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Lietuvos istorijos institutas, Archeologijos skyrius

Kražių g. 5, LT-01108 Vilnius

Tel. (+370) 5 2614935, fax (+370) 5 2611433

e-mail: lietuosarheologija@gmail.com;

civilytea@gmail.com

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TURINYS / CONTENT

Agnė Čivilytė	PRATARMĖ.....	11
	FOREWORD.....	15
Agnė Čivilytė	RUDENS POPIETĖ SU RIMUTE RIMANTIENE	19
	AUTUMN AFTERNOON WITH RIMUTĖ RIMANTIENĖ	
Jonas Beran	GREETINGS FROM OLD CENTRAL-EASTERN GERMANY: MEMORIES OF INTERESTING TIMES.....	27
	LINKĖJIMAI IŠ PIETRYČIŲ VOKIETIJOS: PRISIMINIMAI APIE ĮDOMIUS LAIKUS	
	STRAIPSNIAI / ARTICLES	
Gabrielė Gudaitienė	EIGULIAI, ONE OF RIMUTĖ RIMANTIENĖ'S FIRST EXCAVATIONS – A REVISED INTERPRETATION	33
	EIGULIAI – VIENA PIRMŪJŲ RIMUTĖS RIMANTIENĖS KASINĖJIMŲ VIETŲ. NAUJA INTERPRETACIJA.....	61
Andreas Kotula, Henny Piezonka, Thomas Terberger	THE MESOLITHIC CEMETERY OF GROß FREDENWALDE (NORTH-EASTERN GERMANY) AND ITS CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS.....	65
	GROS FREDENVALDE (ŠIAURĖS RYTŲ VOKIETIJA) MEZOLITO LAIKOTARPIO KAPINYNAS IR JO KULTŪRINĖS SĄSAJOS	83
Vygandas Juodagalvis	AKMENINIAI GLUDINTI KIRVIAI LIETUVOJE. TIPOLOGIJOS IR TERMINOLOGIJOS PROBLEMOS.....	85
	GROUND STONE AXES IN LITHUANIA. PROBLEMS OF TYPOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY	108
Eglė Šatavičė	NEOLITHIC SOCIETIES AND THEIR POTTERY IN SOUTH-EASTERN LITHUANIA.....	111
	NEOLITO BENDRUOMENĖS IR JŲ KERAMIKA PIETRYČIŲ LIETUVOJE.....	142
Grzegorz Osipowicz, Justyna Orłowska, Gytis Piličiauskas, Giedrė Piličiauskienė, Mariusz Bosiak	OSSEOUS POINTS AND HARPOON HEADS FROM ŠVENTOJI SUBNEOLITHIC SITES, COASTAL LITHUANIA. FIRST TRACEOLOGICAL INSIGHT INTO THE WAY THEY WERE PRODUCED AND USED	147
	KAULINIAI ANTGALIAI IR ŽEBERKLAI LIETUVOS PAJŪRIO ŠVENTOSIOS SUBNEOLITINĖSE GYVENVIETĖSE: GAMYBA IR NAUDOJIMAS PIRMŪJŲ TRASOLOGINIŲ TYRIMŲ DUOMENIMIS	168

Sławomir Kadrow	MACRO AND MICRO SCALE NEOLITHISATION PROCESSES IN SOUTH-EASTERN POLAND AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE 171	171
	PIETRYČIŲ LENKIJOS NEOLITIZACIJOS PROCESAI MIKRO- IR MAKROLYGMENIMIS VIDURIO IR RYTŲ EUROPOS KONTEKSTE 187	187
Frédéric Surmely	CHARACTERIZATION OF TERTIARY FLINTS BY GEOCHEMISTRY: APPLICATION TO THE FRENCH TERRITORY..... 191	191
	TERCIARO TITNAGO PRANCŪZIJOS TERITORIJOJE CHARAKTERIZAVIMAS NAUDOJANT GEOCHEMINĮ METODĄ..... 205	205
Rokas Vengalis, Jonas Volungevičius, Gintautas Vėlius, Albinas Kuncevičius, Justina Poškienė, Regina Prapiestienė	ŽMOGUS PRIEŠ GAMTĄ: RELJEFO TRANSFORMAVIMAS ĮRENGIANT XIII–XIV A. KERNAVĖS PILĮ IR JO SUKELTI EROZINIAI PROCESAI 207	207
	MAN AGAINST NATURE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RELIEF DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF KERNAVĖ CASTLE IN THE 13 TH –14 TH CENTURIES AND THE EROSIONAL PROCESSES IT CREATED 248	248
Andra Simniškytė	KUPIŠKIO (AUKŠTUPĖNŲ) PILIAKALNIS: TEORINĖS PRIELAIIDOS IR TYRIMŲ REZULTATAI 255	255
	HILLFORT OF KUPIŠKIS (AUKŠTUPĖNAI): THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND INVESTIGATION RESULTS..... 284	284
	<i>KITAIP APIE ARCHEOLOGIJĄ / ALTERNATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY</i>	
Šarūnas Radvilavičius	KELIAUTOJO LAIKU UŽRAŠAI..... 289	289
	THE NOTEBOOK OF TIME TRAVELLER	
	<i>DISKUSIJOS / DISCUSSIONS</i>	
Inga Merkytė	STUDIES OF ANCIENT DNA. THE RACE FOR THE ULTIMATE ANSWER 293	293
	SENOVĖS DNR TYRIMAI: KARŠTLIGIŠKOS ATSAKYMŲ PAIEŠKOS	
	<i>RECENZIJOS / REVIEWS</i>	
Rokas Vengalis	ALGIMANTAS MERKEVIČIUS (SUD.), 2018. ANKSTYVOJO METALŲ LAIKOTARPIO GYVENVIETĖS LIETUVOJE (SETTLEMENTS OF EARLY METAL PERIOD IN LITHUANIA)..... 305	305
	<i>INFORMACIJA APIE PROJEKTUS / INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECTS</i> 309	309
	AUTORIŲ DĖMESIUI..... 327	327
	GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS..... 331	331

MACRO AND MICRO SCALE NEOLITHISATION PROCESSES IN SOUTH-EASTERN POLAND AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE

SŁAWOMIR KADROW

Institute of Archaeology, Rzeszów University, Moniuszki 10, 35-015, Rzeszów, Poland, email: slawekkadrow@gmail.com

The aim of the article is to outline the causes, mechanisms, and course of the Neolithisation process in South-Eastern Poland, as seen from a global (macro-) and local (microregional) perspective. It has been assumed that the most effective tool for analyzing this process on a macro scale is a set of concepts and rules constituting the theory of globalization (Hodos 2017). Cultural analysis (Wuthnow 1987), on the other hand, considers conflict as the main driving force of deep changes on a micro scale. Globalization is a form of connectivity that is the price humans pay to access resources that satisfy their desire for status and wellbeing. A common human pursuit is the desire to achieve a higher status and to improve one's own wellbeing. People, realizing their intentions and aspirations, enter into conflicts which can potentially be one of the main sources of crises, and thus also of cultural change.

Keywords: Neolithisation, SE Poland, Linear Band Pottery culture, globalization, cultural analysis, conflict.

Šio straipsnio tikslas yra globaliu (makro-) ir vietiniu (mikroregioniniu) lygmenimis apibrėžti pietryčių Lenkijos neolitizacijos proceso priežastis, mechanizmus ir eigą. Viena vertus, makrolygmens procesai efektyviausiai gali būti atliekami vartojant globalizacijos teorijos sąvokas ir nuostatas (Hodos 2017). Kita vertus, remiantis kultūrine analize (Wuthnow 1987) manoma, kad pagrindinė varomoji didžiųjų pokyčių mikromastu jėga yra konfliktas. Globalizacija yra bendruomeniškumo ir tarpusavio ryšių palaikymo forma. Tai yra kaina, kurią žmonės sumoka, norėdami gauti prieigą prie išteklių, reikalingų patenkinti jų statuso ir gerovės troškimui. Taigi žmonės, suvokdami vienas kito ketinimus ir siekius, įsitraukia į konfliktus, kurie gali tapti viena iš pagrindinių krizės ir kultūrinių pokyčių priežastimi.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: neolitizacija, pietryčių Lenkija, Juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūra, globalizacija, kultūrinė analizė, konfliktas.

INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of the Neolithic and the Neolithisation processes have always attracted the attention of archaeologists. This has certainly been the case with the Middle East and South-Eastern Europe (e.g. Milošević 1960), Central Europe (e.g. Nowak 2009), and the Baltic area (e.g. Rimantienė 1979).

