

THE WIELBARK AND PRZEWORSK CULTURES AT THE TURN OF THE EARLY AND LATE ROMAN PERIODS. THE DYNAMICS OF SETTLEMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGES IN THE LIGHT OF CHRONOLOGY

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At the close of the Early Roman period the Wielbark culture was on the eve of its great expansion that led to the occupation of vast stretches of land between the Baltic Sea and the Ukraine. However, prior to this, it covered a relatively small area limited to Pomerania, Warmia (Ernland) and the northern part of Great Poland (WOLĄGIEWICZ 1981, 84 f. Fig. 3). Its neighbours were the Przeworsk culture on the south and south-east and the West Baltic culture on the north-east. These cultural areas were separated by wastes (GODŁOWSKI 1985, 64; OLĘDZKI 1999, 49), which formed a protective belt that guaranteed their safety. The importance of such areas, purposefully laid to waste by Germanic tribes, was mentioned by Caesar in his *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (IV, 3).

At that time the territory settled by the Wielbark culture was at least three times smaller than that of the Przeworsk culture (Fig. 1), though soon, i.e. since the end of phase B₂ and early B₂/C₁, it was increasing rapidly. The extent of its future territorial expansion indicates indirectly that at the close of phase B₂ the area of the Wielbark culture represented an unusual concentration of demographic and cultural potential, whose pressure could be relieved only by expansion. There can be no question about the role played by the Goths in this process. It can be assumed that this role had already been of key importance in the Wielbark culture at an earlier time. It would, however, be wrong to interpret this culture as an ethnic unity. On the contrary, it was of heterogeneous and multiethnic character. According to the latest intensive research carried out by archaeologists (WOLĄGIEWICZ 1981; IDEM 1986; GODŁOWSKI 1985; BIERBRAUER 1992; IDEM 1994; KOKOWSKI 1995; OLĘDZKI 1999) and historians (WOLFRAM 1979; STRZELCZYK 1984) it has been possible to recreate fairly exactly the map of the settlements of particular tribes that formed the Wielbark culture in the Early Roman period.

Most scholars agree that contents of Jordanes' text (*Get.* 25) concerning the arrival of the Goths and Gepidae from Scandinavia to Pomerania is fully reflected in archaeological sources (WOLĄGIEWICZ 1981, 100–102; IDEM 1986, 63 f. 73 f.; KOLENDO 1981, 73–75; GODŁOWSKI 1985, 145; 147–149;

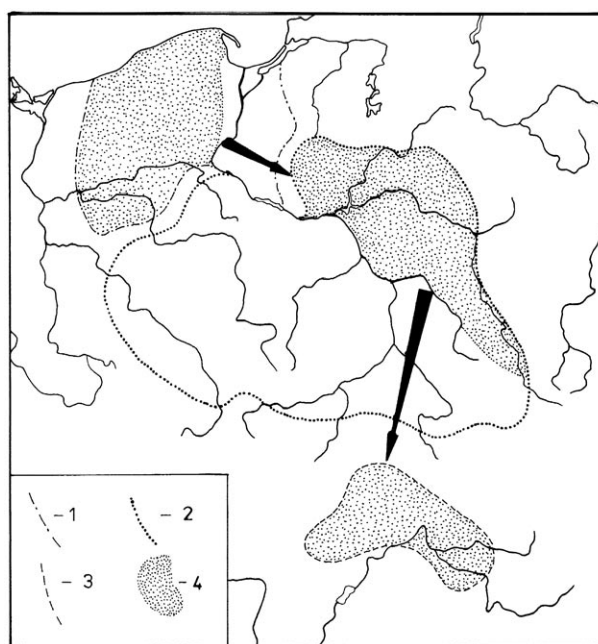


Fig. 1: Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures. Dynamics of settlement and cultural changes – 1: Limits of the Wielbark culture at the close of the Early Roman period. – 2: Limits of the Przeworsk culture at the close of the Early Roman period. – 3: Extent of the Przeworsk culture on the upper Tisza in phase C₁a. – 4: Areas where fundamental changes occurred in the shift of the population at the close of the Early Roman and the beginning of the Late Roman period.

BIERBRAUER 1994, 81–83; KOKOWSKI 1995, 34 f.). Several cultural elements, such as stone circles, rings, pavements and stelae as well as several types of stone–earth barrows are evidence for this (WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1977; IDEM 1986; WALENTA 1981). The emergence of these elements coincided with the settlement of the so far uninhabited areas of the Cassubian and Krajna Lakelands and of the northern part of Great Poland. This process began at the turn of phases B₁/B₂, i.e. in the '60s and '70s of the 1st century A.D. (WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1977, 88; IDEM 1981, 92; IDEM 1986, 72; GRABARCZYK 1997, 69). At that time the areas along the lower Vistula between the Chełmno region (Kulmer Land) in the south, the Bay of Gdańsk in the north and the northern coastal region of Pomerania had already been densely settled by the people of the Wielbark culture, who continued the earlier settlement of the Oksywie culture (WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1981, 83 f.; BIERBRAUER 1992, 10–12).

The analysis of the written sources (WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1981, 92; OŁĘDZKI 1999, 50 f.) has shown without any doubt that at that time the northern maritime part of Pomerania was inhabited by the tribe of the Rugians, located in this area by Tacitus (Germ. 43), Ptolemy (II, 11, 7) and Jordanes (Get. 26). The tribe of the Sciri, probably small in size, may also be located in the region of the lower Vistula. The tribe is mentioned by Pliny (nat. IV, 97)¹, while Ptolemy (II, 11, 12) mentions a placat named little “Skurgon” to the west of the lower course of the Vistula. On the other hand, as has been so convincingly shown by J. KOLENDO (1984, 644), it is wrong (III, to 5, 8) in the area of the lower Vistula (cf. WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1981, 91 f.; IDEM 1986, 72).

The situation in the Chełmno region is of particular interest. The population that once inhabited these areas is represented by long-lasting cemeteries (e.g. Rządź/Rondsen, Chełmno, Gostkowo–Folsąg, Podwiesk, Małe Czyste etc.) dating back as far as the beginning of phase A₁ (WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1981, 83; IDEM 1986, Fig. 13). It should be added that they all are cremations, while other areas of the Wielbark culture are characterized by biritualism. According to the data given by Tacitus (Germ. 43; ann. II, 62, 2) and Ptolemy (III, 5, 8), it is possible to connect the tribe of the “Gutones”, i.e. most probably the Goths, with the Chełmno region (GODŁOWSKI 1985, 145; OŁĘDZKI 1999, 49).

