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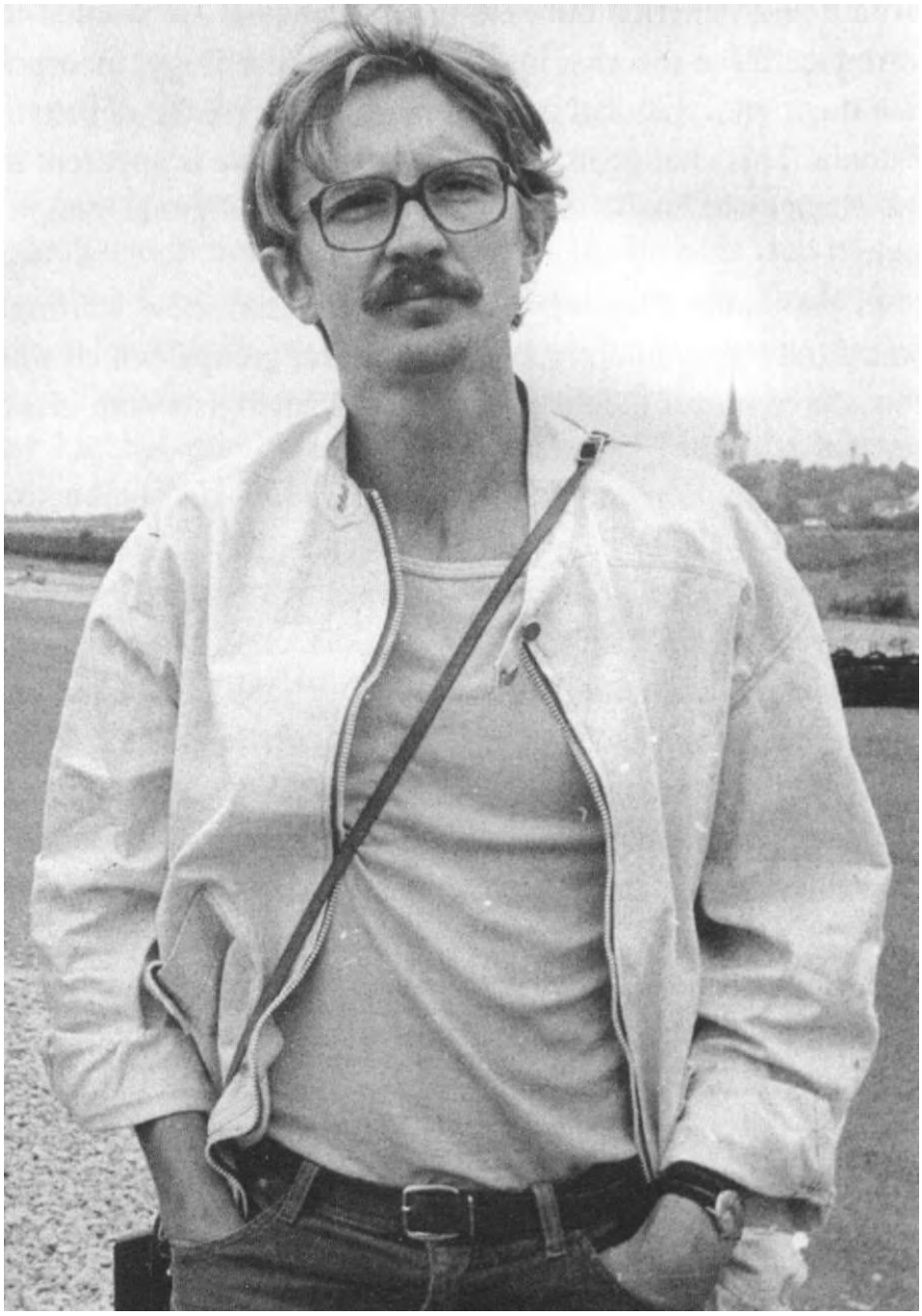

In Memoriam Priit Ligi (24 May 1958 — 28 September 1994)

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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 Departement d'anthropologie, Universite de Montreal (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.