The aim of the article is to outline the causes, mechanisms, and course of the Neolithisation process in South-Eastern Poland, as seen from a global (macro-) and local (microregional) perspective.

The spatial scope of the article is bounded by the upper Vistula River basin. The time range begins with the emergence of the oldest farming communities north of the Carpathians, and continues until the Linear Band Pottery culture (hereafter: LBK) groups transformed into the Malice culture (hereafter: MC), which is one of the post-LBK units. It has been assumed that the most effective tool for analyzing the process of Neolithisation on a macro scale is a set of concepts and rules constituting the theory of globalization (Hodos 2017). On the other hand, the cultural analysis of Robert Wuthnow (1987) will

also serve as an aid to reflect on conflict as the main driving force of deep changes on a micro scale. It is worth emphasizing that both of the aforementioned analytical tools have not been used in Neolithisation studies to date.

The abovementioned analytical tools have been designed to play the role of selected – from among the many possible – specific points of view of the problem of Neolithisation recognised in light of the wider theory of structure (Giddens 1984), the essence of which is the interdependence of structure and agency, or the theory of ‘social becoming’ (Sztompka 1991), in which there is a continuous synthesis of functioning structures and active subjects (Kadrow 2020b). The first of these social theories has already become the basis of several studies devoted to selected cases of Neolithisation in Europe (cf. Zvelebil 2005; Troskosky *et al.* 2019).

Social processes take place in an environment consisting of nature and consciousness. Nature is an unavoidable ‘container’ into which social life flows. People are thinking beings, using symbols, communicating with others, forming beliefs, etc. They are always immersed in an environment of ideas, their own and those of other people, both their contemporaries and predecessors (Sztompka 2007).

Processes on the macro (e.g. globalization) and micro scale (local crises and conflicts) are inextricably linked because they are a consequence of human actions. Human intentions, actions, and their motives are always and only carried out by individuals. They gain their collective social and cultural dimension thanks to habitus (Bourdieu 1972) or routinisation (Giddens 1984).

It is assumed that people work in a routine manner, i.e. in a system (habitus) of embodied dispositions, usually shared by people from a similar cultural milieu, which organises the ways in which individuals perceive the social world around them.

Habitus is the internalisation of external structures (norms, moral orders) and generates

strategies that allow a person to deal with different situations in a consistent and systematic way (Kadrow, Müller 2019, p. 11).

It is sometimes difficult to determine the cause and results of the process of change stemming from various trends of the globalization process and local conflicts initiated by the pursuit of aspirations for higher social status and a better life. It often takes the form of a feedback effect.

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is a complex connectivity (Robertson 2017, p. 54), ‘created by a dense network of interactions and interdependencies between disparate people brought together through the long-distance flow of goods, ideas, and individuals’ (Tomlinson 1991). Connectivity is the price humans pay to access resources that satisfy their desire for status and wellbeing. A common human pursuit is the desire to achieve a higher status and to improve one’s own being (Robertson 2017, p. 54). People, realizing their intentions and aspirations, enter into conflicts which can potentially be one of the main sources of crises, and thus also cultural change (c.f. Kadrow 2020a).

According to one of many definitions, globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of the transcultural integration of human behaviour and activities (Feinman 2017, p. 43). This process has no clearly defined beginning or end and may encompass smaller spatial domains than the entire planet. There is no consensus among researchers about the timeframe of globalization processes (Feinman 2017, p. 44). For most researchers, a reasonable time-depth is no more than decades. Others believe that globalization processes began around ad 1450–1500. Still others shift this beginning back several millennia to the advent of urbanisation and the formation of early states. However, it is known

that transcontinental migrations and shifts have been typical for the human race at every stage of its development (Feinman 2017, pp. 45–46; Hodos 2017, p. 3). Some researchers emphasize that globalization is a repetitive phenomenon (Jennings 2017, p. 12).

Globalization is a multi-scalar phenomenon in the newest sense of the term, one which is deeply embedded in time (Feinman 2017, p. 48; Knappett 2017, p. 30). At the same time, 'globalization is one of the most potent theoretical frameworks, for it provides a means by which we can make sense of our socio-cultural connectivities, and the networks through which those connections are developed and maintained' (Hodos 2017, p. 3; Knappett 2017, pp. 30–31; Robertson 2017, p. 54). While 'global' is less important than the idea of 'complex connectivity' and network more than globalization, they (connectivity and network) allow us to model and analyze data (Knappett 2017, p. 29). An important property of globalization is that it is uneven and unsymmetrical in terms of space, scope, and impact (Hodos 2017, p. 4). The key feature of globalization is the spread of a sense of one-placeness in the areas it covers. In the past this was achieved more effectively by shared practices. Another characteristic feature of globalization is the increase in sensitivity to cultural differences among people. The paradox is that there is a balance in globalization between shared practices that bind and the diversities that distinguish participants (Hodos 2017, p. 6). Globalization connects localities, although not equally or simultaneously. The result is not homogeneity but diverse complex and reflexive interactions (Robertson 2017, pp. 54–55).

As part of the globalization process there are various, sometimes seemingly contradictory trends, which are discernible at the level of cultural studies: time-space compression, de-territorialisation, standardisation, unevenness, homogenisation, heterogeneity, the re-embedding of local culture, and vulnerability (Jennings 2017, pp. 14–16). However, hybridisation plays the most important

role in the cultural blending process (Rowe, Schelling 1991; Hodos 2017, pp. 5–6). 'Globalization allows archaeologists to move beyond the superficialities of imagined homogenous and hegemonic cultures and civilisations' (Robertson 2017, p. 55).

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

A different theoretical approach will be used to observe crisis and conflict phenomena from a microregional perspective. Among the many possible ways of interpreting the remains of material culture in terms of palaeosociology, Robert Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis (Wuthnow 1987) seems to be one of the most effective (Kadrow 2016). It enables the identification of crisis situations, usually accompanied by violence, the effect of which is a change in culture or culture change.

Wuthnow proposed a dynamic model of cultural structure, which names moral order as a central point and which primarily consists of ritual and ideology, symbols and institutions. Mutual interactions and the relationship between these elements of cultural structure determine the dynamics of moral order and, simultaneously, culture itself and social structure (Wuthnow 1987). The functioning of rituals and symbols (but not their meaning) is directly accessible for archaeological observation. Furthermore, ideology and social institutions are indirectly available for archaeological knowledge because they are related to the functioning of symbols and rituals, as has already been mentioned.

The diversity and intensification of ritual practices is an indicator of increasing uncertainty in a community. In turn, uncertainty is a symptom of a crisis situation while rituals (archaeologically observable) are designed to reduce uncertainty and restore social stability. Thus, they constitute archaeologically clear symptoms of social crisis, ones which can usually be accompanied by various forms of violence. Armed conflicts occur especially

in situations of deepening uncertainty, when ritual practices are unable to remedy them.

Many theories posit that the outbreak of conflict results from uncertainty and a disruption of moral order (Wuthnow 1987), also called a dysfunction of the social system (Johnson 1982). The source of some of them could be external military pressure or aggression, sometimes only the infiltration of foreign people. However, these are necessary but insufficient conditions for conflict (rebellion, revolution, violence etc.) to break out. Another necessary condition is the rise of a charismatic leader (Johnson 1982; Weber 2002) who owes his power to personal charisma.

The sources of social conflict usually lie within the community. The primary reason for sociocultural dynamics (conflicts, changes) is a gap between the program and the actual implementation of moral order. In other words, social conflicts are caused by the 'natural' differences between practice and theory in social life, i.e. between the system of accepted norms and its everyday implementation.

THE LINEAR BAND POTTERY CULTURE IN THE LIGHT OF GLOBALIZATION PROCESSES

In the second half of 6th millennium BC, during the period of the LBK's development, the entire area of its range was in a state of functioning, lively, mutual contacts that connected all of this culture's communities. Intensive information exchange networks operated at many levels. This is demonstrated by, among other things, the amazing stylistic uniformity of the ceramics in the pre-music note (early) phase and, above all, in the music note (classical) phase from the Paris Basin in the west to the vicinity of Kiev in the east and from the Baltic in the north to the river Drava in the south. Even more extensive was the presence of ornaments made of spondylus shells (Fig. 1), as this added the Balkans, the Aegean, the Adriatic, and Liguria to

the range (Müller 1997; Windler 2018, Fig. 5.3). The habit of using and depositing spondylus ornaments is confirmed at the same time throughout the LBK and among other cultures: Alföld Linear Pottery culture (hereafter: ALPC), Vinča, Boian, Karanovo, Dimini, Danilo, impresso, Finale, etc. (Windler 2018, Fig. 5.6). This indicates the existence at the time of a network of socio-cultural and economic connections covering almost the entire continent.

