

ELŻBIETA MAŁGORZATA KŁOSIŃSKA

## SOME THOUGHTS REGARDING THE RESEARCH ON THE EASTERN RANGE OF THE CULTURE REPRESENTING THE URNFIELD COMPLEX (INCLUDING THE KEY ISSUES RELATING TO THE LUBLIN REGION AND THE ADJACENT AREAS OF WESTERN UKRAINE)

**Abstract:** The territories stretching to the east of the middle course of the Vistula river that were inhabited during the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, were addressed several times as a side topic in the course of broader studies concerning the problems of prehistoric cultural and settlement relations within the Polish lands. Relatively numerous and often divergent concepts that dealt with the most important issues of the Lusatian culture in the Lublin region were presented in these studies, i.e. the origins of this culture, its territorial range, periodization, cultural inventory, settlement, and spiritual culture; also a lot of attention was devoted to the nomenclature. Currently, the issue of the development of this cultural formation of urnfield complex within the Lublin region and the spread thereof to the east is no longer drawing as much attention of the researchers as it had in the past. This is because a number of other problems have moved to the forefront, among which the so-called eastern influences and the existence of a cultural borderland between the Lusatian culture and the Wysocko culture are given special attention.

**Keywords:** eastern range of the Lusatian culture, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age

The San river basin area and the Vistula and Bug rivers interfluvium, as well as adjacent to them areas of Western Ukraine are traditionally identified as the east-most frontiers of the culture of the urnfield complex (i.e. the Lusatian culture). Undoubtedly, Subcarpathia region is the most comprehensively studied area, with the Lublin region being investigated to a slightly lesser extent, while the knowledge on the settlement of the culture representing the urnfield complex in western Volhynia is negligible. Although it is true that a map depicting the range of the Lusatian culture, mostly in the area of Volodymyr Volynskyi (Volodymyr Volynskyi district), was created (Kłosińska 2005, fig. 1, 16), but it was based mainly on single metal and pottery finds.

The area of the Lublin region, and in particular its eastern frontiers, will predominantly form the basis for this study. I would like to briefly recall how the views on the genesis of the Lusatian culture in the discussed area developed, and how far east the borders of this culture can now be moved, considering the current material sources. Let me start by stating that the history of obtaining sources for studying the Lusatian

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culture in the Lublin region has been going on for over 160 years, so almost as long as in Silesia (cf. Gediga 1967, 12-14). However, the state of field investigation and the amount of scientific thought devoted to the gathered collection is quite incomparable. Attempts to comprehend the entire, or part of, material obtained from the Lublin region and to have a slightly wider prehistoric reflection upon it were rarely made (Gardawski 1954; Głosik 1956; 1957; Nosek 1957; Gedl 1962; Dąbrowski 1962; 1972; 1982; Niedźwiedź 1991; Czopek 1997; Kłosińska 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009).

In the most “pioneering” period of acquisition of the sources, their discoverers reported only the finds of “urns”, “pagan grievances” (Polish “zale pogańskie”) and “vases with ashes”, without specifying their chronology and cultural affiliation. The term “the Lusatian culture” in respect to the materials from Lublin region was used for the first time in 1924 in an article by Jan Bryk (Bryk 1924, 57). However, it was only after the excavations in Kosin, Kraśnik district, Topornica, Zamość district, and Strzyżów, Hrubieszów district that the presence of people of the Lusatian culture in the area began to be discussed more broadly. According to some researchers, the first cemeteries of the Lusatian culture within the sparsely populated East emerged as the result of a slow colonization (Antoniewicz 1928, 100, 105-106), also the term “expansion” was used, and even “invasion”, and this phenomenon was associated with the Slavonic element (Kozłowski 1939, 116), with which the Lusatian culture was identified at the time (Jakimowicz 1935; 1936, 218). Also then an unsupported by any sources notion was voiced that supposedly the Lusatian culture expansion into the Bug and San rivers basins was caused by the pressure of the Germanic tribes (Antoniewicz 1928, 104; Ber 1938, 42). In the 1920s, 1930s, and even 1940s, the theory of the movement of the Lusatian culture from the west to the east gained a strong position in the literature of the subject (Bukowski 1966, 54; 1969, 421). In the light of the older studies, the most important role in this move to the east was supposedly played by the population of the central-Poland group (Kozłowski 1939, 117; Kostrzewski 1949, 107); in addition also the Brandenburg-Greater Poland group was mentioned (Sulimirski 1931, 161, 163, 165, fig. 2). The expansion of the Lusatian culture east of the Vistula river was believed to have reached sparsely populated territories (Antoniewicz 1928, 105-106), and then, going further, it supposedly encountered Cimmerian settlement of Neolithic(!) nature (Sulimirski 1931, 163). From these cultural “fusions” new groups and cultures were believed to have been formed, i.e. the Hrubieszów and Ulwówek ones. The perception of the nature of the Lusatian culture in the Lublin region was for years affected by the early 1930s wording of the concept of the Ulwówek group/culture (in Polish either *grupa/kultura ulwówiecka* or *ulwówecka*), as a complex with a mixed, i.e. skeletal and cremation, funeral ritual located between the central-Poland group of the Lusatian culture and the Wysocko culture. It seems today that the name and the definition of the range of the Ulwówek group/culture, as well as the influence thereof deep into the territory of Volhynia, were based on the conviction of the significant expansion of the Lusatian culture to the east, which was promoted by the researchers of the inter-war period, who based their research on a specific set of

