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**What Makes a Man?  
Body Concepts in the South Baltic  
During the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages**

**Co czyni człowieka?  
Koncepcje ciała w strefie południowego Bałtyku  
późnej epoki brązu i wczesnej epoki żelaza**

**Abstract:** The aim of this study is to find an answer how human body was perceived and valued by the communities of the southern Baltic coast in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, i.e. during the period of development of the Lusatian culture and the Pomeranian culture associated with the Late Bronze Age and with Early Iron Age respectively. The research area included the northern part of the European Plain between the Elbe and Vistula-Narew-Bug basin. Sixteen sculptures and 35 representations engraved on urns were analysed. Pattern recognition was applied to identify them.

**Keywords:** First Millennium BC, anthropomorphism, body, visual narratives, pattern recognition

**Abstrakt:** Celem tego studium jest próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, w jaki sposób cielesność człowieka była postrzegana i waloryzowana przez społeczności południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku w pierwszej połowie I tysiąclecia BC, a więc w okresie rozwoju kultury lużyckiej, związanej z późną epoką brązu, i kultury pomorskiej odpowiadającej wczesnym fazom epoki żelaza. Obszarem badań objęto północną część Nizy Europejskiego pomiędzy dorzeczem Łaby a dorzeczem Wisły, Narwi i Bugu. Analizie poddano 16 przedstawień pełnofigurowych oraz 35 przedstawień rytych na urnach ciałopalnych. Do ich identyfikacji posłużono się teorią rozpoznawania wzorców.

**Słowa kluczowe:** I tysiąclecie BC, antropomorfizacja, ciało, narracja wizualna, rozpoznawanie wzorów

The end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Ages (Ha A–D) in the southern Baltic zone brought quite an important change in funeral practice: the dawn of anthropomorphic figures depicted on ceramic vessels in complicated narrative scenes. The emergence of a new form of the urn can be seen; with anthropomorphic elements in shape, a hat-like lid, and face elements modelled on the vessel's neck. Moreover, equally important changes can also

be observed in funeral rites. Were these changes coincidental? Or were they related to changes in the concept of human beings and their fate? To address these questions, I will start by locating this study in time and space. The survey area is the northern part of the European Plain between the Elbe and Vistula-Narew-Bug basin. Identified archaeologically as dating from the Late Bronze Age, the complex is a local version of the Urnfield circle attributed to the Lusatian culture. A transition to the beginning of the Early Iron Age is observed in the appearance of new funeral traditions: communal cist graves containing urns with a higher or lower degree of anthropomorphism. This new set is recognized as the so-called Pomeranian Face Urn culture (Ślusarska 2017, 213–230). The time frame in which I place this study is the first half of the First Millennium BC (Dzięgielewski 2017, 300).

The concepts of a human being and human body in the Prehistoric record have been widely discussed over at least the last two decades (see: Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 7–21). The body, apart from purely biological features, serves as a powerful communication tool that not only expresses but forms social practice. Clothing, jewelry, visible body modifications (tattoos, scarification) are basic manipulations that provide information relevant for smooth social interaction within and between groups. But the body itself also works on purely biological, unconscious levels. Controlled by hormones and balance within the system, the state of the body is a factor of physical attractiveness (see: Shamsul, Sheppard 2015). However, there is one more important aspect of body concept and cognition that applies to research on so-called Prehistoric art: whether and to what extent modern researchers can recognize human representation in archaeological objects? Absent delving into a discussion on hermeneutics that reaches beyond semantics, I apply pattern recognition as a primary and universal rule of the human cognition process, with facial patterns being most common. Using this theory allows recognition of the human face and silhouette in figurative narratives of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. A human face consists of a pair of eyes and ears, a single mouth and a nose – all in an invariable pattern. On this level, all human faces are similar, and all humans, except those suffering from brain dysfunction (e.g. prosopagnosia), can distinguish between human and animal faces. Facial recognition is innate both in humans and in primates (see: Johnson, Morton 1991) and crucial for social life. Strongly connected with memory and learning, facial recognition at its most basic level is resistant to modification dependent on cultural, subjective factors. The same can be said for the human silhouette, a universal pattern showing the most general features of a human being – an upright position with a head on the top of a bipedal body – that is easy to distinguish from other figures.

Other easily recognizable representations are those showing figures performing specifically human activities, such as with means of transport (wagon, animal) and specialized tools (weapons). These conditions make the representation “universal” and recognizable transculturally because they correspond with brain function. Potentially, there are human representations that correspond with the specifics of time, region, and community. And within this group, we can expect that human visual representations relate to fabular (mythical) narrations understood only by group members sharing specific sets of beliefs. This group of images might well be impossible to recognize for “foreigners” and researchers not involved actively in the same narratives. Taking the abovementioned into account, the list of sources for this text is limited to representations containing the presence of a human face or figure and in narrative scenes that include specifically human activities. The procedure described above serves only as a tool to identify anthropomorphic representations for the study. It does not engage in discussions about purposes of the representations and their social reception, i.e., whether they are art created to be perpetually admired. Those topics are beyond the scope of the presented research.

Key questions for this study include:

1. How many different “human versions” can be identified based on gender, age or markers of social status?
2. Is the human body perceived as a “whole” entity? Or one built of many elements?
3. Which of these elements are important for identification?

## **Materials and data analysis**

Body concept studies are based on two sources: figurative representation and funerary tradition. It will also be the case in this study, although the funerary practice is more problematic for the Late Bronze Age since cremation is the dominant funerary rite. As such, we lack information on costume, jewelry, body position in the grave and other bodily aspects that might be relevant. Given that cremation in the northern part of contemporary Poland employed urns with faces modelled on them as funerary vessels, I will explore only those containing anthropomorphic representations in form of narrative scenes in this study.

### **Full-figure representation (Tab. 1)**

Images of any kind from this part of the European Lowlands east of the Elbe River are rare. The total number of full-figure representations of the Late Bronze

and Early Iron Age cited in the literature is just 16<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1). All are made of burned clay, a material easy to process and resistant to environmental factors. Others may have been made of perishable materials like wood, bark, or textile, and thus could not survive to the present day absent specific conditions (oxygen-free, waterlogging, etc.).

Most of the anthropomorphic figurines were found in Silesia, Lusatia, and Saxony, usually in graves. At least five were found in settlements, including fortifications: Smuszewo, Grodno (Fig. 2:7,10). Some of these full-figure representations came from the Late Bronze Age (Period IV–V: Topornica, Gliniany, Wrocław-Księżę Wielkie), but most can be dated to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 2).

