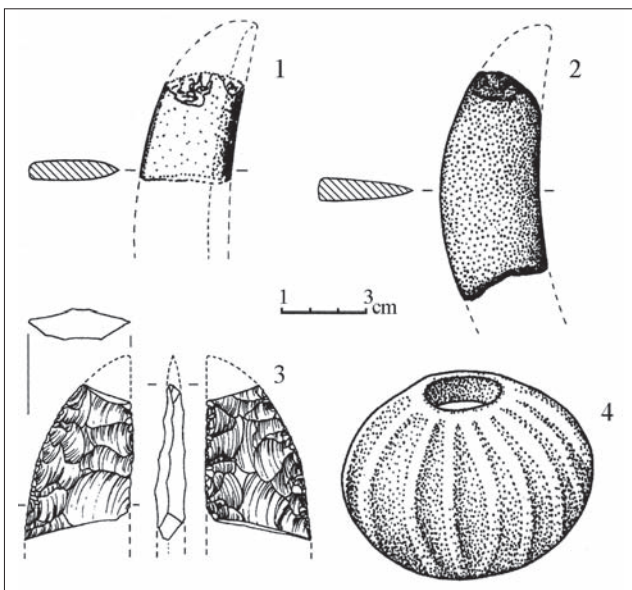


Fig. 5. Stone (1, 2) and flint (3) sickle-knives and a small fluted mace (4) from the Mazury Lake District (1, 3 Ząbie, Olsztynek commune; 2 Barkweda, Dywity commune; 4 Barczewo; 2 after Mazurowski, 4 after Koško).

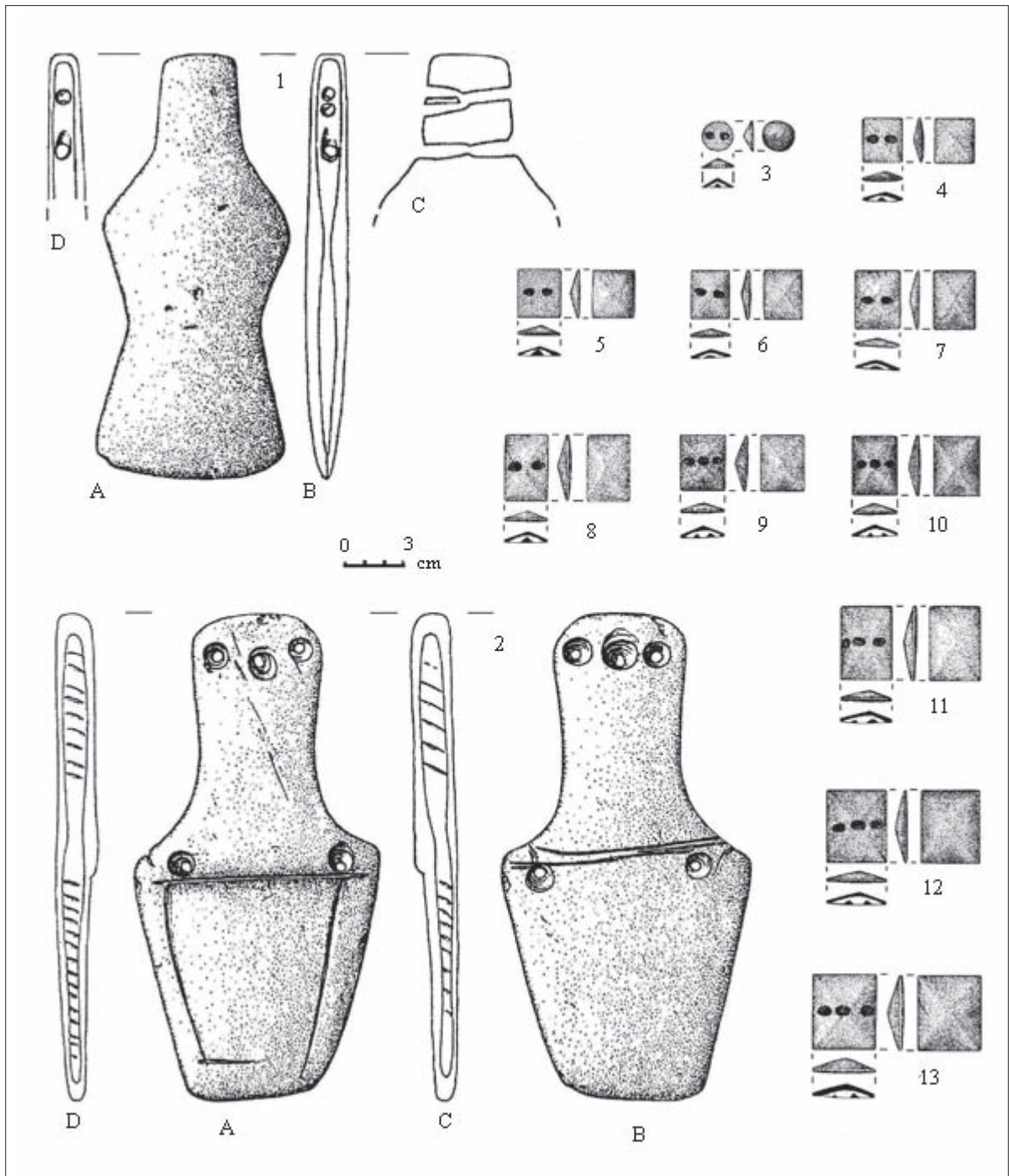


Fig. 6. Anthropomorphic amber idols and assorted amber button-shaped beads with a V and W-shaped hole from the Mazury Lake District (1 Nidzica; 2 Kruklanki; 3-13 from a set of 50 [three round and 47 quadrangular buttons] discovered in a male grave at Ząbie site X, Olsztynek commune); 1, 2 after Ritzkowski, Weisgerber 1999.

of evaporation in shallow pottery pans,³ the residue and salt crystals obtained in this process would have been consumed locally, and, in the event of a surplus, used as an export commodity. It is less easy to establish what could have been the object of exchange with Proto-Mierzanowice and Mierzanowice culture communities. A small number of finds of flint daggers and vessels from this environment would confirm the existence of exchange and its directions. Perhaps amber was also at stake here, passed on to the south and the southeast in exchange for daggers of Volhyn flint, for example, or some valuable mineral commodity, such as rock salt from the Carpathian foothills,⁴ traces of which are not tangible using archaeological methods. Unfortunately, for the time being, this question has to remain in the sphere of speculation.

The existence of mechanisms of interaction between communities in the Mazury Lake District and the emergence of a stratified society is also documented by finds of prestige objects made of bronze,⁵ flint and stone. Bronze included axes, daggers, spearheads and ingot torcs. Flint and stone objects are represented by daggers, sickle-knives and fluted maces. For prestige objects made of flint and stone, it is possible to identify three source provinces: western, southwestern and southern.

