

Formation of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age cultural model in Wielkopolska¹

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Summary

The start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age was the time of a transformation of the communities residing in this region into a new civilizational quality that was radically different from the quality of the preceding period. In the interior of the continent, a certain “Celt fashion” could be noticed, which was manifested in adaptation of patterns of both material culture and, most likely, elements of Celtic rites. Its course appears to be the key to the understanding of the transformations taking place in Wielkopolska at the turn of the 2nd century B.C. In older literature, the origins of the changes taking place at that time were linked to the transformation of the community of the Pomeranian (Wejcherowo-Krotoszyn) culture as a result of influence of strong Celtic currents that resulted in formation of a new group typical of cultural currents of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, namely of the Przeworsk culture. Currently we know that the issue is not quite as simple and unequivocal.

In order to understand the complexity of the cultural situation of Central Europe at the threshold of its La Ténification, one must go back to the time of formation of the local model of civilization of the Iron Age and of formation of cultures that individually adapted the Hallstatt cultural model. In present-day Poland, these changes were described in the literature as the Pomeranian culture. In the archeological materials, the changes taking place at that time were manifested most of all in the changes in the funeral rites and in the new style of pottery forms, present mostly in funeral groups and, in the case of the post-Nordic zone, also in introduction of production of iron based on Hallstatt traditions. This is probably the cause of the similarities between the Pomeranian culture and the central and northern German zone and partly the Scandinavian zone. At that time, a new universal civilizational stream was born that influenced a majority of the territories of Central and Northern Europe and became an alternative model to the ineffective southern civilizational pattern. In the case of the territory of the present-day Poland, the distinctiveness of the Pomeranian culture has traditionally been defined by comparing its “genetic code” to that of the Lusatian culture. The similarity to the pottery of the older

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culture resulted in parts from the materials being connected in a kind of a Lusatian-Pomeranian horizon. The identity of the younger of the two groups was built on the comparison of the groups. On the other hand, attempts have been made to capture the typological relations between pottery of the Pomeranian culture and the forms of the Przeworsk culture that followed it, which has not been convincingly achieved despite all the efforts. This has certainly been due to the limited understanding of the youngest development phase of the Pomeranian culture and, consequently, the lack of knowledge of the youngest ceramic forms typical of that culture, which should actually be the basis for comparisons with pottery typical of the Przeworsk culture.

The complexity and ambiguity of the contacts between the Pomeranian culture and the Przeworsk culture is illustrated by the coexistence of the sites typical of settlements of both cultures. This demonstrates the difficulty with determination of the actual time sequence of individual cultural units from the turn of the older and younger Pre-Roman Iron Age and, consequently, with definition of the actual cultural situation of the turn of the 2nd century B.C. In the case of Wielkopolska, it is possible that phenomena typical of the Pomeranian Culture could continue until phase A₂ of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, thus, theoretically, until the period of existence of the Przeworsk culture in the region. As a result, we are currently unable to identify the extent to which the changes of the cultural face of Wielkopolska at that time were linked significantly – as has been assumed so far – to the process of La Tenization of the population of the Pomeranian Culture, which caused its transformation into the younger Pre-Roman scheme, i.e. the Przeworsk culture. We have to ask the following question: Is this not a different process, i.e. appearance close to the residents of the region of groups of newcomers who brought their cultural patterns, which were clearly La Tenized and, consequently, to what extent the different cultures interacted at that time in Wielkopolska as a result of the extensive migration processes taking place in that period in Europe? At the same time, the problem that becomes important is that of the youngest phase of the Pomeranian culture, during which the process could have taken place of its stylistic transformation into the phenomenon that, given our current knowledge, is interpreted as a broad entry into Wielkopolska of populations from areas of the Jastorf culture. The ensuing problem is the presence of the Jastorf Culture as another component of the cultural space of Wielkopolska at the end of the older and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age and the real relationship between those cultures and the Przeworsk culture. The sudden formation of the latter cultural unit and its nature, which is different from the local substrate, and the lack of clear links to the older settlement network make it possible to conclude that the Przeworsk culture is a phenomenon that brought with it a new, expansive substrate. During the 2nd century B.C., certainly thanks to its freshness and attractiveness, this cultural pattern was quickly adopted in significant areas that until then were covered by “post-Hallstatt” settlements of communities of the Pomeranian culture.

The materials dated to the end of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, which show similarities with the Jastorf culture, appear to constitute the key element for the illustration of the real image of the changes taking place then. They can indicate whether at that time different groups from distant lands appeared in the region and brought their culture or, instead, only internal changes of the local formations took place in the broad stream of supraregional stylistic changes. Because the nature of metal forms can often be intercultural and appear in a broader regional spectrum, pottery becomes the basic source indicating continuation or discontinuation of certain traditions. Pottery was produced using the skills and knowledge of its makers, which were the product of a certain tradition – a school. This is evident in the technologies used to make them. Thus, the differences in the process of preparation of clay and in the method of pottery firing are characteristic of and different for different pottery-making traditions, which are interpreted nowadays in the context of determinants of archeological cultures. We assume that by finding and describing this standard, one can perform cultural identification of the pottery materials found within specific sites. The multi-aspect examinations of remains of pottery from the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age may become the key to the development of a tool for better differentiation between the production traditions, in the context of their cultural variability, and thus may answer the question concerning the possible cultural transfer of technological partners and, consequently, concerning the continuity/discontinuity of the changes taking place in the pottery traditions of individual makers. We hope that this will surely lead to a complete answer to the question asked in this document: How was the society of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age form in Wielkopolska?

The turn of the 2nd century B.C. was a period of immensely dynamic changes in the cultural landscape of Wielkopolska. The start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age was the time of a transformation of the communities residing in this region into a new civilization that was radically different from that of the preceding period. However, the nature of this phenomenon was much broader, supraregional. It can be stated with a high level of certainty that it is an element of the changes observed in that period in the entire Central-European *Barbaricum*. Such changes were connected with the transformation of the cultural model of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age into a different pattern of characteristics, formatted by influences of the La Tene culture. In the 3rd century BC, the world of the Celts underwent extensive changes affecting its current cultural characteristics. Its transformations of the mid-La Tene period in the Central-European area were accompanied by territorial, economic, and political stabilization of the local tribes (Fig. 1). The civilizational changes that appeared in the Celtic society in the La Tene C period were also



Fig. 1. Jastorfi and Pomeranian cultures on the background of Celtic settlement in La Tène C period. Map of Celtic settlement after P. Dulęba (<http://celtyckapolska.pl>), changed by the paper authors.

associated with its broad opening to the external world. Intensification of the contacts with the hinterland of its own ecumene created in the communities of the interior of the continent a certain “Celt fashion” which was manifested by an adaptation of patterns of both material culture and, most likely, also of elements of Celt rituals. The phenomenon of La Ténization of local non-Celtic communities was also observed in Wielkopolska. Its course appears to be the key to the understanding of the transformations taking place in the region at the turn of the 2nd century B.C. In the old literature, the origins of the changes taking place at that time were linked to the transformation of the community of the Pomeranian (Wejcherowo-Krotoszyn) culture as a result of influence of strong Celtic currents that resulted in formation of a new culture typical of cultural currents of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, namely of the Przeworsk culture (Kostrzewski 1961, 65-100). The culture includes products typical of the La Tène culture and its rituals have characteristics that originated in the tradition of the Celtic society. Currently we know that the problem is not quite as simple and unequivocal. The objective of the current article is to discuss the moment of formation of the cultural model typical of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age in the present-day Wielkopolska. This is an opportunity to describe a certain complexity that resulted from emergence in the recent years of new

materials and to point at attempts to find independent ways to identify and interpret them.

