

BEYOND BALKANIZATION

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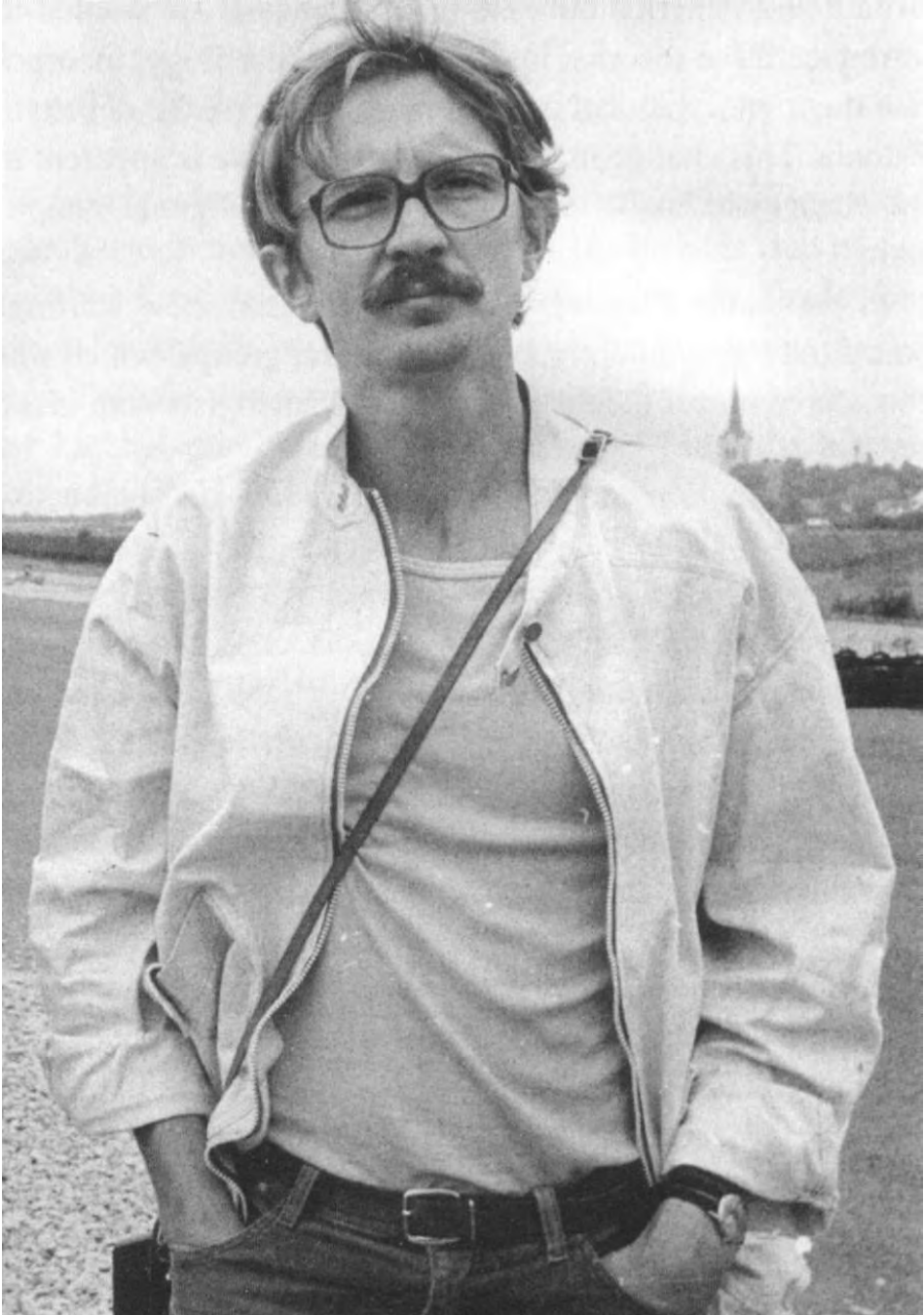
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In Memoriam Priit Ligi (24 May 1958 — 28 September 1994)

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Editor's Foreword

This volume contains the majority of the papers presented during a conference that took place on 16th-21st May, 1997 in Łódź, Poland. The conference was organized by the Institute of Archaeology, University of Łódź and Département d'anthropologie, Université de Montréal (Canada). The conference was funded by the University of Łódź and by IREX (International Research & Exchanges Board), which also supported this publication. The publication was partly founded by the University of Łódź and by the Foundation of Adam Mickiewicz University, too.

The major questions of the conference were, 1) what is the current evidence for eastern or southern influences in the development of eastern European Mesolithic and Neolithic populations, and 2) to what extent are current political trends, especially the reassertion or, in some cases, the creation of ethnic and national identities, influencing our interpretations of the prehistoric data.

The idea for such a conference came into being through the co-organizers' long-term studies of the development of those prehistoric human populations which inhabited the vast region stretching north and east from the Oder river and Carpathian Mountains to the foothills of the Urals. In a tradition established in modern times by Gordon Childe, virtually all of the transformations of Eastern Europe's Neolithic Age human landscape have been assumed to be responses to prior developments in the Balkan peninsula and Danube basin. We think that a body of new evidence requires a renewed analysis of the distributions of cultural products, peoples, and ideas across Eastern Europe during the Mesolithic through the Early Metal Age within a much wider geographic context than previously has been the case. This includes giving adequate attention to the far-ranging interactions of communities between the Pontic and Baltic area with those located in both the Caucasus and the Aralo-Caspian regions.

We hope that this volume will contribute to such a redirection of future analyses.

Lucyna Domańska
Ken Jacobs

Editorial comment

1. All dates in the *B-PS* are calibrated [see: *Radiocarbon* vol.28, 1986, and the next volumes] (other versions are cited for the wish of authors). Deviations from this rule will be point out in notes.

2. The names of the archaeological cultures (especially from the territory of the Ukraine) are standarized according to the English literature on the subject (e.g. Mallory 1989). In the case of a new term, the author's original name has been retained.

Vladimir I. Timofeev

THE EAST — WEST RELATIONS IN THE LATE MESOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC IN THE BALTIC REGION

The huge territory of the Baltic region includes parts of two large areas defining in a broad sense as the Western and Eastern Europe. This modern division has the historical roots but the division has not existed all the time.

I will call here the area around the Baltic as the Circumbaltic cultural space. The structure of this Circumbaltic area was different during the different periods of prehistory and was also dependent on the broader processes of Pan-European scale.