Płonia-type daggers (Fig. 2.1-3) originating from the western province suggest exchange with the late Single Grave culture environment, and the impact of syncretising features of Bell Beaker culture, and/or testify to the direct impact of the northern province of the Beaker environment (Czebreszuk 2001a, p.130ff; Libera 2001, p.128; Bargieł, Libera 2004, p.56ff). However, this phenomenon does not end in the Mazury Lake District, because the easternmost find of a Płonia-type dagger is from Mesha in Belarus (Czebreszuk, Kryvaltsevitch 2003, p.51ff, Fig. 2). Next to this direction of contact, another source of flint daggers is the southwestern province, the area of Unetice culture. It is considered the most likely source of a dagger find from Żelwagi in the Mikołajki commune (Fig. 2.4). Also in this case, we may suspect the intermediary role of Iwno culture.

The assumption that this indeed was the itinerary of the communication-distribution route is confirmed by finds of Unetice bronzes (Fig. 3) recorded in the Mazury region, and a halberd from Veliuona in Lithuania

³ A process known to schoolchildren, whereby salt crystals are allowed to form in a saline solution exposed to sunlight.

⁴ The oldest finds associated with salt extraction from saline springs in the region are from the Early Neolithic (Kulczycka-Leciejewiczowa 1979, p.131ff; Kaczanowska 1989, p.354ff).

⁵ Discussed in detail by J. Dąbrowski (1968; 1997; 2004) and W. Blajer (1990).

(Dąbrowski 1968, p.47, Map 1). Moreover, in the middle basin of the Nemunas, we find a distinct concentration of stone fluted maces, associated with another distant exchange route running along the Dnieper to the lands on the Black Sea (Koško 2001, Fig. 2; 2002, Figs. 16, 22). On the itinerary of this particular route, at a Middle Dnieper culture cemetery at Stralitsa, a copper lunula together with 21 amber pendants was discovered (Loze 2000, p.68, Fig. 1.4; Czebreszuk 2001, p.333, Fig. 1; Klochko, Vasina 2004, p.175, Fig. 7). This find united the Bell Beaker culture tradition⁶ of crescent-shaped pendants with the tradition of the woodland west Baltic/Balt zone represented by amber pendants, which may be considered an example of syncretism and distant exchange (Koško, Kločko 1998, p.397ff; Czebreszuk 2004).

The last of the provinces mentioned is the southern one, which is regarded as an area for the provenance of Czerniczyn-Torczyń-type flint daggers (Fig. 2.4-5), made of Volhyn flint and universally linked with Proto-Mierzanowice and Mierzanowice cultures (Bargieł, Libera 2004, p.57; Libera 2001, p.80ff). An analysis of a map of their distribution reveals them spreading northwards, with the northernmost finds recorded in Proto-Mierzanowice culture assemblages in a settlement at Słochy Annapolskie, and a grave in the locality of Grodzisko in the Podlasie district (Machnik 1978, p.40ff, Plate XIII.14; Libera 2001, p.80, Map 11). Unfortunately, finds of Czerniczyn-Torczyń daggers from the Mazury Lake District (Fig. 2.5-6) all lack a context. But if we take into consideration daggers from Sośnia, in the Podlaskie voivodship, which are similar to them, we may suspect the existence of an eastern offshoot (Narew-Bug) of the exchange route. It ran along the rivers Bug, Narew, Orzyc and Omulew, to the area of present-day Szczytno and Olsztyn (Fig. 4). This route would be supported by sites harbouring Proto-Mierzanowice and Mierzanowice culture finds discovered in the Northern Podlasie Lowland (Maślińska-Marcinkowska 2005, p.177ff, Map V).

Another artefact which validates the existence of the branch route is a flint sickle-knife (Fig. 5.3) in a grey-coloured flint of the Krasne Selo variety⁷ discovered at Ząbie, in site X, in the Olsztynek commune. The question of its provenance is another matter, because

⁶ For more on the impact of Bell Beaker culture on the woodland cultures of Eastern Europe, see Czebreszuk (2001) and Czebreszuk, Kryvaltsevich (2003a).

⁷ Flint of a superior quality, grey in colour, often confused with erratic or cretaceous flint (Barska 2002), its mines and workshops were identified in 1925 at Krasne Selo in western Belarus (Gurina 1976; Charniański 1995) and, starting from the mid-1990s, in the basin of the River Czarna in the Białystok region in eastern Poland (Migal 1997; Sałaciński *et al.* 1997).