finds that came from the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic. On this occasion, Professor Tadeusz Sulimirski wrote the following passage: “As exceeding in cultural development the population of the Lusatian culture imposed its material culture on indigenous peoples” (Sulimirski 1931, 163). Later he withdrew from this stance (Sulimirski 1936, 43), but he would still recognize the leading role of the Lusatian culture in the formation of the Wysocko culture. This expansion from the west was supposed to have encountered the environment inhabited by Neuri, who formed the “least perceptible” complex of Volhynian cultures. The Wysocko culture was believed to have emerged from them, and with the participation of the Lusatian culture.

It was, indeed, this concept of “the eastward movement”, which is accurately presented especially in the older cartographic depictions that became the reason for the late dating of the Lusatian culture complexes in the Lublin region (Antoniewicz 1928, fig. 22; Jażdżewski 1948, maps 1-5). Population of the Lusatian culture was believed to have crossed the Vistula river as late as in the 4<sup>th</sup> period of the Bronze age (Sulimirski 1931, 161; 1936, 49) or even in the 5<sup>th</sup> period (Antoniewicz 1928, 100; Ber 1938, 42; Kozłowski 1939, 116). Important changes in the views on the origin and dating of the onset of the Lusatian culture occurred at the time of the acceptance of the view of the development thereof on a local Trzciniec culture substrate<sup>1</sup>. Since the late 1940s the researchers examining issues of the genesis of the Lusatian culture on Polish territories contributed to reinforcing this thesis (cf. Nosek 1948, 81; 1957, 98-99; Jażdżewski 1948, *passim*). Aleksander Gardawski repeatedly stressed in his works the genetic connection between the Trzciniec and Lusatian cultures. Already in the early 1950s he had the first in the Lublin region Lusatian culture settlement materials, which clearly referred to the forms of the Trzciniec culture, and on this basis he claimed that: “(...) we already have grounds now to distinguish an early Eastern group of the Lusatian culture – most likely from the 3<sup>rd</sup> period of the Bronze Age (...)” (Gardawski 1954, 393 and 391). In later years, this researcher elaborated his views on the subject, which resulted in the formulation of a concept of the existence of a transitional Łódź phase, developed on the Trzciniec culture substrate and extending over central Poland, as well as over almost the entire Lublin region. Southern influences, both in terms of pottery production and metallurgy were believed to have had a considerable impact on the formation of the eastern zone of the Lusatian culture (Gardawski 1979, 47). Successive generations of scholars generally accept these conclusions, though not without reservations when it comes to the details (Dąbrowski 1972, 128; Węgrzynowicz 1973, 64)<sup>2</sup>. On the broader scale, the formation of the Lusatian

<sup>1</sup> It is worth mentioning that such a possibility was already indicated earlier, when in the early 1930s it was considered that the migrant population of the Lusatian culture had been affected by an older culture with pottery decorated with a relief strip (Sulimirski 1931, 162). Also Roman Jakimowicz (1936, 218) and Józef Kostrzewski (1949, 107) considered contribution of the local substrate.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Dąbrowski and Teresa Węgrzynowicz pointed to the fact that in the Vistula and the Bug rivers interfluvium the ranges of the Trzciniec culture and the Lusatian culture did not coincide at all places, and