During the Mesolithic all over the area cultures with the similar economy of hunters-fishermen-gatherers existed, not uniform but of rather the same degree of development. Many typological differences depend on the natural resources, first of all the stone raw materials. The neighbouring Mesolithic cultures had been interconnected. More local differences appeared in the Late Mesolithic when a number of local cultures came into being, among them Kongemosen, groups of Oldesloe, Chojnice-Pieńki, Janisławice, Nemen, Late Kunda. At the same time the situation of integration existed probably in much more degree than we can suggest basing on the typological differences only. During the second half of the Mesolithic around the Baltic appeared a new type of the monuments — the special cemeteries with ochre-coloured graves, situated close to the settlements (Skateholm, Vedbaek, Zvejnieki, Oleneostrovskiy and some others). Most probably, the spread of these large, long-time used cemeteries reflects rather rapid spread of the similar rites over the large areas. There is a number of finds connected with the problem of distant links in the Late Mesolithic, for example the elk-head of Oleneostrovskiy type found in Denmark, at Vedbaek site, connected with the well-known cemetery (Fig. 1-3) or antler-tool of the aceramic Ertebølle type originated from the Late Kunda Tyrvala site in Sankt-Petersburg district close to the Estonian border (Fig. 1:5). The grave with Kongemosen type rhomboidal microliths was found at Spiginas, Lithuania [Butrimas 1989]. The situation of integration has been existed also during the period of the first pottery-cultures formation. The materials of the earliest Scandinavian pottery-culture — Ertebølle — in general are close to the Early Neolithic finds of the Eastern European forest zone. Some similarities are represented at Fig. 2. The pointed-bottommed pots of the Ertebølle type are very close to the vessels

of the Nemen and Narva cultures and in the Narva culture assemblages of the finds of lamps very similar to the Ertebølle ones are numerous. The traits of the distinctive Nemen Neolithic influences are recognisable, in my mind, in the pottery assemblage of the most eastern site of the Ertebølle-Ellerbek type — site Dąbki 9 in Northern Poland [Ilkiewicz 1989]. The ornamentation in form of “pearles” (Fig. 2:8, 9) represented in series in Dąbki 9 assemblage is very typical for the Nemen pottery and this type is not the oldest in the Neolithic Nemen culture. The shapes and some other details of the earliest vessels are similar in the area of the Ertebølle-Ellerbek, Nemen and Narva cultures and at the same time flint and bone-antler industries obviously have the local roots, they originated from the preceded local non-pottery industries. The same situation we have in almost all regions of the Eastern European forest zone — the Earliest Neolithic cultures of the neighbouring regions have many similarities in the oldest pottery assemblages and differences in the industries. Many factual data came to light during the last decades for the explanation of the first pottery appearance in the Early Neolithic forest zone by the processes of diffusion.

The chronology of the Early Neolithic in the forest zone is rather developed now and is based on the numerous C-14 datings [Timofeev, Zaitseva 1996a, b]. The first pottery appearance is dated to the period not later than 7000-6800 BP* and in some eastern regions there are even earlier datings. The first pottery in the eastern Baltic area and in the forest zone as a whole is dated to the earlier time than in Scandinavia and the southern Baltic area. The modern data are in concordance with the idea of the south-eastern roots of the Ertebølle culture pottery expressed for the first time by the prominent researcher of the Eastern European antiquities V.N. Danilenko [1969]. Possible directions of the diffusion of the pottery-making technology to the Baltic region are represented in Fig. 3:A. The types of shapes of Ertebølle-Ellerbek culture pots have their prototypes in the Early Neolithic of the Dnieper basin (Fig. 3:B).

The real division of the Circumbaltic cultural space, a kind of the West — East demarcation, happened after the formation and the spread of the Funnel Beaker culture. The Funnel Beaker culture brought for the first time to Scandinavia the production economy and the new social structure of society.

The scheme of the Circumbaltic cultural space development is represented in a plate (Fig. 4). There are two different economical and cultural worlds in the Baltic region from about 5300 BP.

A kind of integration had been developed in the eastern Baltic area and adjacent forest zone regions and concerning the Middle Neolithic the system of exchange connections could be reconstructed. There are represented (Fig. 5): flint resources, finds of amber ornaments, the district where the Neolithic sites gave faunal assemblages with large amounts of fur animals bones. Concerning the flint sources the point at Selizharovka in the Upper Volga basin is of special interest. The flint originated from this point is defined at a number of sites in the eastern Baltic area [Galibin, Timofeev 1993]. This rather complicated two-stage system of exchange

* The author used an uncalibrated version of ¹⁴C chronology (Editor).

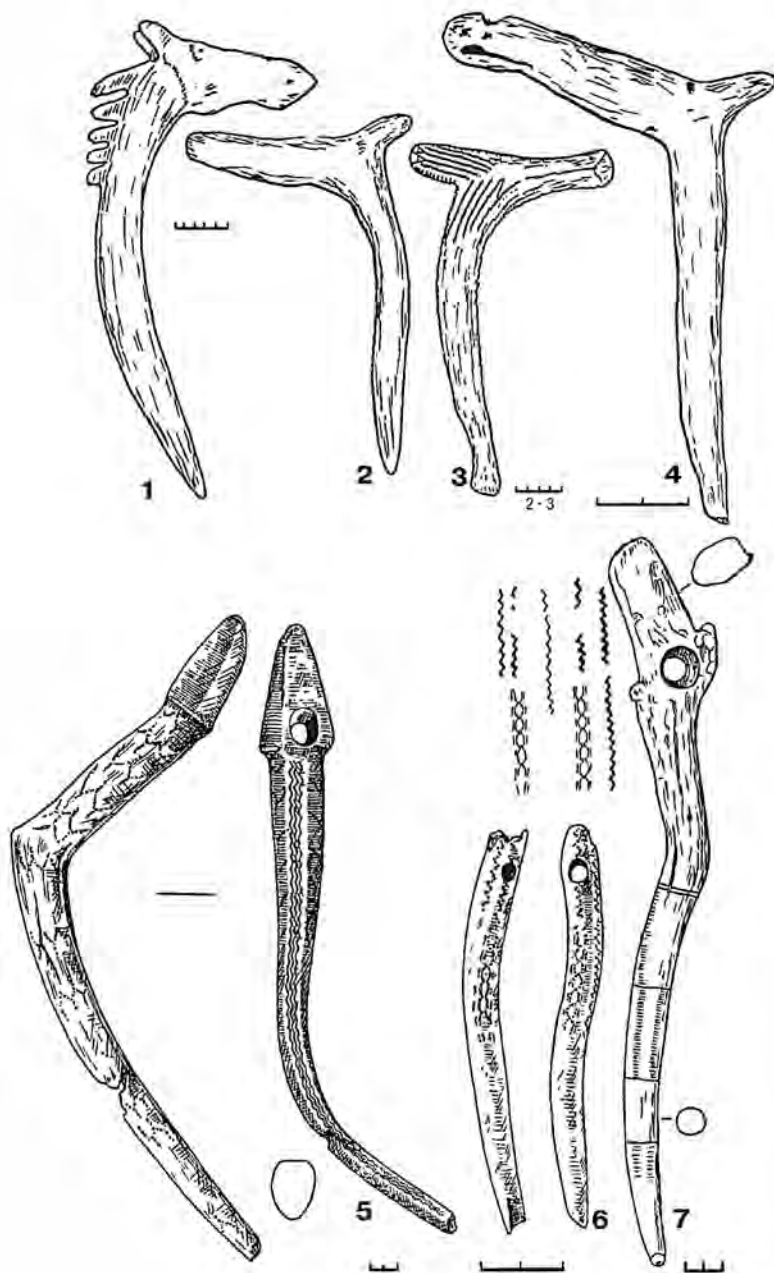


Fig. 1. Objects of art of the Eastern Europe forest zone and Scandinavia [after Timofeev 1998].
 1,4 - Olneostrovskiy cemetery [Karelia, after N.N. Gurina 1956], 2 - Šventoji 3B [after Rimantiene 1984], 3 - Vedbaek [after Mathiassen 1948], 5 - Tyrvala [after Moora 1957], 6,7 - finds from Eastern Jutland [after Andersen 1981].