In order to understand the complexity of the cultural situation of Central Europe at the threshold of its La Ténification, one must go back to the time of formation of the local model of civilization of the Iron Age. At the end of the Hallstatt C period, a crisis affected the Lusatian culture developing in the present-day Poland since the 3rd bronze period, more specifically the southern cultural-economic pattern represented by its communities, which was earlier based on the traditions of the urnfield culture and at that time – on the traditions of the Hallstatt culture. Sometimes it is pointed out that the civilizational changes that took place at that time in the Central Europe could be due to a climate change and the associated cooler and more humid sub-Atlantic period (Gedl 1989, 636; Ostojă-Zagórski 2008, 210). The climate change must have resulted in such extensive changes in the ecosystem that the communities were forced to redefine their cultural code. In the Central-European area, which until then had been dominated by Lusatian culture communities, an alternative cultural model was developed in a short time. In the territory of present-day Poland, these changes were defined in the literature as Pomeranian culture which, in its early, classical period, appears to be a well defined phenomenon (Kaczmarek 1999). The culture, adopted by local communities, was manifested in the archaeological material most of all by changes in the funeral rites and a new style of pottery forms present mostly in funeral assemblies. However, elements that constituted the essence of the classical period of development of the Pomeranian culture, such as presence in graves of face urns (Fig. 2) or house urns (Fig. 3), could be seen at that time not only in the case of that culture. Thus, it is possible to see the similarities between the Pomeranian culture zone and the entire Central-European Lowland which underwent a similar transformation that was due to the similar model of reception of Hallstatt traditions and their creative adaptation. This is probably the cause of the similarities between the Pomeranian culture and the central and northern German zone, and partly the Scandinavian zone. The similarities are particularly visible mostly in the forms of pottery. It is in them that the intercultural characteristics typical of the Central-European older Pre-Roman model is the most manifest. Unfortunately, in the studies conducted so far, the Pomeranian culture is still perceived in Poland as detached from the processes taking place in parallel to its development, most of all in the drainage basin of the Elbe River (Gedl 2005, 41). The similarities in the development of the Pomeranian Culture and the zones adjacent to it do not apply only to areas previously located in the domain of the urnfield culture, which were subject, to a greater or lesser degree, to the influence of the

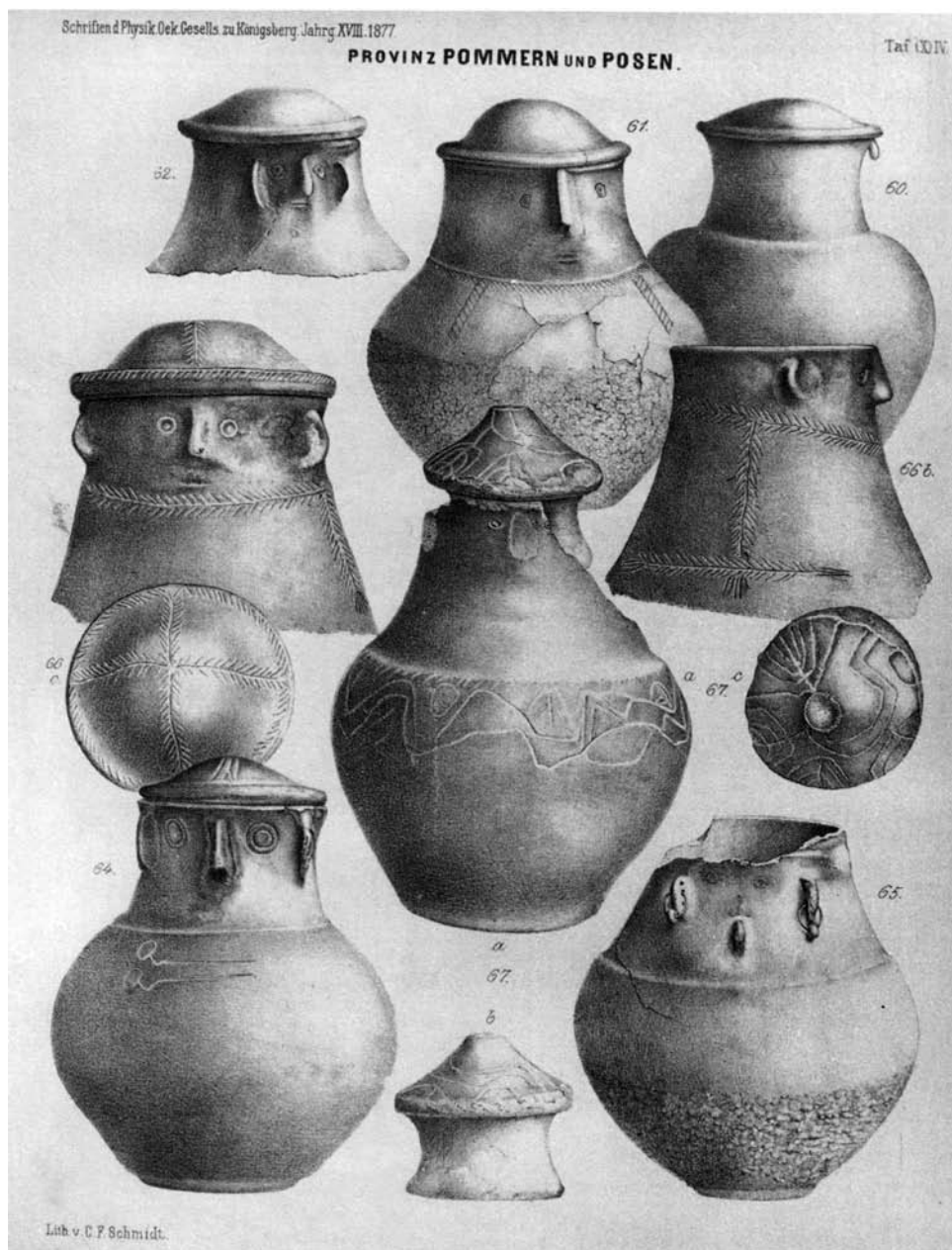


Fig. 2. Face urns of Pomeranian culture from Pomerania and Wielkopolska. After Berndt 1878.

Hallstatt culture. In all likelihood, the phenomenon identified as the Pomeranian culture was indeed a part of the broad changes that took place at that time in the entire Baltic Sea basin and, consequently, also the area occupied in the Bronze Era by settlements of the Nordic culture. On the substrate of the latter



Fig. 3. Pottery urn in the form of realistic model of haus (Hallstatt C/D). Unknown findspot. After Ostoja-Zagórski 2008.

culture, a broadly defined Jastorf culture developed, which was associated with the start of iron production there.