culture was seen as a process extended in time and a possibility of population shifts was accepted (Dąbrowski 1991, 206–207). In the territory of central-eastern Poland the lack of division point between the materials dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> period of the Bronze Age was stressed (Dąbrowski 1961, 42; 1972, 42, 44), and the likelihood was pointed out that the Trzciniec culture settlement could have survived until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> period of the Bronze Age (Dąbrowski 1982, 263). Considering the long-term standardization in these territories of pottery and other forms of production, as well as some aspects of the funeral rite, the concept of the Mazovian Lusatian culture was generated, the range of which covered the north-Mazovian group, the central-Poland group, the Mazovian-Podlasie group and the Ulwówek group (Dąbrowski 1980, 45). However, it was also noted that the presence of secondary characteristics in the pottery source materials and the existence of voids or relatively sparsely populated zones in the Vistula and the Bug rivers interfluvium, does not allow considering the Lusatian culture as a single monolith (Węgrzynowicz 1980, 118). In the recent years, attempts have been made to clarify the dating of the onset of the Lusatian culture and the time of its cohabitation with the Trzciniec culture in the middle period of the Bronze Age was clearly distinguished (cf. Taras 1995, 91; 1997; Niedźwiedź, Taras 2003, 7; 2006, 102–105; Dąbrowski 2003, 4; Kłosińska 2005, 164). Such conclusions were inspired by the discovery of vessels referring to late Trzciniec culture pointed base pottery, which occurred as urns at some of the cemeteries of the Lusatian culture in the Lublin region (Niedźwiedź 2001, *passim*). These accomplishments indicate a significant progress, but certainly they do not conclude the research regarding the discussed here issues. It is worth adding that nowadays in the discussion on the origins of the Lusatian culture in the areas east of the Vistula river such radical points of view are no longer present, and there is a sort of compromise between the allochthonic and autochthonic concepts, as well as readiness for discussion. This is reflected especially by an accurate conclusion by Jan Dąbrowski that refers to the materials from Mazovia, and in which he points out the possibility of shaping up of the Lusatian culture according to individual models in territories not located far apart (2004, 62).

The ideas regarding the matter of the spread of the Lusatian culture, as well as the issue of distinguishing and naming particular groups thereof were of extremely diverse nature. Due to a significant increase of the material sources in the recent years these proposals are now outdated, so I am not going to recall them here. However, it is worth to concentrate on the concept of “the Ulwówek culture/group” (Polish: “*kultura/grupa ulwówiecka/ulwówecka*” in various spellings), that has been used for several dozens of years, from the moment when the presence of the Lusatian culture by the upper and middle Bug river was confirmed. The complex was believed to have been the outcome of an expansion of the central-Poland group into the sphere of the

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their territorial exclusion could prove the phenomenon of a shift of human groups during the formation of the latter (cf. Dąbrowski 1972, 128; Węgrzynowicz 1973, 64; 1980, 115). Teresa Węgrzynowicz in her studies addressed also the issue of the influx of the population of the central-Poland group from beyond the Vistula river, but she did not take any clear stand regarding this issue (1963, 27; 1973, 64–65).

Wysocko culture, and was distinguished merely on the basis of two traits: skeleton and cremation funerary rites occurring contemporaneously at the cemeteries, and one vessel type (Sulimirski 1931, 161, 163). The term “the Ulwówek culture/group” was then used in the context of sites in the Lublin region, mainly due to the presence within their range of individual skeleton graves and of specific goblets on high distinct undercut stems, referred to as the “Ulwówek type”. Moreover, it was discussed whether or not this group fully belonged to the Lusatian culture, and whether the range of its occurrence should be limited or extensive. Furthermore, it was assumed that this group was characteristic only of the areas by the upper Wieprz river, the Bug river, and the Huczwa river during the later stages of the Bronze Age, and, therefore, it was not taken into account in the studies on the Early Iron Age, accepting only the possibility of gradual extinction of this group during the HaC period. In other approaches the Ulwówek group was believed to have reached the Vistula river in the west, and in the south to spread as far as the San river basin. These concepts, which in case of individual authors differ merely in details, have changed only slightly as the material base has increased.

Nowadays, I would advocate not to use this term anymore as the site in Ulwówek, Sokal district, lying in the Western Ukraine, is simply a burial ground of the population of the Wysocko culture in its pure form, and what was previously believed to have been the Ulwówek group with its mixed funeral rite is, in fact, a relic of a cultural intermingling zone of a rather limited range. The thesis on the Lusatian culture and the Wysocko culture mixing zone stretching by the upper and middle Bug river has recently been a topic for discussion (Kłosińska 2004, 188–189; 2005, 177), in reference to the earlier findings of Jan Dąbrowski regarding the consequences of prolonged neighbourhood of these cultures (1972, 211–212). The existence and functioning of this zone during the younger stages of the Bronze Age appear to be an interesting research problem. In the Lublin region we have recorded its presence within a limited range: by the lower Huczwa river, where all of skeleton burials with the Wysocko culture traits were concentrated together with single metal finds also originating from this *milieu*, as well as by the Sołokija river, which can be testified by the pottery from Tarnoszyn, Tomaszów Lubelski district. The cemetery in Tjagliv, Sokal district is a great example of a site of “mixed” nature, where both skeleton and cremation burials with Lusatian-Wysocko inventories were present.