Though they can hardly be called “uniform”, there is a common feature – they represent human figures without elements indicating specific activities except the Topornica figurine. The figurine from the Topornica grave is different: it is formed as a horse-rider (Fig. 2:11). Known in the Hallstatt culture, such representations are not typical of those found in the European Plain and Scandinavia. Excluding this, other figurines can be divided into two groups. The first consists of highly schematic, cylindrical, conical, and cross-shaped objects lacking features that indicate gender, activity, or dress/nudity. Among those anthropomorphic figurines from Saxony, there are two rattles (Luga, Niederkaina) (Fig. 2:5). However, the level of schematism is so high that these pillow-shaped objects with five protrusions might also be recognized as quadruped animals. Adding more highly schematic figurines from Kohlsdorf, Smuszewo, Berlin-Buch, and Dresden-Coschütz (Heidenschanze) should be excluded from further analysis (Fig. 2:6–9). These latter objects are small (less than 10 cm), damaged, and their resemblance to the human torso with a head is highly suspect.

The second group is still more diverse. It consists of human representation shaped in detail, with many specific features: gender (male: Gliniany, Wilmersdorf – Fig. 2:1,9), female: Wrocław-Księżę Wielkie – Fig. 2:3), activity (Topornica) and dress elements (Deszczno, Karnin – Fig. 2:2). Heads are sketchy and disproportionate compared with other body parts – definitely, “mimesis” was not greatly prized in this time and region. Based on the way the faces of Gliniany and Deszczno figurines are formed, some scholars theorise that the unusual, disproportionate faces are, in fact, masks – namely bird masks

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<sup>1</sup> The shoe-shaped form from Trzciniec was included in this group because it is too small comparing to other shoe-shaped vessels, which suggests it might be a part of figurine not a vessel (Gediga 1970, 103, Fig. 36b, 255).

(see: Gediga 1970, 31–33; Kaletyn 1971, 148–152). That opinion corresponds well with the high-frequency of bird motifs in figurative representations from the Early Iron Age (see: Gediga 1970; Buck 1996; Kneisel 2012).

Excluding eight schematic finds (Saxony: Dresden, Luga, Niederkaina, Liebon; Brandenburg: Berlin-Buch, Kohlsdorf, Poland: Smuszewo, Trzciniec), there are still eight figurines. It is hard to point out any common element except material (clay). The so-called idols of Karnin and Deszczno bear elements that could be recognized as modes of dress: pierced ears (earrings?), multiple lines on the neck (necklace/pectoral?), lines on arms/wrists (bracelets?), lack of legs, and diagonal lines on the lower part of the body (skirt?). Their gender identity is controversial as they lack physiological sex markers<sup>2</sup>. However, considering the analogies to the “female” set of gender markers on Pomeranian face urns, it can be assumed that multi-ring neck ornaments and earrings belong to the female costume (see: Kneisel 2001, 291–306; Ślusarska 2019). It also can be assumed that extensive jewelry – neck ornaments, earrings and a disc-headed pin – complimented the female ceremonial outfit. When considering face urns, though costume elements depicted on the vessel are often very complex, real items related to clothing are rarely found inside the urn or in its surroundings.

Among the figurines that are potentially nude and have physiological sex markers, two are male (Gliniany and Wilmersdorf), and one is female (Wrocław-Księżę Wielkie). Unfortunately, the last is badly destroyed. Nothing can be said about head shape and gender markers apart from the visible pubic triangle.

In conclusion, the small number, significant scattering, and diversity of full-figure representations make it impossible to assume the existence of a well-defined concept of human-figure sculpture as a part of a general visual narrative in this time and region. These objects should be treated as unique – they do not form a compact group and likely grew out of different needs and purposes.

## **Human figure engraved on pottery (Tab. 2)**

The Early Iron Age in the north of Europe also brings another form of human figural representation – that engraved on funeral pottery as a part of a narrative scene. These engravings are usually very sketchy; built up of several shallow dashes, sometimes filled out with white paste. For this paper, urns with such decorations from 27 cemeteries were included in the survey group (Fig. 3). Only those representations are included that meet at least two of the following conditions:

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<sup>2</sup> The Deszczno figurine is known only from a photograph published by F. Hobus (Hobus 1902, Abb. 1–3) and a copy. The Karnin idol, however, has not survived in any form. It has not been published ever.

1. Bipedal motion, upright posture with the head at the top
2. Element of a narrative scene or repeated image
3. Specific, easy-to-recognize activity (hunting, driving vehicle, riding, or leading an animal).

Alleged human representation in form of “dendromorphic”, “star-like” figures and vertical dashes combined with multiple arcs or hanging angular motifs are excluded from this study (see: Gediga 1970, 108–139). The survey group contains data from 28 sites attributed to Lusatian and Pomeranian Face Urn cultures dated to the Early Iron Age. The actual number of urns with human figure representation reaches 35. In some cemeteries, such decorations are found on vessels from several graves (e.g., Trzebiatkowa, Sobiejuchy). Two vessels with narrative scenes come from settlements: Biskupin, Wenecja. Both are associated with the Lusatian culture and found close to each other.

Usual depictions are of group scenes featuring both humans and animals. Hunting scenes present a human figure (or figures) with a bow, usually chasing animals on foot or on horseback (Fig. 4:6). In the latter, human and animal figures consist of several dashes depicting human/animal figures, as seen in the profile. Human legs, visible under the horse’s belly, are not always present (Fig. 4:1,2,6). Hands point toward the horse’s head or neck as if they are holding reins. We assume that it is a horse because not many other animals are bred to be tamed and ridden in this part of the Old World. However, in some scenes, such as on an urn from Łazy, a human figure rides an animal with horns (Fig. 4.6). Some contain additional lines, interpreted as spears or bows. Apart from having four legs, there are no other elements allowing species identification of the animal being ridden. Human figures in these scenes are sexless. There are only two images where human figures seem to be clearly and intentionally depicted as a male. Both come from Pomerelia, near Gdańsk, and are attributed to the Pomeranian Face Urn culture (Darżlubie – a man leading an animal; Gdynia-Oksywie – a horseman with a spear).

Some scenes depict a wagon pulled by a pair of animals. The wagon is shown from above, with four wheels fully visible. The driver, if there is one, is usually shown in profile, standing on or by the wagon (Fig. 4.1,3). The same view is of the animals in front of the wagon. Based on zooarchaeological data at that time, there were no technological ways to hitch a horse to a heavy wagon (see: Lasota-Moskalewska 2005, 182–185), so it is assumed the animals depicted are cattle. Some scholars liken these compositions to *εκφορά* (Greek: funeral procession) (see: Baron 2008, 199–209).

Summing up, we can put these narrative scenes into three groups: horsemen, wagon scenes (“*εκφορά*”), and a person chasing prey on foot. Usually, it is only the activity that permits assumptions about the sexless figures,

with hunting, weapon, animal care, and wagon driving being among the “public” activities performed by a male group members<sup>3</sup>. These can be identified by their attributes: as a warrior, a Bowman, a hunter, a horseman, etc.