II

PEOPLE
AT THE
CROSSROADS
OF SPACE
AND TIME

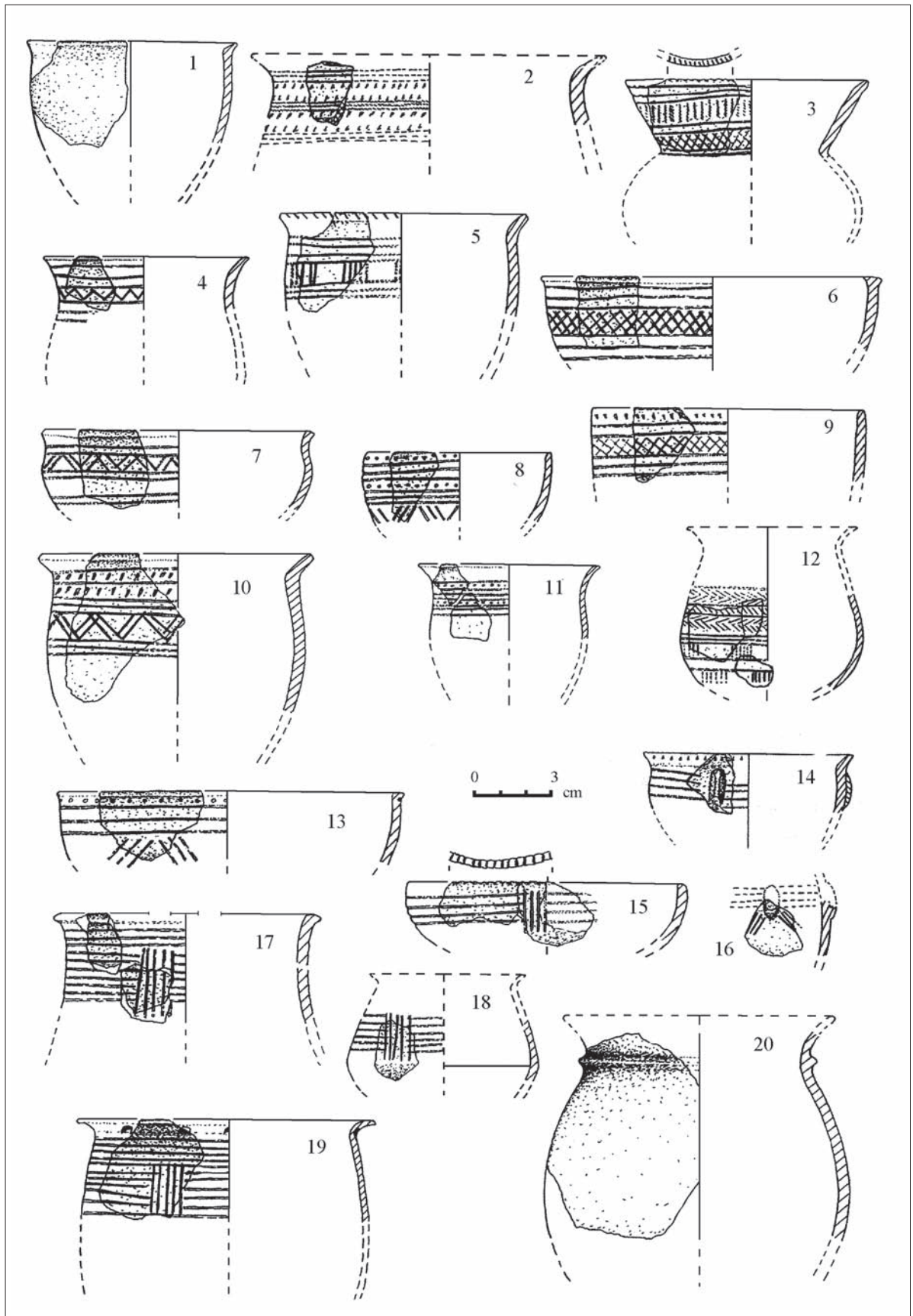


Fig. 7. Selected pottery exhibiting the presence of component attributes of Bell Beaker/Iwono culture from the Mazury Lake District (1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11-18, 20 Ząbie site X, Olsztynek commune; 3, 6, 7, 10, 19 Szestno site II, Mrągowo commune).

the production of sickle-knives is documented both at Krasne Selo in Belarus and at Rybniki near Białystok in Poland (Charniański 1995, p.262ff; Migal 1997, pp.136-142; Sałaciński *et al.* 1997, p.115ff, Fig. 1). An observation made by M. Kryvaltsevitch (1997, p.88) on the pronounced similarity of sickle-knife finds from Belarus to forms made of Volhyn flint may be helpful in the discussion of mutual ties and exchange in this part of Europe.

Stone sickle-knife finds from Mazury (Fig. 5.1-2) find an analogy in a region even more to the south, beyond the Carpathians (Budziszewski 1998, p.324; Kopacz 2001). They fit the general tendency observed in the case of these forms discovered in Trzciniec culture assemblages from southern Poland, where they are considered to be imports from the area south of the Carpathians and interpreted as an expression of distant exchange (Budziszewski 1998, p.324; Kopacz 2001, p.97; Waluś, Manasterski 2004, p.36). For Mazury, the same phenomenon is validated by finds of anthropomorphic amber idols from Nidzica⁸ and Kruklanki (Fig. 6.1-2), but in their case it was more the style and ideology which was imported, associated with the function of these objects, while their raw material was local, such as amber (Mazurowski 1983, p.38; Manasterski 2009, p.89ff). A further example of a syncretic nature in the Mazury region of attributes distinctive of different cultures is a set of amber ornaments from an inhumation burial at Ząbie, site X (Fig. 6.3-13). They combine techno-stylistic attributes characteristic of Bell Beaker culture and Rzucewo culture, but their number and composition finds an analogy in material known from northern European woodland groups (Manasterski *et al.* 2001; Manasterski 2009, p.83ff, Tables 11, 17, Plates 55-57, 60-65).

The direction of contact indicated here finds full validation in the set of ceramic forms from Mazury groups (Figs. 7-10), which include, on one hand, vessels interpreted as imports, and on the other, numerous imitations of these. What is observed here is a definite influence of the Iwno culture environment (Fig. 7) as well as from Proto-Mierzanowice and Mierzanowice cultures (Fig. 8), which, superimposed on to the local styles, led to the emergence of a local version of ceramic production (Fig. 9). These vessels, recalling the pottery of the Linin group⁹ from the Mazowsze and Podlasie region of Poland, have been distinguished as a separate group, named after their type-sites, as type

⁸ Cf alternative interpretation (Sobieraj 2004, p.72; Manasterski 2009, p. 89ff).

⁹ Groups defined by Kempisty (1972, pp.411-443; 1973, pp.3-75). This issue was revisited more recently, using new data, by Józwiak (2003, pp.109-208, Plates 86-149).

Ząbie-Szestno.¹⁰ In many cases, it has also been possible to distinguish a group of vessels with features characteristic of the Trzciniec environment (Fig. 10). This last phenomenon may testify either to the impact of Trzciniec culture, or it may be proof of the emergence of a local culture tradition fitting within the broadly understood Trzciniec tradition (Manasterski 2009, p.148ff).

Conclusions

Drawing on earlier but mostly on more recent findings (Manasterski 2009), I am ready to postulate the existence of alternative routes of communication and exchange crossing the Mazury Lake District (Fig. 4) down a route blazed earlier by people of Globular Amphora culture (Wiślański 1966, Map 4; 1979, Fig. 154; Nosek 1967, pp.49-65, Map V). One of the branches would have run from Kujawy, by way of the Chełmno region, along the River Drwęca, over the Lubawa fold, and down the water divide of the Mazury Lake District. Here it would have been joined by another route (the Bug-Narew branch), running from the Małopolska region in the south. Further to the north, the Mazury route, continuing in a northeastern direction, would have split into two branches. One of them ran north (to Sambia?), the other northeast, to the region of the lower River Nemunas. The Mazury route, while it was a branch of a Central European communication network, presumably did not have the rank of a principal corridor of exchange, being only an alternative solution in case of temporary inaccessibility or obstruction in the Vistula delta area. This could have been the result of local rivalry between individual Rzucewo culture and/or Iwno culture groups, manifested by blocking direct contact with the source groups by groups settling, for example, the lake district of Chełmno.¹¹

A researcher who has drawn attention to the struggle by different culture groups to occupy and control areas with amber deposits is R.F. Mazurowski (2006, pp.104-105). If we accept a different assumption and recognise the Mazury region as a source area of amber supply (Mazurowski 1983, pp.88-90, Table 24-25; Pi-

¹⁰ The largest pottery series was recovered at Ząbie, site X, in the Olsztynek commune, and Szestno, site II, in the Mrągowo commune (Manasterski 2009, pp.21-28, 37-81, Plates 1-53, 71-100).