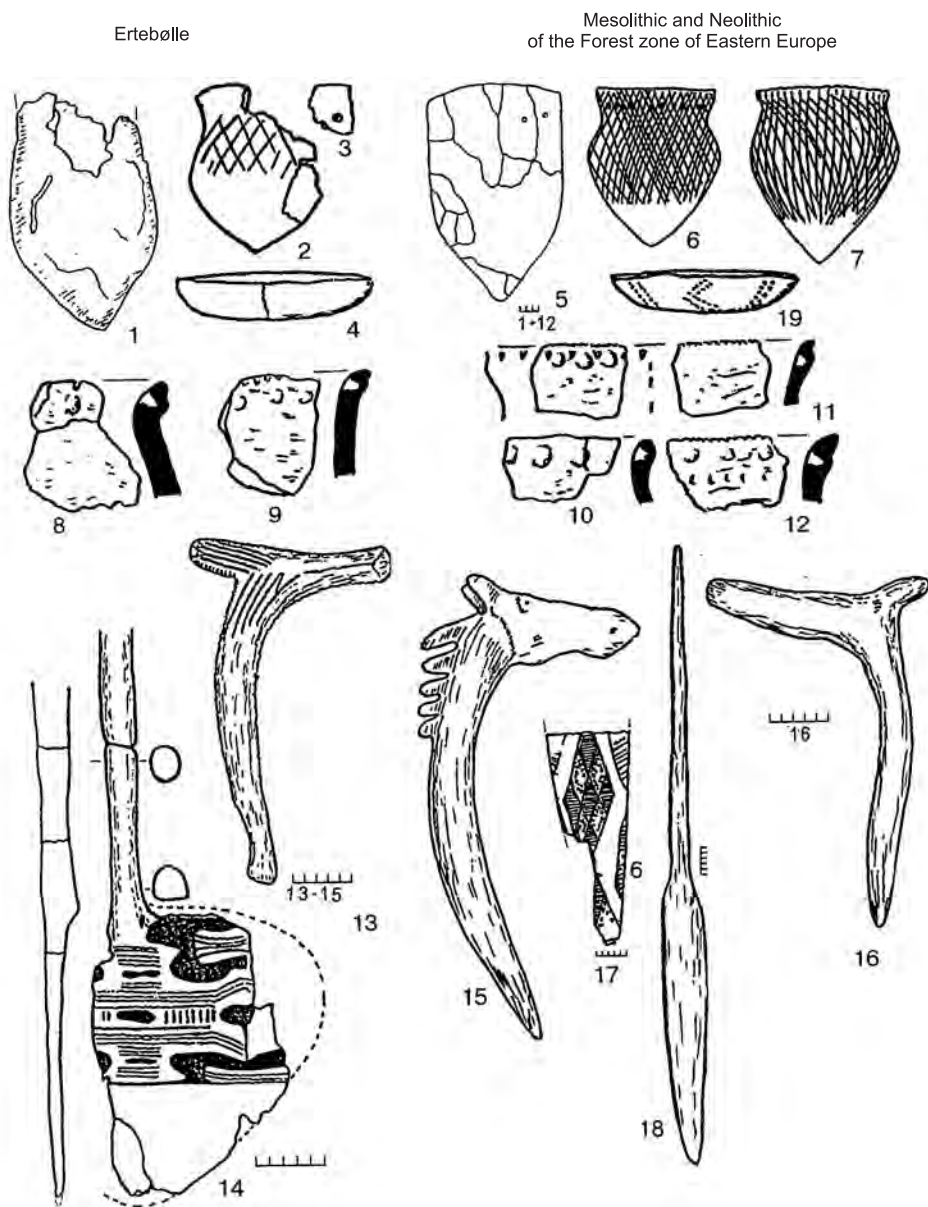


Fig. 2. The Ertebølle culture of SW Baltic area and Mesolithic-Neolithic of the forest zone of Eastern Europe: some common elements [after Timofeev 1995].

connections was used by the populations of the Comb and Pitted Ware culture, Middle Neolithic groups of Narva culture, Valdai culture of Middle-Late Neolithic and Volosovo culture.

The West-East connections during this period are reflected by a number of the cases of interaction between the Funnel Beaker culture and the Neolithic cultures of the forest zone that are known nowadays.

Certain types of the Neolithic “hybrid” ware appeared in the Baltic region. They are combining the features of Funnel Beaker culture pottery and traits of the Eastern European origin. At the first time examples of such “hybridization” were determined by A. Europeus-Ayräpää in his excellent studies on the Finnish and Baltic Neolithic chronology done in 1920s-1950s [Europeus 1930; 1955].

The first determination of the “hybrid” type of the Neolithic pottery connected with the problem in question, was done by E. Kempisty, when she defined the pottery of the Linin type, which combined the traits of wares of Funnel Beaker culture and the Nemen Neolithic culture [Kempisty 1986]. The large group of sites with the Linin type pottery is known from Eastern Poland. The sites of the Linin type (in my mind, the Linin variant of the Nemen culture) reflects the long-time coexistence of Funnel Beaker culture and the Nemen Neolithic culture.

The other type of the “hybrid” ware was defined by S. Kukawka at the sites of Funnel Beaker culture in Chełmno Land [Kukawka 1987; 1991]. This Neolithic ware, judging by technology and some elements of ornamentation, appeared as a result of the eastern influences from areas of the Narva culture and Comb and Pitted Ware culture. This type of Neolithic pottery (probably it could be called “Wielki type”, after the most representative collection) appeared in frames of Funnel Beaker culture and reflects probably mixed character of the population of N-E group of the culture. One of the earliest cases of the eastern links of Funnel Beaker culture was connected with a formation of the Zedmar Neolithic culture. Four peat-bog sites of this culture were excavated, three of them in Kaliningrad district of Russia by the author [Timofeev 1990; 1997] and one in North-Eastern Poland by W. Gumiński and J. Fiedorczuk [1988; 1990]. The culture has a number of features which are common with the other forest zone Neolithic cultures, first of all the Narva and Nemen cultures. At the same time some elements appeared as results of the influences from the west or south-west are recognisable. The flat-bottomed vessels are characteristic for the culture. It is the earliest type of flat-bottomed pottery in the east Baltic area. The flat-bottoms, some details of the profile and ornamentation, the mineral tempering of the part of Zedmar type vessels as well as some types of the antler tools could be considered as features which appeared because of the influences from the Funnel Beaker culture area. The chronology of the Zedmar culture is now worked out rather well by the numerous C-14 determinations as 5500-4800 BP uncalibrated [Timofeev, *et al.* 1994]. The culture could be synchronised with the early stages of Funnel Beaker culture of Kujavia and even with the late Lengyel assemblages (Fig. 6).