The only scene that does not match the scheme is the Tresta Rządowa vessel, where six figures are composed from hatched squares (Fig. 4:5). Those representations on the vessel are believed to be dancers, but the way the figures are composed (squares) do not possess analogies in the European Lowlands (Oleszczak, Twardowski 2011, 116–118). The other pot with engraved possible dancing scene (Wenecja) shows a human figure built as a triangle with lines resembling legs (Zajączkowski 2000, 205, Fig. 5).

However, the way the scenes are organized indicates that the story is more important than the actors. The attributes of a scene may refer to unique narratives of specific heroes, as opposed to a general activity like deer hunting. We do not know any narratives from this time and that region. Perhaps, there were other human representations on urns? But we do not know the stories, and “heroic” attributes, so we cannot identify them unless they are a human figure – bipedal, with two arms and a head. And we cannot distinguish humans in other symbols. However, some visual narratives (e.g. Sopron Vase, situla art) exist in the Hallstatt culture zone that can be related to Mediterranean world. Still, the visual narratives from European Lowland seem to be quite far and the core of myths can be distorted by time and space.

## Representations of body parts

Representations of isolated body parts are rare. In Silesia and Greater Poland, there is a quite numerous group of rhytons and “objects” in the shape of a shoe or shod foot (see: Gediga 1970, Figs 29–32, Map 4). They show considerable diversity in terms of ornamentation and construction (the length of the upper and its construction, both full and openwork). The vessel (rhyton) from Modliczka shows some similarities to the short, openwork shoes made from deerskin found with the mummy of Emmer-Erfscheidenvveen (Byrska-Fudali, Przybyła, 2012, 522, Fig. 15). But this kind of construction also may refer to the bast shoes worn in the summer in rural communities until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There also are objects that may be interpreted as a form of high-upper shoe (Ziemice, Nasedlovice – see: Gediga 1970, 107, Fig. 32:f,h – and shoe fibula

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<sup>3</sup> I am aware of the considerable discussion on creating and manifesting identity through material culture, especially from findings in graves. However, in this study I will define a male sphere through a role of a warrior (see: Sørensen 2013, 216–233). In narrative scenes, horseman and hunting themes are supplemented by a weapon (a bow, a shield) or a wagon. For this reason I decided to group them within “male activities”. I am aware, however, that this could be an oversimplification.

from Hallein-Dürrenberg, Grab 327 – see: Wendling 2023). Both forms, with long and short uppers, are known from salt mines in the Salzkammergut region (Russ-Popa 2011, 119, Fig. 99). Depending on time of the year and activities, it may be assumed that climate and environmental conditions of the European Plain necessitated different types of foot protection. Extremely limited data does not allow detailed reconstruction of the way the people dressed and the gender diversity of their costumes. It is also not justified to assume that the ways of constructing and wearing clothes known in other areas of Europe are an appropriate basis for reconstructing costumes worn in the European Plain between the Oder and the Vistula. Clothing and ornaments are strongly associated with the social sphere, which remains unknown due to cremation prevailing in burial custom.

Another element for consideration are highly anthropomorphized funeral vessels. As the name suggests, Pomeranian face urns have full representation of a human face on or at least some elements (usually ears) modeled on the body of the vessel. Except for upper body representation, these forms rarely bear other body elements. Highly anthropomorphized urns appear in a vast area of Europe at the end of the Bronze Age, but the most numerous group is found in Early Iron Age Pomerania. According to Kneisel's recent studies, the presence of two of five distinctive elements of a human face (mouth, ears, eyes, nose, and eyebrows) is enough to identify face representation on a man-made object (Kneisel 2012, 41–44). Highly anthropomorphized funeral vessels bear a common feature: elements of the human face on the upper part of the urn. Although anthropomorphic, ceremonial vessels appear in many regions of prehistoric Europe, the Early Iron Age brought about the boom in presence of face urns in funeral ceremonies (Kneisel 2016, 393–397).

Treating the face urn as an eternal substitute for the whole body (rather than just the head), the Pomeranian face urns discussed here provide information only about the upper part of the human body – head with face, neck with arms. Based both on Pomeranian urns and on graves of the Lusatian culture from Upper Silesia and the western part of Lesser Poland, there are two common sets of upper body decoration (see: Kneisel 2001; Ślusarska 2017, 213–230). The female set is well-defined, consisting of a composite necklace/breast-plate, headwear with temple rings and earrings. The second set can be defined as unisex – both men and women might have a single necklace and bracelet. However, a man's set is complemented on Pomeranian face urns by the image of two pins (rarely a fibula) and warrior paraphernalia. Sometimes, tweezers are found inside the urn.

Almost all Pomeranian face urns – those with anthropomorphic features and those without – possess a hat-like lid. They are extremely varied, making clear



correlation between gender marks and the shape of the lid difficult. It appears that the shape of the lid is a necessary compromise between utilitarian function and the representation of some type of headwear. Usually, urns for both sexes have similar lids. According to Kneisel's theory, the female gender markers – like earring and Pomeranian breast-plate – are accompanied by a lid with asymmetrical ornamentation that imitates a hairnet, a bonnet, or a headband with a veil (see: Kneisel 2012).

Jewelry of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is made only to be worn on designated parts of the body. The most varied group is for upper body decoration – necklaces, pectorals, earrings, temple rings. Costume and jewelry are powerful communication tools and there is little surprise that the most variable elements decorate the upper part of the body. Most of our non-verbal communication signs come from facial expressions, and this part of the body naturally attracts attention. So, too, the elements of attire that cover the head or neck and stick out from the ears.

There is one interesting aspect of gender markers on the Pomeranian face urns compared to engraved gendered representation and full-figure sculpture: there are more “female” markers (and so “female urns”) than for males. Correlation with gender markers on the urn and sex of the person buried within shows that the presence of female remains could be one of the factors that created a need to make the urn more “human”. The possible explanation for this overrepresentation of “female markers” may lay in the opposition between “local” and “non-local” or “fully-formed social creature” (man) and “non-fully-formed social creature” (child, woman) (Ślusarska 2017, 223–227).

## **Discussion**

Based on the overview presented above, human representation in visual narratives of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages from European Plain are neither a uniform nor coherent group (Fig. 5, Tab. 3). The appearance of such visual motifs should be understood in a broader context. The Early Iron Age is a heyday for visual narratives among “barbarian” societies – Hallstatt neighboring the region in question from the south (see: Rebay-Salisbury 2016). In the Nordic Bronze Age in Scandinavia, the visual narratives, including human images, have an even longer tradition (see: Goldhahn, Ling 2013). In some way, human representation and narrative scenes are an effect of the long-distance transmission of ideas and goods driven by the demand for raw materials and exclusive goods. It does not seem coincidental that most of the visual narratives come from such “transmission” zones (the Oder, Spree, Elbe, Warta, and Vistula) or near the Baltic (a source of amber).