In connection with this there has emerged a peculiar inconsistency reflected in the somewhat different location of the Goths and in the chronological differences in their appearance south of the Baltic Sea (KOLENDO 1981, 73 f.; STRZELCZYK 1984, 41–44; GODŁOWSKI 1986, 126 f.). In the light of the available data it is possible to locate this tribe in the belt of lake lands on the one hand and in the Chełmno region on the other. In the first case the beginning of settlements of the Goths is linked with the turn of phases B₁/B₂ of the Roman period and in the other with the beginning of the late pre-Roman period. The solution of this inconsistency can be found in the acceptance of the hypothesis that there were two waves of infiltration of the Goths (BIERBRAUER 1994, 81–85; GRABARCZYK 1997, 68 f.): the first in the early phase A₁ and the second at the turn of the phases B₁/B₂. Archaeological sources seem to indicate that they were probably not followed by others. Although V. BIERBRAUER (1992, 12; 15) records distinct traces of infiltration from Gotland into the area of the lower Vistula, which are detectable in the phases A₂ and A₃ of the late pre-Roman period, he rules out categorically the possibility of the inflow of larger numbers of settlers prior to phase B₁ (BIERBRAUER 1994, 81 f.).

Though necessary this survey can be only cursory. I think it shows in a sufficient and convincing way that the Wielbark culture was a complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. At the same time it should be stressed that the typical finds of this culture are surprisingly uniform. A main item is the predominance of objects made of bronze and precious metals over those of iron is seen in the grave furnishings. The ratio is 33:1 (WOLAŃGIEWICZ 1981a, 139). Another common characteristic is the complete absence of any weapons and nearly all kinds of tools. Body ornaments and parts of the clothing were common finds in these graves. They often show a high standard of craftsmanship and are usually found with female burials (Figs. 2 and 4).

Throughout phase B₂ this culture has strongly influenced the eastern part of the Przeworsk culture², preparing the ground for future expansion. Due to this influence and perhaps to other circumstances as well that so far we have been unable to detect, the eastern part of the Przeworsk culture acquired quite different characteristics in phase B₂ that were typical for this period. Some of these are represen-

¹ ...quidam hoc habitari ad Vistla usque fluvius a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hiris tradunt....

² The range of the East Przeworsk culture included vast and geographically different areas (ANDRZEJOWSKI 1989, 104). Its core was Masovia, located on both sides of the Vistula. The other areas were Pod-

lasie (Podlachia) and the northern Lublin region. To some extent (now difficult to define exactly) this zone comprised also a stretch of land located between the Vistula and the Pilica where numerous elements of the East Przeworsk culture have been recorded (OŁĘDZKI 1992, 57; cf. DĄBROWSKA 1995, 23).

ted by Wielbark imports or imitations, while others are of local origin and represent forms rarely found in the areas of the Wielbark culture and the western part of the Przeworsk culture.

The characteristics of the first group include a large quantity of bronze as a basic metal used for the production of parts of clothing and body ornaments (DĄBROWSKA 1980, 47; IDEM 1997, 121; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1994, 317). A number of these body ornaments, directly linked to the Wielbark culture (DĄBROWSKA 1980, 48 f.; IDEM 1981, 123; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1994, 317), are sumptuous necklaces of glass beads with S-clasps, pendants encircled by a bronze band, snake bracelets and un-profiled bracelets and sets of metal parts of belts. These sets usually included 3 to 5 profiled strap-ends, links and various other fittings (Fig. 2, 3, 7).

The local elements of body ornaments and parts of the clothing are no less grand (DĄBROWSKA 1980, 46; IDEM 1997, 121; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1994, 317; IDEM 1998, 113). They include bracelets of the Kamieńczyk type (DĄBROWSKA 1981, 122; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1994, 321 Fig. 7 – map) and notably a large and highly varied collection of fibulae, which contains examples of the Nadkole type³, late trumpet fibulae (variety 5 after DĄBROWSKA 1995), specimens derived from the strongly profiled fibulae (the so-called Masovian variety, named by the above mentioned authoress) and spring-cover fibulae (Rollenkappenfibeln) of type A. 38–39a, very characteristic for the East Przeworsk areas (OLEŃDZKI 1992, 56; 63; IDEM 1995, 231–233). The typology of weapons also shows certain divergences (DĄBROWSKA 1997, 121; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1998, 113), though in this case the origin of these forms is uncertain (for lack of comparable finds from the territory of the Wielbark culture). Nevertheless it seems certain that they did not originate in the western Przeworsk areas because the forms in question include shield grips of types J. 7⁴ and J. 8 and iron shield bosses with a bronze mounting on the flange, which are unique finds on the western Przeworsk territory. The pottery from the area in question also shows some typical characteristics (DĄBROWSKA 1980, 46; IDEM 1997, 121). The best examples are wide-

spread, strongly profiled vases with three handles, decorated with a zone pattern (Wielbark influence) and “tendrill”-like endings at the handles (local characteristic).

If we compare the East Przeworsk with the Wielbark culture in phase B₂ we come to a conclusion of fundamental importance, namely that the rhythm of stylistic changes detectable in the finds, representative for the two cultures, is (cf. Figs. 2 and 3) closely synchronized. Naturally, this statement should be carefully considered and accounted for. For this purpose, a chronological analysis of the key types of both cultures, divided into three sub phases, will be carried out. In the light of recent research, there can be no question about the correctness of this subdivision (WOLĄGIEWICZ 1981; DĄBROWSKA 1997; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1998).

It seems right to start with the Wielbark culture, which initiated the stylistic trends that then occurred in both cultures.