In spite of the appearance of some Central European elements in the material culture, the economy of Zedmar culture sites remained conservative and was

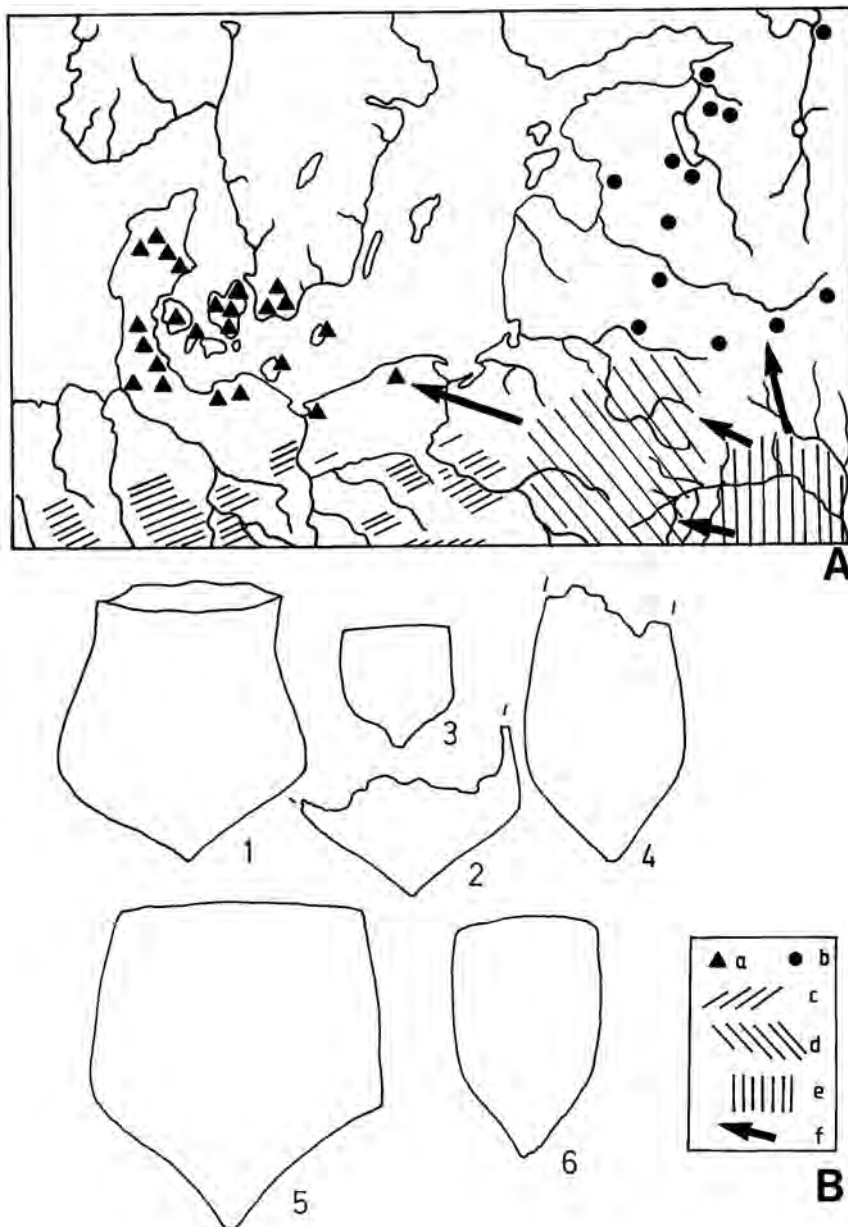


Fig. 3. [After Timofeev 1997]. A - Possible directions of the diffusion of the pottery-making technology to the Baltic region. (a - the Ertebølle sites; b - the Narva culture sites; c - area of the Linear Band Pottery culture; d - the Nemen culture; e - the Dnieper-Donets culture; f - possible directions of the diffusion of pottery-making technology). B - The types of shapes of the Ertebølle-Ellerbek culture pots and their prototypes in the assemblages of the Early Neolithic of the Dnieper river basin.