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Philip L. Kohl

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE USE OF THE REMOTE PAST IN THE CAUCASUS[1]

1. INTRODUCTION: NATIONALITY, ETHNICITY, AND ETHNOGENESIS — THE STICKY WICKET OF UNQUESTIONED CONCEPTS

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, I used to refer to the USSR as the world's most ethnically heterogeneous nation-state and to the Caucasus, in particular, as the most ethnically heterogeneous region of the world's most ethnically heterogeneous nation-state. Strictly speaking, however, there were some other viable contenders: India, Indonesia, and the Philippines, for example, with all their tribal/indigenous peoples. Or what about the highland peoples of Papuan New Guinea? Reduced drastically, of course, from the more than 700 peoples first encountered by whites more than sixty years ago, the peoples of New Guinea still number a few hundred and, as such, could lay legitimate claim to comprising the most ethnically heterogeneous state. Upon whom should this honor have been bestowed?

The answer depends upon one's definition of an ethnic group, or *ethnos* in the Soviet parlance, a problem sometimes associated with the practical tasks of governing peoples by classifying or subdividing them into groups, based on language, territory, religion, culture, "race" or some other presumably objective criteria; classifiers or typologists, as we know, can either be lumpers or splitters, a fact which complicates our problem. Also, the concept of *ethnos* is obviously related to an extremely important and overworked concept in Soviet archaeology and the study of remote antiquity: *ethnogenesis* or the coming into being, the formation of an *ethnos*. This article will reexamine this concept of ethnogenesis and expose its abuse/misuse in reconstructions of the remote Caucasian past. Before doing so, we can expediently distinguish nationality from ethnicity on the basis of the association of the former with a political unit, the modern nation-state, and rephrase our former assertion: the Soviet Union the most heterogeneous state in terms of its nationalities, some of whom have since received international recognition in the

[1] An earlier version of this paper will appear in Russian in the proceedings of the symposium *Sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivi razvitiya istoricheskoy nauki Daghestana i Severnogo Kavkaza*, Institute of History, Daghestan Scientific Center, Russian Academy of Sciences, Makhachkala, Daghestan.

United Nations and others of whom aspire to this status. Thus, also the title of this paper *"National Identity and the Use of the Remote Past in the Caucasus"*; seemingly inevitably and, in terms of the violent consequences to date, sadly, many ethnic groups in the Caucasus (*ethnoi*) are now more appropriately termed nationalities. The most egregious abuses of the remote past in the Caucasus have been associated with the political imperative to be sovereign, to rule over increasingly homogeneous, well-demarcated areas that have been ethnically cleansed of other claimants to these lands.

Ethnicity and nationality should be distinguished for at least three reasons. First, they are not synonymous, a fact which should be immediately comprehensible to citizens of multi-ethnic nations, like the United States. Secondly, associating the concept of nationality with contemporary nation-states historicizes the concept to the time of the existence of nation-states; i.e., to the modern historical era or, roughly, to the late 18^{th} century on. This point may seem trivial or pedantic, but it is important in discussions of the misuse of the remote past: nationalities should not, strictly speaking, be accorded time immemorial status. They are relatively recent forms of group identity. Moreover — and this is our third reason for distinguishing nationality from ethnicity: the concept of nationality has benefitted from a thorough critique or deconstruction by modern historians. One can choose one's favorite author and opt for one's favorite definition of a nation (e.g. B. Anderson's famous "imagined community" [Anderson 1991] or, as some wit once observed, "a group united around a common dislike for its neighbors and a common mistake about its ancestry"), but E.J. Hobsbawm's basic verdict [1992:3-6] is, I belive, incontrovertible: contemporary historians have succeeded in elucidating the concepts of nation and nationality by disassociating them so-called objective criteria (language, blood, territory, etc.) and insisting on their socially constructed character. It is far less clear that this Enlightenment is happening as nation-states and national identities are declining in importance, that — to quote E.J. Hobsbawm [1992:192]: "the owl of Minerva flies out at dusk". The recent history of the Caucasus, which, obviously, is filled with nationalist tensions and conflicts, hardly corresponds with this wishful description.