The most characteristic forms of Wielbark sub phase B_{2a} include late eye fibulae, Prussian series (type A. 57–61 [= ALMGREN 1923], Fig. 2, 1, 2), spring-cover fibulae (Rollenkappenfibeln) of type A. 42, slim specimens of group V, series 7 (Fig. 2, 5) and fibulae of type A. 72, mostly of variety 1 and partially 2 (NOWAKOWSKI 1989, 145; 148 Fig. 2 – map). The last mentioned forms (Fig. 2, 6) appeared at the close of B_{2a} and survived till sub phase B_{2b}. Other forms typical for the sub phase B_{2a} comprise slim profiled strap-ends of group O after K. RADDATZ (1957) (Fig. 2, 7), S-clasps of type A after J. KMIECIŃSKI (1962) (Fig. 2, 9) and un-profiled bracelets with straight ends (Fig. 2, 8). These objects were accompanied by pottery, mostly of group II after R. WOLĄGIEWICZ (1993) (Fig. 2, 10, 14), and mugs of group XIII B and XVA after the typology of the same author (Fig. 2, 12–13).

Sub phase B_{2b} is characterized by spring-cover fibulae (Rollenkappenfibeln) of type A. 38–39 (Fig. 2, 17–18), by early specimens of group A.V, series 8 (Fig. 2, 22) and by slim examples of the same group, series 10 (type A. 148, Fig. 2, 15). Though less numerous, fibulae of the Nadkole type (Fig. 2, 23) are also to be found. Other metal finds are represented by relatively numerous buckles of group D1 after R. MADY-

³ In this paper I use the previously (OLEŃDZKI 1986, 139–149; IDEM 1995, 235; 236), which denotes all fibulae showing mixed characteristics of type A. 38–39 (head) and of the strongly profiled ones (foot). On the other hand, I do not use J. ANDRZEJOWSKI'S typology (1994) which, in my view, is too academic in character and too detailed. I would like to explain that the “Nadkole type” (A. II/IV, series 3) after J. Andrzejowski, while his type 5 (A. II/IV, series 3) corresponds (i.e. with with my a “Młodzikowy” type between

strongly profiled fibulae and type “Nadkole” should be pointed out that the term “Nadkole” of archaeological literature and used to define specimens of the Nadkole type is too general, because he includes all other forms from the borderline of groups II and IV, for instance type A. 35 (cf. ANDRZEJOWSKI 1994, 88–90).

⁴ For the metal parts of the shield (i.e. grips and bosses) I use here M. JAHN'S typology (1916) supplemented by T. LIANA (1970) and K. GODŁOWSKI (1970; IDEM 1985).

DA-LEGUTKO (1987) (Fig. 2, 16), by snake bracelets of type Ia after T. WÓJCIK (1978) (Fig. 2, 21) and by S-clasps of type D after J. Kmiecinski (Fig. 2, 19). Among the pottery linked to this sub phase pots of group IA after R. Wołagiewicz are the most characteristic forms (Fig. 2, 28).

The key types of Wielbark sub phase B_{2c} include strongly profiled fibulae of type A. 80 (Fig. 2, 34) and A. 84 (Fig. 2, 36) as well as late specimens of group V, notably of series 1 (Fig. 2, 37) and 8 (Fig. 2, 30). Moreover representatives of this sub phase are pear-shaped pendants of type III after A. v. MÜLLER (1956), S-clasps of type B after J. Kmiecinski (Fig. 2, 38) and two varieties of bracelets: un-profiled with widened ends (Fig. 2, 32) and snake bracelets of type IIIB after T. Wójcik (Fig. 2, 35). These metal objects were found together with pottery of group IVA, XIIA and XIVB after R. Wołagiewicz (Fig. 2, 39, 40–41).

On the other hand, the key types of sub phase B_{2a} in the territory of the East Przeworsk culture include trumpet fibulae, variety 2 after T. LIANA (1970) (Fig. 3, 2), late specimens of eye fibulae, Prussian series (types A. 57–60, Fig. 3, 1), group V being represented by slim specimens of series 7 (Fig. 3, 7) and 10 (type A. 148, Fig. 3, 4). The last mentioned appeared rather at the close of the sub phase in question. Other key types are bracelets of the Kamieńczyk type (Fig. 3, 5), un-profiled bracelets with straight ends (Fig. 3, 6) and S-clasps of type A after J. Kmiecinski (Fig. 3, 9). Weapons are represented by spearheads of type V/1–2 and VIII/3 after P. KACZANOWSKI (1995), by swords of type II/1 after M. BIBORSKI (1978) (Fig. 3, 8) and by shield bosses of variety J. 7b (Fig. 3, 10). The last mentioned forms are usually accompanied by shield grips of variety J. 7 (Fig. 3, 11). Vessels of type II/1 after T. Liana (Fig. 3, 15) dominate in pottery, though vessels of type I/2 and VI/1 after the classification of this authoress may also be found (Fig. 3, 12, 14).

Sub phase B_{2b} is initiated by the latest forms of eye fibulae, Prussian series (type A. 61, Fig. 3, 16) while its most characteristic forms are spring-cover fibulae (Rollenkappenfibeln) of type A. 38–39a (Fig. 3, 17), fibulae of the Nadkole type (Fig. 3, 21) and the earliest forms of group A.V, series 8 (Fig. 3, 18). Among weapons of special interest there are shield bosses of variety J. 7a/1 (Fig. 3, 25) and spearheads of type VI after P. Kaczanowski (Fig. 3, 24), and among pottery late varieties (i.e. 2 and 3) of type II after T. Liana (Fig. 3, 28–29).