The area of the occurrence of obsidian products mined on the Hungarian-Slovak border is somewhat smaller, although still very extensive (Fig. 2). It includes (not counting incidental occurrences in other areas) the Carpathian Basin, Transylvania, Pannonia, south-western Slovakia, Bohemia and Moravia, southern Poland, and central Germany (Burgert *et al.* 2017; see also Kadrow 2020a, Fig. 5). This area includes the western and eastern LBK groups, all of the ALPC, and the Vinča and Boian cultures.

Ceramics produced in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin by the Bükk culture communities and other ALPC cultural groups in the areas north of the Carpathians also had a considerable spatial range (Fig. 3). These imports are concentrated around Kraków (Kaczanowska, Godłowska 2009), Rzeszów (Kadrow, Rauba-Bukowska 2017), and Sandomierz (Szeliga, Zakościelna 2019). They are occasionally also found in Silesia, Kujawy, and the Dniester basin in Ukraine (Dębiec 2012). However, the reverse process, i.e. the penetration of LBK ceramics into ALPC areas, is mostly not recorded (cf. Virág 2009, Fig. 6).

Due to the Neolithisation processes, which are described in this article and cover south-eastern Poland (Lesser Poland), the connection networks, as determined by the distribution of some flints extracted in this part of Poland, are also important. This concerns the export of Turonian (Szeliga 2014) and Jurassic flints to the northern part of the Carpathian Basin and neighbouring areas (Mateiciuciová 2008). They cover smaller areas than

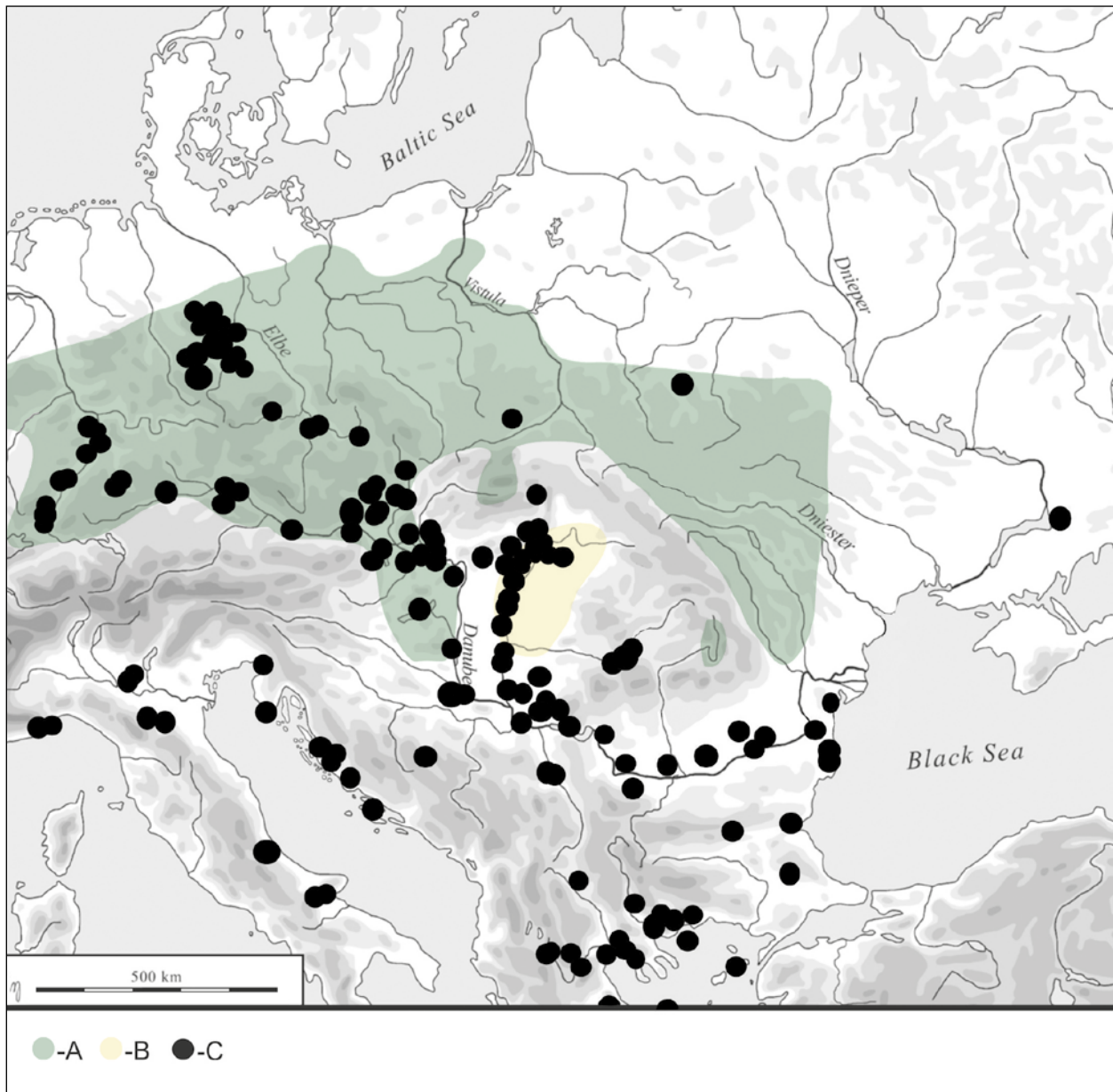


Fig. 1. Distribution of spondylus ornaments (C) against the background of the LBK (A) and ALPC (B) territorial ranges (after Windler 2018) as a material trace of connectivity in the early Neolithic in Europe. *Drawing by A. Krzywda.*

those mentioned above, but also testify to trans-Carpathian and transcultural contacts between the LBK and ALPC communities.

The spread of anthropomorphic plastic specimens (Pavúk 1969; Becker *et al.* 2018), including facial imaginations, was also transcultural and at least Central European in nature (Virág 2009, Fig. 6).

Another case of transcultural contacts in the late phase of the LBK is the wide distribution of the custom of decorating the inner walls of vessels (Pavúk 1969, Fig. 30:2).

The abovementioned cases (although, of course, not all of them) argue that the entire LBK area and neighbouring areas, with particular emphasis on