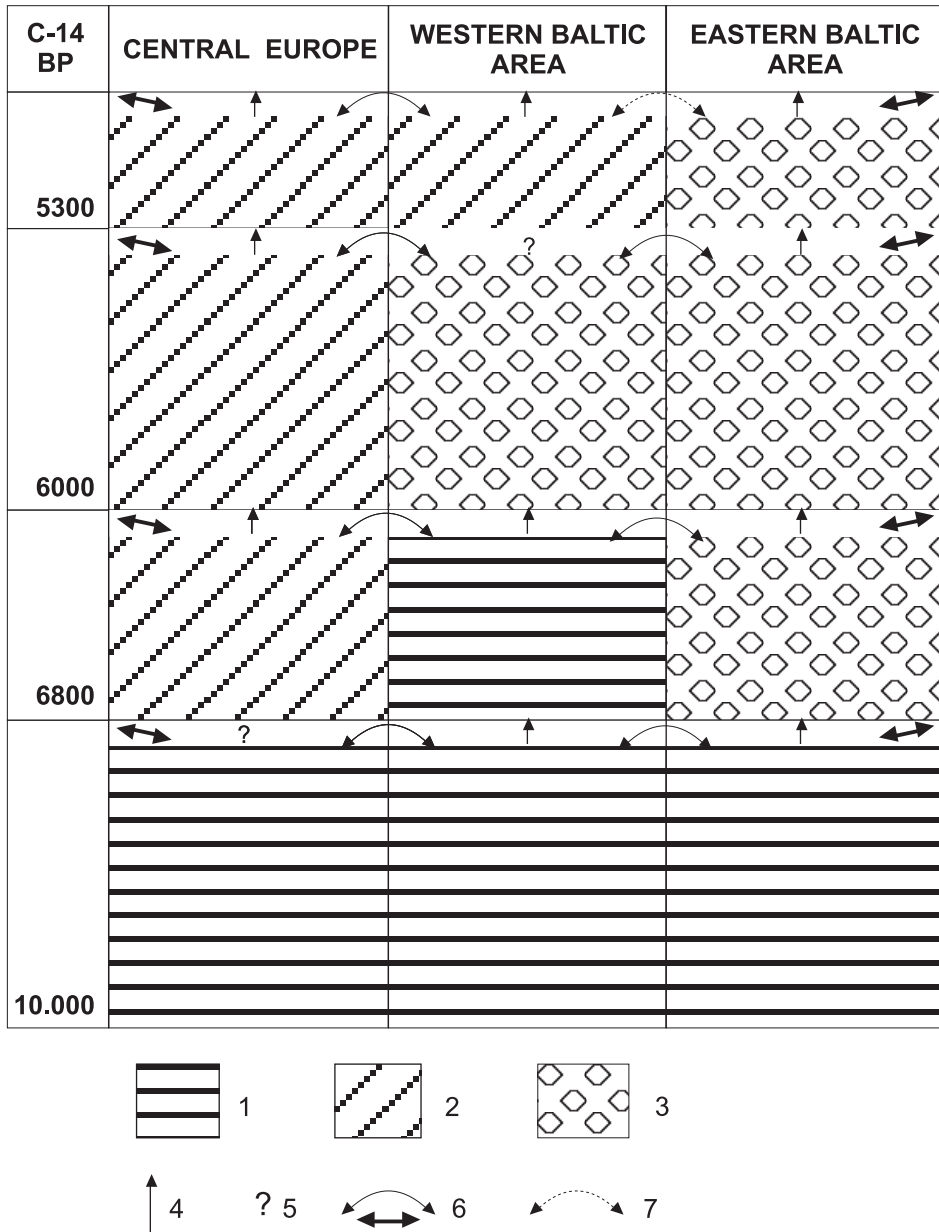


Fig. 4. The scheme of the Circumbaltic cultural space development during the Mesolithic and the Neolithic [After Timofeev 1997]. 1 - Mesolithic, 2 - Neolithic with food - producing economy, 3 - Neolithic with food - gathering economy, 4 - cultural genetical continuity, 5 - absence of distinct cultural - genetical continuity, 6 - links of regions occupied by populations of similar levels of economical development, 7 - links of regions occupied by populations of different levels of economical development.

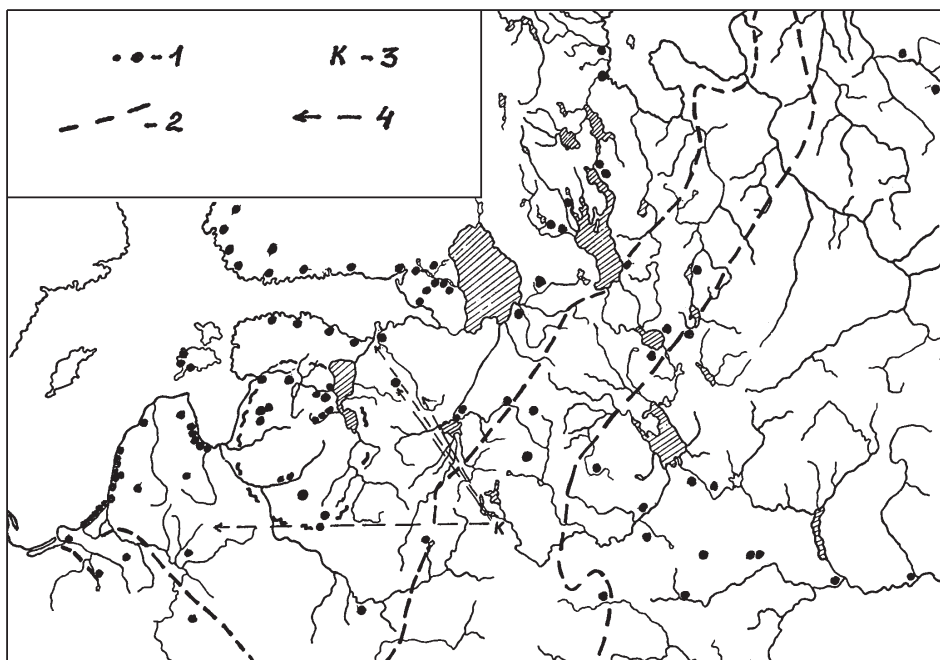


Fig. 5. The exchange connections in the Middle-Late Neolithic of the eastern Baltic area and the adjacent territories [Timofeev 1994]. 1 - finds of amber ornaments at Neolithic-Early Metal Age sites [after Loze 1980], 2 - area of flint deposits [after Kovnurko 1963], 3 - point of flint deposits at Selizharovka, Valdai area, 4 - directions of spread of flint raw-material from Selizharovka (after the data of spectral analysis done by V.A. Galibin).

based on hunting activity combined with fishing and gathering. The amount of domesticated animals bones (sheep/goat and cattle) in faunal collections is very small (less than 5%). The food-producing economy was not borrowed together with the elements recognisable in the material culture. The situation most probably is corresponding to the cooperation of the foraging society with the area inhabited by the food-producing populations at the availability phase of the “agricultural frontier” development using the scheme suggested by M. Zvelebil and P. Rowley-Conwy [1986].

The special case of the appearance of Funnel Beaker culture elements is known in North-Western Russia in Pskov and Smolensk districts. The local Usvyaty Neolithic culture of the Middle Neolithic (dated to about 5-4.5 mill. BP) was discovered there in 1960s-1970s by A.M. Miklyaev [1995]. The assemblages of the culture have a number of features derived from the preceded Narva Early Neolithic culture. At the same time the motifs of the pottery decoration unfamiliar to the Neolithic of the forest zone and similar to the Funnel Beaker culture ornamentation are known