The concept of ethnicity, which actually is more relevant to our consideration of the remote past, has not benefitted to the same extent from such a rigorous re-appraisal, although it is obviously the defining concept of ethnology and has long been studied by ethnologists and social/cultural anthropologists both in the West and in the former Soviet Union. Here, a division must be noted: the Soviet study of the *ethnos*, long championed among others by Yu.V. Bromlei [1973, 1983], the former Director of the Institute of Ethnology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow, can be characterized as "primordialist" or essentialist; i.e., attachment to an ethnic group is based on objective criteria that are durable and long-lasting, such as language, racial group, cultural traditions or time-honored ways of doing things, etc. [Shnirelman 1996:8-9; cf. also Tishkov 1997:1-114 for an extended critique of Soviet "ethnic engineering" and the entrenched academic and popular dogma of viewing ethnicities as primordial essences]; while Western anthropologists have de-

fined ethnicity in more dynamic, even psychological terms, as something situational and relational; i.e., defined in a specific situation in relationship to a perceived Other, as an "emic cateogory of ascription" [cf. Erikson 1993:10-12]. From this perspective quite simply, a group is a distinct ethnos that considers itself such and, to some extent, is considered such by other groups. The attribute of self-categorization is most important, and, since our discussion is concerned with the identification of ancient ethnoi, it must be emphasized that from this Western perspective there is no necessary material culture correlate associated with the formation of an ethnos. There may be, but there need not be. Another consequence of this latter focus is that ethnic groups are malleable and constantly changing as the historical situation in which they exist unfolds; ethnicity, like culture, is never made, but is always "in the making" or, perhaps, if times are tough "in the unmaking" or "in the disappearing". From the latter perspective, the coalescence, as well as disappearance, of some of those highland peoples of New Guinea is not surprising. The very existence of indigenous rights' advocacy groups in the West, like Cultural Survival, both presupposes and opposes the real possibility of cultural extinction. From this perspective, ethnicity and nationality are conceived similarly in that they are socially constructed phenomena in which traditions are invented and consciously manipulated for political, economic, and social reasons. Ethnicity is just a more universal form of group identity with a past that may extend back to earlier historic times, indeed, perhaps, into the mists of prehistory.

Finally, we arrive at the concept of ethnogenesis, one that was central from the mid-1930s on to the practice of many Soviet social sciences, including ethnology, archaeology, physical anthropology, historical linguistics, folklore and other related subjects [Tishkov 1997:1-15, 21-22]. Why ethnogenesis became such a pivotal concept in Soviet social science is a fascinating question, requiring its own historical investigation. It cannot be adequately discussed here; instead we simply refer you to the seminal studies of V.A. Shnirelman [e.g. 1993a; 1995] who is engaged in the monumental and important task of distentangling the complex history of its use and relation to Soviet dictates of state. In short, V.A. Shnirelman argues that the determination of ethnogenesis became one of the central tasks of Soviet archaeology from 1934 on when the discipline switched from a Marxist-inspired internationalism (or, perhaps, politically-motivated universalism) to one concerned principally with the ethnogenetic history of the early Slavs; i.e., when Great Russian chauvinism and the build-up to the Great Patriotic War replaced this internationalism. Ironically, the effect of this transformation was to have every ethnicity/nationality alike, Russian and non-Russian, engaged in this ethnogenetic mandate or search for its origins. Peoples wanted to determine when they came into being and what they could authentically claim was ther original homeland. Competition over the remote past was fueled by the ethnogenetic imperative[2]. This task was intimately tied to the very structure of the Soviet multi-etnic federal state.

[2] The intensity of the search for search for ethnic origins varied, of course, depending upon local political conditions and the perceived security/viability of the ethnic group in question. Much of the archaeology conducted during late Soviet times was deadeningly descriptive and apolitical. This condition particularly characterized its practice in the Russian heartland after the patriotic politicization of the discipline during the 1930s and 1940s. The situation, however,