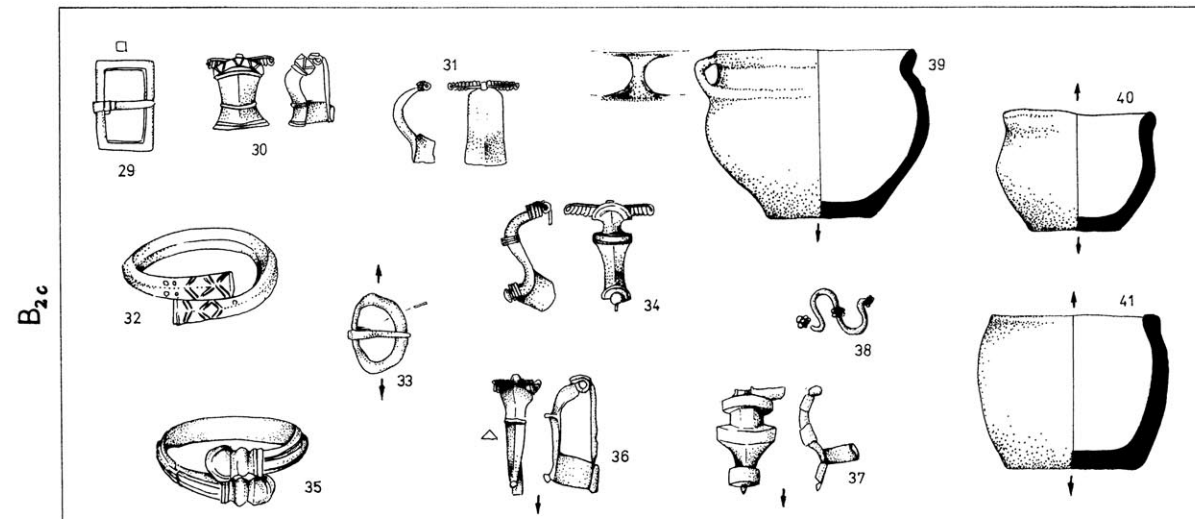
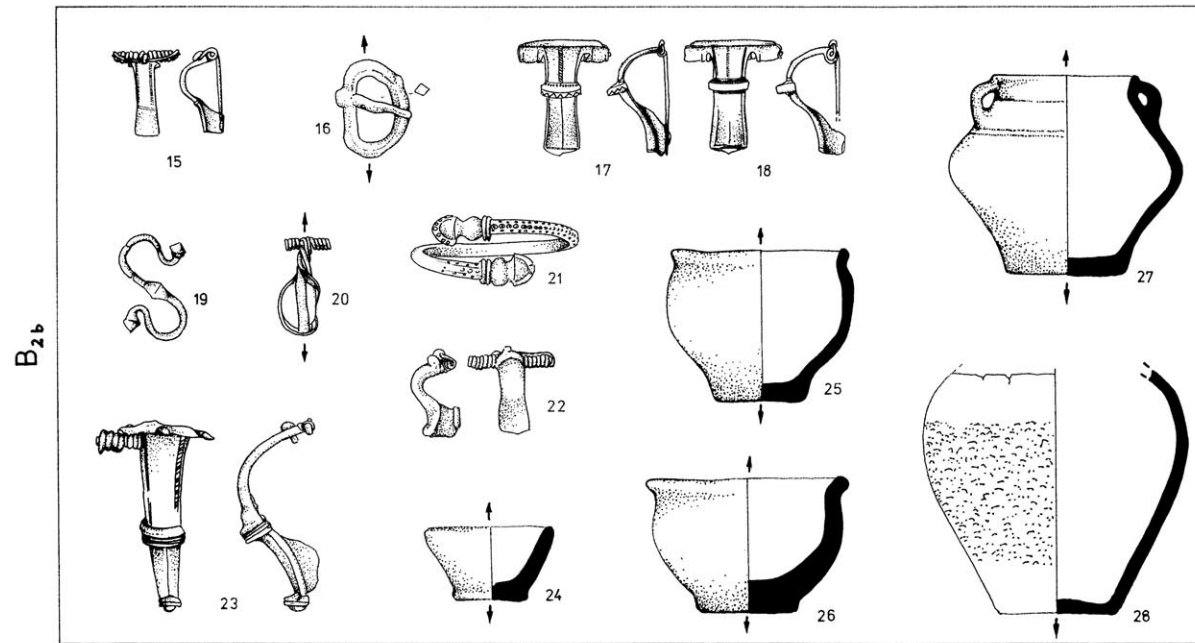
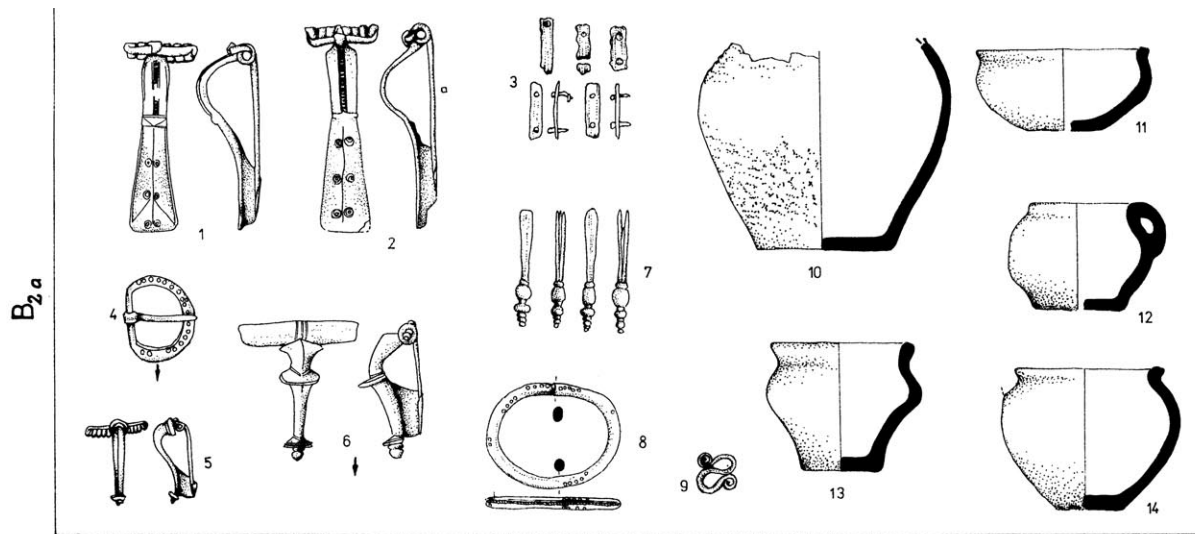
Sub phase B_{2c} is likewise well represented in the eastern Przeworsk areas. The fibulae include specimens that have derived from strongly profiled examples (Masovian variety) (Fig. 3, 34), fibulae of type A. 132 (Fig. 3, 35), local varieties of group V (Fig. 3, 33, 39) with a local variety of type A. 96

(Fig. 3, 38) and those of type A. 41b (Fig. 3, 31). Buckles with a forked spike of group G 36–37 after R. Madyda-Legutko (Fig. 3, 36) are typical for this chronological sub phase. Weapons are represented by swords of type V/4 after M. Biborski (Fig. 3, 41), by shield bosses of variety J. 7a/2 (Fig. 3, 40) and by spearheads of type XIV after P. Kaczanowski (Fig. 3, 32). Pottery is dominated by strongly profiled biconical vessels of the latest (i.e. 3) variety of type II after T. Liana (Fig. 3, 42).