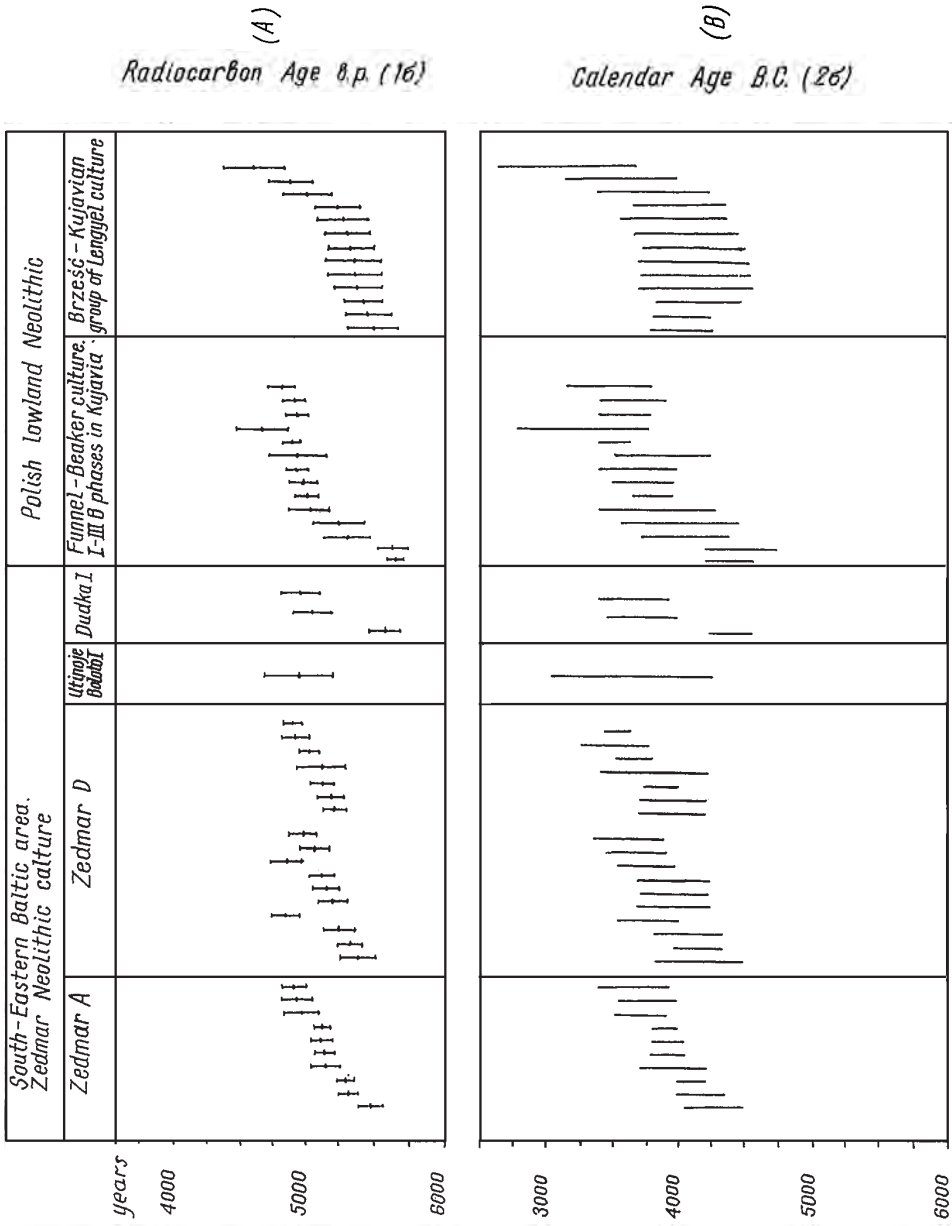


Fig. 6. The radiocarbon datings of the Zedmar culture, the Late Lengyel and the Early Funnel Beaker culture of Polish Lowland [after Timofeev, *et al.* 1994].

from the beginning of the Usvyaty culture (Fig. 7). The Usvyaty culture shows a distant (for about 500 km at least) penetration of the Funnel Beaker culture elements into the forest zone. The find at the Zvidze Neolithic site in South-Eastern Latvia, not far from the area of the Usvyaty culture, must also be mentioned in this connection. Sherds of the two funnel beakers of Wiórek style ornamentation were found in the Middle Neolithic layer [Loze 1988a]. It is the only case of such an import in the Neolithic of the eastern Baltic area. These data reflect a long-distance connections which had happened about 5000 BP (uncalibrated).

We considered the situation on the eastern border of the Funnel Beaker culture, but the similar manifestations of the “hybrid” pottery could be recognised also on the northern border. The formation of the Pitted Ware culture of Scandinavian Neolithic could be considered, in my opinion, in frames of the similar process, too.

The problem of the Scandinavian Pitted Ware culture origin has been discussed for a long time. C-J. Becker [1950] expressed the idea of the eastern roots of the culture. He based it on the finds of tanged points, which are unusual for the other Danish Neolithic cultures but have certain eastern parallels. According to opinion of M.P. Malmer [1969] the formation of the culture in question had happened on the basis of the Mesolithic cultures in particular Ertebølle and also Fosna and Nøstvet groups. After M.P. Malmer idea the Mesolithic groups survived during the Neolithic in some ecological niches and the process of Pitted Ware culture formation had been under Funnel Beaker culture influences. J. Skaarup [1973] raised a question of more substantial contribution of Funnel Beaker culture to this process. On the other side B. Wyszomirska [1984] marks the elements of the spiritual culture and of the economy common for the Pitted Ware culture and for the Neolithic of the Eastern Europe forest zone. The links of the late developed populations of the Pitted Ware culture of Gotland with the Late Neolithic of the eastern Baltic area were shown by M. Stenberger [1960] and especially by L. Jaanits [1985]. From my point of view the problem of the eastern elements participation in the process of Pitted Ware culture formation needs special investigation.

I wish to touch the problem basing on the research I had an opportunity to do in the Museums of Sweden, Denmark, the Eastern Baltic States and in some degree Finland in 1980s-1990s.

The materials of the Pitted Ware culture of the northernmost Swedish sites are peculiar by the traits absent in the collections from the other parts of the Pitted Ware culture area. The finds from Martsbo site, Gostrikland district are especially remarkable. There is the great collection reached by excavations of A. Ernquist, M. Lindquist, L. Eriksson, J. Norrman [Jonsson 1958], stored in Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum, NN 18784, 32113) and in the Uppsala University. The mineral tempering is characteristic for Pitted Ware culture of the site. The traits untypical for the classical pitted-ware and for the whole style of Funnel Beaker culture tradition but common for the Comb and Pitted Ware culture of Finland, Eastern Baltic and Karelia occur rather often in ornamentation. Among them are specific deep pits placed in “chess” manner, crude comb-like imprints forming diagonal rows, rhomboidal figures and some others. These elements occur in the vessels