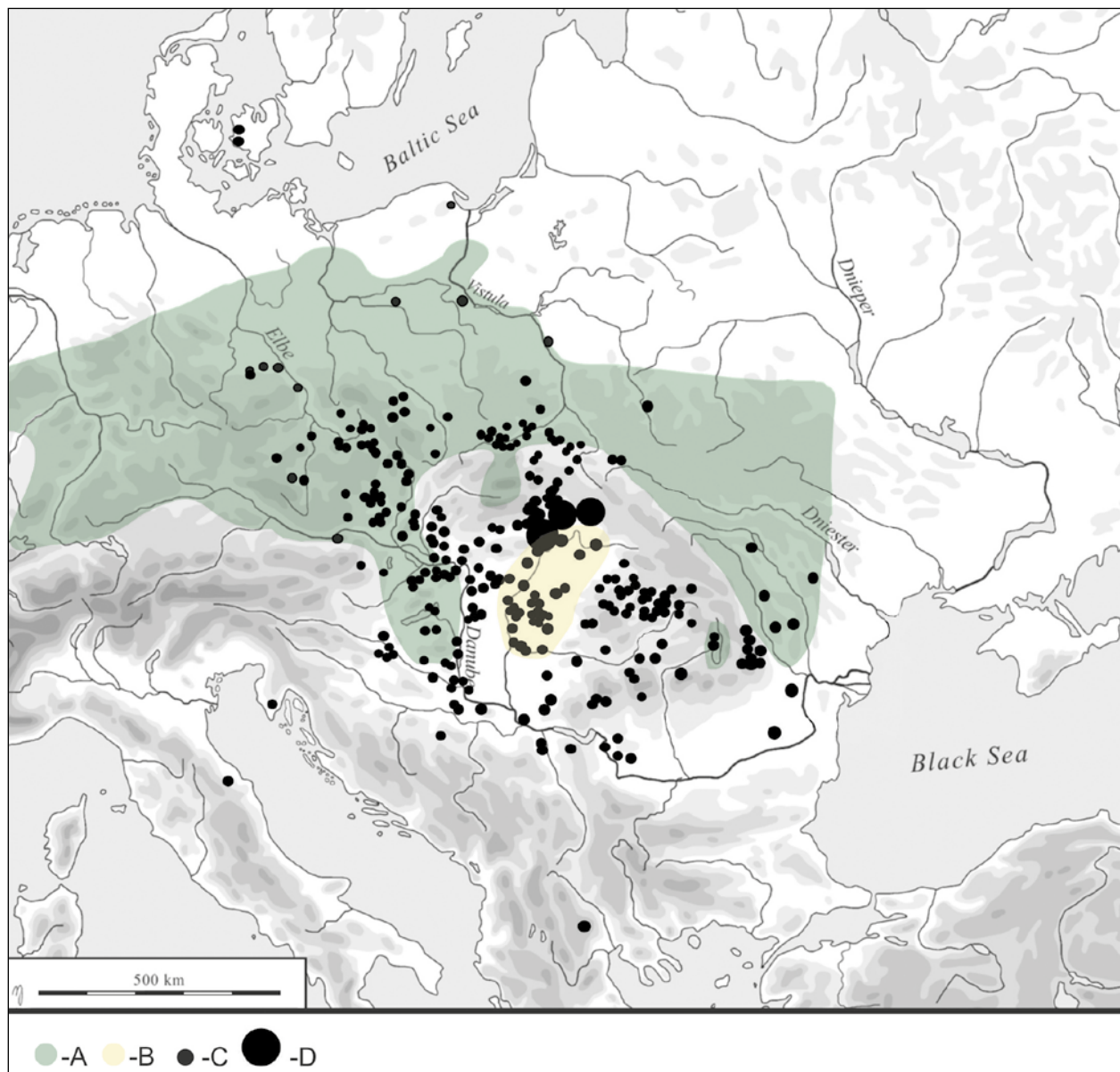


Fig. 2. European distribution of obsidian (C) and places of its exploitation (D) against the background of the LBK (A) and ALPC (B) territorial ranges (after Burgert *et al.* 2017) as a material trace of connectivity in the early Neolithic in Europe. Drawing by A. Krzywda.

the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans (see Figs. 1 and 2), are characterised by a network of dense connections and information flow (connectivity). Recently published studies on the Neolithisation of Polish territories (Kozłowski, Nowak 2019) show particularly dense networks of mutual contacts between Mesolithic communities and the networks

of contacts and expansion directions of the early groups of farmers (Fig. 4).

Despite the close and long-lasting neighbourhood and the possibility of the mutual establishment of various contacts, the Mesolithic and LBK communities in Poland lived in a state of so-called *splendid isolation* and they made almost no

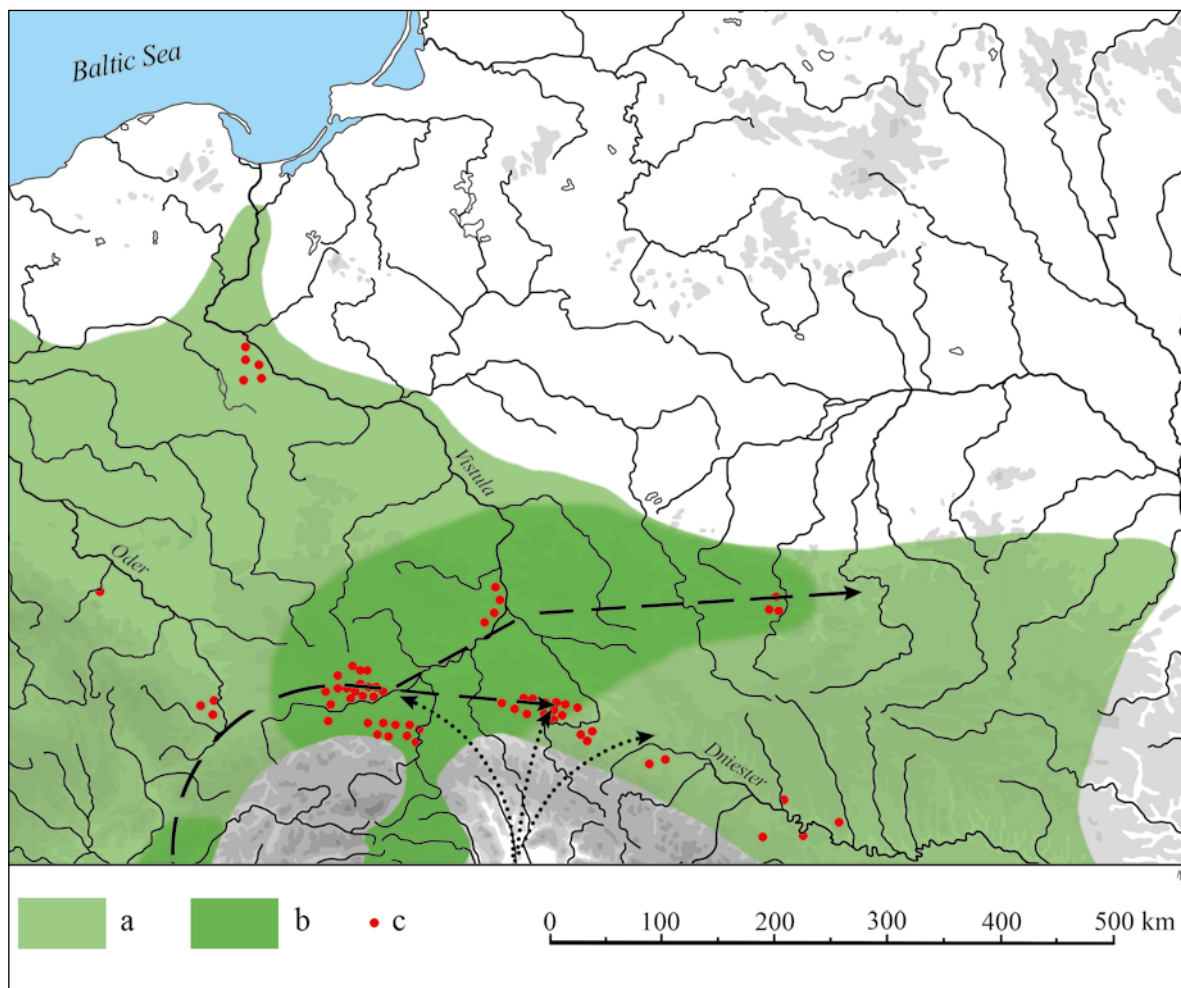


Fig. 3. Distribution of ALPC pottery imports (c) north of the Carpathians showing the directions of cultural influences against the background of the LBK (a) and Želiezovce style territorial ranges (after Kadrow, Rauba-Bukowska 2017). Drawing by I. Jordan.

contact (Kozłowski, Nowak 2019, p. 264). A similar situation prevailed regarding contacts with people from other Neolithic cultural units in Europe. A state of almost total isolation from other cultures characterised the LBK community in its early and music note phase (excluding the distribution of spondylus ornaments). The exchange of stone raw materials (obsidian and flint from Lesser Poland)

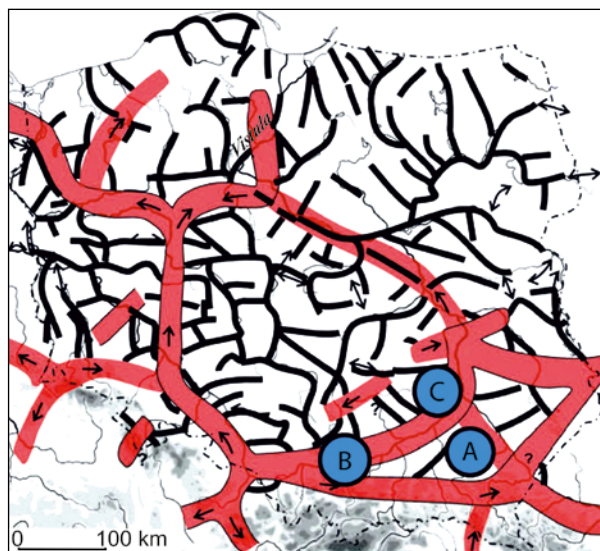


Fig. 4. The Rzeszów (A), Kraków (B), and Sandomierz (C) early Neolithic regions against the background of the Mesolithic (black lines) and LBK (red bands) networks of contacts (after Kozłowski, Nowak 2019). Drawing by S. K. Kozłowski and M. Nowak.