Theoretically the use of the concept of ethnogenesis is tied directly to one's concept of the ethnos: something durable and well-nigh permanent, as in the Soviet perspective, or something constantly changing, as favored by most Western scholars. For the former, the determination of origins is the critical question. When did the ethnic group, conceived as a little preformed homunculus already possessing all the essentially defined characteristics of the given ethnos, come into being: during the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, with the collapse of Classical Antiquity and the ensuing Great Migrations, or after the conquests of Timur or Chingghis Khan? It is perceived as a straightforward historical question with an ascertainable answer to be provided by the archaeologist's spade or by some long-overlooked historical document. For the Western scholar, the problem is much more copmplex, indeed practically unsolvable. Ethnogenesis is only a relatively minor matter associatied with the beginnings or initial formation of a given ethnic group; more significant and more complex are the changes that group will experience over time or its *ethnomorphosis*, if you will [Kohl 1992:172]; these changes may — though not necessarily — lead to the appearnace of new ethnic groups through processes of assimilation and/or fundamental change or disappearance through various natural or human-induced processes, such as ethnocide. Even an ethnic group that exhibits considerable continuity and stability over long periods of historical time will nevertheless change in fundamental ways; thus, for example, pre-Christian Armenia of the Iron Age differs from Christian Armenia of the Middle Ages and from the newly formed Republic of Armenia today [cf. Kohl 1996].

Obviously, both perspectives have some degree of merit: continuities, as well as changes, can be documented for this Armenian experience or for many, relatively long-lived ethnic groups. Cultural traditions cannot be fabricated out of whole cloth; there are real limits to the inventions of tradition. As E.J. Hobsbawm argues, states or nationalist politicians may, in fact, make nations, but they cannot totally make them up. The Italian politician Massimo d'Azeglio's shrewd exhortation at the first meeting of the parliament of the newly united Italian kingdom illustrates this principle graphically: "We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians [cited in Hobsbawm 1992:44]." But it is also or should be obvious that one could not have constructed mid-to-late 19th century Italians out of the Chinese or New Guinean cultural traditions. Here it is useful to distinguish between strict and contextual constructionism [cf. Ben-Yehuda 1995:20-22]. The former denies any constraints imposed by past or current realities and quickly devolves into the hopelessly relativist morass of some post-modern or, in archaeology, post-processual criticisms. Contextual constructivism, the theory advocated here, on the other hand, accepts the fact that social phenomena are continuously constructed and manipulated for historically ascertainable reasons, but it does not deny an external world, a partially apprehensible objective reality, that cannot totally be reduced to invention or so-

was far different for non-Russian Soviet archaeology. Indeed, the legacy of the ethnogenetic mandate is still fluorishing throughout the former Soviet Union. To cite just one example, an upcoming conference in Nukus, Karakalpakstan (October 1998) is entitled "The Aral Root of the Ethnogenetic Process" and is devoted to a "consideration of the problems of the ethnogenesis of the Karakalpak people"

cial construction. Representations or constructed cultural perceptions are real, but reality encompasses more than representations and exists independently from them.

The contextual constructivist conception of ethnicity or nationality is preferable to the static, essentialist, neo-Platonic, and typological/classificatory perspective, which was so widely adopted by Soviet ethnographers and archaeologists. Its focus on change and development is more historical and more accurately describes the transformations that ethnic groups constantly undergo. The archaeological implications of the contextual constructivist perspective are profound: ethnogenesis, as traditionally conceived in Soviet archaeology, is a false problem. Ethnicities are not little perfectly formed homunculi or crystallized essences containing within them all the characteristics of their future development; rather, they are caught up in, even buffeted by, large historical processes capable of altering and destroying them. The identification of some archaeological culture as ancestral to a given ethnic group represents a hopeless will'-o'-the-wisp', a chimera incapable of satisfactory determination. Moreover, the quest for such identifications is not only misleading, but dangerous, as an examination of current identifications shows in attempts to reconstruct the remote Caucasian past.

2. THE CURRENT ABUSE OF THE REMOTE PAST IN THE CAUCASUS

The defining physical feature of the Caucasus as a cultlure area is, of course, the perpetually snow-capped Great Caucasian mountain range stretching c. 1200 km northwest to southeast between the Black and Caspian Seas. Mountainous areas typically are characterized by considerable ethnic diversity, a feature for which the Caucasus is renowned. Ethnic diversity in the Caucasus is not only the product of physical geography, but of history and of the constant movements of peoples from the south or the ancient Near East and from the north off the Eurasian steppes into this beautiful land. The historical record extends back for nearly three millennia, and many ethnic groups maintain a plausible historical consciousness — sometimes reinforced by early literacy — that stretches back for centuries, if not millennia. While the exact borders of the Caucasus area are hard to define, particularly as they imperceptibly merge with the ranges of the Little Caucasus mountains and the Anatolian plateau to the south, there is no debate that the Caucasus contain the greatest ethnic and today national diversity in the former Soviet Union. Most significantly all these peoples are squeezed into a relatively restricted area. The fact that so many peoples live cheek-by-jowl next to one another goes a long way in expllaining the recent rise of ethnic tensions and conflicts throughout the region. Caucasian peoples have both co-existed peacefully and fought with each other over the millennia. Ethnic enmities too should not be naturalized or essentialized but historically explained, and a partial explanation for the recent outbreak in ethnic

tensions will attribute them to the conscious manipulation of the remote past by politicians, journalists, and even reputable scholars, including archaeologists. The remainder of this paper explores some of these misuses.