Going back to questions presented at the beginning of this paper about whether the human body perceived “as a whole” or “built up of segments”, full-figure human representations in narrative scenes suggest the former. The story appears much more important than the actors involved, who can be identified by attributes (a warrior, a hunter, a horse rider, etc.). The attributes of a hero and a scene refer not to a general story, e.g., deer hunting, but to a specific tale or myth. Although the Bronze and Early Iron Ages were a time of the birth of the individual, I would say this is not true for every member of a given group. It is, in fact, the dawn of the “hero” – a mythical group that includes ancestors, leaders and successful warriors. And so, the body, both “as a whole” or “built up of segments”, is of less importance, as such, than that of a specific hero’s body recognizable through the heroic deeds contained in his biography (see: Treherne 1995; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005; Kristiansen 2011; Vandkilde 2018; Mörtz 2022).

Funeral tradition shows that some parts of the human body were preferred and marked by dedicated jewelry or costume elements. These spheres – the head and upper part of the body – were and still are important for identification. This observation corresponds well with knowledge about human perception and facial pattern recognition. The abilities to separate “familiar” and “non-familiar” faces and to distinguish face expressions are things that every human learns, based on innate properties of cognition and “pre-existing” settings. Thus, the upper part of the human body, especially the face and head, naturally attracts the eye due to the human cognitive abilities and thus making them a field of non-verbal communication essential for social interaction. Elements visible on this part of the body or an anthropomorphized urn gives instant information on status and identification of a person. If we assume that the face urn is a kind of symbolic representation of the dead, it bears elements of that person’s place in the society. Even if the face urn was not meant to be permanently visible, this substitute body is still an element that mourners see during the ceremony, making their declarations relevant and important.

Table 1. List of full-figure representations (numbers correspond with map – Fig.1)  
 Tabela 1. Zestawienie form pełnofigurowych (numery odpowiadają numeracji na mapie – ryc. 1)

No Lp.	Site Stanowisko	Context Kontekst	Height Wysokość	Material Tworzywo	Damage Uszkodzenie	Adornment, attire Orzodoba, strój	Sex Pleć	Chronology Datowanie	Reference Literatura
1.	Gliniany	Grave	20,5 cm	Burned clay	Arms missing	Nude (?)	Male (phallus)	Bronze Age Period IV–V	Kaletyn 1971, 148–152
2.	Deszczno	Grave	c. 20 cm	Burned clay (hollowed)	–	Dress with apron, composite necklace, bracelets, earrings	Unknown, probably female	Early Iron Age – Ha C–D	Hobus 1902, 50–56
3.	Karmin	Grave	Unknown	Burned clay	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Early Iron Age – Ha C–D	Unpublished finding – see Szczurek 2006, 100
4.	Wrocław-Księża Wielkie	Settlement	5,2 cm	Burned clay (hollowed)	Head, arms, legs below knees missing	Nude (?)	Female (pubic triangle)	Bronze Age Period IV–V	Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973, 117–131
5.	Liebon-Zscharniz	Grave	10,8 cm	Burned clay	Cross-shaped	–	Non-gendered	Early Iron Age – Ha C–D	Oberhofer 1957, 58
6.	Luga	Grave	12,6 cm	Burned clay	Cross-shaped (rattle)	–	Non-gendered	Early Iron Age – Ha C–D	Coblentz 1968, 81
7.	Niederkaina	Grave	13 cm	Burned clay	Cross-shaped (rattle)	–	Non-gendered	Early Iron Age – Ha C–D	Coblentz 1968, 81
8.	Kohlsdorf	Grave (?)	6 cm	Burned clay	Cylindrical – no arms and legs	–	Non-gendered	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Gediga 1970, 31, 237
9.	Smuszewo	Fortified settlement	3,5 cm	Burned clay	Schematic – no arms and legs	–	Non-gendered	Ha D	Bukowski 1962, 176
10.	Berlin-Buch	Settlement	5 cm	Burned clay	Cylindrical – lower part broken off	–	Unknown	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Kieckebusch 1923, 80
11.	Dresden-Coschütz (Heidenschanze)	Settlement	6,5 cm	Burned clay	Cylindrical, arms missing	–	Non-gendered	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Coblentz 1956, 229
12.	Wilmsdorf	Grave	12 cm	Burned clay	Schematic	Nude (?)	Male (phallus)	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Gediga 1970, 31, 237
13.	Topornica	Grave	7 cm (7 × 12 cm)	Burned clay	Horse & rider	–	Male (?)	Bronze Age Period IV–V	Głostik 1958, 166
14.	Kietz	Grave		Burned clay	Schematic – head, arms and legs missing (rattle)	–	Unknown	–	Gediga 1991, 82
15.	Grodno	Fortified settlement	20–21 cm	Burned clay	Fragments of 2 figurines	Unknown	Unknown	Early Iron Age – HaC	Gackowski 2009, 30
16.	Trzciniec	Settlement	5 cm	Burned clay	Foot	Unknown	Unknown	Bronze Period IV–V	Gediga 1970, 255

Table 2. List of engraved human figures on a pottery (numbers correspond with map – Fig. 3)  
 Tabela 2. Zestawienie rzytych przedstawień antropomorficznych na ceramice (numery odpowiadają numeracji na mapie – ryc. 3)

No Lp.	Site Stanowisko	Context Kontekst	Scene Przedstawienie	Gender Płeć	Cultural attribution Kultura	Reference Literatura
1.	Tresta	Grave	Horizontal, five figures	Female – dress	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Oleszczak, Twardowski 2011, 212, Fig. XLc-d
2.	Łazy	Grave	Hunting, horse & rider	Male – activity	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Boehlich 1925, 414–419
3.	Ostróżki	Grave	Wagon and horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 1317, 1329
4.	Rzadkowo	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 2007, No 2675
5.	Biernatka	Grave	Hunting, horse & rider, pedestrian	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 30
6.	Karzemki	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 695
7.	Waldowo	Grave	Horse & rider (?)	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 1969
8.	Toninek	Grave	Horse & riders	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 2007, No 2780, 2789
9.	Grabowo Bobowskie	Grave	Wagon driver, pedestrians, shield (?)	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 604
10.	Obozin	Grave	Standing man, animal	Unknown	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 1268
11.	Ełganowo	Grave	Horse & rider, wagon driver	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 364
12.	Gdańsk-Kielpino Góme	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 402
13.	Gdynia-Oksywie	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity, gender marker (?)	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 478
14.	Morzewo	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 2007, No 2521
15.	Dźwierzyno	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 2007, No 2291
16.	Lubiszewo Tezewskie	Grave	Kneeling figure with animal (?)	Unknown	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski, 1999, No 927
17.	Witkowo	Grave	Hunting	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 2014
18.	Jablówko	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 637
19.	Płosków	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 1378
20.	Darżlubie	Grave	Horse & rider, pedestrian	Male – activity, gender marker	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 299
21.	Staregard Gdański	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Kwapinski 1999, No 1742
22.	Trzebiatkowa	Grave	Horse & rider, wagon driver (3 urns)	Male – activity	Pomeranian Face Urn	Krzysiak 2006
23.	Biskupin	Settlement	Hunting, horse & rider	Male – activity	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Kostrzewski 1936, 135, Fig. XXXIV/11
24.	Klimontów	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Gediga 1970, 109, 256
25.	Sobiejuhy	Grave	Horse & rider, wagon, hunting scene	Male – activity	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Gediga 1970, 109, 256
26.	Siekówko	Grave	Horse & rider	Male – activity	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Witkowska 1951, 296, Fig. 7a-b
27.	Włostowo	Grave	Horse & rider – man leading an animal (?)	Male – activity	Lusatian/Early Iron Age	Śmigiełski 1963, 150, Fig. 42–43
28.	Wenecja	Settlement	Horizontal, 4-dotted triangular dancers	Female – dress	Lusatian, Period IV/V – Early Iron Age	Zajączkowski 2000, 205, Fig. 5