Scholars dealing with finds of the East Przeworsk culture distinguish an intermediate chronological stage between the sub phases B_{2a} and B_{2b}, i.e. sub phase B_{2a}/B_{2b} (DĄBROWSKA 1997, 116–119; ANDRZEJOWSKI 1998, 105–108). In my opinion, overlapping transitional periods of this kind occur on the borderline of nearly all phases of relative chronology (e.g. B₁/B₂, B_{2b}/B_{2c}, etc) as has already been noticed by E. BLUME (1912; IDEM 1915) and K. GODŁOWSKI (1988). For this reason no such subdivision has been made in this paper; instead, the key types which show chronological fluctuations have been marked by arrows (Figs. 2–5).

Fig. 2: Wielbark culture. Key types of relative chronology of phase B₂

- 1–2, 5, 10–11: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 130.
- 3–4, 7–9: Odry, grave 554.
- 6, 12–13: Odry, barrow 14.
- 14: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 266.
- 15: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 428.
- 16–18, 27: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 472.
- 19: Lubowidz, grave 71.
- 20, 25: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 168.
- 21: Lubowidz, grave 22.
- 22: Lubowidz, grave 103.
- 23–24: Małe Czyste, grave 66.
- 26: Małe Czyste, grave 79.
- 28: Małe Czyste, grave 80.
- 29–30: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 334.
- 31–32, 34: Lubowidz, grave 77.
- 33, 39: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 288.
- 35: Lubowidz, grave 134.
- 36, 41: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 330.
- 37: Odry, grave 473.
- 38: Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 344.
- 40: Lubowidz, grave 10.



There is no doubt that the Wielbark and East Przeworsk finds are closely related, despite the fact that their respective inventories show noticeable differences (cf. Figs. 2 and 3). Both have been synchronized that are present in both cultures and form a sort of bridge between them. In sub phases B₂a, B₂b and B₂c, for instance, eye fibulae, Prussian series, fibulae of group V, series 7, early un-profiled bracelets and S-clasps of type A, in sub phase B₂b spring-cover fibulae (Rollenkappenfibeln) of variety A. 38–39, early specimens of group V, series 8, fibulae of the Nadkole type and S-clasps of type D. For sub phase B₂c this role is performed by late strongly profiled fibulae (type A. 80 and A. 84 in the Wielbark culture, whose counterparts in the Przeworsk culture are represented by fibulae deriving from strongly profiled examples of Masovian variety), by fibulae of type A. 96 and certain varieties of group V, series 8.

The coherence of both chronological systems, as shown above, has its own deep implication. The established relative chronology should be followed by consistency in absolute dating (cf. DĄBROWSKA 1995, 19). In this case, this should involve the acceptance of a chronological system established for the Wielbark culture by R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ (1981, 82) a recognized expert on it. According to him, the respective dates of particular sub phases are as follow: sub phase B₂a – 75–100 A.D., B₂b – 100–150 A.D., B₂c – 150–175 A.D.

Another consequence of adapting this system to the East Przeworsk culture phase is B₂/C₁, whose beginnings must correspond with the end of sub phase B₂c.

The above presented chronology differs somewhat from that established by K. GODŁOWSKI (1970; IDEM 1985) for the Przeworsk culture. This is also the result of the fact that K. Godłowski based his system to a greater extent on the West Przeworsk finds than on the East Przeworsk ones, which nota bene have been recorded only recently. On the other hand, the dating proposed by R. Wołagiewicz corresponds with that established by J. TEJRAL (1970, 202; IDEM 1971, 29;