K.Said's fascinating historical novel *Ali and Nino* contains a revealing, and today sadly ironic, scene [1970:44] that epitomizes one of the problems characteristic of Caucasian historical consciousness: it is 1914; the Great War to end all Wars is about to begin; and the action takes place in Karabagh. An Azeri properly reproaches an Armenian for claiming that the Christian Chuch in Shusha was five thousand years old. Nonplussed, the Armenian replies: "The Christian faith may be only two thousand years old in other countries. But to us, the people of Karabagh, the Saviour showed the light three thousand years before the others." Claims to the remote past beget other claims to the remote past, engendering ever more hyperbolic and implausible claims to land or to the cultural accomplishments of one's own people. One can refer to ethnic competition over antiquity in the Caucasus, but one should not trivialize it, since these exaggerated claims often motivate people in their bloody conflicts with their neighbors.

Numerous recent examples of grossly implausible assertions about the past can be cited for both the northern and southern Caucasus [cf. Markovin 1990, Kohl, Tstetskhladze 1995]. Very briefly, let me summarize some recent cases, whic have been collected and devastatingly critiqued by V.I. Markovin [1994; all references to other studies can be found here]: a Chechen journalist, A.Izmailov, attempts to link the Chechen/Vainakh people with ancient Pharaonic Egypt, while another, Yu. Khadzhiev, sees the Chechens as historically related to the ancient Etruscans of Italy and the Basques of norhern Spain. More plausibly but still problematically, is Kh. Bakaev's genetic connection between the Chechens and Hurrians/Urartians or Bronze and Iron Age peoples of Caucasian or east Anatolian origin, who are known both archaeologically and from ancient cuneiform sources. Here the direct link cannot be established, but the more generic relationship with peoples speaking a language of the northeast Nakh-Daghestani Caucasian group of languages is generally accepted. For northern Ossetia, which has now significantly been renamed Alaniya after the Alans, V.I. Markovin cites the work of V.L. Khamitsev who claims that Jesus Christ was an Ossetian or, at least spoke, Ossetian, and that this language spread throughout Europe all the way to the British Isles and continued to be spoken into the late Middle Ages, as it was the mother tongue of Frederick Barbarossa! According to Khamitsev, the area of Biblical Galilee was populated by ethnic Scythians, who are perceived unproblematically as ancestors of the Ossetians, and the Virgin Mary was a Scythian. V.I. Markovin [cf. also Chernykh 1995:143] also critically scrutinizes the more "scholarly" writings of I.M. Miziev who attempts to link the archaeologically defined late 4th — early 3rd millennium B.C. Maikop culture of the northern Caucasus with the ancient Sumerians of Mesopotamia and then shows how the Sumerian language is historically related to his own Karachai-Balkar Turkic dialect.

Such claims appear to be so preposterous as not to require serious rebuttal, but easy dismissal is the wrong and irresponsible reaction. The past is both competed

