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

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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; Kośko 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 food-stuff 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). 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; Kośko 1979, p.183ff; Cofta-Broniewska, Kośko 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...
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. Kośko (1979, p.183ff; 2002, Fig. 22), A. Cofta-Broniewska and A. Kośko (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 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 (Kośko 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 (Kośko 1979, p.152). These could have been used to obtain salt in a process  

² For more on this subject, see Kośko (1979, p.129ff); Bokiniec (1995); Czebreszuk (1996, p.197ff); Makarowicz (1998, p.253ff).
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Fig. 2. Flint dagger finds from the Mazury Lake District (1-3 Ostróda; 2 Czerwonka, Biskupiec commune; 4 Żelwągi, 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 Sterlawki 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. Bokiniec, supplemented by Manasterski). UC – Unetice culture, IC – Iwno culture, MC – Mierzanowice culture, SC – Strzyżów culture, TC – Trzciniec culture, PG – Płonia group, LG – Linin group, ZS – Ząbie-Szestno type.

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 Kośko).
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 Żąbie site X, Olsztynek commune); 1, 2 after Ritzkowski, Weisgerber 1999.
of evaporation in shallow pottery pans, 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 Vollyn flint, for example, or some valuable mineral commodity, such as rock salt from the Carpathian foothills, 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, 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.

Plonia-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; Bargiel, Libera 2004, p.56ff). However, this phenomenon does not end in the Mazury Lake District, because the easternmost find of a Plonia-type dagger is from Mesha in Belarus (Czebreszuk, Kryvaltsevich 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 Żelwięg in the Mikolajki 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 bronze objects made of 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.

The last of the provinces mentioned is the southern one, which is regarded as an area for the provenance of Czerniczyn-Torczyn-type flint daggers (Fig. 2.4-5), made of Vollyn flint and universally linked with Proto-Mierzanowice and Mierzanowice cultures (Bargiel, 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 Slochoy Annapolskie, and a grave in the locality of Grodžisko in the Podlasie district (Machnik 1978, p.40ff, Plate XIII.14; Libera 2001, p.80, Map 11). Unfortunately, finds of Czerniczyn-Torczyn-type flint daggers from the Mazury Lake District (Fig. 2.5-6) all lack a context. But if we take into consideration dagger finds 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 Omslew, to the area of present-day Szczyno 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 variety discovered at Ząbie, in site X, in the Olsztynie commune. The question of its provenance is another matter, because

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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).
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; Charniauski 1995) and, starting from the mid-1990s, in the basin of the River Czarna in the Białystok region in eastern Poland (Migal 1997; Salaciński et al. 1997).
Fig. 7. Selected pottery exhibiting the presence of component attributes of Bell Beaker/Iwno culture from the Mazury Lake District (1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11-18, 20 Ząbie site X, Olsztyn 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 (Charniauski 1995, p.262ff; Migal 1997, pp.136-142; Salaciński 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 (Sobieraj 2004, p.72; 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 Ząbie-Szentos.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 Malopolska 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-

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).
10 The largest pottery series was recovered at Ząbie, site X, in the Olszyniec 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.
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, Olszynek commune; 11, 12, 14, 19 Szestno 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, Olszynek commune; 5, 9, 10, 15 Szestno site II, Mrągowo commune).
Abbreviations


WA – Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warszawa from 1873).

References

Manuscripts


Literature


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

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Santrauka


Jeigu mes sutiksime, kad gintaras buvo mainytas į bronzą, turėsime padaryti išvadą, kad ankstyvajame bronzos amžiuje egzistavo alternatyvūs mainai tarp pietytinio Baltijos jūros pakraščio. Tai rodo, kad gintarų gavybos centrų iš Gdansko įlankos pasitraukė arčiau Sembros pusiasalio. Šio laikotarpio bronziniai, gintariniai, tūnaginiai ir akmeniniai dirbiniai kaip ir keramika (2–10 pav.) rasti Mozūriųos ežeryne, kelia prielaidą, kad egzistavo alternatyvių mainų kryptis, apimanti Iwno, Mierzananovice ir Strzyżów kultūras bei vėlyvosios Rzucewo kultūros žmones (4 pav.).

Vertė Audronė Bliujienė