¹¹ It seems that the occupation by late Bell Beaker culture/early Iwno culture of the region on both banks of the lower Vistula led to the interruption of traditional exchange between late Corded Ware groups, i.e. Rzucewo culture and Złota culture. An attempt to revive this exchange between the people of late Rzucewo culture and post-Corded Ware groups from the south, that is, with Proto-Mierzanowice culture, was most likely made by making a detour of the region on the lower Vistula.

II

PEOPLE
AT THE
CROSSROADS
OF SPACE
AND TIME

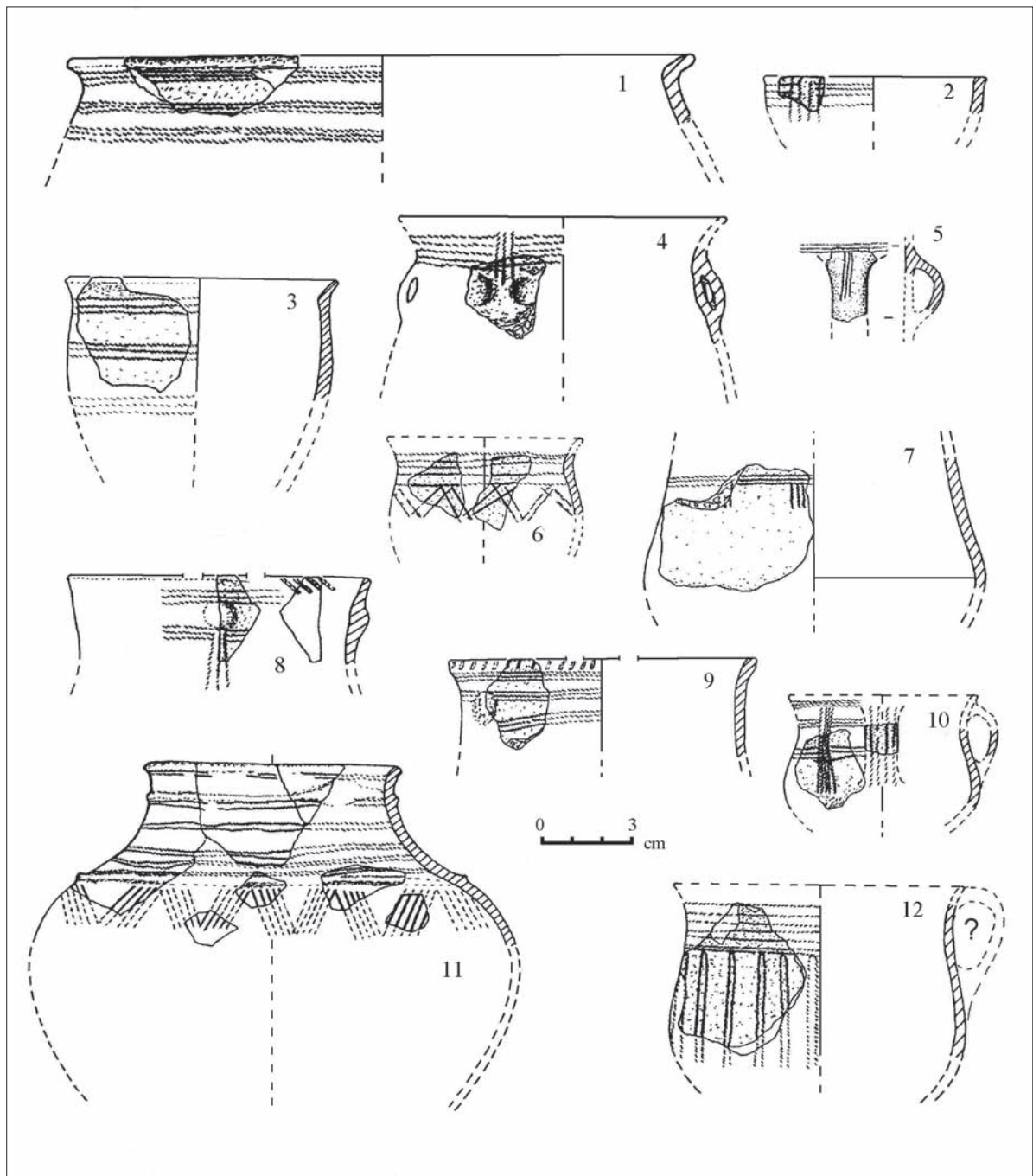


Fig. 8. Selected pottery exhibiting the presence of component attributes of Proto-Mierzanowice and Mierzanowice cultures from the Mazury Lake District (2-5, 7-12 Ząbie site X, Olsztynek commune; 1, 6 Szestno site II, Mrągowo commune).

etrzak *et al.* 2002, catalogue item 201-312), we would have to admit that this would have been an offshoot of a route associated with distribution.

It only remains to be established what communities settled the Mazury Lake District in the proposed scheme. Unfortunately, we have no conclusive evidence to identify in this area a culture group of Early Bronze Age description (Okulicz 1973, pp.168-170; Dąbrowski 1997, pp.90-92). The material known at present allows us only to conclude that these groups were markedly

syncretic in character, combining in their inventories attributes associated with Late Neolithic as well as with Early Bronze cultures of Central Europe (Manasterski 2009, pp.134, 148-149). Consequently, for the time being they (assemblages of Ząbie-Szestno type) are referred to using the name of archaeological sites at the locations which yielded the most characteristic evidence: Ząbie site X and Szestno site II.