and fought over in the Caucasus. As this is the case, pasts are constructed that often deviate sharply from more objective efforts at understanding an always incomplete and deficient early historical or archaeological record. Tendentious, chauvinist pasts must not be embraced as alternative accounts of an infinitely malleable past; rather, they should be resisted, since they are one of the important ingredients stoking the current flames of ethnic conflict in the Caucasus. The very widespread popularity of some of these problematic readings underscores the depth of the problem. Let me cite just one additional example of which I became aware when I visited Daghestan last summer: G.A. Abduragimow's *Kavkazkaya Albaniya — Lezgistan* [1995] (this volume has received an appropriately critical review by Davudov (personal communication). This volume purportedly demonstrates that the ethnic ancestors (ethnogenesis) of the Lezgin peoples can be traced back in an unbroken, continuous line to Chalcolithic and Bronze Age times; the story, embellished by the Lezgin translation of hitherto unpublished and published Albanian texts, documents, in short, the historical basis for Lezgistan, an aspirant Caucasian nationality/nation-state. What was remarkable to me was how handsomely this book was published; set in St. Petersburg, it was officially published by the Daghestan State Pedagogical University (i.e., not pulp literature), having received what must have been a substantial subvention from the "Mavel" private firm. No current publication of the Institute of History of the Daghestan Scientific Center, which is sorely strapped for founds in the wake of the financial collapse of the Russian Academy of Sciences, is so profusely illustrated or attractively produced. Obviously, there are both markets for such tendentious publications and individuals with sufficient resources to underwrite them.

3. THE MATERIAL REMAINS OF DJAVAKHETI: ANCESTRAL CLAIMS AND STATE POLICIES — THE SHORTNESS OF HUMAN MEMORY

Ethnic competition in the Caucasus over the remote past takes certain predictable forms: preposterous land claims; dubious genetic links to famous ancient peoples; and a litany of cultural achievements that confirm the superiority of the given ethnic group over others. Needless to say, this competition seems all the more ludicrous when one adopts the more dynamic, historically sensitive conception of ethnicity argued for above. Another observation, consistent with the "contextual constructionist", non-essentialist conception of ethnicity, is the fact that time too is relative and the remote, ancestral past can be fairly recent — even in the Caucasus. This point can be documented by consideration of the material remains of Djavakheti or southern Georgia, a contested area which today is populated overwhelmingly (up to 80%) by ethnic Armenians.

Travelling across the open volcanic landscape of Djavakheti, one observes dilapidated Georgian churches with Georgian inscriptions, some of which date back to the first milllennium A.D., standing alongside functioning Armenian churches which

date to the 19th century. The famous Wardzhia cave monastery complex is located here. It contains one of the only surviving portraits of Queen Tamar, who ruled at the height of the Georgian medieval kingdom, and it is such an important symbol of Georgian nationality that it figures prominently on their new state currency — the *lari*. Despite the clear markers of an earlier Georgian *Christian* presence in the area, historical priority is still debated between the local minority Georgians and majority Armenians. The latter, who came into this depopulated area after 1828 or after the signing of the Treaty of Turkmenchai which established the international bordes between the Persian Qajar, Ottoman, and Russian empires, can still claim that the region was part of greater Armenia during the 1st century B.C. reign of Tigran the Great. Possibly so, though Tigran ruled over a multi-ethnic kingdom, and it is not clear what ethnicity occupied Djavakheti in classical times or, even earlier, during the Iron and Bronze Ages. We are only really certain of proper ethnic attribution when we find those Georgian churches with their Georgian inscriptions. Moreover as argued earlier [Kohl, Tsetskhladze 1995:161]:

> The ethnicity of the people who dominantly occupied this territory during Iron Age and Classical times... is unknown, and even the hypothetical (and improbable) discovery someday of inscriptions proving that most peoples in the area then spoke an Indo-European, Proto-Armenian or Armenian-related language would not erase the Georgian historical claim to the area. This conclusion follows directly from the ... ever-developing nature of cultures and the fact that Christianity has been an integral component of both Georgian and Armenian cultures for centuries; one simply cannot ignore those beautiful monastery complexes and churches with their Georgian inscriptions. Admitting this, however, does not provide an excuse for the current Georgian *state policy* of deliberately underdeveloping the area and hindering communications and transportation between the local Armenian populations and their ethnic relatives to the south. Surely many generations of Armenians have lived and died on this soil since arriving *en masse* after 1828, and this fact alone is obviously relevant to their just treatment and the rights that they deserve. The Bible or even Biblical archaeology may be invoked to legitimize an historical claim to the West Bank, but such a claim (however problematic in itself) cannot be used to justify an Israeli *state policy* of uprooting Palestinian orchards and olive groves or demolishing their homes. These issues must be kept separate, and any honest archaeologist should be capable of distinguishing between them.