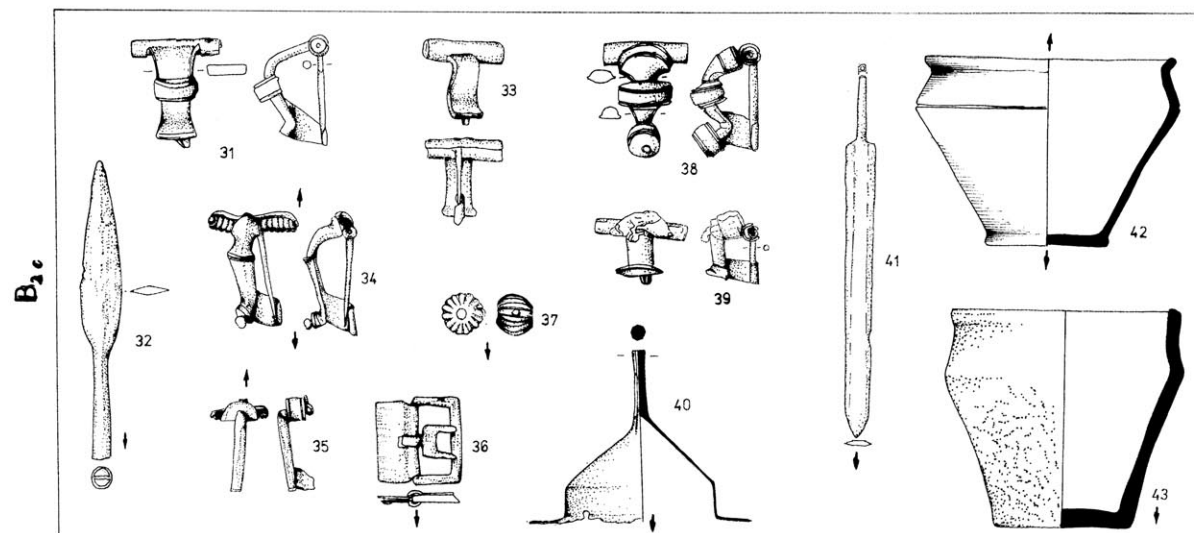
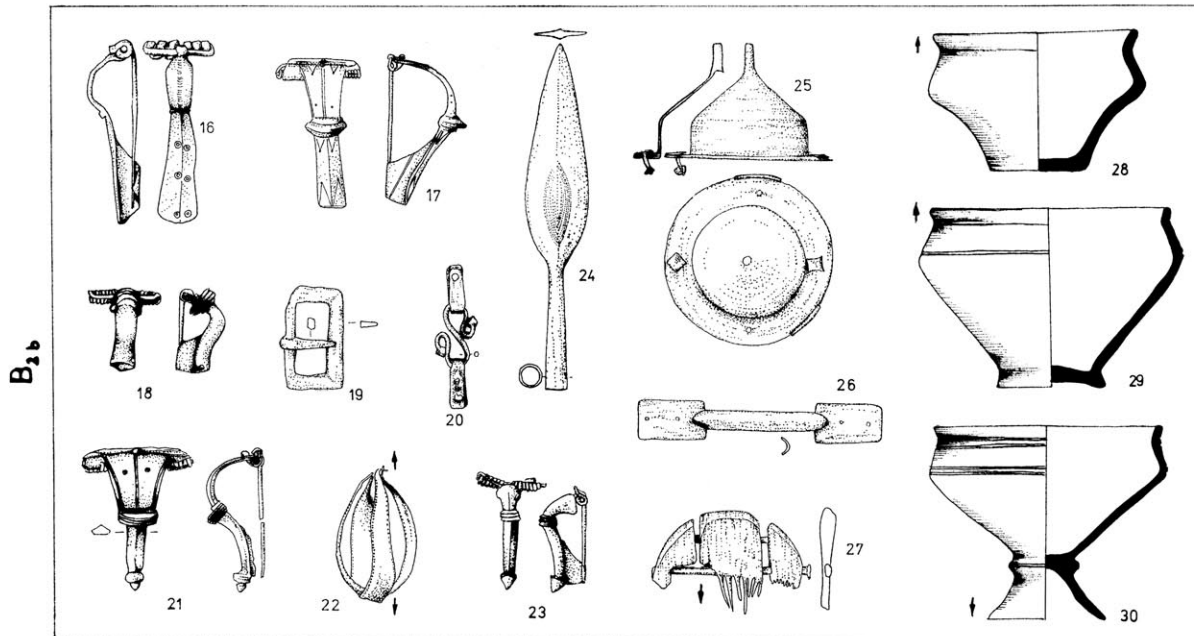
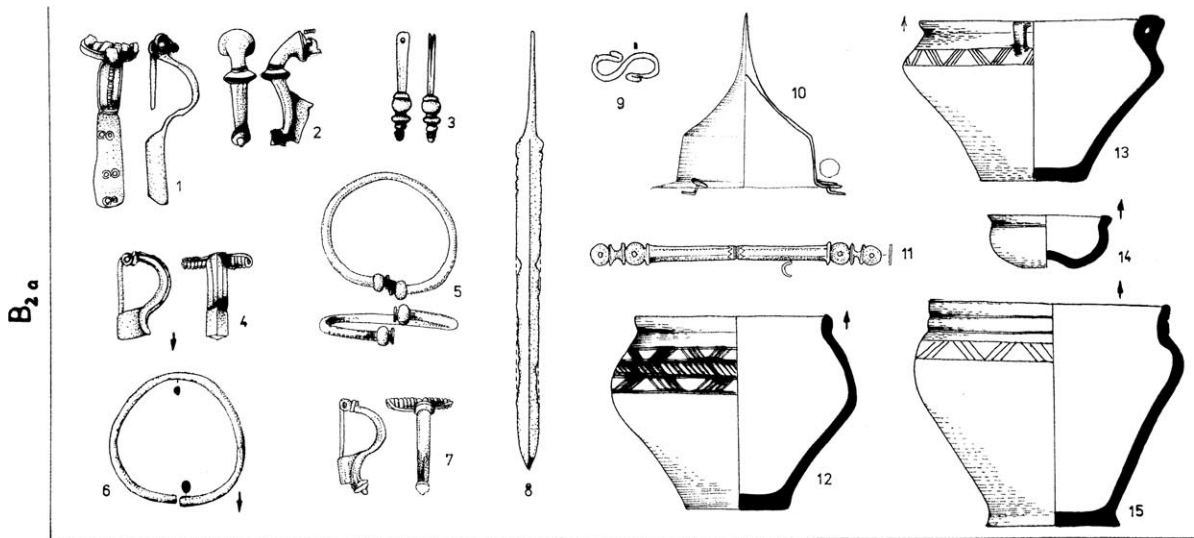
IDEM 1999, 184), who had already postulated in the '70s that a final horizon of phase B₂ – coinciding after R. Wołagiewicz with the years 150–175 A.D. – should be distinguished in the chronological system of the Central European Barbarians. According to him, this period was followed by a short transitional phase from the Early to the Late Roman period, i.e. phase B₂/C₁. J. TEJRAL (1983, 108; IDEM 1999, 184–186) assigns the upper chronological limit of this phase to about 200 A.D. or soon after⁵, thus agreeing in this matter with K. GODŁOWSKI'S (1994, 118) view.

As it has been mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the end of the Early and the beginning of the Late Roman period were marked by fundamental changes that led to the transformation of the cultural picture in the eastern Przeworsk territory. It should be added that these changes were limited to the areas east of the Vistula (cf. Fig. 1 and footnote 2), doubtless the largest and most important part.

Fig. 3: Przeworsk culture. Key types of relative chronology of phase B₂

- 1–2: Kamieńczyk, grave 55.
- 3: Kamieńczyk, grave 64.
- 4, 10: Kamieńczyk, grave 360.
- 5: Kamieńczyk, grave 184.
- 6, 9: Kamieńczyk, grave 381.
- 7: Nadkole, grave 55.
- 8, 12, 13: Kamieńczyk, grave 146.
- 11, 14, 15: Kamieńczyk, grave 48.
- 16, 28: Kamieńczyk, grave 20.
- 17: Kamieńczyk, grave 46.
- 18: Kamieńczyk, grave 196.
- 19, 27: Kamieńczyk, grave 182.
- 20, 25–26: Nadkole, grave 46.
- 21: Nadkole, grave 26.
- 22: Kamieńczyk, grave 68.
- 23: Kamieńczyk, grave 78.
- 24: Kamieńczyk, grave 393.
- 29–30: Kamieńczyk, grave 182.
- 31: Chmielów Piaskowy, grave 15.
- 32: Kamieńczyk, grave 270.
- 33, 43: Wólka Domaniowska, grave 75.
- 34: Wólka Domaniowska, grave 40.
- 35–36, 41: Kamieńczyk, grave 1.
- 37–39: Chmielów Piaskowy, grave 39.
- 40, 42: Chmielów Piaskowy, grave 22.