Translated by Anna Kinecka

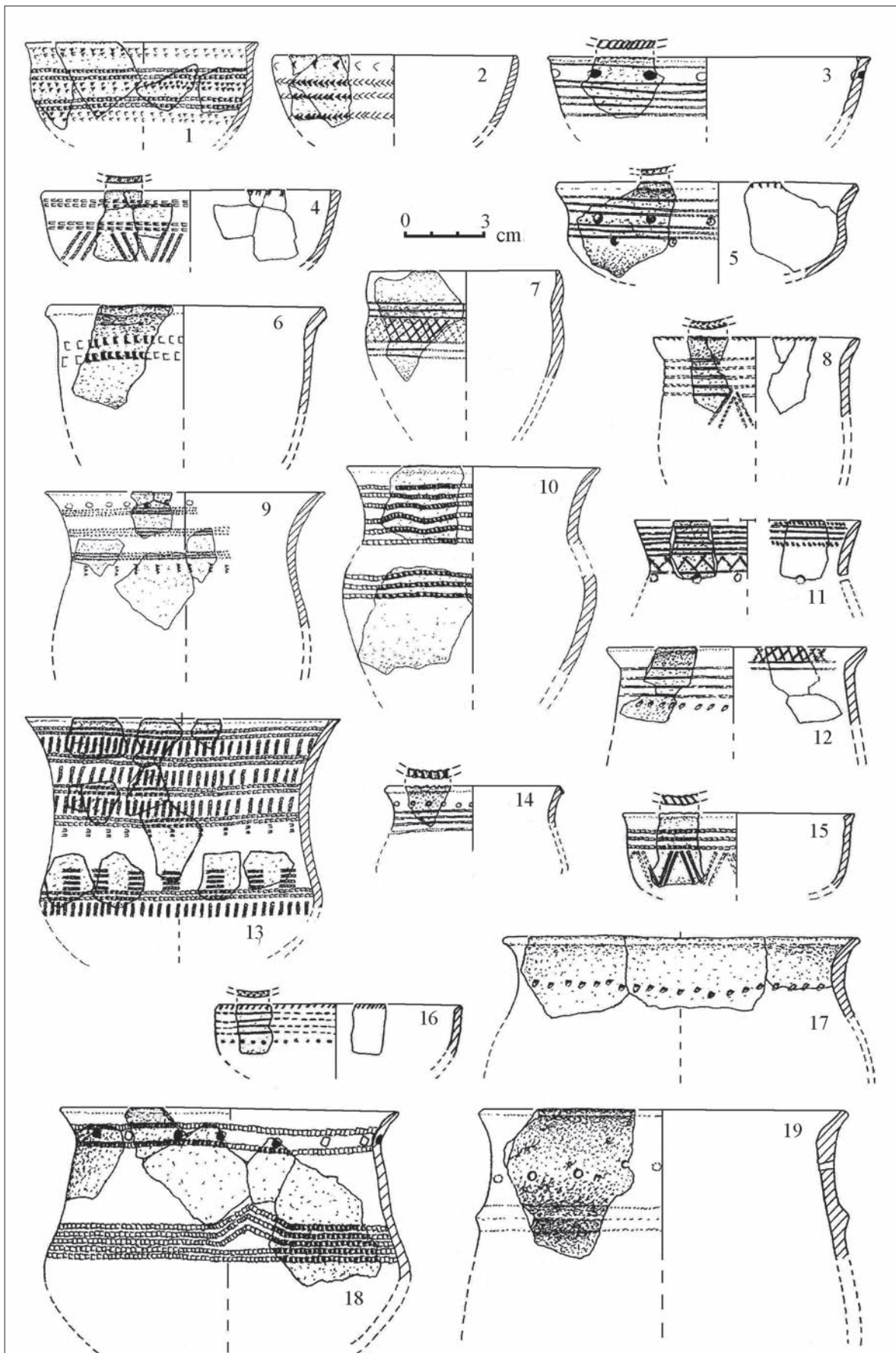


Fig. 9. Selected pottery exhibiting the presence of component attributes of Horizon Linin 4 from the Mazury Lake District (1-10, 13, 15-18 Ząbie site X, Olsztynek commune; 11, 12, 14, 19 Szeszno site II, Mrągowo commune).

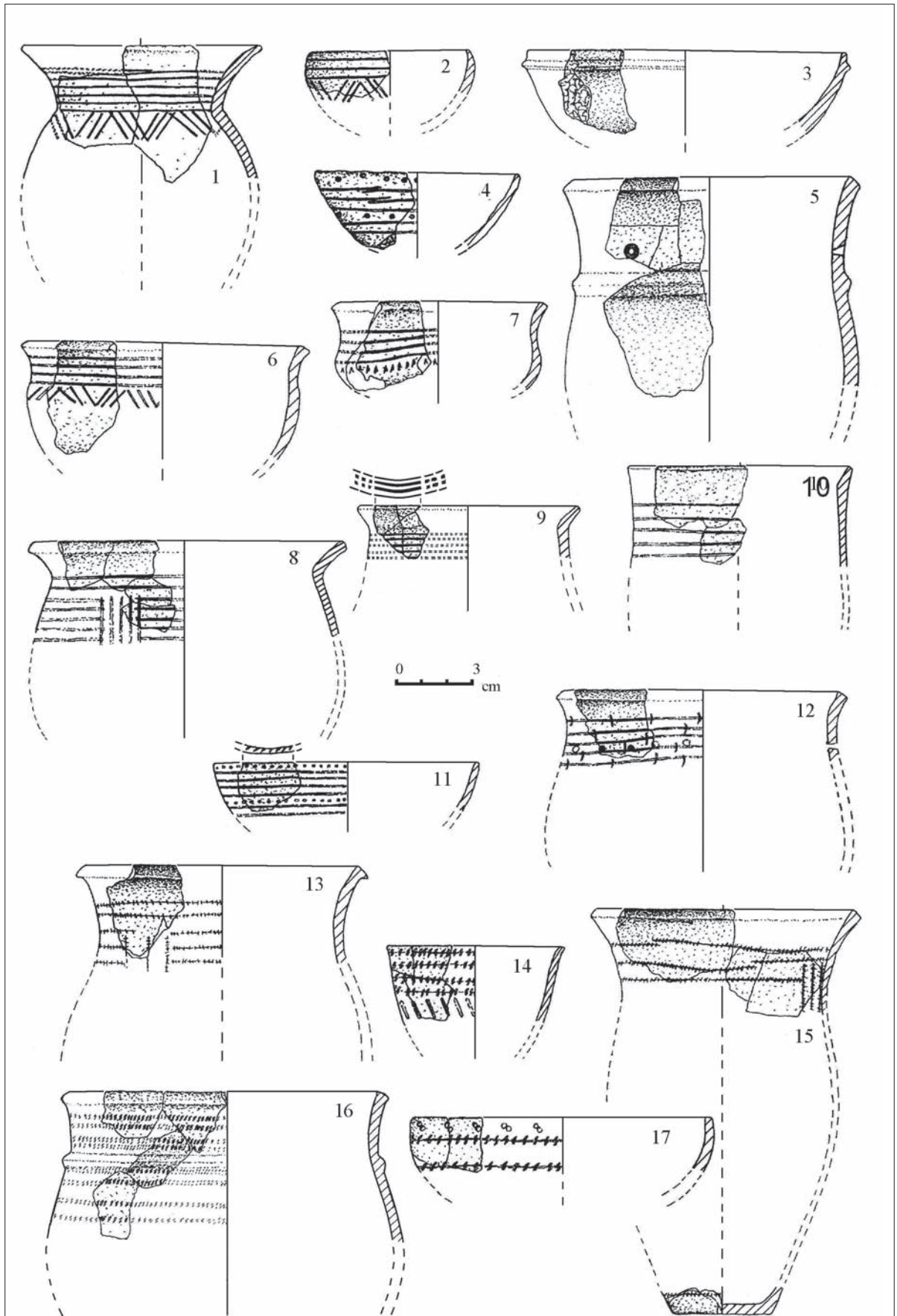


Fig. 10. Selected pottery exhibiting the presence of component attributes of Trzciniec culture from the Mazury Lake District (1-4, 6-8, 11-14, 16, 17 Ząbie site X, Olsztynek commune; 5, 9, 10, 15 Szestno site II, Mrągowo commune).