Human memories are also constrained ultimately by human lifetimes and the length of human generations, and these latter, relative to antiquity and to the depth of historical consciousness throughout the Caucasus, are remarkably short, though nonetheless real. In 1991 I and Georgian colleague of mine were placed effectively under house for taking pictures of stone statues in a cemetery in a little Armenian village in southern Georgia not far from the Turkish border. We were suspected of being agents of the Georgian state (still then a nominal Soviet Republic of the collapsing Soviet state), possibly intriguing against the local Armenians and trying to resettle ethnic Georgians on this contested land. While our archaeological cover was checked out, we became friends — over several bottles of vodka — with our Armenian jailer/host, who was a member of a local vigilante group, minimally engaged

in protecting Armenian rights in the area. He was a sensitive artist/scupltor, who had been living in Leninakan (now Gyumri), Armenia's second largest city which is located in northwestern Armenia almost directly contiguous with Djavakheti, until December 1988 when the city was devastated by a massive earthquake. His family had survived, but his apartment had been destroyed and his sister and her family had been killed in this traumatic event. He decided to return to his ancestral home where his mother still lived and sculpt a monument over the grave of his sister whose remains had also been transported to their ancestral cemetery in this little village in southern Georgia where their forebearers had been living since arriving in 1828.

The point should be obvious. One of the tragedies about the confusion of the "remote" past with the present is that people live in the present and their attachment to their land, their culture and the like is conditioned by their own lifetime experiences. An ancestral village may be only a few hundred years old, but that is more than sufficient time for the people who live there, and it is only unscrupulous politicians or nationalist fanatics who would argue otherwise. Archaeologists and other scholars of antiquity should not provide always-problematic and dubious evidence for the latter to utilize.

4. CONCLUSION: THROWING OUT THE BABY WITH THE BATHWATER

This paper began by examining some basic, even overworked concepts for discussing identity formation and the use/abuse of the remote past: nationality; ethnicity; and ethnogenesis. It then briefly summarized some egregious misuses of archaeological and ancient historical sources that appeal to contemporary ethnicities or aspirant nationalities in the Caucasus. As noted, many of these studies have been devastatingly critiqued by V.I.Markovin [cf. Markovin 1990; 1994]. While the only comment to V.I. Markovin's critical remarks is an emphatic "right on", a heartfelt exhortation to continue this good and necessary work, one very important caveat must be mentioned in response to his directions for future responsible ethnogenetic investigations [1994:61-63]. And that is, in spite of his very frequent observations about the inability of making certain ethnic identifications or about the highly subjective character of ethnogenetic results, he refuses to draw what seems — to this Western investigator — the inescapeable conclusion: abandan the exercise. The search for long past moments of ethnic formation that are directly ancestral to contemporary ethnic groups is futile. They can almost never be made — even utilizing, as V.I. Markovin recommends, different types of evidence: historical linguistics, archaeology, ethnology, documentary, etc. The task is next to impossible because ethnicity or the ethnos, which has been mistakenly theorized at length by Y.V. Bromley and his disciples, represents a far more fluid and dynamic reality

than archaeologists, particularly in the absence of inscriptional evidence, can ever reasonably hope to define.

Prehistoric reconstructions cannot proceed without identifying and documenting archaeological cultures. The problem does not lie with the oft-discussed archaeological cultlure concept but with the assumption that one can move from the determination of archaeological cultures to the identification of past ethnoi, ancestral to modern self-ascribed ethnic groups. They are not equivalent — either as concepts or as exercises, and neither ethnogenesis nor ethnicity are amenable to archaeological analysis. As V.I. Markovin has so eloquently demonstrated, the attempt to do so is worse than misleading; it is often dangerous, providing fuel for ethnic extremists. It is time to cut the umbilical cord and abandan the concept of ethnogenesis that has saddled Soviet and now post-Soviet archaeology since the mid-1930s. The pre- and perfectly formed ethnos, which is inherent in the Soviet concept of ethnogenesis, simply does not exist. To continue the metaphor, this imaginary baby or better — homunculus, should be thrown out with its very dirty nationalist bath water.

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 Gosudarstvennego Arkheologicheskogo Muzeya, Odessa.
MASP	– Materialy po Arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomorya, Kiev.
MIA	– Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii, Moskva.
SA	– Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, Moskva.
SAA	– Sovet Anthropology and Archaeology, Moskva.
SE	– Sovetskaya Etnografiya, Moskva.

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