Table 3. List of anthropomorphic representations of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages  
Tabela 3. Zestawienie rytuń przedstawień antropomorficznych z późnej epoki brązu i wczesnej epoki żelaza

No Lp.	Site Stanowisko	Chronology Datowanie	Type of representation Rodzaj przedstawienia	Type of item Typ przedmiotu	Comments Uwagi
1.	Gliniany	Bronze Age Period IV–V	Full figure	Clay figurine	Arms missing
2.	Deszczno	Ha C–D – Early Iron Age	Full figure	Clay figurine	Only photograph and copy
3.	Kamin	Ha C–D – Early Iron Age	Full figure	Clay figurine	Unpublished
4.	Wrocław-Księżę Wielkie	Bronze Age Period IV–V	Full figure	Clay figurine	Only torso, other part missing
5.	Liebon-Zscharniz	Ha C–D – Early Iron Age	Full figure	Clay figurine	Cross-shaped
6.	Luga	Ha C–D – Early Iron Age	Full figure	Clay figurine	Cross-shaped (rattle)
7.	Niederkaina	Ha C–D – Early Iron Age	Full figure	Clay figurine	Cross-shaped (rattle)
8.	Kohlsdorf	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Full figure	Clay figurine	Cylindrical – no arms and legs
9.	Smuszewo	Ha D	Full figure	Clay figurine	Schematic – no arms and legs
10.	Berlin-Buch	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Full figure	Clay figurine	Cylindrical – lower part broken off
11.	Dresden-Coschütz (Heidenschanze)	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Full figure	Clay figurine	Cylindrical, arms missing
12.	Wilmersdorf	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age (?)	Full figure	Clay figurine	Schematic
13.	Topornica	Bronze Age Period IV–V	Full figure	Clay figurine	Horse rider
14.	Kietrz		Full figure	Clay figurine	Schematic – head, arms and legs missing (rattle)
15.	Grodno	Ha C – Early Iron Age	Full figure	Clay figurine	Fragments of two figurines
16.	Tresta	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Dancing figures
17.	Łazy	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Hunting, horse & rider scene
18.	Ostróżki	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Wagon, horse & rider scene
19.	Rzadkowo	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
20.	Biernatka	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Hunting scene, horse & rider, pedestrian
21.	Karczemki	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
22.	Waldowo	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider (?)
23.	Toninek	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
24.	Grabowo Bobowskie	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Wagon driver, pedestrians, shield (?)

25.	Obozin	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Standing man, animal
26.	Elganowo	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider, wagon driver
27.	Gdańsk-Kielpino Górne	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
28.	Gdynia-Oksywie	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
29.	Morzewo	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
30.	Dźwierzyno	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
31.	Lubiszewo Tczewskie	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Kneeling figure with animal (?)
32.	Witkowo	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Hunting scene
33.	Jablówko	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
34.	Płosków	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
35.	Darżlubie	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider, pedestrian
36.	Starogard Gdański	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
37.	Trzebiatkowa	Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider, wagon driver (three urns)
38.	Biskupin	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider, hunting scene
39.	Klimontów	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
40.	Sobiejucho	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider, wagon, hunting scene
41.	Siekówko	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Horse & rider
42.	Wenecja	Bronze Age V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Dancing
43.	Włostowo	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Narrative scene	Relief on pottery	Man leading an animal (?)
44.	Modlniczka	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
45.	Zimnica	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
46.	Brieskow	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
47.	Cerekwica	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
48.	Jordanów Śląski	Bronze Age Period IV	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
49.	Wartosław	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
50.	Wilanowicz	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
51.	Wartin	Bronze Age Period V – Early Iron Age	Body fragment	Shoe-shaped vessel	
52.	Klein Ziethen	Bronze Age Period V	Body fragment	Shoe-shape vessel	
53.	Trzciniec	Bronze Age Period IV	Body fragment	Clay figurine (?)	