Currently known material sources offer the conclusion that during the Bronze Age the Lusatian culture in its “pure” urn form crossed the Bug river only at one point. A cemetery in Młyniska, Volodymyr Volynskyi district, studied already during the inter-war period, is a site of typical urnfield nature. Occurring rarely in the area of Volhynia (and mostly by the upper Bug river) single specimens of pottery and metal items, which can be associated with the urnfield *milieu*, in fact cannot form the basis for pushing the range of the Lusatian culture further to the east. However, the emergence of mixed Lusatian-Wysocko zones both in the Lublin region, and in Western Ukraine is the important characteristics of these territories.

Recently, new materials from the border zone territories of western Ukraine reached the hands of Polish researchers. These finds indicate that between the localities of Ambukiv and Petrove, Volodymyr Volynskyi district, both lying by the Bug river and not far from the village of Młyniska, there could have been another cemetery of the Lusatian culture population. This information, however, requires verification on the ground, because destroyed pottery, small bronze pieces and burnt human bones, allegedly came from an inoperative sand mine located in a forest zone.

Until now, the problem of the development of the Lusatian culture continuing into the Early Iron Age was not challenged. However, the knowledge about the cultural relations in the Lublin region during the HaC and HaD periods remains very modest and this is undoubtedly associated with the current shortages in material sources. In the publications from the inter-war period related primarily to the areas by the Bug river in the Lublin region an opinion was expressed that the number of sites was supposedly increasing at that time (the Hrubieszów group or the Bug-river-area group); also the concept was put forth of an "invasion" of the population of the Lusatian culture beyond the Bug river, assimilation of certain local characteristics, and development of mixed complexes (Antoniewicz 1928, 118, 120-122; Sulimirski 1931, fig. 3; 1936, *passim*; Kozłowski 1939, 118). Over the following years, mainly in collective studies on Polish prehistory, two cultural formations – proceeding from the south the Tarnobrzeg group (Kostrzewski 1949, 143-144; Nosek 1957, 102, 104), and Mazovia-Podlasie group influencing from the north were attributed to have had an important role in shaping the cultural countenance of the Lublin region at the final stage of the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age (Węgrzynowicz 1973, 74, 86; Gedl 1975, 147; Dąbrowski, Gardawski 1979, 109). Although eastern influences (including Scythian)<sup>3</sup> were also noticed in this area, this matter was presented in a quite superficial manner, which, in fact, is justified by the deficiencies in the material sources of the time. The issue of the disappearance of the Lusatian culture in the HaD period and in the beginnings of the La Tène period, and, therefore, already during the presence of the Pomeranian culture in the Lublin region, was omitted in these approaches. Supposedly, this was also the outcome of the insufficient material sources. Sylwester Czopek was the first one to return to these issues, however, for the similar reasons, even his conclusions were limited and only took into account the possibility of coexistence of both the cultural formations exclusively in the area of the Chodelka Basin (1992, 97).

Currently, in the studies on the cultural relations during the Early Iron Age, the impact from the east is acknowledged more often. However, this issue is very broad and it significantly exceeds the scope of the presented here study. The key issue here is the appearance of a population of Scythian origin in the Lublin area and in the

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<sup>3</sup> Stefan Nosek voiced an isolated belief that initially the contacts between the population of the Lusatian culture and the Scythian cultural formations were peaceful, and from the 5th c. BC there was a Scythian invasion or a wave of such invasions, the direction of which led from the territory of the West Podolian group through the Lublin region, along the Bug and Vistula rivers towards the north. In his opinion these events led to the collapse of the Lusatian culture (1957, 110-112).

Subcarpathia. In the Lublin region this is reflected by collective burials in wooden sarcophagi with the deceased cremated *in situ*, as well as by the distinctive pottery and metal items. In this area, during the Early Iron Age, we observe a complete lack of hitherto existing cremation urnfield cemeteries, although this fact may be just a reflection of the state of research. Meanwhile, in the Subcarpathia one can say that revolutionary changes are taking place when it comes to the settlement layout. Fortified settlements appear alongside the settlements surrounded by ditches. The former can be exemplified by Chotyńiec near Jarosław, a complex dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century, where such spectacular finds were found as, for example, turned Greek amphora for wine or olive oil, painted and marked with “delta” letter (Czopek S., Trybała-Zawiślak K., Tokarczyk T., Ocadryga-Tokarczyk E., Burghart M., Adamik-Proksa J., Rajpold W. 2017, fig. 16; and according to unpublished materials). All of these finds necessitate a substantial revision of the current knowledge on the south-eastern borderlands of Poland in the Early Iron age.

