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NOMADISM AND PASTORALISM — AN OUTLINE PROGRAMME FOR A DISCUSSION

An inspiration for exposing the problems of concept meaning, mentioned in the title, and furthermore, the norms of their identification in the practice of archaeological studies, came from observation of the range of misunderstandings, a differentiation of perspectives, which we encounter in the most recent literature. These subjects, when considered in a time span of about 5000–1650 BC, are inseparably connected to the major research problems of European prehistory: the beginnings of pastoralism (time and location of origin) and the participation of shepherds in the cultural-ethnic transformation of the continent [cf. Gimbutas 1956, 1977, 1980, 1989, 1991].

In this volume, we compile several opinions which are particularly representative of the most recent thought, considerations which correct the previous interpretation standards. The texts presented here concern a borderland of the East and West of Europe, in general, the region between the Vistula and Dnieper. The selection of authors and subjects has been made with the intention of giving inspiration for further discussion.

1. Nomadism and pastoralism in terminological traditions of European archaeology are not definitively understood. We can encounter examples of their terminological identification. It becomes necessary to initially define the concepts of our field of research [cf. Dyson-Hudson, Dyson-Hudson 1980].

Nomadism is a wide concept which defines a certain life-style based on a stage-continuous change of settlement (Greek *nomas* means a man who conducts a wandering lifestyle). In classifying nomadism, the basic categories are: generators, i.e. genetic-functional inspirations (hunting-gathering, early agrarian or pastoral), and the mechanics of land use. In the latter case, two kinds of space should be distinguished: the natural and the cultural. The nomads moved in set patterns: a continuous one (with routes of migration following routes of a definite species of animal), meridional (e.g. winter — south, summer — north), annular (e.g. around a

network of water reservoirs) or vertical (mountain). Patterns also differed according to relations to settled communities or to those that were less mobile than themselves.

In this context, pastoralism would mean pastoral nomadism (Latin *pastoralis* = shepherding). In the classification of this type of nomadism, an important role is also played by the evaluation of the structure of the herd, or more comprehensively, breeding technology. From among its many regional ("continental") forms [Shnirelman 1980], our attention is focused around the Euro-Asiatic trend.

The origin of Euro-Asiatic pastoralism is connected mainly with the local process of "taming the steppe" between the Ural and the Dnieper. The base of knowledge on the basic trends of this process we owe to Russian researchers [f.e. Gorodtsov 1905; 1907; Merpert 1974] and to Ukrainians [f.e. Makarenko 1933; Lagodovska, Shaposhnikova, Makarevich 1962; Telegin 1973; Danilenko 1974]. An important role in a wider exposition of this contribution was played by some Anglo-Saxon researchers [f.e. Childe 1926; Gimbutas 1956, 1977, 1980, 1989, 1991; Mallory 1976, 1977; 1989; Anthony 1986] and, to a lesser extent, by representatives of continental, Central European archaeology [e.g. Ecsedy 1979; Häusler 1981; Koško 1985]. The basic features of the observed picture of the beginnings of Euro-Asiatic pastoralism were outlined as if marginal to a discussion of the "turning point" in the history of the continent, its Indo-Europeanization.

2. The essential features of the "model" interpretation of the problems in which we are interested may be characterized as follows:

- the point initiating the history of the "taming of the steppe" was the use of horses for horseback riding, which may be dated, on the basis of what has been established at Dereivka, to ca. 4000 BC [Telegin 1986; Anthony, Telegin, Brown 1991];
- another turning point in the development of pastoralism was the occurrence of "the developmentally critical triad" [Anthony 1989]: breeding of sheep in herds, the use of horses for long-distance riding and of carts, which meant the formation of a "typical" pastoral community and which was supposed to occur, at the latest, in 3150/3000 BC.

In this interpretation, there is no distinct delimitation of the pastoral economy, no unequivocal definition of the above mentioned "early pastoralism". It concerns, in particular, norms of its "exclusion" from the framework of a widely understood agrarian economy [cf. inspiring observations from Mikhailovka: Lagodovska, Shaposhnikova, Makarevich 1962]. The boundary between the breeding segment of the agrarian community and the pastoral community may, therefore, evoke a number of discussions. "The proof of a pastoral character" is usually provided by the data on settlement and to a smaller degree by other premises: subject (cultural equipment) or archaeo-zoological. In the case of the former, additional difficulties are

created by the lack of a more thorough knowledge of the steppe and forest-steppe palaeoecology [Shilov 1975a].