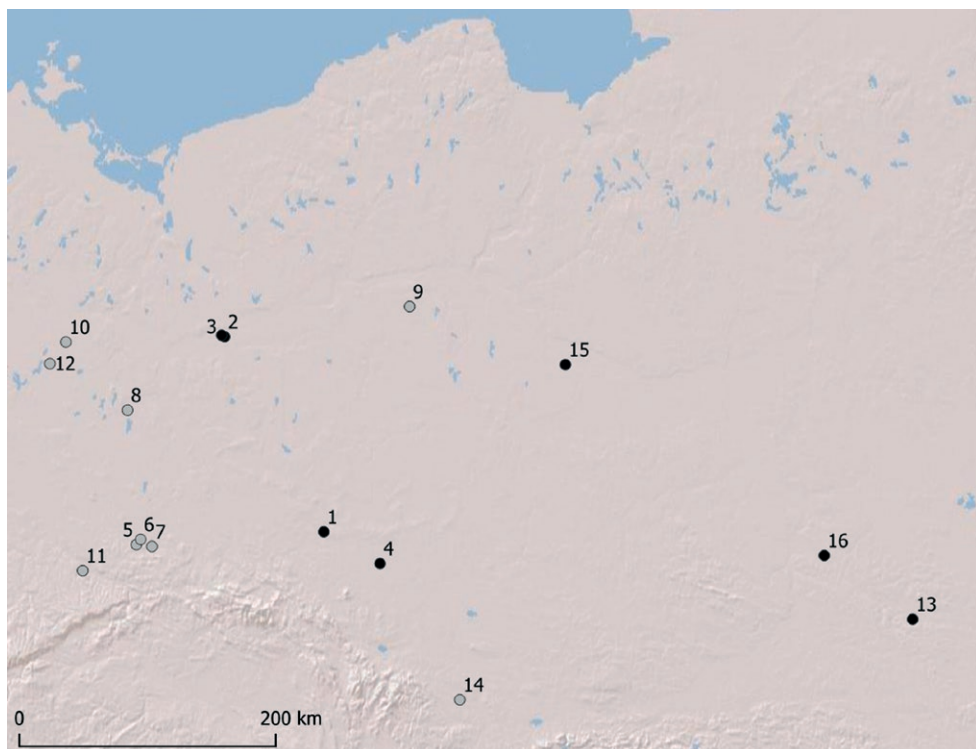


Fig. 1. Distribution of small full-figure sculptures (black) and what are believed to be anthropomorphic representations (grey) displayed on a map. Numbers correspond with locations listed in Table 1. Prepared by K. Ślusarska. Basemap: ESRI shaded relief (obtained through QuickMapServices QGIS plugin)

Ryc. 1. Dystrybucja małych form pełnofigurowych (czarne punkty) i przypuszczalnych przedstawień antropomorficznych (szare punkty). Numery na mapie odpowiadają numeracji stanowisk w tabeli 1. Oprac. K. Ślusarska. Źródło mapy podkładowej: ESRI shaded relief (uzyskane przez QuickMapServices QGIS plugin)

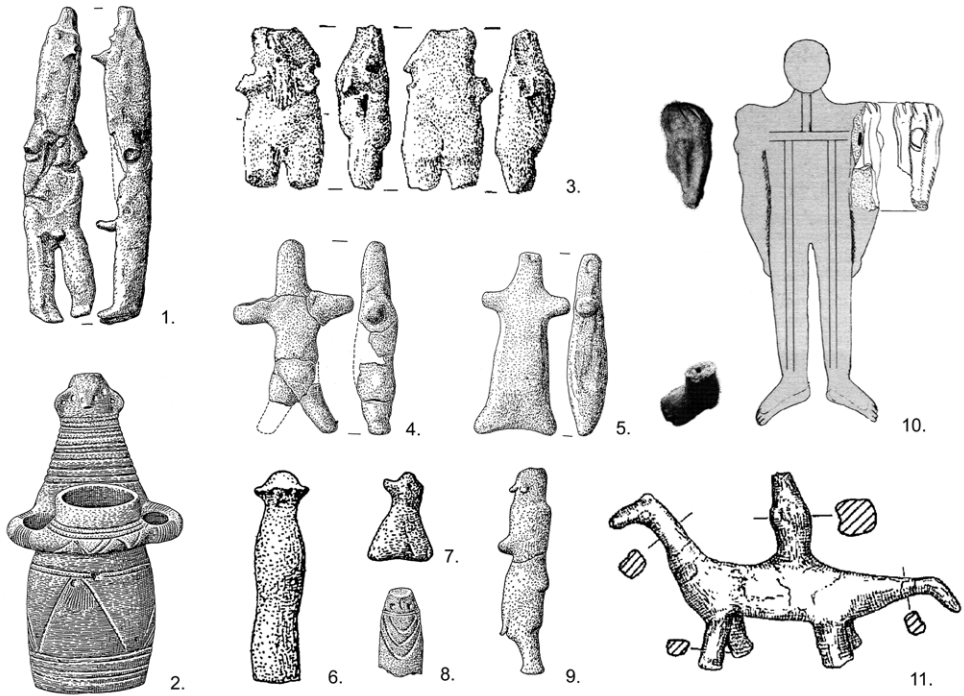


Fig. 2. Small full-figure and alleged figurines: 1 – Gliniany (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 2 – Deszczno (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 3 – Wrocław-Księżę Wielkie (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 4 – Liebon-Zscharnitz (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 5 – Luga (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 6 – Kohlsdorf (Gediga 1970); 7 – Smuszewo (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 8 – Berlin-Buch (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 9 – Wilmersdorf (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 10 – Grodno (Gackowski 2009); 11 – Topornica (Dąbrowski 2013)

Ryc. 2. Małe formy pełnofigurowe oraz przypuszczalne przedstawienia antropomorficzne: 1 – Gliniany (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 2 – Deszczno (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 3 – Wrocław-Księżę Wielkie (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 4 – Liebon-Zscharnitz (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 5 – Luga (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 6 – Kohlsdorf (Gediga 1970); 7 – Smuszewo (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 8 – Berlin-Buch (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 9 – Wilmersdorf (Jankowska, Wojciechowska 1973); 10 – Grodno (Gackowski 2009); 11 – Topornica (Dąbrowski 2013)