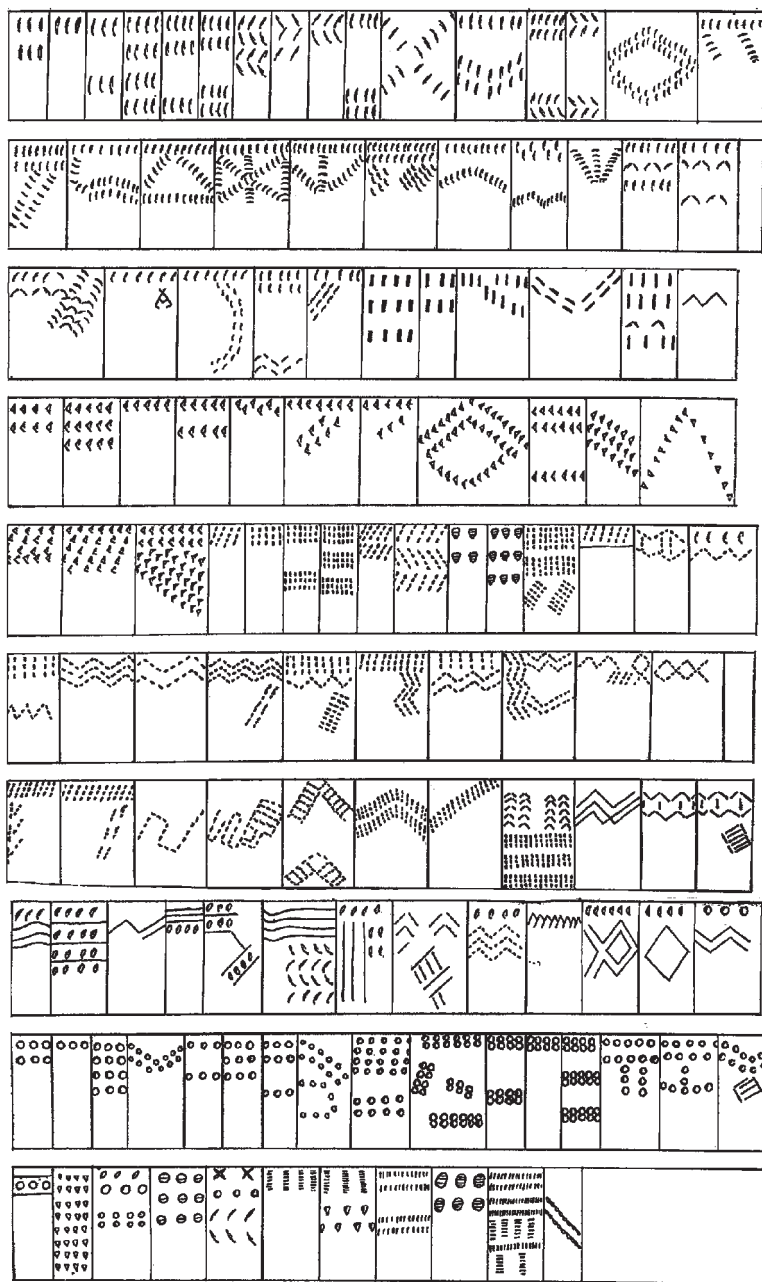


Fig. 7. Ornamentation of Usvyaty 4 site Neolithic pottery (classification prepared by the author).

decoration together with the typical elements of the Funnel Beaker culture ornamental tradition. The details of rim's profile are of particular interest. The rims with the thickened edge bevelled inside the vessel prevail, they consist more than 50 %. This profile of the rim's edge is uncharacteristic for the "normal" pitted ware and funnel beaker culture also and it is very typical for the vessels of Comb and Pitted Ware culture. I suggest that, the Martsbo pottery shows clearly the introduction of Comb and Pitted Ware stylistical elements into the area of Pitted Ware culture.

The acquaintance with the pitted ware collections in number of museums gave an opportunity to define the similar pottery in some assemblages including Sotmyra, Sater group, Overada, Fagervik, Aleppo and some others. All these sites are situated in the northern part of Pitted Ware culture area in Middle Eastern Sweden. In the collections of pitted ware from more southern areas of Sweden, also from Gotland, western coast and Denmark we did not find the rims of above-mentioned type or found clearly occasional isolated examples.

When did the eastern traits appear in the Neolithic of the Middle Eastern Sweden?

The materials of Fagervik are of special importance for the problem. Since 1950s [Bagge 1951] it has been the key-assemblage for the chronological division of the Middle Eastern Sweden Neolithic and for Pitted Ware culture as a whole. A. Bagge defined the classical division into periods. The pottery with mineral tempering (Feste Pottery) is characteristic for the earlier stages of Pitted Ware culture and is the most important for the problem in consideration. This group of ware has been studied (collection in Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, NN 21049, 21526). A. Bagge [1951] used for his classification features typical for the Funnel Beaker culture pottery and features typical for the classical pitted ware. Four types of vessels profiles were defined [Bagge 1951:Fig. 8]. It was a very important classification, but some more detailed division could be suggested if use also the peculiarities of the upper part of the rim and include features typical for Comb and Pitted Ware culture. No less than 16 types of rim's edge could be defined (Fig. 8:A). The types 5-7 are of "eastern" comb and pitted style : 5) straight rim with the edge thickened and beveled inside the vessel; 6) the same, but the thickened part of the rim has a kind of projected cornice inside the vessel; 7) the same, but the edge is massive and the cornice is projected sharply. Following the distribution of the rims types 5-7 with reference to sea level marked by A. Bagge [1951] the "eastern" features appeared in series in frames of the Fagervik-I stage (the earliest) from the level of 29,5 m — the mid stage. Then the amount of them is increasing and reaching the maximum (about 25% of all rims pieces) at level of 28 m — the Early Fagervik-II stage (Fig. 8:B,C). In the small collections of the earliest (the highest) Fagervik-I, levels 31-30 m almost all rims are represented by types which are characteristic for the Funnel Beaker culture assemblages. An ornamentation of the Fagervik-I vessels could be considered as a kind of admixture of the elements typical for Funnel Beaker culture and Comb and Pitted Ware culture elements. The last group consists of the same elements as were marked in the Martsbo collection (Fig. 8:D). The biggest part of the "eastern" elements in Fagervik-I is connected with the second