The Eneolithic communities of Early Bronze Age shepherds, outlined in such a manner, would be characterized by a significant aptitude for cultural and even ethnic transformation (cf. Indo-Europeanization hypothesis) in a particular circle of communities: the Northern Pontic (Black Sea) area or the Balkans. However, the immediate regions of their settlement expansion are connected closely with the steppe band, which cut towards the West, onto the areas of the Carpathian Basin along the Danube and the Tisza [Alexeyeva 1976, 1978; Dergachev 1986; Yarovoy 1985; Ecsedy 1979]. Apart from the above mentioned area, the majority of the Black Sea pastoral communities in the West European cultural environments are found in the form of formally differentiated "influences". This also directly concerns the area of the catchment of the Baltic (more broadly: Central Europe) in which we are interested [Koško 1991].

The key issue in studies of this territory is the relation of the so-called "influence" to the process of late-Neolithic nomadization. "Late-Neolithic nomadization", most often identified with the formation of the Corded Ware culture circle [Merpert 1976; Buchvaldek 1986], is documented mainly in sphere of settlement observations — the disappearance of relatively stable settlements for the sake of development of "episodic" settlement forms: camps and, in particular, camping-places. One of the spectacular manifestations of this process is the development of "burial ground cultures" ("grave" cultures) — proven exclusively (or almost exclusively) through means of sepulchral sources. In the interpretations of this phenomenon, a motif of the "crisis of agriculture" dominates [cf. a different interpretation: Neustupny 1969]. Particular authors differ in their estimates of the depth of the above mentioned process and in the participatory scope of the exogenous generators — to be more precise, the Pontic pastoral cultures [Machnik 1966; Merpert 1974; Buchvaldek 1986; Milisauskas, Kruk 1989].

3. The above outlined picture of the "model" interpretation requires important corrections. Its indispensability results, first of all, from the modification of interpretations of the origin of development of the "lair" of pastoral cultures, noticeable in the 80's and 90's. This also concerns Russian studies of the centers situated between the Don and the Ural [Matyushin 1982; Vasilyev 1981; Vasilyev, Sinyuk 1985], as well as the Ukrainian ones connected with the region between the Don and the Dnieper [Telegin, Potekhina 1987; Rassamakin 1993]. In this publication our attention is focused on the latter.

Changes in the character of the oldest pastoral culture (the "pre-Yamnaya" and "Yamnaya" stages) concern: the increase in complexity of taxonomic recording of their development and extension of critical reflection on the myth of the Eneolithic — Early-Bronze macrospatial pastoral cultures, reconstructed in this version

according to the norms of "standard systems" that have been historically recognized. The first modification suggests a conclusion that there was a great polylinearism in the process of "taming of the steppe". Its derivative is an observation that there is a need to develop many anthropological models of clarification of the indicated phenomena, and further the requirement for revision of the said myth. The place of "Scythian-like" or even "Mongol-like" Eneolithic — Early-Bronze shepherds is taken by a cultural mosaic of the region and communities having different experiences in the economic field of specialized breeding. This brings about the question of the principles of delimitation of the caesura of the "pastoralism proper". Within this reflection a tendency towards restriction in their location becomes prominent - maximally as long as the beginnings of the Iron Age.

Therefore, could these oldest communities — let us call them *quasipastoral* — have at their disposal the ability that was hitherto utilized to destroy the Balkan-Central European cultural area, among others, in the Baltic catchment area? It becomes particularly important when considered together with the extension of the documentation of the presence of the Pontic component in the development of the Vistulian Corded Ware culture [Kośko 1992].

The doubts that have been outlined here are justification of the need for a prompt reconstruction of the co-ordinated research programs on:

- reconstructing early forms of breeding nomadism;
- revealing in their development of the position of pastoralism (including the definition of criteria of separation of "pastoralism proper");
- showing the stages of spatial progression of this form of culture.

The territory of the borderland between Eastern and Western Europe should have a special place in such a program, and is justified by the position of this area in the previous conceptions of the "pastoral turn" — "a crucial moment" in the history of the continent. The collection of works presented in this volume should be conducive to the reanalysis of a number of views and open a wider forum for discussion.

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