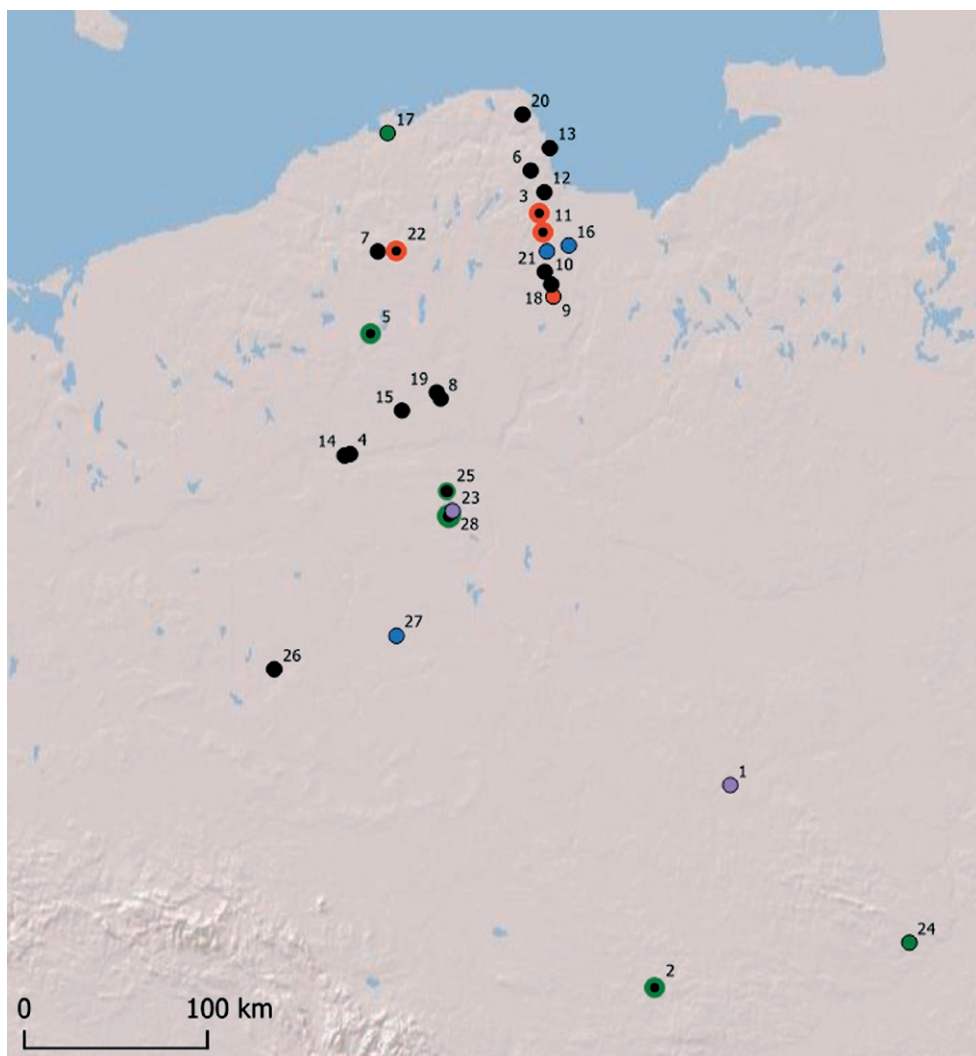


Fig. 3. Engraved human representation: 1, 2, 23–28 – Lusatian culture; 3–22 – Pomeranian Face Urn cultures. The colours of the points mean: blue – man with animal; black – horse riding; green-black – horse riding and hunting; red-black – horse riding and wagon; green – hunting; violet – dancing; red – wagon. Prepared by K. Ślusarska. Basemap: ESRI shaded relief (obtained through QuickMapServices QGIS plugin)

Ryc. 3. Przedstawienia antropomorficzne ryte: 1, 2, 23–28 – kultura łużycka; 3–22 – kultura pomorska. Kolory punktów oznaczają: niebieski – prowadzenie zwierzęcia; czarny – jeździec; zielono-czarny – jeździec i scena polowania; czerwono-czarny – jeździec i wóz; zielony – scena polowania; fioletowy – scena tańca; czerwony – wóz. Oprac. K. Ślusarska. Źródło mapy podkładowej: ESRI shaded relief (uzyskane przez QuickMapServices QGIS plugin)

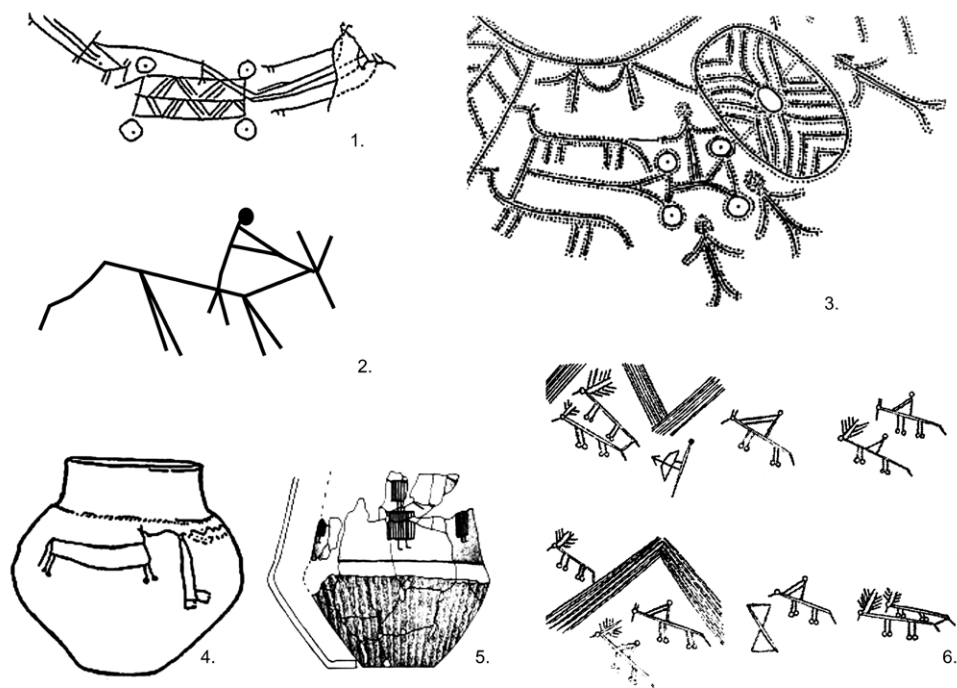


Fig. 4. Engraved human figurine: 1 – Wagon and horserider – Dziegielec (Kwapiński 1999); 2 – Horserider – Klimontów; 3 – Wagon driver – Grzmiąca (Kwapiński 1999); 4 – A man with an animal – Obozin (Kwapiński 1999); 5 – “Dancers” – Tresta Rządowa (Oleszczak, Twardowski 2011); 6 – Narrative scene with riders and bowman – Łazy (Gediga 1970)

Fig. 4. Przedstawienia antropomorficzne ryte: 1 – Wóz i jeździec konny – Dziegielec (Kwapiński 1999); 2 – Jeździec konny – Klimontów; 3. Woźnica – Grzmiąca (Kwapiński 1999); 4 – Człowiek ze zwierzęciem – Obozin (Kwapiński 1999); 5 – „Tancerki” – Tresta Rządowa (Oleszczak, Twardowski 2011); 6 – Scena narracyjna z jeźdźcami i łucznikiem – Łazy (Gediga 1970)