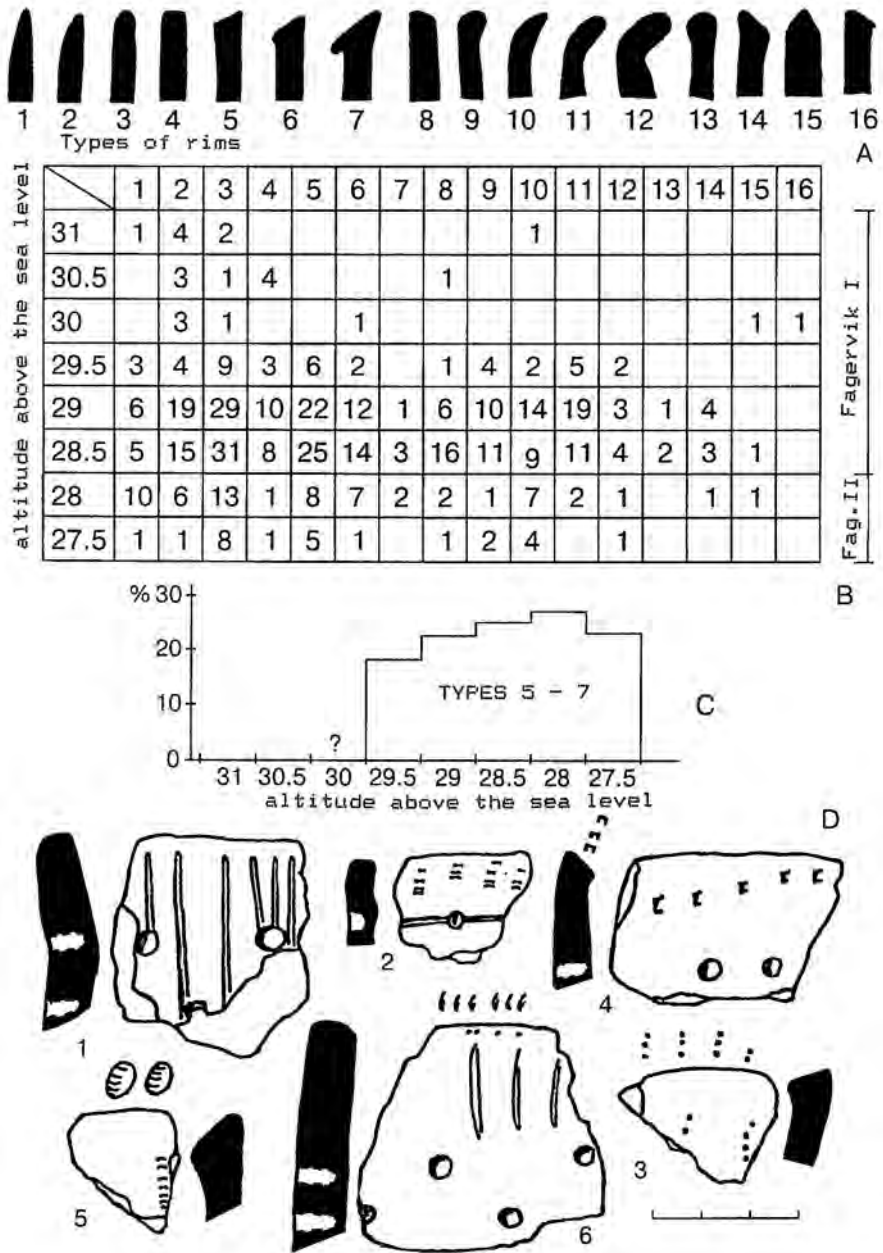


Fig. 8. A - Typology of Fagervik Neolithic ware rims (Feste Keramik). B, C - Distribution of the rims of different types following the niveaus above sea level marked by A. Bagge [1951]. B - amount of examples, C - percentage of rims types 5-7. D - Examples of Fagervik Neolithic ware with "eastern" (comb and pitted) elements in ornamentation and profile of vessels.

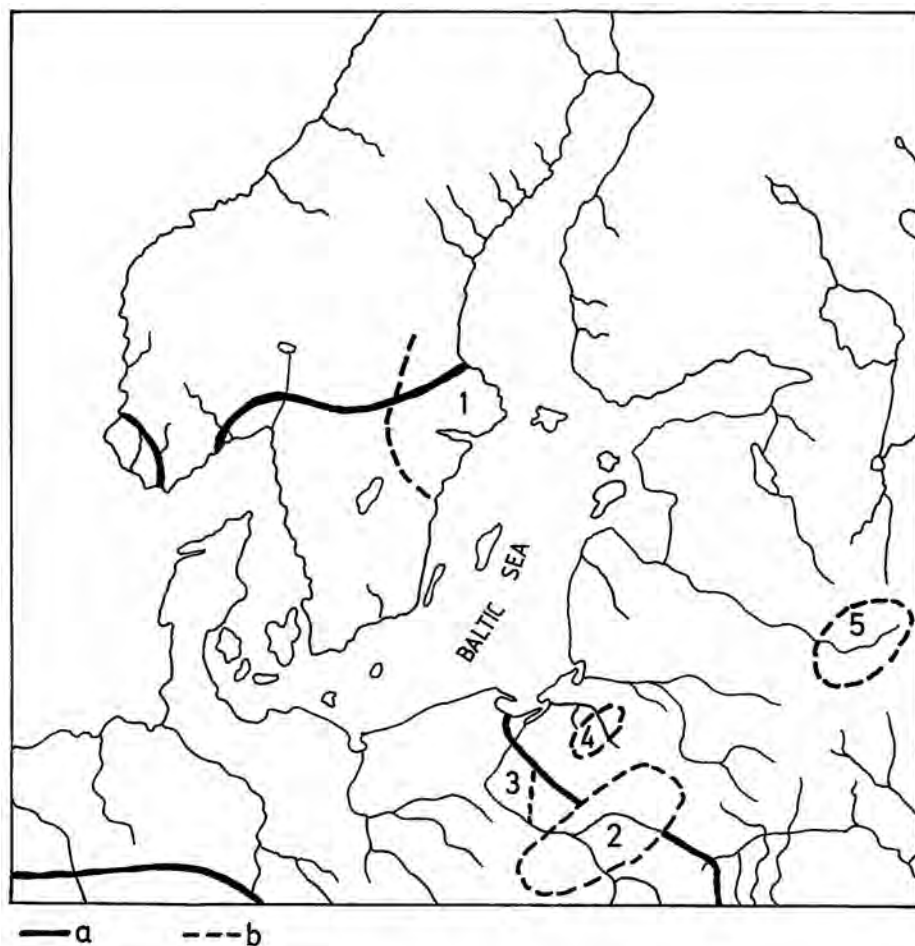


Fig. 9. The areas of “hybrid” types of Neolithic ware combining the features of the Funnel Beaker culture and Forest Neolithic cultures [after Timofeev 1997]. 1 - zone of the Early Pitted Ware culture formation, 2 - area of sites with the Linin type of the pottery, 3 - area of distribution of the Węlc Wielki type of the pottery, 4 - area of the Zedmar culture, 5 - area of the Usyaty culture, a - borders of the Funnel Beaker culture, b - borders of the areas described in 1-5 items.

half of the stage. Probably this trait could be considered as a foundation for the division of the Fagervik-I stage into two periods (F I/1 and F I/2). The earlier period is represented by the Early Neolithic Funnel Beaker culture assemblage with some elements of comb and pitted ornamentation and later one — by the pottery combining Funnel Beaker culture — and comb and pitted ware elements of profile and ornamentation. The late part of Fagervik-I materials looks like “pre-pitted ware”

assemblage connected strictly with succeeded Fagervik-II materials — the early pitted ware with some recognisable elements of Comb and Pitted Ware culture origin. The Sater-II site pottery assemblage, following rims classification, shows a picture similar to the Fagervik-II collection with some small peculiarities. The early part of the Fagervik-I stage (F1/1) judging by this classification is comparable with the other assemblages of what was termed as the Vro culture by S. Florin [1958]. The rims of “eastern” profiles are absent in these collections or represented by isolated and most probably occasional pieces. We can conclude that the elements of the eastern origin are clearly represented in the late Fagervik-I and the amount of them is increasing to the Fagervik-II stage, when the Early Pitted Ware culture appeared, with a style of ornamentation combining elements of Funnel Beaker culture style and “eastern” ones. The situation corresponds most probably to the process of the pitted-ware style formation. This process could be considered as an appearance of “hybrid” type of Neolithic ware. The materials of the Late Stone Age of the Baltic region show the variety of concrete connections between the populations of the western and eastern parts of the area. The interactions of Funnel Beaker culture with the Forest Neolithic cultures gave life to the new types of the Neolithic pottery and the new Neolithic cultures (Fig. 9).

Translated by the author

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	– Archeologicke rozhledy, Praha.
AP	– Archeologia Polski, Wrocław.
AJPA	– American Journal of Physical Anthropology, New York.
CA	– Current Anthropology, Chicago.
KSIA	– Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii Akademii Nauk USSR, Moskva.
KSIA (Ukraine)	– Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii Akademii Nauk USSR, Kiev.
KSOGAM	– Kratkie Soobscheniya Odesskogo Gosudarstvennogo Arkheologicheskogo Muzeya, Odessa.
MASP	– Materialy po Arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomorya, Kiev.
MIA	– Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii, Moskva.
SA	– Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, Moskva.
SAA	– Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology, Moskva.
SE	– Sovetskaya Etnografiya, Moskva.

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