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### *Streszczenie*

## Z BADAŃ NAD ZAGADNIENIEM WSCHODNIEGO ZASIĘGU KULTURY O POPIELNICOWYM CHARAKTERZE (Z UWZGLĘDNIENIEM KLUCZOWYCH PROBLEMÓW ODNOSZĄCYCH SIĘ DO LUBELSZCZYZNY I PRZYLEGLYCH TERENÓW UKRAINY ZACHODNIEJ)

Tereny dorzecza Sanu, międzyrzecza Wisły i Bugu oraz przyległe doń obszary zachodniej Ukrainy tradycyjnie są utożsamiane z najdalej wysuniętymi na wschód rubieżami kultury o popielnicowym charakterze (czyli kultury łużyckiej). Bez wątplenia Podkarpacie jest tu rozpoznane w najwyższym stopniu, w nieco mniejszym zakresie Lubelszczyzna, a już wiedza popielnicowym osadnictwie na terenie zachodniego Wołynia jest znikoma. Podstawą tego opracowania jest przede wszystkim Lubelszczyzna, a szczególnie jej wschodnie rubieże. W opracowaniu krótko przypominano, jak kształtowały się poglądy na temat genezy kultury łużyckiej i jak daleko na wschód można przesuwac jej granicę w świetle obecnych źródeł. Po raz pierwszy miano „kultura łużycka” odnośnie do materiałów z Lubelszczyzny, pojawiło się w 1924 roku. Jednak o obecności ludności kultury łużyckiej na omawianym terenie zaczęto szerzej mówić dopiero po badaniach wykopaliskowych w Kosinie, pow. Kraśnik, Topornicy, pow. Zamość, i Strzyżowie, pow. Hrubieszów. Pojawienie się kultury łużyckiej na wschód od linii Wisły miało zdaniem różnych badaczy charakter ekspansji z zachodu. W latach 20., 30., a nawet 40., teoria o przemieszczaniu się kultury łużyckiej z zachodu na wschód zyskała ugruntowaną pozycję w literaturze

przedmiotu. Sformułowanie w początku lat 30. koncepcji grupy/kultury ulwóweckiej (ulwóweckiej), jako zespołu o mieszanym, szkieletowo-ciałoalnym rytuale pogrzebowym, lokalizowanego pomiędzy środkowopolską grupą kultury łużyckiej a kulturą wysocką, na długie lata zaciążyło na postrzeganiu charakteru kultury łużyckiej na Lubelszczyźnie. Wydaje się dzisiaj, iż u źródeł powstania tej nazwy i zakreślania zasięgu, czy też wpływów grupy/kultury ulwóweckiej w głąb terytorium Wołynia, leżało przekonanie o dalekiej ekspansji kultury łużyckiej w kierunku wschodnim, lansowane przez badaczy okresu międzywojennego, którzy swoje badania opierali na określonym zbiorze zabytków, pochodzącym z ówczesnych Kresów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej.

Dziś badacze skłaniają się do tezy, że kultura łużycka na Lubelszczyźnie wykształciła się na miejscowym trzcinieckim podłożu. Jej wschodniego zasięgu nie da się przesunąć daleko na wschód, tak jak proponowano w dawniejszej literaturze przedmiotu. Aktualna baza źródłowa przywodzi do konkluzji, że w epoce brązu kultura łużycka w „czystej” popielnicowej formie przekracza Bug zaledwie w jednym punkcie. Badane jeszcze w okresie międzywojennym cmentarzysko w Młyniskach, pow. Włodzimierz Wołyński, to obiekt typowo popielnicowy. Występujące nielicznie na terenie Wołynia (a głównie nad górnym Bugiem) pojedyncze okazy ceramiki i metali, które można by łączyć z popielnicowym *milieu*, nie mogą w istocie stanowić podstawy do przesuwania zasięgu kultury łużyckiej dalej na wschód. Ważną natomiast cechą tych terytoriów jest tworzenie się stref mieszanых łużycko-wysockich zarówno na terenie Lubelszczyzny, jak i Ukrainy zachodniej.