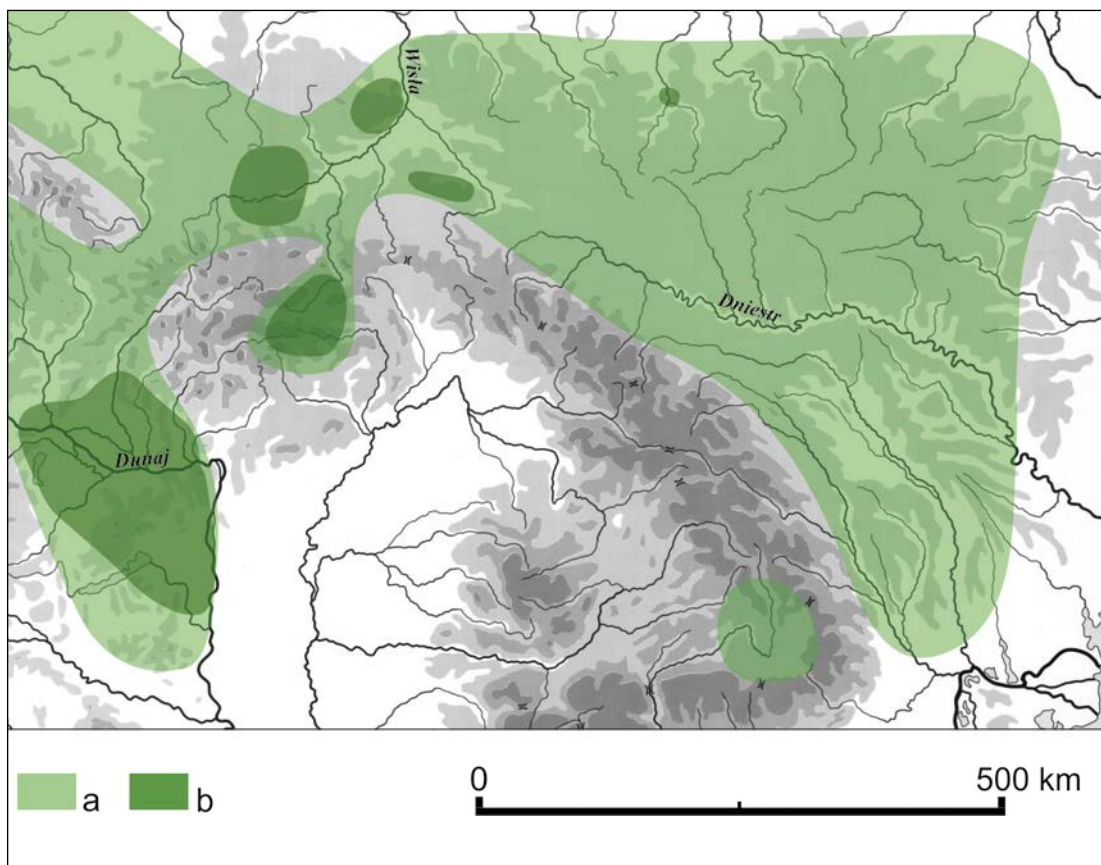


Fig. 5. Insular distribution of the Želiezovce style (b) against the background of the LBK (a) territorial range. *Drawing by A. Krzywda.*

was sporadic only then. In the areas north of the Carpathians, there were also few imports of ceramics from the ALPC at this time. This stage of the globalization process was characterised by a definite predominance of the standardisation and homogenisation (Jennings 2017, pp. 14–15) of the cultural behaviour (ceramic production, dwelling construction, settlement patterns, and subsistence strategies) between the LBK communities throughout its territorial range.

A definite change in contacts with the population of other Neolithic cultures occurred at the end of the classic phase of the LBK and at the turn of the late phase. There was still no breakthrough in contacts with the Mesolithic population. In south-western Slovakia and in the neighbouring areas of northern Pannonia, the Želiezovce group emerged from the

late classical (late music note) phase of the LBK (Pavúk 1969).

An archaeologically perceptible manifestation of this can be seen in the predominance of new rules for the technology of making and decorating ceramics. The clay was usually well prepared and the use of organic temper was abandoned. In terms of ornamentation, a new element was the supply of engraved lines with groups of music notes that were heralds of the Želiezovce style. In addition, the bands between the engraved lines were often smoothed (Pavúk 1969, Fig. 6:2, 5). Sometimes these bands were covered with red paint, red incrustations having been found in the engraved lines. Equally typical was the smoothing of multiple engraved lines on a wet surface before firing (Pavúk 1969, Fig. 10:25). Such innovations were accompanied by imports and

imitations of ceramics from the ALPC area (Pavúk 1969, p. 275).

For unspecified reasons, there was then an acceleration and intensification of the interactions with the South-East of Europe, from the area of the Neolithic Balkan cultures, mainly from the Vinča culture through the Szakalhat group, which is part of the ALPC complex (Pavúk 1969, pp. 338–352). A phenomenon typical for globalization processes took place at that time, i.e. time-space compression, involving the acceleration of long-range contacts (Jennings 2017, p. 14).

Shortly after the crystallisation of the Želiezovce group, its style of pottery ornamentation was diffused throughout northern Pannonia, Lesser Poland, and Volhynia (Fig. 5). Territorially, the largest agglomeration of the Želiezovce style in Lesser Poland was in the Kraków region, which includes the Rudawa, Dłubnia, Szreniawa, and Nidzica river basins and the Nowa Huta section of the Vistula along with the Wieliczka-Bochnia loess forelands (Czekaj-Zastawny 2008, Fig. 68; Kaczanowska, Godłowska 2009, Fig. 1). Part of this agglomeration also probably includes the areas around Łoniowa (Valde-Nowak 2013, Fig. 3) and Gwoździec (Czekaj-Zastawny *et al.* 2020).

The second largest area in terms of its saturation with Želiezovce elements is the Rzeszów region, whose eastern end reaches the Przeworsk and Jarosław areas (see Kadrow 2013; Kadrow, Sznajdrowska 2013). Only a few isolated fragments of pottery decorated in the Želiezovce style come from the Przemyśl area (Czekaj-Zastawny 2008, pp. 223–225) as well as from several sites in the Dniester basin (Dębiec 2012). The agglomeration in the Sandomierz Upland is quite large, but less well recognised (Kowalewska-Marszałek 1992; Szeliga, Zakościelna 2019). The last and smallest agglomeration of ceramics in the Želiezovce style (associated with south-eastern Poland) is in Volhynia, in the vicinity of Rivne (e.g. Bardetskiy 2012; Dębiec 2012).

The Želiezovce agglomerations north of the Carpathians are insular (Fig. 5). This suggests their synchronism with the LBK assemblages from the surrounding areas where there are not many ceramics and where the pottery, which does feature stylistic similarities, still belongs to the music note phase. It seems that the Želiezovce style was not adopted by the communities of all the LBK regions of Lesser Poland, even those that were closely adjacent to one another. It seems quite probable, considering that the residents of some houses in the same settlement accepted foreign designs and products (imports of ALPC ceramics and obsidian), while at the same time others displayed no interest in it. This phenomenon was well documented at site 17 in Brzezcie (Czekaj-Zastawny 2014, Fig. 46). Perhaps a similar situation occurred at site 16 in Rzeszów, where there are imports of ALPC ceramics and obsidian in some assemblages dated to the late phase, while others completely lack such remains (Kadrow 1990a, Fig. 26; Kadrow 1990b, pp. 59–63, Fig. 17).

Thus, a typical situation of the late phase within the eastern LBK was the co-occurrence of ‘progressive’ phenomena in the form of the Želiezovce group in South-Western Slovakia, northern Transdanubia, and neighbouring Austria with the ‘conservative’ Kesztehly group in South-Western Hungary, corresponding stylistically to the music note phase (Marton, Oross 2009, table 1).

Similarly, in the areas north and east of the arch of the Carpathians, i.e. in Lesser Poland and Volhynia, there were ensembles with pottery ornamented in the Želiezovce style which existed alongside the ongoing conservative music note groups in other areas, e.g. in the Lublin region and the Dniester river basin (Pavúk 1969, p. 270; Kozłowski 1985; Dębiec 2012).

This revealed the phenomenon of unevenness between regions and de-territorialisation so typical of the globalization process, in which people living in the distant progressive settlements of the Želiezovce group/phase in the vicinity of Kraków and Rzeszów

had more in common than they did with residents of nearby conservative sites (dated to the music note phase) (Jennings 2017, pp. 14–15).