The scale of the changes taking place then indicates that not only local transformations of individual groups took place but rather a new universal civilizational current was born and spread into a majority of territories of Central and Northern Europe. The new current became an alternative to the already ineffective southern civilizational pattern that, for various reasons, was no longer capable of full adaptation in the area around the Baltic Sea. Perhaps those broad “native repair systems” were the outcrop of the changes that took place in the structures of the very Hallstatt culture where, since the beginning of the HD2-3 period, the power became concentrated in a smaller number of centers, which was manifested by the abandonment of some defensive settlements and a reduction in the number of rich prince tombs with carriages or horse tacks (Cunlife 2003, 71-75). Such changes resulted in very deep transformations of the current political structure of the Hallstatt world and to formation of new centers of power on the Marne and Moselle Rivers and in the Bohemian Basin, which were based on military aristocracy (Cunlife 2003, 81-



83). The new structure “appropriated” the mainstream of the Hallstatt culture and developed it, starting from the early 5th century BC, into a La Tene culture model, which was connected with entry of Celtic tribes onto the historical stage. Of note is the fact that in the first two centuries, the influences of the early Celtic civilization were limited nearly exclusively to the ecumene settled directly by this ethnos. Outside of the area of Celtic settlement, the aforementioned Central-European post-Hallstatt style was developing at that time. The basis for its development was the creatively transformed classical, pre-Celtic model of the Hallstatt culture, adjusted to the economics and the level of development of the local communities. It became so attractive that the communities that adapted it did not intend at that time to adapt the early La Tene model that was developing nearby. It can certainly be assumed that it identified the post-Hallstatt Central-European community, with the Pomeranian/Cloche Grave culture, which in Wielkopolska embodied the entire Older Pre-Roman Iron Age, becoming its part.

In the territory of the present-day Poland, the Older Pre-Roman Iron Age is currently a rather problematic moment in the development of settlements in this part of Central Europe. This is because the Pomeranian culture has been reduced to a kind of intermediate, transient stage, which was over 300 years long (!) and combined the decline of the Hallstatt/post-urnfield Lusatian cultural model with emergence in the 2nd century B.C. of the La Tenized Przeworsk-Oksywie model. The oscillation between two well defined pottery styles resulted in the fact that in most cases pottery makers strove to make their products similar to either of those styles. The distinctiveness of the Pomeranian culture has traditionally been identified by comparing its “genetic code” to that of the Lusatian culture. The identity of the younger of the two groups was built on the comparison of the groups. The similarity to the pottery of the Lusatian culture was identified with regard to both style and technology, which resulted in a combination of some of the materials into a certain Lusatian-Pomeranian horizon. One of the key elements that define the distinctiveness of the Pomeranian pottery, compared to Lusatian culture pottery from the Hallstatt period, is the pottery present in box graves, which had no analogies in the funeral rites of the older culture. On the other hand, attempts have been made to identify the typological relationships between pottery of the Pomeranian culture and the forms of the Przeworsk culture that followed (Krzyżaniak 1971, 206-217). Despite the efforts, it has been impossible so far to indicate, in a fully convincing manner, any links between the pottery of the Pomeranian culture and the pottery of the early Przeworsk culture that would justify the proposition concerning genetic continuity between the two cultures, suggested by



Fig. 4. Burial inside inverted pottery vessel ("cloche grave") on exhibition of the Archaeological Museum in Poznań. After Ostoją-Zagórski 2008.

some authors (Gedl 2005, 41). Why is it so? This situation has certainly been due to the poor knowledge of the youngest development stage of the Pomeranian culture, which resulted from the small amount of metal artifacts that is typical of this group (Krzyżaniak 1972, 129; Woźniak 1979, 148; Dąbrowska 1988, 95) and the associated lack of knowledge of the youngest ceramic forms typical of this culture. It is the latter forms, and not the well defined pottery from the oldest horizon of its development, that should be the basic for comparisons with pottery typical of the Przeworsk culture.

The characteristics typical of the late period of development of communities of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age identified in the literature are only few aspects of the "genetic suit" of the Pomeranian culture. It is assumed that in the funeral rites there was a departure from the earlier custom to build multiple-body tombs



and, instead, single-body graves began to be built (Kaczmarek 1999, 144, 145). Also, appearance in that period of cloche graves has been indicated (Kostrzewski 1955, 184). However, it is currently assumed that this grave form (Fig. 4) was used most likely since the time when the classical Pomeranian culture assemblies were formed, in parallel with multiple-body box graves. Their younger variants, present in burial grounds until the first settlements of the Przeworsk culture appeared here, would of course be linked to the Older Pre-Roman Iron Age (Kaczmarek 1995, 117). In the context of the funeral rites of the Pomeranian culture of the Older Pre-Roman Iron Age, attention should also be paid to the discoveries of single-body graves with stone fortifications, which are present in Wielkopolska, for example in the burial grounds in Koninko (Blume 1911, 341) and in Wierzenica (Kostrzewski 1919-1920). Graves of this type were defined by J. Kostrzewski as the North-Western stone-fortified grave culture (Kostrzewski 1923, 143). In the 2nd edition of his book on the prehistory of Wielkopolska, J. Kostrzewski pointed at the similarities between the pottery forms found here and the contemporary pottery from Lower-Elbe areas of North-Western Germany, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg, and between the few bronze decorations found in the pottery in Wielkopolska and the artifacts found in Jutland, the eastern part of Hannover, and Holstein (Kostrzewski 1923, 143-145), which were areas of the Jastorf culture. In later works (Malinowski 1981a, 50; 1981b, 150), this type of burial forms were included in the Pomeranian culture, which may be associated with the broader matter of clearly visible similarities between the Pomeranian culture and the Jastorf culture (cf. Czopek 1992a, 1992b).

This lack of a good definition of the youngest horizon of the Pomeranian culture results in a limited knowledge of the chronological stratification of its materials. In practice, as a result of this, the artifacts belonging to this group are treated a little *en block*, including most of all the aforementioned mass pottery materials. This leads to a definitely flattened view of settlements of the Pomeranian culture. In our opinion as researchers, this has caused a certain over-representation of densification of the network of those settlements (Fig. 5), which supposedly existed in the same space throughout the period of existence of this culture. Unfortunately, this phenomenon is similar to the image, built in the literature, of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age and the presence in that period of settlements of the Przeworsk culture, usually shown from the standpoint of its full dispersion in the last 200 years of the old era (Fig. 6). Unfortunately, the points shown in the maps presented here are not appropriate for the entire time of development of both groups and do not make it possible to draw broad conclusions concerning variability of the settlement network, especially at the time of the theoretical contacts of those two components.

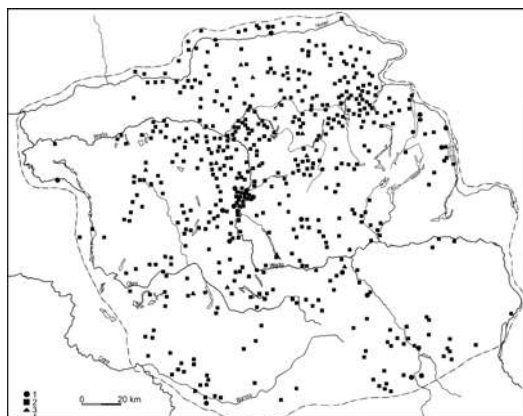


Fig. 5. Sites of the Pomeranian culture in Wielkopolska. After Kaczmarek 1999.