Abbreviations

Pruthenia Antiqua – *Pruthenia Antiqua. Studia do pradziejów i wczesnej historii ziem pruskich*, vol. I. M.J. HOFFMANN, J. SOBIERAJ, eds. *Człowiek a środowisko w epoce brązu i wczesnej epoce żelaza u południowo-wschodnich pobrzeży Bałtyku*. Olsztyn, 2004.

‘Trzciniec’ – system kulturowy – A. KOŚKO, J. CZEBRESZUK, eds. *„Trzciniec” – system kulturowy czy interkulturowy proces?* Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1998.

WA – Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warszawa from 1873).

References

Manuscripts

BOKINIEC, A., 1995. *Początki epoki brązu na Pomorzu Wschodnim*. PhD dissertation, manuscript in the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology in the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.

Literature

BARGIEŁ, B., LIBERA, J., 2004. Problem przynależności chronologiczno-kulturowej bifacjalnych płoszczy i noży sierpowatych na obszarze Polski północno-wschodniej. In: *Pruthenia Antiqua*, 55-69.

BARSKA, K., 2002. Nowe dane dotyczące powiązań kopalni krzemienia w Krasnym Siole z kulturą amfor kulistych. In: M. KARCZEWSKA, M. KARCZEWSKI, eds. *Badania archeologiczne w Polsce północno-wschodniej i na zachodniej Białorusi w latach 2000-2001*. Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 101-110.

BLAJER, W., 1990. *Skarby z wczesnej epoki brązu na ziemiach polskich*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

BUDZISZEWSKI, J., 1998. Krzemieniarstwo społeczności kultury trzcinieckiej z Wyżyny Środkowomałopolskiej. In: *‘Trzciniec’ – system kulturowy*, 301-328.

BUKOWSKI, Z., 1988. Die Salzgewinnung auf Polnischen Gebiet in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit und im Altertum. In: B. GEDIGA, ed. *Surowce mineralne w pradziejach i we wczesnym średniowieczu Europy Środkowej*. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 107-132.

BUKOWSKI, Z., 1998. *Pomorze w epoce brązu w świetle dalekosiężnych kontaktów wymiennych*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe & Zbigniew Bukowski.

BUKOWSKI, Z., 2002. *Znaleziska bursztynu w zespołach z epoki brązu i z wczesnej epoki żelaza z dorzecza Odry i Wisły*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.

CHARNIAUSKI, M.M., 1995. Ancient flint mines in Belarus. *Archaeologia Polona*, 33, 263-270.

CLARK, J.G.D., 1957. *Europa przedhistoryczna. Podstawy gospodarcze*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

COFTA-BRONIEWSKA, A. KOŚKO, A., 1982. *Historia pierwotna społeczeństw Kujaw*. Warszawa-Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe Oddział w Poznaniu.

CZEBRESZUK, J., 1996. *Společności Kujaw w początkach epoki brązu*. Poznań: PSO.

CZEBRESZUK, J., 2001. Północno-wschodnia rubież oddziaływania idei pucharów dzwonowatych. In: J. CZEBRESZUK, M. KRYVAL'TSEVICH, P. MAKAROWICZ, eds. *Od neolityzacji do początków epoki brązu. Przemiany*

kulturowe w międzyrzeczu Odry i Dniepru między VI i II tys. przed Chr. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 327-340.

CZEBRESZUK, J., 2001a. *Schylek neolitu i początki epoki brązu w strefie południowo-zachodniobałtyckiej (III i początki II tys. przed Chr.). Alternatywny model kultury*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.

CZEBRESZUK, J., 2004. Z zachodu na wschód i ze wschodu na zachód: „kultury pucharowe” i ugrupowania leśno-wschodnioeuropejskie na przełomie neolitu i brązu. In: A. KOŚKO, ed. *Wspólnota dziedzictwa kulturowego ziem Białorusi i Polski*. Warszawa: Ośrodek Ochrony Dziedzictwa Archeologicznego, 119-136.

CZEBRESZUK, J., KRYWALTSEWITSCH, M., 2003. Der Dolch aus Mesha, Nördliches Weissrussland: Glockenbchereinflüsse in Osteuropa. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 33.1, 51-56.

CZEBRESZUK, J., KRYVAL'TSEVICH, M., 2003a. The North-Eastern Border of Influence of Bell Beaker Idea. In: J. CZEBRESZUK, M. SZMYT, eds. *The Northeast Frontier of Bell Beakers. Proceedings of the symposium held at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland), May 26-29. 2002*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1155. Oxford, 107-116.

DĄBROWSKI, J., 1968. *Zabytki metalowe epoki brązu między dolną Wisłą a Niemnem*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

DĄBROWSKI, J., 2004. *Ältere Bronzezeit in Polen. Starsza epoka brązu w Polsce*. Warszawa: IAIE PAN.

FOGEL, J., 1983. Miedź i metale pochodne. In: J.K. KOZŁOWSKI, S.K. KOZŁOWSKI, eds. *Człowiek i środowisko w pradziejach*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 141-152.

GAERTE, W., 1929. *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*. Königsberg i Pr: Gräfe und Unzer.

GIMBUTAS, M., 1965. *Bronze Age Cultures in central and eastern Europe*. Paris-Haga-London: MOUTON & CO.

GURINA, N.N., 1976. *Drevnie kremnedobyvauishchie shahty na teritori SSSR*. Leningrad.

JÓZWIĄK, B., 2003. *Společności subneolitu wschodnioeuropejskiego na Niżu Polskim w międzyrzeczu Odry i Wisły*. Poznań: Instytut Prahistorii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza.

KACZANOWSKA, M., 1989. Pozyskiwanie, obróbka i dystrybucja surowców. In: J. KMIĘCIŃSKI, ed. *Pradzieje Ziemi Polskiej. Epoka Kamienia*, vol. I, part I. Warszawa-Łódź: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 338-360.

KADROW, S., 2001. *U progu nowej epoki. Gospodarka i społeczeństwo wczesnego okresu epoki brązu w Europie Środkowej*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN Oddział w Krakowie.