Beginning with the end of the music note phase until the end of the *Želiezovce* phase, the inflow of imported ALPC ceramics from the Tisza basin and obsidian from the northern part of the Carpathian Basin is observed in the Kraków, Rzeszów, and Sandomierz settlement centres (Kadrow 2020a, pp. 92–95; Figs. 4, 5). This was accompanied by a process of change in the technology of making ceramic vessels. The percentage of organic temper in the ceramic mass decreased and at the same time the percentage of grog (*chamotte*) increased (Kadrow 2020a, pp. 91–92, Fig. 2, 8). LBK ceramic production technology became closer to ALPC technology (Rauba-Bukowska 2014). The importers were mainly residents of houses producing and using ceramics decorated in the *Želiezovce* style (Kadrow 1990b, pp. 54–58, Fig. 14).

At the level of the progressive houses, settlements, and settlement regions, the phenomenon of heterogeneity, again so characteristic of globalization, took place. Its archaeological remains are shown by the ceramic inventories, in which the music note, *Želiezovce*, and ALPC circle style coexisted. It occurred because cultural variation increased in the late phase of the LBK, despite some homogenisation, which had dominated in earlier periods. In the other areas, the homogenisation continued in the style of the music note phase.

However, it is difficult to archaeologically detect the phenomenon of the ‘re-embedding of local culture’ which is caused by communities who react to global flows of ideas, objects, and people by attempting to reassert local traditions (Jennings 2017, p. 15). Traces of this phenomenon perhaps include settlement complexes exhibiting the dominant face of the music note phase with few imports or imitations of ALPC ceramics. They were probably those communities in the Dniester and Prut basins,

in which the heterogenisation processes had begun but had been unsuccessful.

The effect of the multiplication of crisis situations, so typical among others for the late LBK in the western part of Europe, was a culture change (Jeunesse 2009, pp. 167–171). In the terminology of globalization, it is possible to talk about the phenomenon of vulnerability, as opposed to connectivity, the essence of which was the collapse of the interaction networks (Jennings 2017, p. 16) and the initial preparation for culture change.

THE EARLY NEOLITHIC IN THE RZESZÓW MICROREGION IN THE LIGHT OF CULTURAL ANALYSIS

Parallel to the technological innovations in LBK ceramics, the intensification of the importation of ALPC pottery and the phenomenon of the local imitation of this pottery by people living in areas north of the Carpathians can be observed. This pottery was frequently imported at the end of the LBK development, during the reign of the *Želiezovce* style in ceramics.

Participation in the propagation of the *Želiezovce* ceramic style and the import of ALPC ceramics and obsidian was attended by populations living primarily in the Rzeszów, Kraków, and Sandomierz regions (Fig. 3), and in them only by residents of some settlements and some long houses (Kadrow 2020a, p. 98; Figs. 4, 5).

In the Rzeszów region (Fig. 6), a rapid demographic development of the local population was found at the end of the LBK development (Fig. 7). It is related to the period of the intensification of the inflow of imports from behind the Carpathians and the heyday of the *Želiezovce* style in ceramics. Later, this upward demographic trend was more subdued and was accompanied by a culture change, discernible in the replacement of the style of ceramics typical of late LBK by the style of Malice culture

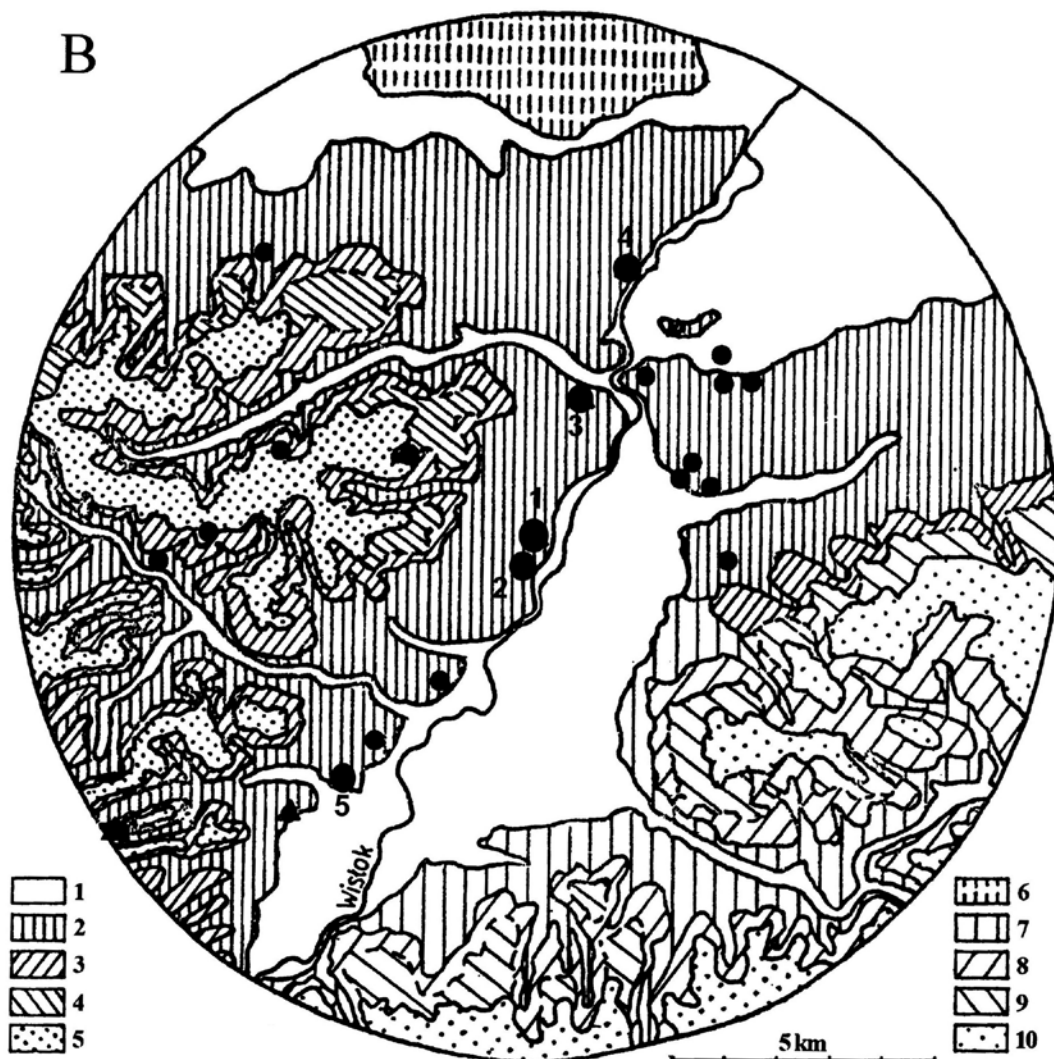


Fig. 6. The Rzeszów region of early Neolithic settlements against the background of the arrangement of landscape zones typical for SE Poland; legend: 1 – bottom of a river valley, 2 – on a floodplain loess terrace; 3–5 – higher landscape zones with loess cover; 6–10 – higher landscape zones without loess cover; black circles – early Neolithic sites including: 1 – Rzeszów, site 16; 2 – Rzeszów, site 20; 3 – Rzeszów, site 3; 4 – Rzeszów, site 34; and 5 – Zwiężczyca, site 3 (after Kadrow 2020a). Drawing by S. Kadrow.

ceramics. The sudden change in pottery style was accompanied by the disappearance of imports of ceramics from the Carpathian Basin and an abrupt change in the house construction methods. The size of settlements and settlement zones decreased significantly (Kadrow 2020a, p. 98, Fig. 7).

At the same time, however, the continuation of the trend of technological changes in ceramics production is observed together with the continuation

of obsidian inflow (Kadrow 2020a, p. 99; Fig. 6). It seems that the basic subsistence strategies were still being used.