⁵ The phase, thus outlined, corresponds with the horizon of Roman fluted bronze cauldrons (types Eggers 44–48) – large numbers of these finds arrived into northern areas (TEJRAL 1999, 194–195, Fig. 34). The absolute dating of the imports of this wave coincides with the end of the Marcomannic wars and the time that followed the wars (TEJRAL 1999, 194). The “late” dating of phase B₂/C₁ seems to be substantiated by the studies of terra sigillata because the typical material for phases B₂/C₁ (and thus of phase C₁a – cf. footnote 6) co-occur with terra sigillata from Rheinabern (group IIa) and Westerdorf whose absolute dating is the last quarter of the 2nd and early 3rd century (TYSZLER 1999, 40–58; TEJRAL 1999, 185).



The replacement of the Przeworsk culture by the Wielbark culture, or the so-called “wielbarization”, was not a violent one-off act, but a longer process (ANDRZEJOWSKI 1989, 118; GRABARCZYK 1997, 87–88). That it was not only a cultural, but also a long-running process of re-settlement is confirmed by Wielbark burials characterized, i.e. with an inventory, typical for this culture, characterized by the complete absence of weapons. This process might have been accompanied by armed conflicts. Traces of such have not yet been confirmed by excavations, but they usually occur when one population acquires territories at the cost of another.

The northern periphery of Masovia, where the so-called Nidzica group has been recognized (OKULICZ 1968, 32–39; IDEM 1970, 426–433) was colonized first (at the turn of sub phases B₂b/B₂c), then Central Masovia and Podlasie (at the close of sub phase B₂c) and finally (at the end of phase B₂/C₁) southern Masovia and the northern Lublin region (ANDRZEJOWSKI 1989, 118).

Relatively poor cremation burials in pits (ANDRZEJOWSKI 1989, 107; 119; GRABARCZYK 1997, 88) furnished with objects typical of phase B₂/C₁ (= C₁a)⁶ of the Wielbark culture mark the horizon of new Wielbark finds. The key types are spring-cover fibulae (Rollenkappenfibeln) of variety A. 41 (Fig. 4, 1, 2), fibulae with inverted foot of type A. 162, characterized by a short spring (Fig. 4, 10), specimens of group A.VII, series 1 (Fig. 4, 11), and spurs of group E after J. GINALSKI (1991) (Fig. 4, 12). Other finds are buckles of type D17 after R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO (1987) (Fig. 4, 4) accompanied by strap-ends of group JIII after K. RADDATZ (1957) (Fig. 4, 5) and combs of type I after S. THOMAS (1960) (Fig. 4, 3). Pots of group I, type A and C after R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ (1993) (Fig. 4, 8–9), usually appear together with these forms.

The inflow of the representatives of the Wielbark culture into the areas situated east of the Vistula corresponds with the southwards outflow of the bearers of the Przeworsk culture (Fig. 1). Their traces, represented by a compact chronological horizon of finds that can be dated into phase C₁a, appeared next in the upper Tisza Basin (GODŁOWSKI 1994a, 65–89; OŁĘDZKI 1999a, 105–136). Among these especially

characteristic finds are military objects, e.g. shield bosses of variety J. 7a/2 (Fig. 5, 5) with accompanying shield grips of variety J. 9 (with indistinct rivet plates) (Fig. 5, 8), swords of type III–IV after M. BIBORSKI (1978) (Fig. 5, 9) and spear-heads of type IV and XIII after P. KACZANOWSKI (1995) (Fig. 5, 7; 6). Other metal finds are fibulae with inverted foot of type A. 158 (Fig. 5, 1) and their variety with a full catch plate (Fig. 5, 3) as well as spurs of group E after J. GINALSKI (Fig. 5, 4). Most of the typical pottery of this phase continued traditions existing at the end of phase B₂ (Fig. 5, 10–12, 14).

The numerous appearance of Przeworsk finds on the upper Tisza is universally linked (v. RICHTHOFEN 1932, 127–145; STRZELCZYK 1992, 57–79; GODŁOWSKI 1994a, 65–89; ISTVÁNOVITS/KULCSÁR 1994, 27–35; OŁĘDZKI 1999a, 105–136) to Cassius Dio’s information (71, 12) about the arrival of the Vandal Hasdingi, who were finally allowed to stay there and settle this area after prolonged negotiations with the Romans. The date of this event – at the end of 171 or early in 172 (STRZELCZYK 1992, 57) – is of fundamental importance for our considerations as it marks the beginning of phase C₁a in the area in question.

Fig. 4: Wielbark culture. Key types of relative chronology of phase B₂/C₁ (= C₁a)

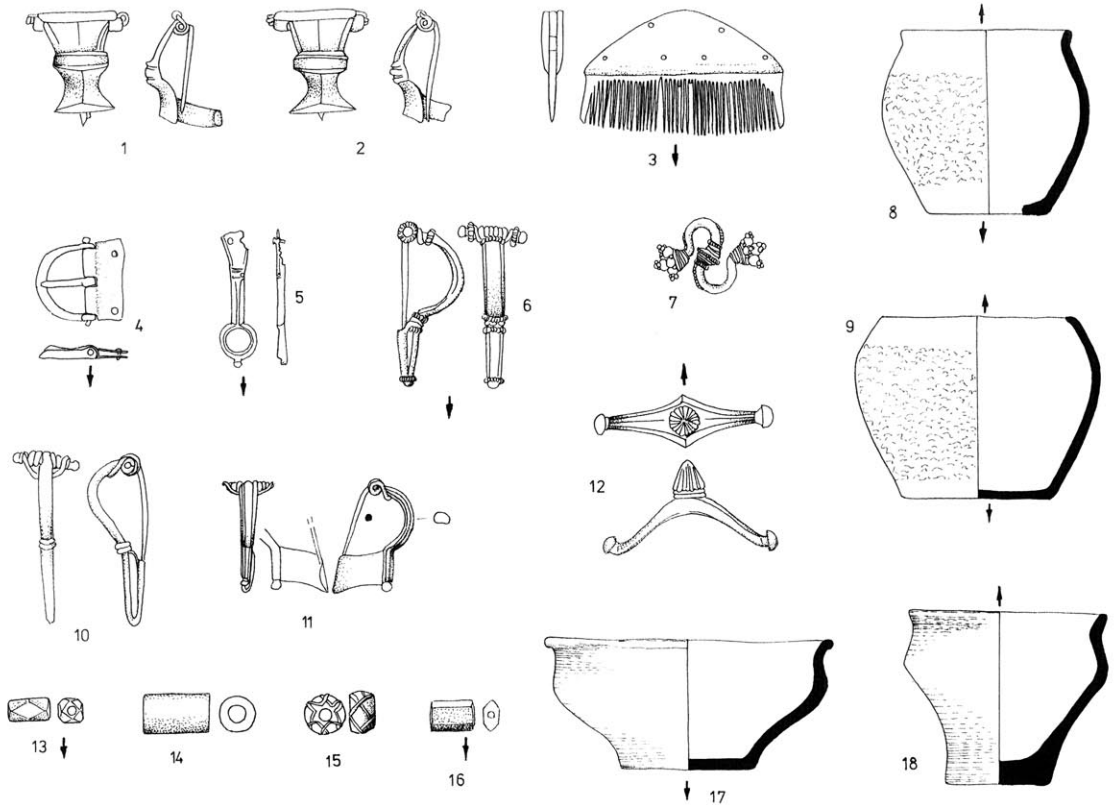
- 1–2: Brześć Triszyn, grave 12.
- 3, 10, 13–17: Masłomęcz, grave 12.
- 4–5, 9: Brześć Triszyn, grave 7.
- 6: Masłomęcz, grave 55A.
- 7: Masłomęcz, grave 343.
- 8: Brześć Triszyn, grave 16.
- 11, 18: Cecele, grave 60.
- 12: Goździk, from the cemetery.