KEMPISTY, E., 1972. Materiały tzw. kultury ceramiki „grzebykowo-dołkowej” z terenu Mazowsza i Podlasia. WA, XXXVII.4, 411-483.

KEMPISTY, E., 1973. Kultura ceramiki „grzebykowo-dołkowej” na Mazowszu i Podlasiu. WA, XXXVIII.1, 3-75.

KLOCHKO, L., VASINA, Z., 2004. Kostiumy naseleniia iz regiona srednedneprovskoi kul'tury. In: A. KOŚKO, M. SZMYT, eds. *Nomadizm a pastoralizm w międzyrzeczu Wisły i Dniepru*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 165-179.

KOPACZ, J., 2001. *Początki epoki brązu w strefie karpackiej w świetle materiałów kamiennych*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN Oddział w Krakowie.

II

PEOPLE
AT THE
CROSSROADS
OF SPACE
AND TIME

- KOŚKO, A., 1979. *Rozwój kulturowy społeczeństw Kujaw w okresach schyłkowego neolitu i wczesnej epoki brązu*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
- KOŚKO, A., 2001. Zagadnienie wczesnobronzowej cezury w rozwoju „szlaku” Krym-Jutlandia. In: J. CZEBRESZUK, M. KRYVALVEVIČ, P. MAKAROWICZ, eds. *Od neolityzacji do początków epoki brązu. Przemiany kulturowe w międzyrzeczu Odry i Dniepru między VI i II tys. przed Chr.* Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 283-290.
- KOŚKO, A., 2002. Fluted maces in cultural systems of the borderland of eastern and western Europe: 2350-800 BC. Taxonomy, genesis, function. In: A. KOŚKO, ed. *Fluted maces in the system of long-distance exchange trails of the Bronze Age: 2350-800 BC*. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University. Institute of Eastern Studies. Institute of Prehistory, 31-81.
- KOŚKO, A., KŁOČKO, W., 1998. „Trzciniec” – stabilizacja systemu cyrkulacji wzorców kulturowych na pograniczu „cywilizacji wczesnobronzowych” wschodniej i zachodniej Europy? Zasięg i mechanizmy zjawiska. In: *‘Trzciniec’ – system kulturowy*, 397-404.
- LIBERA, J., 2001. *Krzemienne formy bifacjalne na terenach Polski i zachodniej Ukrainy (od środkowego neolitu do wczesnej epoki żelaza)*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
- LOZE, I.A., 2000. Late Neolithic amber from the Lubāna Wetlands. In: *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 22. A. BUTRIMAS, ed. *Baltic Amber, Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Conference: Baltic Amber in Natural Sciences, Archaeology and Applied Arts. 13-18 September 2001, Vilnius, Palanga, Nida*. Vilnius, 63-78.
- KULCZYCKA-LECIEJEWICZOWA, A., 1979. Pierwsze społeczeństwa rolnicze na ziemiach polskich. Kultury kręgu naddunajskiego. In: W. HENSEL, T. WIŚLAŃSKI, eds. *Prahistoria ziem polskich. Neolit*, vol. II. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 19-164.
- MACHNIK, J., 1978. Wczesny okres epoki brązu. In: A. GARDAWSKI, J. KOWALCZYK, eds. *Prahistoria ziem polskich. Wczesna epoka brązu*, vol. III. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 9-136.
- MAKAROWICZ, P., 1998. *Rola społeczności kultury iwieńskiej w genezie trzcinieckiego kręgu kulturowego (2000-1600 BC)*. Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza.
- MANASTERSKI, D., 2009. *Pojezierze Mazurskie u schyłku neolitu i na początku epoki brązu w świetle zespołów typu Ząbie-Szeszno*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii. Uniwersytet Warszawski.
- MANASTERSKI, D. PIASECKI, K., WALUŚ, A., 2001. Schyłkowoneolityczny grób szkieletowy z ozdobami bursztynowymi ze stanowiska X w Ząbiu, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie. *Światowit*, III NS, fasc. B, 145-166.
- MAŚLIŃSKA-MARCINKOWSKA, A., 2005. Osadnictwo z neolitu i wczesnej epoki brązu na Nizinie Północnopodlaskiej. In: W. BORKOWSKI, M. ZALEWSKI, eds. *Rybniki – „Krzemianka”. Z badań nad krzemieniarstwem w Polsce Północno-Wschodniej*, vol. V. *Studia nad gospodarką surowcami krzemiennymi w pradziejach*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 167-186.
- MAZUROWSKI, R.F., 1983. Bursztyn w epoce kamienia na ziemiach polskich. *Materiały starożytne i wczesnośredniowieczne*, V, 7-134.
- MAZUROWSKI, R.F., 1987. Badania żuławskiego regionu bursztyniarskiego ludności kultury rzucewskiej. Niedźwiedziówka, stanowiska 1-3. In: A. PAWŁOWSKI, ed. *Badania archeologiczne w woj. elbląskim w latach 1980-83*. Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 79-120.
- MAZUROWSKI, R.F. 1987a. Nowe badania nad osadnictwem ludności kultury rzucewskiej w Suchaczu, woj. elbląskie, w latach 1980-1983. In: A. PAWŁOWSKI, ed. *Badania archeologiczne w woj. elbląskim w latach 1980-83*. Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 141-164.
- MAZUROWSKI, R.F., 1989. Osada bagienna w Barkwedzie, gm. Dywity – wyniki badań wykopaliskowych. *Rocznik Olsztyński*, XVI, 65-74.
- MAZUROWSKI, R.F., 2006. The role of Żuławy Wiślane in the development of prehistoric amber industry and barter contacts with the interior. In: B. KOSMOWSKA-CERANOWICZ, W. GIERŁOWSKI, eds. *Amber, views, opinions*. Gdańsk-Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza SADBABA, 103-111.
- MIGAL, W., 1997. Znaczenie przemysłu nakopalnianego z Rybnik, woj. białostockie, dla poznania krzemieniarstwa epoki brązu w Polsce. In: J. LECH, D. PIOTROWSKA, eds. *Z badań nad krzemieniarstwem epoki brązu i wczesnej epoki żelaza. Materiały sympozjum zorganizowanego w Warszawie 20-22 października 1994 r.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 129-143.
- NOSEK, S., 1967. *Kultura amfor kulistych w Polsce*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- OKULICZ, J., 1973. *Pradzieje ziem pruskich od późnego paleolitu do VII w. n.e.* Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- PIETRZAK, T., KOSMOWSKA-CERANOWICZ, B., POPIOLEK, J., 2002. *Znaleziska i dawne kopalnie bursztynu w Polsce. Od Bałtyku przez Kurpie do Karpat*. Łomża: Kierec. Towarzystwo Kultury Kurpiowskiej. Polska Akademia Nauk – Muzeum Ziemi.
- RITZKOWSKI, S., WEISGERBER, G., 1999. Die neolithischen Bernsteinartefakte der Bernstein Sammlung der Ehemaligen Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr. In: B. KOSMOWSKA-CERANOWICZ, H. PANER, eds. *Investigations into amber. Proceedings of International Interdisciplinary Symposium: Baltic Amber and other Fossil Resins. 997 Urbs Gyddanyzc – 1997 Gdańsk 2-6 September 1997, Gdańsk*. Gdańsk: Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, Museum of the Earth, Polish Academy of Sciences, 137-150.
- SALAĆIŃSKI, S., ZALEWSKI, M., MISIEWICZ, K., POPIELSKI, R., 1997. Epigoni górnictwa i przetwórstwa krzemienia – nowo odkryte kopalnie w Rybnikach, woj. białostockie. In: J. LECH, D. PIOTROWSKA, eds. *Z badań nad krzemieniarstwem epoki brązu i wczesnej epoki żelaza. Materiały sympozjum zorganizowanego w Warszawie 20-22 października 1994 r.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 115-127.
- SARNOWSKA, W., 1969. *Kultura unietycka w Polsce*, vol. I. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- SARNOWSKA, W., 1975. *Kultura unietycka w Polsce*, vol. II. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- SOBIERAJ, J., 2004. Kultura ceramiki sznurowej, a początki epoki brązu pomiędzy Dolną Wisłą, a Niemnem. In: *Pruthenia Antiqua*, 72-80.
- ŠTURMS, E., 1936. *Die Ältere Bronzezeit im Ostbaltikum*. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & CO.
- WALUŚ, A., MANASTERSKI, D., 2004. Schyłek epoki kamienia i początek epoki brązu na Warmii i Mazurach, w świetle prac wykopaliskowych prowadzonych na stanowisku X w Ząbiu, gm. Stawiguda, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie. In: *Pruthenia Antiqua*, 33-53.