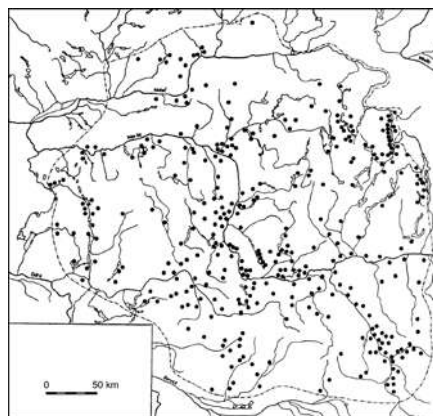


Fig. 6. Sites of the Przeworsk culture in Wielkopolska. After Machajewski 1980.

The complexity and ambiguity of the contacts between the Pomeranian culture and the Przeworsk culture are properly illustrated by the map included by T. Dąbrowska in her monograph on the beginnings of the younger of the two cultures (Dąbrowska 1988, Map 13). In the map, the author shows the sites where materials of both the Pomeranian culture and the Przeworsk culture were present. In Wielkopolska (which is not an exception), a large majority of them (Fig. 7) is located only in the administrative area of the same locality; however, they do not necessarily come from one site (Dąbrowska 1988, 90). Unfortunately, even at the time of recording of materials of the two cultures within the same site, only in few sites their coexistence could be demonstrated. This is because the times of their presence there could be three hundred years apart. The hypothetical coincidence of the location could be fully accidental. This demonstrates the difficulty with determination of the actual time sequence of individual cultural units from the period at the end of the older and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age and, consequently, with definition of the actual cultural situation at the turn of the 2nd century B.C. In the case of Wielkopolska, the possibility of presence of phenomena typical of the Pomeranian culture is indicated up to phase A₂ of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age (Krzyżaniak 1972, 128; Dąbrowska 1988, 99). This phenomenon is observed with reference to certain currents in production of pottery, whose form typical of the older phase of the Pre-Roman Iron Age appear in the context of intercultural metal elements – mostly brooches of mid-La Tene design. Such artifacts were found for example in Zadowice (Kaszewska 1961, 225) and in Sokołowice (Łuka 1953). Importantly, the graves in the burial ground in Sokołowice have lately been associated with the influence of the Jastorf Culture (Grygiel 2004, 54, 55; Michałowski 2005, 164). The ensuing problem is the presence of the Jastorf

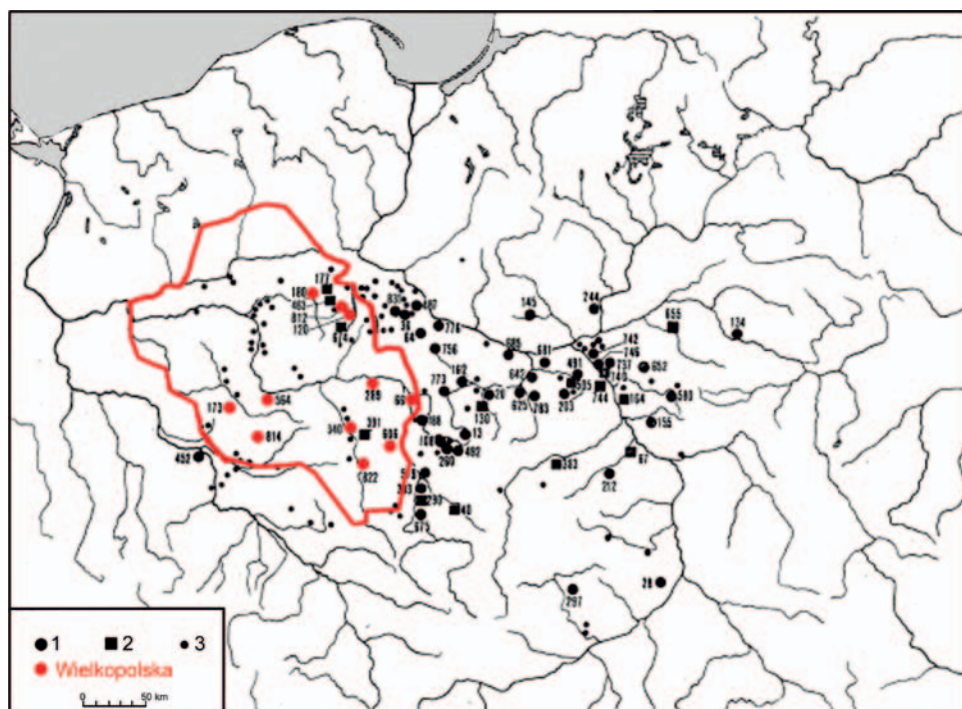


Fig. 7. Co-existence of materials of Pomeranian and Przeworsk culture. After Dąbrowska 1988, changed by the paper authors.

1. Sits with finds of both cultures (In Wielkopolska: 66. Brzozówka; 120. Dobieszewice; 173. Gni-ewowo; 180. Gogółkowo; 289. Konin; 340. Kurza; 564. Pyszczę; 606. Rzęzawy; 812. Wszedzień; 814. Wymysłowo; 822. Zadowice). 2. Findings of Pomeranian and Przeworsk culture from the same locality, but difrent sites. 3. Findings of Pomeranian and Przeworsk culture from the same locality, exactly not localized.

Culture as another component of the cultural space of Wielkopolska at the end of the older and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age. As a result of its presence, we are currently unable to identify the extent to which the changes of the cultural face of Wielkopolska at that time were linked significantly – as has been assumed so far – to the process of La Tenization of the population of the Pomeranian Culture, which caused its transformation into the younger Pre-Roman scheme, i.e. the Przeworsk culture. We have to ask the following question: Is this not a different process, i.e. appearance close to the residents of the region of groups of newcomers who brought their cultural patterns, which were clearly La Tenized and, consequently, to what extent the different cultures interacted at that time in Wielkopolska as a result of the extensive migration processes taking place in that period in Europe (Michałowski, Teska 2016)?

At the turn of the 21st century, extensive rescue excavations were conducted in Poland most of all during the construction of express roads, motorways,

and large industrial buildings (Makiewicz, Skowron 2005, 70; Machajewski 2008, 116). As a result of this research, a significant pool of new materials was gathered, associated with the end of the older and start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, which changed the previous understanding of the settlements in Wielkopolska in the 2nd century B.C. (Michałowski, Teska 2013, 207). As a results of the new elements, identified as associated with the Jastorf culture, that culture in Wielkopolska is no longer considered as marginal and only “imported” one (Wołągiewicz 1979, 36). On the contrary, the Jastorf culture is currently identified as real migration of Germanic communities from the broadly defined Jastorf Culture area – Jutland and Northern Germany, toward the Black Sea. This “Bastarn route” presumably resulted in a spread in Central Europe of materials typical of the Jastorf Culture (Teska 2014, 162, 163). Artifacts interpreted as those associated with the Jastorf Culture are found exactly in the transitional period between the older and the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age. Their styles are connected with horizons both preceding the process of La Tenzization and (actually most of all) those from the period of acceptance of the influences of the La Tene culture by the communities of the Jastorf culture. The b and c phases of the 1st stage of Jastorf culture are connected with the presence of such forms as tape ear rings, spade pins, pins with disk heads, Holstein pins (Fig. 8), and tongue buckles. They are present in inventories of their contemporary Pomeranian culture artifacts (Kaczmarek 1999, 150; Michałowski 2008, 91; Wołągiewicz 1979, 67, 68). The nature of the younger artifacts is connected most of all to the 2nd stage of development of the Jastorf culture (see Seyer 1982, Abb. 2) and, consequently, can be basically dated to phase A₁ and, to a lesser extent, to stage A₂ of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age (Michałowski