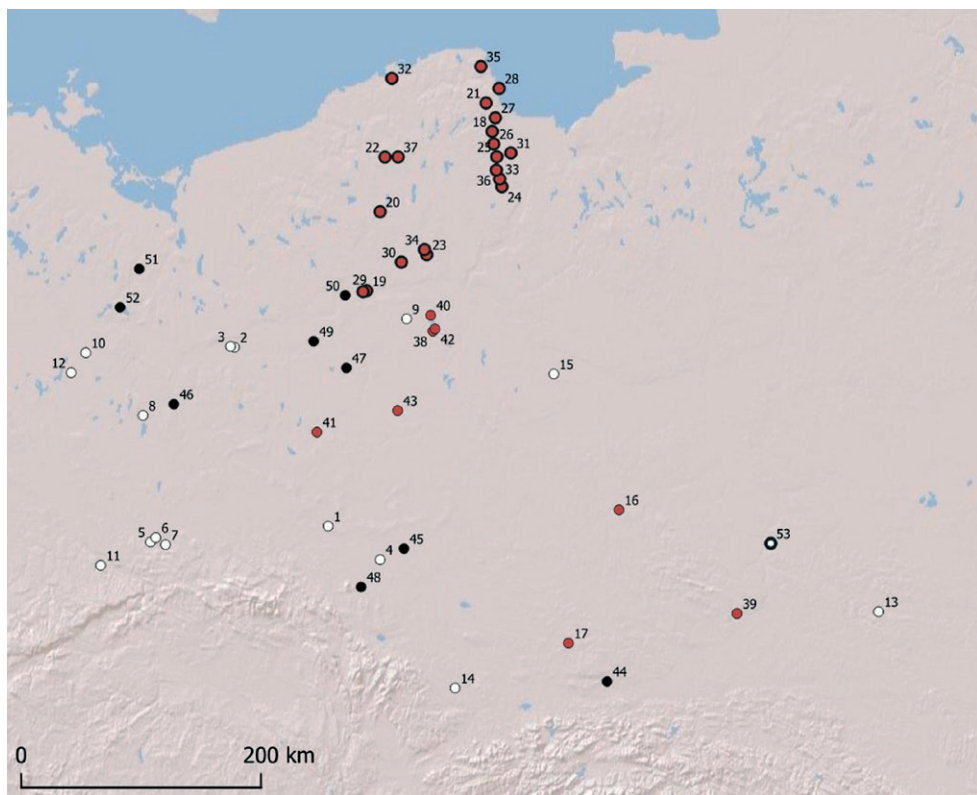


Fig. 5. Figurative representations of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Number on the map corresponds with table 3. The colours of the points mean: white – full-figure representations; black-white – body fragment; red – narrative scene; red-black – narrative scene on face urn; black – shoe-shaped vessel. Prepared by K. Ślusarska. Basemap: ESRI shaded relief (obtained through QuickMapServices QGIS plugin)

Fig. 5. Przedstawienia antropomorficzne z późnej epoki brązu i początków epoki żelaza. Numery na mapie odpowiadają tabeli 3. Kolory punktów oznaczają: biały – przedstawienia pełnofigurowe; czarno-biały – fragment ciała; czerwony – sceny narracyjne; czerwono-czarny – sceny narracyjne na urnie twarzowej; czarny – naczynia w kształcie buta/stopy. Oprac. K. Ślusarska. Źródło mapy podkładowej: ESRI shaded relief (uzyskane przez QuickMapServices QGIS plugin)

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## Streszczenie

Na przełomie epoki brązu i epoki żelaza w strefie południowego Bałtyku na naczyniach ceramicznych pojawiają się przedstawienia antropomorficzne: w skomplikowanych scenach narracyjnych oraz w postaci niewielkich form pełnopostaciowych. W tym samym czasie zachodzą także istotne zmiany w obrządku pogrzebowym. Zmienia się forma urny, która zyskuje elementy antropomorficzne w postaci wyobrażeń elementów twarzy na korpusie i pokrywę przypominającą czapkę lub kapelusze.

Celem tego studium jest próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, w jaki sposób cielesność człowieka była postrzegana i waloryzowana przez społeczności południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku w pierwszej połowie I tysiąclecia BC, a więc w okresie rozwoju kultury łużyckiej, związanej z późną epoką brązu, i kultury pomorskiej odpowiadającej wczesnym fazom epoki żelaza. Obszarem badań objęto Niż Polski oraz wschodnią część Niżu Północnoniemieckiego, między Łabą a dorzeczem Wisły, Narwi i Bugu. Analizie poddano 9 przedstawień pełnofigurowych oraz 35 przedstawień rytych na urnach ciałopalnych. Do ich identyfikacji posłużono się teorią rozpoznawania wzorców. Ludzkie oczy, uszy, usta i nos rozmieszczone są według powtarzalnego wzoru, który obecnie wykorzystywany jest do maszynowego rozpoznania twarzy ludzkiej. Pod tym względem wszystkie ludzkie twarze są podobne i wszyscy ludzie – z wyjątkiem tych, którzy cierpią na dysfunkcję mózgu (np. prozopagnozję) – potrafią odróżnić twarze ludzkie od zwierzęcych. Zdolność rozpoznawania twarzy jest kluczowa dla życia społecznego i stanowi jedną z najwcześniejszych umiejętności w indywidualnym rozwoju człowieka. Podobnie przedstawia się kwestia rozpoznawania sylwetki człowieka, która jest również oparta na uniwersalnym wzorze i łatwa do odróżnienia od innych sylwetek (pozycja wyprostowana, dwunożność, kończyny górne (ręce), które nie są zaangażowane w ruch). Inne łatwo rozpoznawalne przedstawienia dotyczą postaci wykonujących czynności specyficznie ludzkie, takie jak używanie środków transportu (wóz, zwierzę) lub manipulowanie specjalistycznymi narzędziami (broń). Taki kontekst sprawia, że reprezentacja jest „uniwersalna” i rozpoznawalna transkulturowo, ponieważ odpowiada biologicznemu sposobowi funkcjonowania naszego mózgu.

Przedstawienia ludzkie w narracjach wizualnych późnej epoki brązu i wczesnej epoki żelaza na północ od Sudetów i Rudaw nie tworzą jednolitej i spójnej grupy. Pojawienie się tego rodzaju motywów wizualnych należy rozumieć w szerszym kontekście. Wczesna epoka żelaza to okres rozkwitu narracji wizualnych wśród społeczeństw „barbarzyńskich” (głównie grup okołoałpejskich), sąsiadujących z omawianym regionem od południa. Na północy, w kręgu kultury nordyjskiej narracje wizualne, w tym wizerunki ludzi, mają jeszcze dłuższą tradycję. W pewnym sensie przedstawienia człowieka i sceny narracyjne są efektem dalekosiężnych transmisji idei i dóbr napędzanych popytem na surowce i dobra ekskluzywne. Nieprzypadkowo większość narracji wizualnych pochodzi ze stref „transmisyjnych” (Odra, Sprewa, Łaba, Warta i Wisła) lub z okolic Bałtyku (bursztyn).

Pełnofigurowe przedstawienia ludzi w scenach narracyjnych sugerują, że ciało ludzkie było postrzegane jako „całość”, a nie „zbudowane z segmentów”. Fabuła wydaje się o wiele ważniejsza niż zaangażowani w nią aktorzy, których można

rozpoznać po atrybutach (wojownik, myśliwy, jeździec konny itd.). Atrybuty bohatera i scena, jak np. polowanie na jelenie, nie nawiązują do historii ogólnej, ale do konkretnego polowania realizowanego przez konkretnego bohatera w konkretnym czasie mitycznym. Epoka brązu i wczesna epoka żelaza to czas narodzin indywidualnej osobowości, początek „bohatera – członka grupy mitycznych stworzeń: przodków, przywódców, odnoszących sukcesy wojowników. I tak ciało – zarówno „jako całość”, jak i „złożone z kawałków” – nie jest ważne „jako takie”, lecz jako konkretne ciało bohatera rozpoznawalne poprzez jego heroiczną biografię – w czynach.

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