WIŚLAŃSKI, T., 1966. *Kultura amfor kulistych w Polsce północno-zachodniej*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
 WIŚLAŃSKI, T., 1979. Dalszy rozwój ludów neolitycznych. Plemiona kultury amfor kulistych. In: T. WIŚLAŃSKI, ed. *Prahistoria ziem polskich. Neolit*, vol. II. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 261-300.

Received: 23 March 2010; Revised: 26 May 2010;
 Accepted: 22 June 2010.

Dariusz Manasterski
 Institute of Archaeology
 Warsaw University
 Krakowskie Przedmieście street 26/28
 00-927 Warsaw, Poland
 E-mail: dmanasterski@uw.edu.pl

MAINAI TARP MOZŪRŲ EŽERYNO (ŠIAURĖS RYTŲ LENKIJA) SINKRETINIŲ ŽMONIŲ GRUPIŲ IR ANKSTYVOJO BRONZOS AMŽIAUS VIDURIO EUROPOS BENDRUOMENIŲ

DARIUSZ MANASTERSKI

Santrauka

Transregioniniai mainai Europoje, prasidėję ankstyvajame bronzos amžiuje, buvo susiję su universalių žaliavų ir prestižo objektų paklausa. Tai lėmė plačių įvairiakrypčių mainų atsiradimą ir individualių kultūrinių grupių žmonių išitraukimą į šiuos mainus, kas žymėjo istorinius ankstyvojo bronzos amžiaus pasikeitimus. Tačiau lieka klausimas, ar šis globalių mainų fenomenas pasiekė ankstyvojo bronzos amžiaus žemdirbiško pasaulio periferiją, t. y. regioną, buvusį į rytus nuo Vyslos vidurupio ir žemupio (1 pav.).

Archeologų nuomone, tuo metu tarp Gdansko įlankos Rzucewo kultūros gyvenviečių, turtingų gintaro, ir šios žaliavos gavėjų, Žlota kultūros žmonių, vyko mainų krypčių pokyčiai. Šiuos mainus perėmė Únětice kultūros žmonės su Iwno kultūros bendruomenėmis, užėmusiomis šių mainų tarpininkų poziciją. Gali būti, kad į tokią tarpininkų poziciją buvo įtraukti ir Mierzanowice bei Strzyżów kultūrų atstovai.

Jeigu mes sutiksime, kad gintaras buvo mainytas į bronzą, turėsime padaryti išvadą, kad didžioji bronzinių dirbinių dalis pasilikdavo šių mainų tarpininkams ir tik nedidelė dalis pasiekdavo bendruomenes, kurios rinko ir tiekė gintaro žaliavą. Ši išvada paremta Únětice kultūros bronzinių objektų paplitimo žemėla-

pių palyginimu: pajūrio zonoje – nuo Vyslos žemupio iki Sembos pusiasalio ir Iwno kultūros teritorijoje.

Šis palyginimas leidžia daryti išvadą, kad ankstyvajame bronzos amžiuje egzistavo alternatyvūs mainai tarp pietrytinio Baltijos jūros pakraščio. Tai rodo, kad gintaro gavybos centras iš Gdansko įlankos pasitraukė arčiau Sembos pusiasalio. Šio laikotarpio bronziniai, gintariniai, titnaginiai ir akmeniniai dirbiniai kaip ir keramika (2–10 pav.) rasti Mozūrijos ežeryne, kelia prielaidą, kad egzistavo alternatyvi mainų kryptis, apimanti Iwno, Mierzanowice ir Strzyżów kultūras bei vėlyvosios Rzucewo kultūros žmones (4 pav.).

Tarpininkauti šiuose mainuose turėjo sinkretinės žmonių grupės, gyvenusios Mozūrų regione, kurių buvimą liudija Żąbie-Szestno tipo dirbiniai. Viena iš straipsnio autoriaus postuluojamų mainų krypčių ėjo skersai Kujawy kraštą per Chełmno regioną, toliau Drwęca upe, tolyn per Lubawa, iki vandens takoskyros Mozūrų ežeryne. Čia jungėsi dar viena mainų kryptis (kelias), Bugo–Narevo upių šaka, kuri ėjo šiauriau Małopolska regiono. Toliau link šiaur rytinių regionų ši mainų kryptis pasidalindavo: viena vedė į šiaurę (Sembos pusiasalis?), kita – į šiaurės rytus ir suko link Nemuno žemupio. Šios mainų kryptys, matyt, neturėjo mainų koridoriaus padėties ir buvo laikina alternatyva dėl Vyslos žemupio ir deltos neprieinamumo.

Vertė Audronė Bliujienė

II

PEOPLE
 AT THE
 CROSSROADS
 OF SPACE
 AND TIME