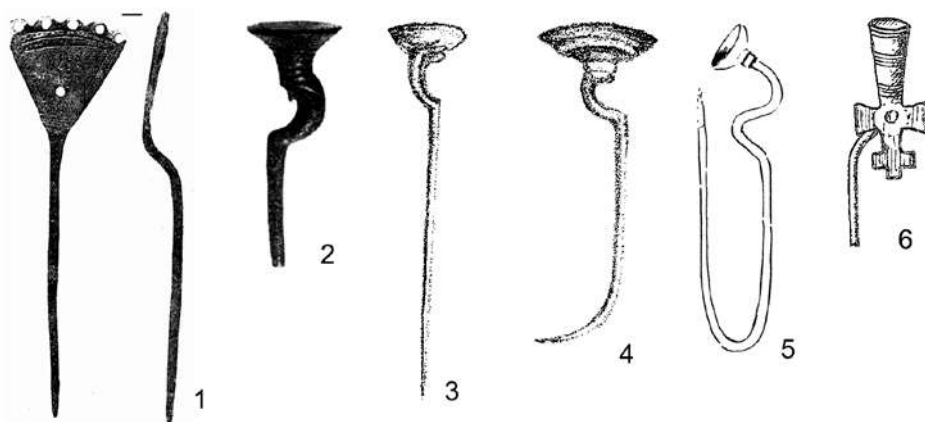


Fig. 8. Jastorf culture pins from Wielkopolska. 1. Włoszakowice; 2. Żółwin; 3. Łuszczewo; 4. Sobiejuchy; Jutrosin; Biała. After Michałowski 2008.

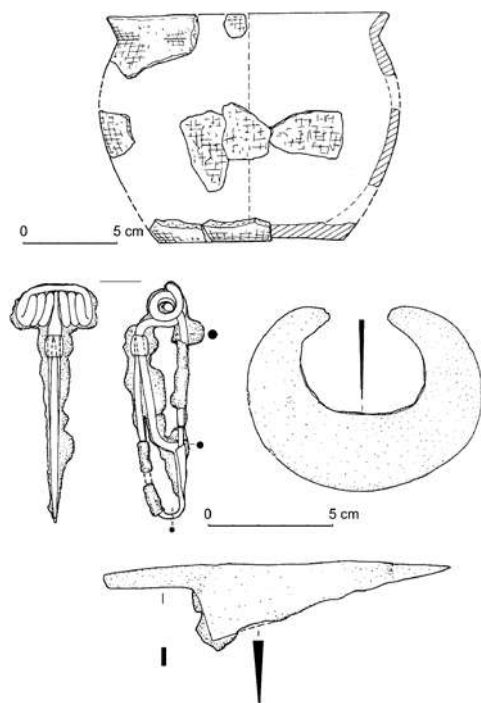


Fig. 9. Drawsko, site 1. Equipment of the grave – object 15. After Dernoga, Gajda 2004.

porary Wielkopolska, including in particular its northern zone (Michałowski 2006; Teska 2017). However, having no knowledge of the youngest materials of the Pomeranian culture and keeping in mind its genetic similarity to the Jastorf culture, one cannot exclude that in essence this is only an occurrence of certain internal transformations of the local culture, taking place in the broad range of supraregional stylistic changes typical of the entire zone surrounding the Baltic Sea, which perhaps, at some moment, were strengthened by the aforementioned migration process directed, at the turn of the 2nd century BC toward the Black Sea, which eventually resulted in crystallization in the early 2nd

2008, 90, 91). Among the findings associated with that horizon, of key importance are the brooches of mid-La Tene design (with a significant majority of brooches of the A and B variants according to J. Kostrzewski), which were present in grave inventories among others with three-part belt buckles and semi-circular razors (Fig. 9; 10). This phase is also associated with one-part, tape-like belt buckles, originated from tongue forms, as well as with one enameled necklace with cylindrically thickened ends from the site in Biała (Michałowski 2005). Those forms, which have direct counterparts in the Jastorf Culture, warrant the conclusion that populations of this group could have expanded into the contem-

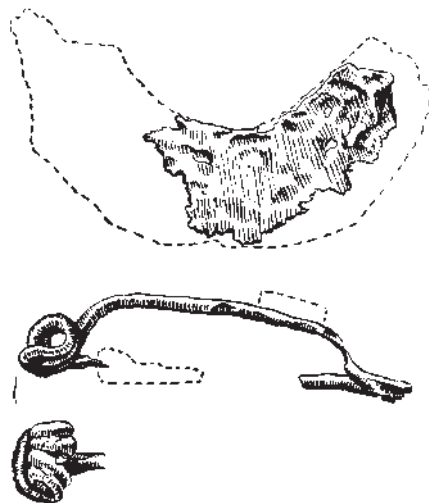


Fig. 10. Sokołowice. Equipment of the grave 41. After Łuka 1953.

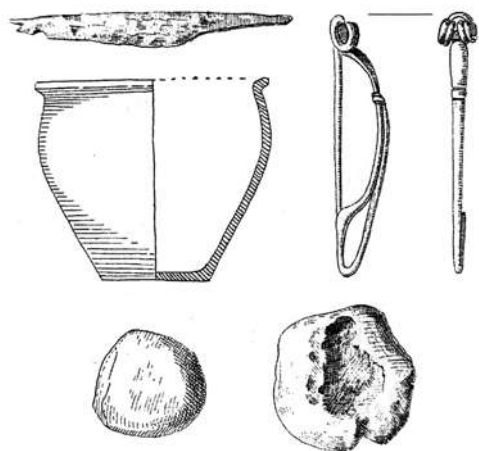


Fig. 11. Zadowice, site 1. Equipment of the grave 154. After Abramowicz, Lepówna 1957.

century BC of a poly-ethnic group, namely the Poienęști-Lukaševka culture (Babeș 1993, 168-173; Iar-mulschi 2016a, 2016b; Peschel 1992, 121-122), with the dominant element of its inventories typical of the cultural areas of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea (see Babeș 1993).

The question that inevitably arises is: What is the relation between the aforementioned groups and the next element of the cultural mosaic in the present-day Poland, including Wielkopolska, namely the Przeworsk culture? The Przeworsk culture,

which emerged in the first half of the 2nd century BC (Dąbrowska 1988, 62), due to its clearly La Tene-derived nature, dominated the way that researches thought about the Pre-Roman Iron Age. In Wielkopolska, it basically became the synonym for all cultural changes taking places in the region. However, contrary to common opinions (Godłowski 1985, 16), the beginnings of its settlement in the region are surprisingly unclear. The materials that are associated with the development of the Przeworsk culture in Wielkopolska in its early stage are mainly individual, accidental findings (Dąbrowska 1988, 67). Unfortunately, it was such findings that largely formed the image of the beginnings of the Przeworsk culture in this region (Michałowski 2008, 94). With regard to the dating of this stage of development of the Przeworsk culture on the basis of pottery materials, one must be very careful, due to the noticeable uniformity of the pottery forms present in the Przeworsk culture groups dated both to phase A₁ and phase A₂ of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age (Dąbrowska 1988, 28). Consequently, fairly reliable determinants of phase A₁ are most of all long, non-decorated brooches with mid-La Tene design, of types A and B according to J. Kostrzewski. Those found in Wielkopolska come mostly from its south-eastern part, among others from the burial ground in Zadowice (Fig. 11) where a long brooch of type A was found in grave 154 (Abramowicz, Lepówna 1957, 42, Tab. XXVII:3) and a brooch of the B type (Fig. 12) was found in grave 45 (Abramowicz 1956, 75, Tabl. XXXIV:5). Also the short brooches of types A and B and the long and short brooches of type C (Fig. 13) are sometimes associated with phase A₁. Consequently, theoretically this culture could have emerged in Wielkopolska as early as in phase A₁. However, are we sure about it? The aforementioned short forms (especially type C) are present most of all in groups dated