Apart from the penetration of the Rzeszów region in the older, pre-music-note phase (I) of the LBK, permanent settlement of this area took place at the beginning of the classical phase. Settlers produced ceramics in the early stage of the music-note style (II) and built longhouses and inhabited permanent

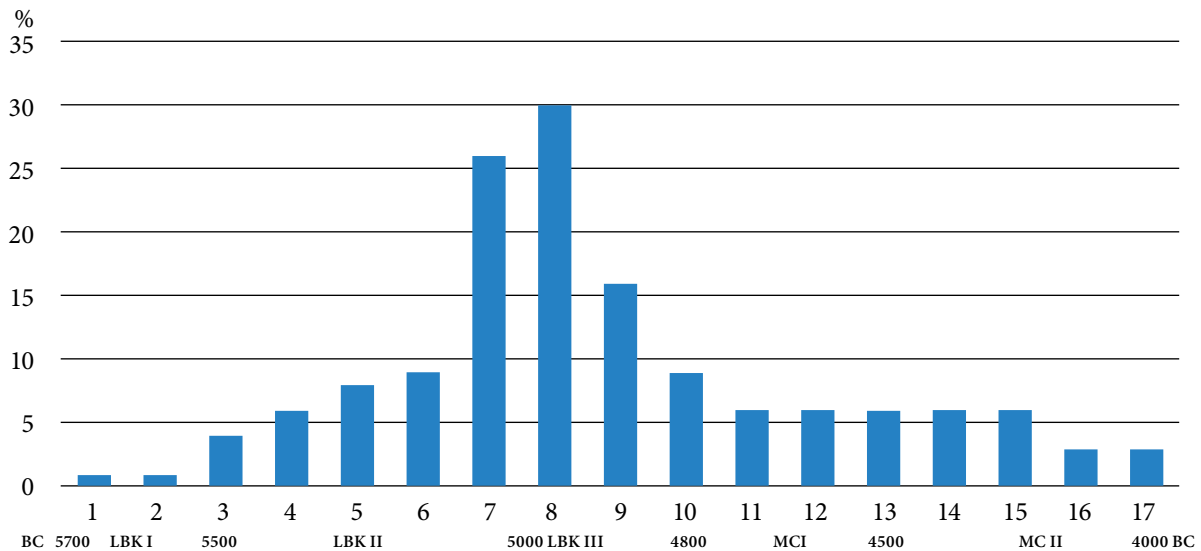


Fig. 7. Dynamics of the demographic changes in the Rzeszów microregion during the LBK and the evolution of the MC (for details, see Kadrow 1990a). Drawing by S. Kadrow.

settlements. Stone tools were made of Jurassic flint, imported from the Krakow area. This period is characterised by the uniformity (homogenisation) of the material culture and settlement strategies, typical for the entire eastern zone of LBK in its European range. There is no evidence of systematic contact with the local Mesolithic population or more vivid links with their neighbours (ALPC) from beyond the Carpathians.

In light of Robert Wuthnow's (1987) theory of cultural analysis, this was a period of the perfect compliance of the norms with the practice in an integrated, closed community. 'Certainty' reigned (the opposite of the key concept in this theory of 'uncertainty', characteristic of periods of conflict), which is typical of periods of social and culture stabilisation.

In the middle stage of the music-note phase (II) of the LBK, more cases of the importation of obsidian and ALPC ceramics (Fig. 3) are seen for the first time. Not all of the inhabitants of the Rzeszów region participated in importing foreign products, raw materials and imported artefacts having been registered in just some settlements.

Only some long-houses contain such specimens in these settlements. The process of the opening up of local communities to external influences and impacts can be traced to this period. At the same time, the process of the progressive internal differentiation of the described communities can be seen. In addition to conservative groups who adhered to local traditions, there were also groups (importers of obsidian and ALPC pottery) oriented towards external contact (Kadrow 2020a, p. 100). The abovementioned phenomena are accompanied by an (initially slow) increase in the population of the Rzeszów region (Fig. 7).

Later these processes accelerated, continuing at the end of the music-note phase (II) of the LBK. However, they were particularly intense during the *Želiezovce* phase (III). At the same time, this was accompanied by changes in the technology of ceramic mass preparation for the production of LBK pottery, which slowly but consistently brought it closer to ALPC ceramic technology (Rauba-Bukowska 2014).

The intensification, over time, of ritual activities among the LBK community in the Rzeszów region, proven *inter alia* by the proliferation of competing

styles of ceramic ornamentation (music-note, *Żeliezovce*, and ALPC), is proof of a growing uncertainty, *i.e.* a situation of increased social conflict (Wuthnow 1987). The rivalry of some groups in the Rzeszów region is manifested by the adoption of various competing ideologies, which are mirrored in related rituals and symbols. Different groups referred to different traditions (rooted in music-note, *Żeliezovce*, and ALPC stylistics).

The inflow of new population groups (families) from the vicinity of Kraków was probably responsible for the significant increase in population size at the beginning of the *Żeliezovce* phase (III) of the LBK in the Rzeszów region (Fig. 7), as evidenced by the strong stylistic relationships of the ceramics from both regions. An increase in the local population at such a rapid rate was not possible in the reality of the early Neolithic (see Piasecki 1990; Kadrow 2020a, p. 100).

An increase in the intensity of the ritual activities, along with a simultaneous increase in population size (Fig. 7), is a typical symptom of acute conflict within communities living in the Rzeszów region, growing from the middle stage of the music-note phase (II) and culminating in the beginning of the *Żeliezovce* phase (III) of the LBK. Its effect was a cultural change and the LBK gave way to the MC. It consisted of a fairly sudden change in these aspects of material culture, which had a symbolic significance for the people of that time, above all in the forms and ornamentation of ceramics, changes in the raw material of the stone industry (the replacement of Jurassic flint with chocolate flint), and the construction methods and sizes of the houses (Kadrow 2020a, p. 100).

Other elements typical for the LBK (obsidian import, strategies of settling the same landscape zones in the loess areas) were still continued in the new MC system. Most importantly, from the perspective of the points mentioned in this article, the process of changes (innovations) in ceramic technology continued, mainly based on

the elimination of organic temper from ceramic masses and its replacement with grog (Kadrow 2020a, p. 101).

CONCLUSIONS

Recently, the history and assessment of the state of research on the Neolithisation of Polish areas has been reviewed several times (e.g. Nowak 2009; Kadrow 2019; Kozłowski, Nowak 2019 etc.). Currently, the prevailing view is that in the middle of the 6th millennium BC the Polish territories were inhabited by a population from four Mesolithic cultures: Komornice, Chojnice-Pieńki, Janisławice, and Kunda. At the beginning of the second half of the 6th millennium, from the south, mainly through the Moravian Gate, the first groups of the oldest farmers representing the LBK began to flow in. They went to Silesia, Lesser Poland, and to the north, reaching their maximum territorial range in about 150 years (Kozłowski, Nowak 2019, pp. 261–262).

During the development of the LBK, there was considerable cultural uniformity in the areas of south-western Slovakia and Lesser Poland. This was caused by the persistence of intense interpersonal contacts between the starting migration area (SW Slovakia) and the colonised areas (Lesser Poland). The weakening of these ties at the end of the LBK was to become the reason for the disappearance of the aforementioned cultural unification (Kozłowski, Nowak 2019, p. 262).

For a long period during the domination of the Danube cultures in Poland, *i.e.* from 5 500 to 4 200 BC, the close proximity and mutual contacts of the Mesolithic and Neolithic communities did not trigger acculturation processes (Kozłowski, Nowak 2019, p. 264).

The above conclusions were formulated without referring to the theory of socio-cultural process. This article aims to include this issue in the discussion of Neolithisation processes.

As mentioned in the introduction, the selected analytical tools (globalization and cultural analysis) are not intended to replace the previously and currently used methods for studying Neolithisation processes, but to supplement them. These are not the only tools, but some of the many possible. They show that the study of the complex process of Neolithisation cannot be limited to a search for one decisive mechanism, or only one cause. Studies of these issues should aim to distinguish the factors and phenomena, which comprise the real cause-effect relationships, from truly random time-space correlations, regardless of whether they are local or supra-regional.

This article is an attempt to draw attention to the need to build a bridge between the activities of a socialised individual (*habitus*), through intermediate stages (e.g. local conflicts), to the globalization processes of various ranges.

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PIETRYČIŲ LENKIJOS NEOLITIZACIJOS PROCESAI MIKRO- IR MAKROLYGMENIMIS VIDURIO IR RYTŲ EUROPOS KONTEKSTE

Sławomir Kadrow

Santrauka

Šio straipsnio tikslas yra globaliu (makro-) ir vietiniu (mikroregioniniu) lygmenimis apibrėžti pietryčių Lenkijos neolitizacijos proceso priežastis, mechanizmus ir eigą. Viena vertus, makrolygmens procesai efektyviausiai gali būti atliekami vartojant globalizacijos teorijos sąvokas ir nuostatas (Hodos 2017). Kita vertus, remiantis kultūrine analize (Wuthnow 1987) manoma, kad pagrindinė varomoji didžiųjų pokyčių mikromastu jėga yra konfliktas. Globalizacija yra bendruomeniškumo ir tarpusavio ryšių palaikymo forma. Tai yra kaina, kurią žmonės sumoka, norėdami gauti prieigą prie išteklių, reikalingų patenkinti jų statuso ir gerovės troškimui. Taigi žmonės, suvokdami vienas kito ketinimus ir siekius, įsitraukia į konfliktus, kurie gali tapti viena iš pagrindinių krizės ir kultūrinių pokyčių priežastimi.