Fig. 5: Przeworsk culture. Key types of relative chronology of phase C₁a

- 1: Beregsurány, from the settlement.
- 2: Zemplin, grave 15.
- 3: Zemplin, grave 150.
- 4–5, 15: Ardanovo, from the cemetery.
- 6–8: Zemplin, grave 70.
- 9: Svaljava, from the cemetery.
- 10–12: Zemplin, grave 69.
- 13: Bratovo, grave 2.
- 14: Cholmok, from the settlement.

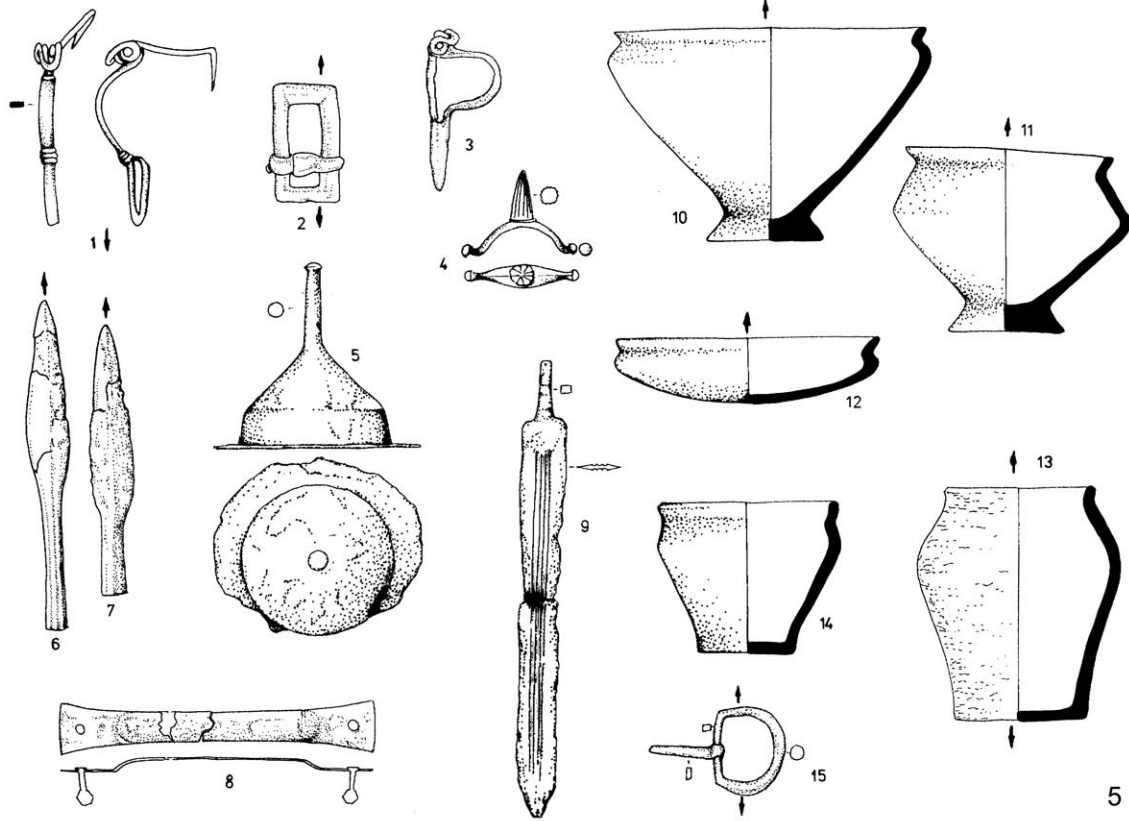
⁶ Recent researches of K. GODŁOWSKI (1994, 118) have confirmed the possibility of the alternate use of both corresponding terms. However, for the inventory of the Wielbark culture (dominated by artefacts used by women, such as body ornaments and parts of the clothing; they often linked to the Early Roman period by their style), the term used, “phase while B₂/C₁ for the Przeworsk inventory (dominated by military objects and thus male in character) the term “phase C₁a”

B_2 / C_1



4

$C_{1a} (= B_2 / C_1)$



5

Attention should also be called to the absence of finds of the Przeworsk culture in this horizon, (i.e. phase C_{1a}) in Masovia and Podlasie. At that period they had already been replaced by Wielbark finds of phase B₂/C₁. According to J. ANDRZEJOWSKI's research (1989, 106–111) the latest Przeworsk material in this region can be assigned to the end of sub phase B_{2c}⁷.

Thanks to Cassius Dio's information, this date (early '70s of the 2nd century) marks the absolute turning-point between the end of sub phase B_{2c} and the beginning of phase B₂/C₁ (= C_{1a}), which corresponds with the finds of R. Wołagiewicz and J. Tejral.

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⁷ Particularly significant are the examples provided by bi-cultural cemeteries quoted by the author, where the Przeworsk horizon ends with sub phase B_{2c} while the Wielbark one starts with phase B₂/C₁. The general picture is not changed by the fact that a few sites of the

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