to phase A₂ of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age (Dąbrowska 1988, 19). Most likely it was only in that phase that settlements of the Przeworsk culture emerged in Wielkopolska on a larger scale. This process is linked to the general trend of its development. This is because in phase A₂ the Przeworsk culture was in the peak of its spread and extended to areas located at significant distances from the original zones of its compact settlements (Dąbrowska 1988, 75). At that time, it reached its territorial optimum also in Wielkopolska, which could be seen in the increase of the areas that were penetrated by it, rather than having stable settlements. In principle, at that time, only a small growth was observed in the number of burials in the burial grounds used by that culture (Żychliński 2014, Diagram 3).

What is the Przeworsk culture, which is commonly associated with the younger Pre-Roman culture in Poland? Is it really a stage in the evolutionary development of the local communities into a new model of their material culture? The sudden formation of this cultural unit and its nature, which is different from the local substrate, and the lack of clear links to the older settlement network (Pazda 1971; 1980) make it possible to propose the hypothesis that the Przeworsk culture may essentially be a phenomenon that brought with it a new, expansive substrate. The substrate could have been provided by the Vandal tribes that arrived in the Lower Silesia, which were mentioned in written sources pertaining

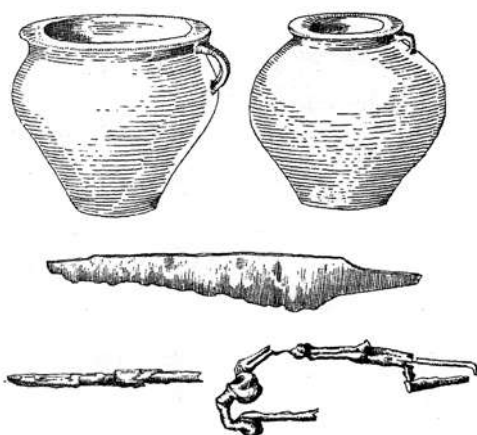


Fig. 12. Zadowice, site 1. Equipment of the grave 45. After Abramowicz 1956.

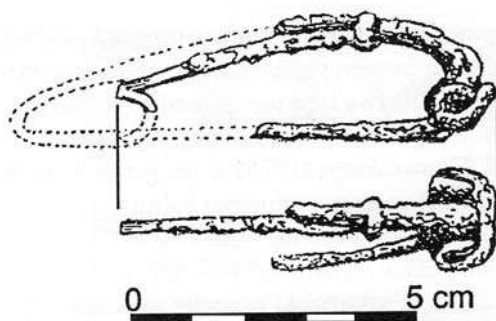


Fig. 13. Wymysłowo. Damaged Kostrzewski C-type brooch from the neighborhood of grave 154. After Jasnosz 1952.

to that region. The original region inhabited by Vandals is believed to be the northern end of the Jutland Peninsula and the central part of the southern zone of the Scandinavian Peninsula. At the end of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age and start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, a part of the Vandal population, with two tribes – the Silings and the Hasdings – constituting its core,

migrated from those lands (see e.g. Strzelczyk 1992, 39-49; Kokowski 2005, 151-176; Mączyńska 2013, 94-96). A lot of information indicates that they moved to the southern part of the present-day Poland (Fig. 14). This area, which for some time had been inhabited by peripheral groups of Celtic communities (see Fig. 1), became the area of quick development of a completely new style, which was strongly La Tenized and very clearly followed Germanic patterns. This is because the end of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age coincided with the creation of a modern model of Germanic civilization, which developed under the influence of the aforementioned intensive contacts with the Celtic zone. In that period, the Germanic peoples were on a similar level of social development as the Celtic tribes in the 4th and 3rd century BC (Cunliffe 2003, 286). This resulted in a similar expansiveness of the Germanic tribes, which spread from their northern homeland. At the same, they brought a new civilizational model. During the 2nd century B.C., certainly thanks to its freshness and attractiveness, this cultural pattern was quickly adopted in significant areas that until then were covered by "post-Hallstatt" settlements of communities of the Pomeranian culture. By politically subordinating the local populations, they would build a supra-tribal union that they would hegemonize. Perhaps this is exactly what the Lugian Union, mentioned in written sources, was. Formation of such a poly-tribal, if not poly-ethnic, units was rather common in that period. Alliances of that type, which adopted a uniform pattern of behavior and material culture, despite their ethnically mixed structure, were often observed in the La Tene/Pre-Roman Iron Age and later in the periods of Roman influences and in the migration period. In the case in question, it can be assumed with high probability that groups of the local population quickly became a part of that group voluntarily (or as a result of a smaller or greater coercion). This is a possible explanation for the lack of continuation of the pottery traditions from the Pomeranian culture to the Przeworsk culture, but not necessarily an explanation of the lack of contacts between settlements. What remains unclear is the "Jastorf episode" which, in the case of Wielkopolska, happened between periods associated with the development of those cultures in the region.

The materials dated to the end of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age, which show similarities with the Jastorf culture, appear to constitute the key element here for the illustration of the real image of the changes taking place then. They can indicate whether at that time different groups from distant lands appeared in the region and brought their cultures or, instead, only internal changes of the local formations took place in the broad stream of supraregional stylistic changes. Because the nature of metal forms can often be intercultural and they may appear in a broader regional spectrum, pottery be-