Kultūrinės analizės teorija, kurią sukūrė Robertas Wuthnow (1987), leidžia nustatyti krizines situacijas (paprastai lydymas smurto), nulėmusias kultūrinius pokyčius arba kultūros permainas.

Antroje VI tūkstantmečio pr. Kr. pusėje, tai yra vystantis Juostinės linijinės keramikos (toliau – JLK)

kultūrai, visoje jos išplitimo teritorijoje veikė gyvybingi tarpusavio ryšiai, jungiantys visas šios kultūros bendruomenes.

Intensyvūs informacijos mainų tinklai veikė daugeliu lygių; vienas iš pavyzdžių yra stilistinis keramikos vientisumas ankstyvajame (prieš natų ornamentu atsiradimą) ir ypač klasikiniame (natų ornamentu gyvavimo) laikotarpyje.

Dar plačiau buvo paplitę spondilų kriauklių papuošalai (1 pav.). Vengrijos ir Slovakijos pasienyje išgauto obsidiano gaminių paplitimo teritorija buvo šiek tiek mažesnė (2 pav.).

Atsižvelgiant į išvardytus pavyzdžius, teigiama, kad visa JLK kultūros teritorija ir kaimyninės žemės (ypatingą dėmesį skiriant Balkanams ir Karpatų lygumai) pasižymėjo kaip glaudžių ryšių ir informacijos srauto tinklas.

Aiškūs pasikeitimai kontaktuose tarp kitų neolitinių kultūrų vyko JLK kultūros klasikinio laikotarpio pabaigoje ir vėlyvojo laikotarpio pradžioje. Iš vėlyvosios JLK kultūros išsivystė Želiezovce kultūrinė grupė, paplitusi pietvakarių Slovakijoje ir kaimyninėse šiaurinės Panonijos teritorijose (Pavúk 1969).

Neilgai trukus, šiai kultūrai būdingas keramikos stilius pasklido po visą šiaurinę Panoniją, Mažąją Lenkiją ir Voluinę (5 pav.).

JLK kultūros grupės bendruomenės, gyvenusios Mažojoje Lenkijoje, neperėmė Želiezovce kultūros stiliaus, nors ir gyveno visai šalia. Šis pavyzdys atskleidžia regionų skirtumus ir deterritorizacijos reiškinį, būdingą globalizacijos procesui. Jam vykstant, žmonės, gyvenantys tolimose progresyviose Želiezovce grupės/etapo gyvenvietėse netoli Krokuvos ir Žešuvo, tarpusavyje turėjo daugiau bendro nei su netoliese gyvenančiais žmonėmis (vietovėse, datuojamose natų ornamento etapu).

Rytinės juostinės linijinės keramikos iš Tisos baseino teritorijos ir obsidiano iš šiaurinės Karpatų lygumos dalies importo srautai buvo identifikuoti pietryčių Lenkijoje ir datuoti laikotarpiu nuo natų ornamento etapo pabaigos iki pat Želiezovce etapo pabaigos. Su importo srautais buvo pastebėti ir keramikos gamybos technologijos pokyčiai. Pažangių namų, gyvenviečių ir apgyvendintų regionų lygmenyje pasireiškė nevienalytiškumas, taip pat labai būdingas globalizacijai. Archeologinė medžiaga – keramikos radinių inventoriai – yra to įrodymas, kai randama vienu metu egzistuojantys natų ornamento, Želiezovce ir apskritimų ant Rytinės JLK kultūros stiliai. Kultūrinė įvairovė JLK kultūros etape didėjo nepaisant ribotos homogenizacijos, vyravusios ankstesniuose laikotarpiuose.

Žešuvo teritorija buvo galutiniai apgyventa klasikinio etapo pradžioje. Gyventojai gamino keramiką, būdingą ankstyvajam natų ornamento stiliui (II), ir statė ilguosius namus. Akmeniniai įrankiai buvo gaminami iš Juros periodo titnago, atsivežto iš Krokuvos apylinkių. Šiam laikotarpiui būdingas materialiosios kultūros ir apgyvenimo strategijų vientisumas (homogeniškumas) pastebimas visoje JLK kultūros teritorijoje, europinėje jos srityje. Pagal R. Wuthnowo (1987) kultūros analizės teoriją, šiame laikotarpyje buvo matomas tobulas normų

ir praktikų atitikimas integruotoje, uždaroje bendruomenėje.

Atvežtinio obsidiano ir Rytinės JLK kultūros pavyzdžių (3 pav.) pirmą kartą matomai padaugėjo natų ornamento etapo (II) viduryje. Tačiau ne visi Žešuvo regiono gyventojai dalyvavo svetimšalių gaminių importe, dėl to didėjo vidinė minėtų bendruomenių diferenciacija. Buvo ir konservatyvių kultūrinių grupių, kurios laikėsi vietinių tradicijų, ir obsidiano ir Rytinės JLK kultūros importuotojų, palaikančių išorinius kontaktus (Kadrow 2020a, p. 100). Vėliau šie procesai įgavo pagreitį ir tęsėsi natų ornamento (II) etapo pabaigoje, nors daugiausia suintensyvėjo Želiezovce (III) etape.

Laikui bėgant, Žešuvo regiono JLK kultūros bendruomenėje plėtėsi ritualinė veikla, kurią, be kita ko, įrodo konkuruojančių keramikos ornamentikos stilių (natų ornamento, Želiezovce ir Rytinės JLK plitimas, kitaip tariant, dažnėjančios socialinių konfliktų situacijos. Taip pat augo gyventojų skaičius (7 pav.). Konfliktai tarp bendruomenių pasiekė aukščiausią intensyvumą JLK kultūros Želiezovce etapo (III) pradžioje, dėl to įvyko kultūriniai pokyčiai ir JLK kultūra užleido vietą Melice kultūrai.

Šiuo straipsniu siekta atkreipti dėmesį į būtinybę susieti socializuoto individo (habitus) veiklą su įvairaus lygio globalizacijos procesais tarpiniuose etapuose (pvz., vietiniuose konfliktuose).

ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Dirbinių, pagamintų iš spondilų kriauklių, paplitimas (C) lyginant su teritoriniu Juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (A) ir Rytų juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (B) pasiskirstymu (pagal Windler 2018), rodantis ankstyvojo neolito laikotarpio ryšius Europoje. *A. Krzywdos pieš.*

2 pav. Obsidiano paplitimas Europoje (C) ir išgavimo vietos (D) lyginant su teritoriniu Juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (A) ir Rytų juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (B) pasiskirstymu (pagal

Burgert *et al.* 2017), rodantis ankstyvojo neolito laikotarpio ryšius Europoje. *A. Krzywdos pieš.*

3 pav. Importinės Rytų juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (**c**) pasiskirstymas šiauriau nuo Karpatų, rodantis kultūrinės įtakos Juostinės linijinės (**a**) ir Želiezovce (**b**) keramikos stilių paplitimo teritorijose (pagal Kadrow, Rauba-Bukowska 2017). *I. Jordan pieš.*

4 pav. Žešuvos (**A**), Krokuva (**B**), Sandomieras (**C**) ankstyvajame neolito laikotarpyje, mezolito (juodos linijos) ir Juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (raudonos linijos) ryšių tinklo kontekste (pagal Kozłowski, Nowak 2019). *S. K. Kozłowskio ir M. Nowako pieš.*

5 pav. Ribotas Želiezovce stiliaus (**b**) pasiskirstymas lyginant su Juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros (**a**) išplitimu. *A. Krzywdos pieš.*

6 pav. Neolito laikotarpio gyvenvietės Žešuvo apylinkėse, pietryčių Lenkijai būdingame kraštovaizdyje. 1 – žemiausia upės slėnio vieta; 2 – lioso atodanga upės salpoje; 3–5 – aukštesnės landšafto vietos su lioso nuosėdų sluoksniu; 6–10 – aukštesnės landšafto vietos be lioso nuosėdų. Ankstyvojo neolito gyvenvietės (pažymėta juodais taškeliais): 1 – Žešuvos 16; 2 – Žešuvos 20; 3 – Žešuvos 3; 4 – Žešuvos 34; 5 – Zwiężczyca 3 (pagal Kadrow 2020a). *S. Kadrowo pieš.*

7 pav. Demografiniai pokyčiai Žešuvo mikror regione Juostinės linijinės keramikos kultūros etapuose ir vystantis Melice keramikos kultūrai (plačiau Kadrow 1990a). *S. Kadrowo pieš.*

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