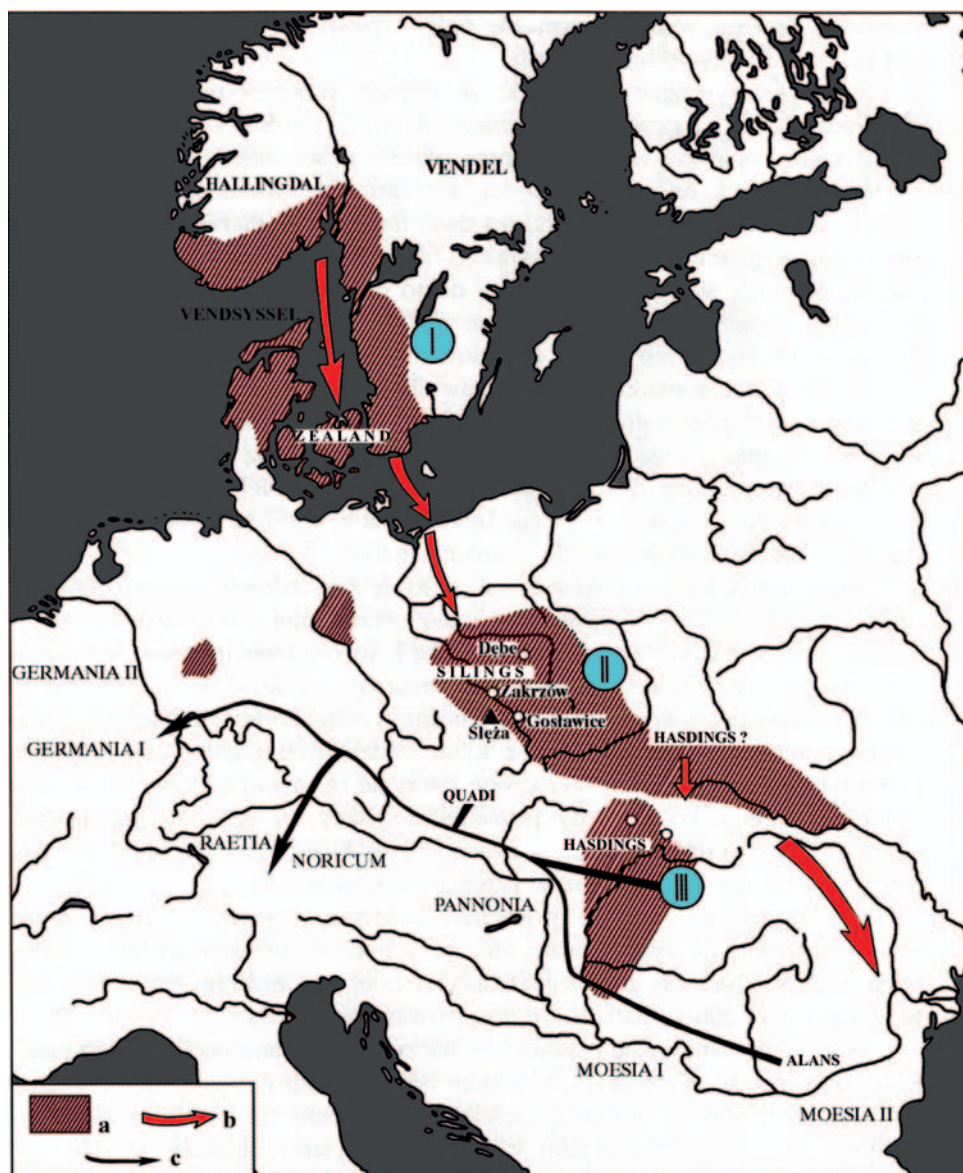


Fig. 14. The concept of Vandals wandering according to C. Courtois and J. Strzelczyk. After Kkokowski 2005. a. Vandal territories; b. Directions of early displacement (Until the end of the Markomian wars); c. Subsequent displacement.

comes the basic source indicating continuation or discontinuation of certain traditions. Pottery was produced using the skills and knowledge of its makers, which were the product of a certain tradition – a school. Each ceramic vessel had its specific function. Thus, they were made for specific purposes, such as cooking, consumption of food and beverages, and storage of bulk or liquid foodstuffs. This

is evident in the technologies used to make them. In order to achieve appropriate performance characteristics of pottery, clay must be properly prepared. It is assumed that in specific archeological entities (archeological cultures) preparation of clay for the purpose of production of its pottery follows a uniform scheme. The process of preparation of clay (by way of elimination of contaminants and adding of additives in the same proportions) stays the same and does not change in long time periods. Thus, the differences in the process of preparation of clay and in the method of pottery firing are characteristic of and different for different pottery-making traditions, which are interpreted nowadays in the context of determinants of archeological cultures. In order to identify their real unique characteristics, it is necessary to determine the chemical structures of pottery made in specific traditions. Such structures crystallized in different production stages leading to the manufacture of a finished product. By discovering and describing this standard, one can perform cultural identification of the pottery materials found within specific sites. This is clearly a solution that can minimize the errors that are due to the subjective nature of pottery descriptions performed using classical methods. Modern archeometric research methods have been used successfully in studies of pottery from the Pre-Roman Iron Age in Central Germany (Daszkiewicz, Meyer 2008). The research project currently performed at the Institute of Archeology, which compares the chemical structure of the materials associated with the “Jastorf” and “Przeworsk” traditions of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age (Niedzielski, Michałowski, Teska, Krzyżanowska, Jakubowski, Kozak, Krueger, Żółkiewski 2017; Michałowski, Niedzielski, Teska 2017), is an attempt to develop a method for comparison of analytical data with macroscopic observations used in archeology to describe pottery (Fig. 15). The multi-aspect examinations of remains of pottery from the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age may become the key to the development of a tool for better differentiation between the production traditions, in the context of their cultural variability, and consequently may answer the question concerning the possible cultural transfer of technological partners and, consequently, concerning the continuity/discontinuity of the changes taking place in the pottery traditions of individual makers.

We hope that use of modern techniques in the research concerning the end of the older Pre-Roman Iron Age and the start of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age will provide a real opportunity to uncover in the near future the white spots on the map of our knowledge about the process of formation of the new cultural image of Wielkopolska at the turn of the 2nd century B.C. By expanding in the future the archeometric database by including materials from the Pomeranian culture, we hope to be able to understand its decline and the mutual relations between that culture and the Jastorf and Przeworsk cultures. In this context, of

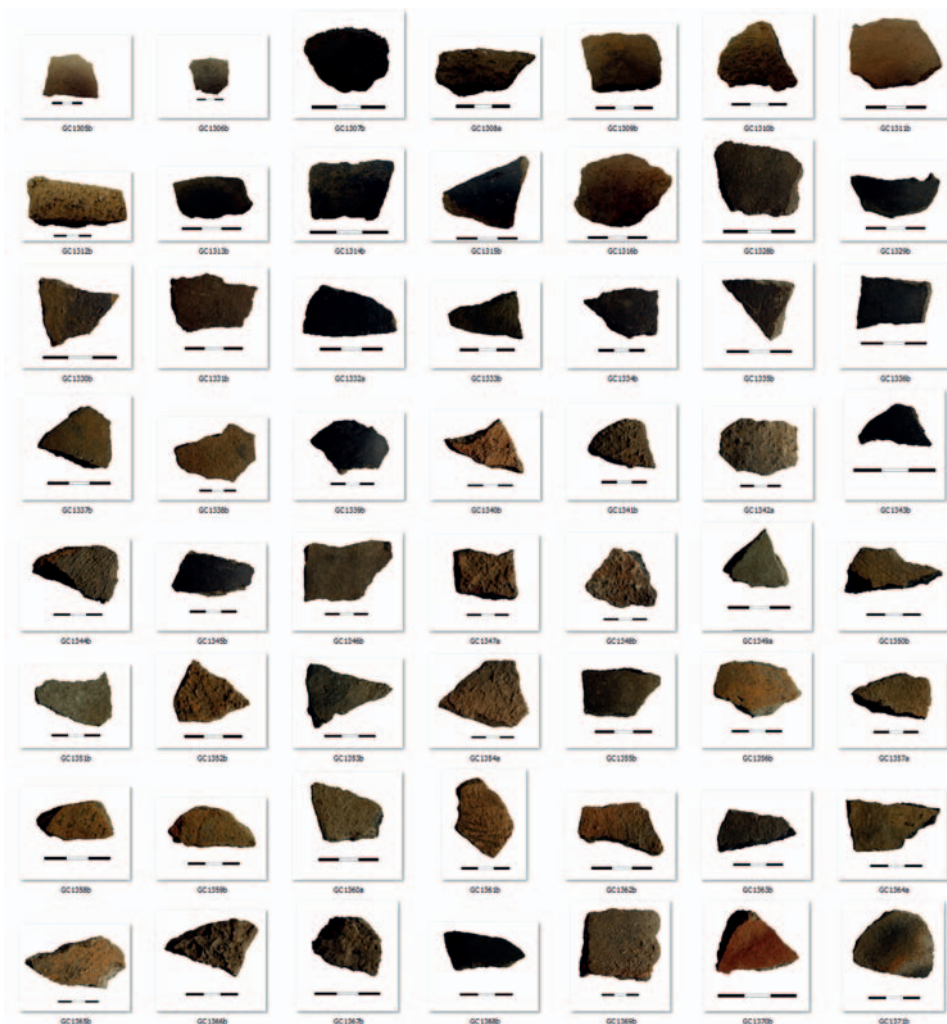


Fig. 15. Pottery samples for archaeometric tests dated on the Pre-Roman Iron Age from Dani-szew site 1 and 18 (Eastern Wielkopolska). Photography M. Teska.

particular interest is the problem of the youngest phase of the Pomeranian cul-ture, during which it could have underwent the process of stylistic transformation into the phenomenon that, given our current knowledge, is interpreted as a broad entry into Wielkopolska of populations from areas of the Jastorf culture. This will surely lead to a complete answer to the question asked in this document: How was the society of the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age form in Wielkopolska?

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Formarea modelului cultural din epoca timpurie a fierului în Polonia Mare

Rezumat

Începutul perioadei timpurii a epocii pre-romane a fost momentul trecerii comunităților care locuiau în Polonia Mare spre o nouă treaptă a evoluției, a cărei caracteristici erau radical diferite de cele ale perioadei precedente. În interiorul continentului se poate observa o anumită „modă celtică”, care se manifesta prin adaptarea modelelor culturii materiale și, cel mai probabil, a elementelor ritualurilor celtice. Traectoria acestei mode pare a fi cheia înțelegerii transformărilor care au avut loc în Polonia Mare la începutul secolului al II-lea a. Chr.

În prezent știm că problema nu este la fel de simplă și neechivocă. Pentru a înțelege complexitatea situației culturale a Europei Centrale în pragul „Latenizării”, trebuie să ne întoarcem la momentul formării modelului local de civilizație a epocii fierului și a formării culturilor care au adaptat, în mod individual, modelul cultural Hallstattian. În Polonia actuală, aceste schimbări au fost descrise în literatură ca fiind manifestări ale culturii Pomeraniene. În materialele arheologice, schimbările care au avut loc la acel moment s-au manifestat, mai ales, în schimbările ritualurilor funerare și în noul stil de ceramică, prezent în majoritatea grupurilor funerare și, în cazul zonei post-nordice, de asemenea, prin introducerea producției de fier pe baza tradițiilor Hallstattiene. Aceasta este probabil cauza similitudinilor dintre cultura Pomerania și culturile din zona centrală și nordică a Germaniei și, în parte, zona scandinavă. La acea vreme s-a născut un nou curent civilizator universal care a influențat majoritatea teritoriilor din Europa Centrală și de Nord și a devenit un model alternativ al modelului civilizator al sudului ineficient.

Pe de altă parte, s-au făcut încercări de a surprinde relațiile tipologice dintre ceramica culturii pomeraniene și formele ceramicii din cadrul culturii Przeworsk care a urmat-o, ceea ce, totuși, în ciuda tuturor eforturilor, nu a fost obținut în mod convingător. Faptul se datorează, în mod cert, înțelegerii limitate a celei mai timpurii faze de dezvoltare a culturii pomeraniene și, prin urmare, lipsa de cunoaștere a celor mai timpurii forme ceramice ce caracterizează această cultură și care, la rândul ei, ar trebui să stea la baza comparațiilor cu ceramica tipică a culturii Przeworsk. Complexitatea și ambiguitatea contactelor dintre cultura Pomeraniană și cultura Przeworsk este ilustrată și de coexistența siturilor tipice așezărilor ambelor culturi. Acest fapt demonstrează dificultatea determinării secvenței temporale reale a unităților culturale individuale de la începutul epocii timpurii a fierului (faza timpurie și târzie) și, prin urmare, definirea situației culturale actuale din perioada



secolului al II-lea a. Chr. În acest context, se impune următoarea întrebare: în ce măsură au interacționat diferitele culturi la acea vreme în Polonia Mare, ca urmare a proceselor extinse de migrație care au avut loc în acea perioadă în Europa?

În același timp, problema care devine extrem de importantă este a celei mai timpurii faze ale culturii pomeraniene, în timpul căreia ar fi putut avea loc transformarea procesului de modificare stilistică în fenomen, care, în baza cunoștințelor actuale, este interpretat ca o pătrundere largă în Polonia Mare a populațiilor din zonele culturii Jastorf. Problema care rezultă rezidă în prezența culturii Jastorf ca o altă componentă culturală în spațiul Poloniei Mari la sfârșitul perioadei timpurii și începutul celei târzii ale epocii pre-romane și relația reală dintre aceste culturi și cultura Przeworsk.

Materialele datate la sfârșitul perioadei timpurii ale epocii pre-romane și începutul perioadei târzii ale epocii pre-romane, care arată asemănări cu cultura Jastorf, par să constituie elementul-cheie pentru ilustrarea imaginii reale a schimbărilor care au avut loc atunci. Acestea pot indica fie că la acea dată în regiune au apărut diferite grupuri din teritorii îndepărtate și au adus cultura lor, fie că, și ceea ce e mai plauzibil, au avut loc doar schimbări interne ale formațiunilor locale în fluxul larg de schimbări stilistice supraregionale. Deoarece natura formelor metalice poate fi adesea interculturală și apare într-un spectru regional mai larg, ceramica devine sursa de bază care indică continuarea sau întreruperea anumitor tradiții. Ceramica a fost produsă folosind abilitățile și cunoștințele producătorilor săi, care au fost produsul unei anumite tradiții – o școală. Acest lucru este evident în tehnologiile utilizate pentru a le produce. Astfel, diferențele în procesul de preparare a lutului și în metoda arderii ceramicii sunt caracteristice și diferite pentru diferitele tradiții de producere a olăriei, care sunt interpretate în zilele noastre în contextul factorilor determinanți ale culturilor arheologice. Presupunem că prin identificarea și descrierea acestui standard se poate atribui identitatea culturală a materialelor ceramice găsite în anumite locații. Examinările multidimensionale ale fragmentelor de ceramică din perioada timpurie a epocii pre-romane pot deveni cheia dezvoltării unui instrument pentru o mai bună diferențiere între tradițiile de producție, în contextul variabilității lor culturale și pot răspunde, astfel, la întrebarea posibilelor transferuri culturale ale partenerilor tehnologici și, în consecință, în ceea ce privește continuitatea/discontinuitatea schimbărilor care au loc în tradițiile ceramice ale producătorilor individuali. Sperăm că acest fapt va conduce cu siguranță la un răspuns complet la întrebarea adresată în acest document: cum s-a constituit societatea din perioada timpurie a epocii pre-romane în Polonia Mare?

Cuvinte cheie: epoca de fier pre-romană; Polonia Mare; cultura Pomeraniană, cultura Przeworsk, cultura Jastorf, schimbări culturale, studii de ceramică.

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