

BEYOND BALKANIZATION

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BALTIC-PONTIC STUDIES

V O L U M E 5 • 1998

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ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY
EASTERN INSTITUTE
INSTITUTE OF PREHISTORY
Poznań 1998
ISBN 83-86094-04-4
ISSN 1231-0344

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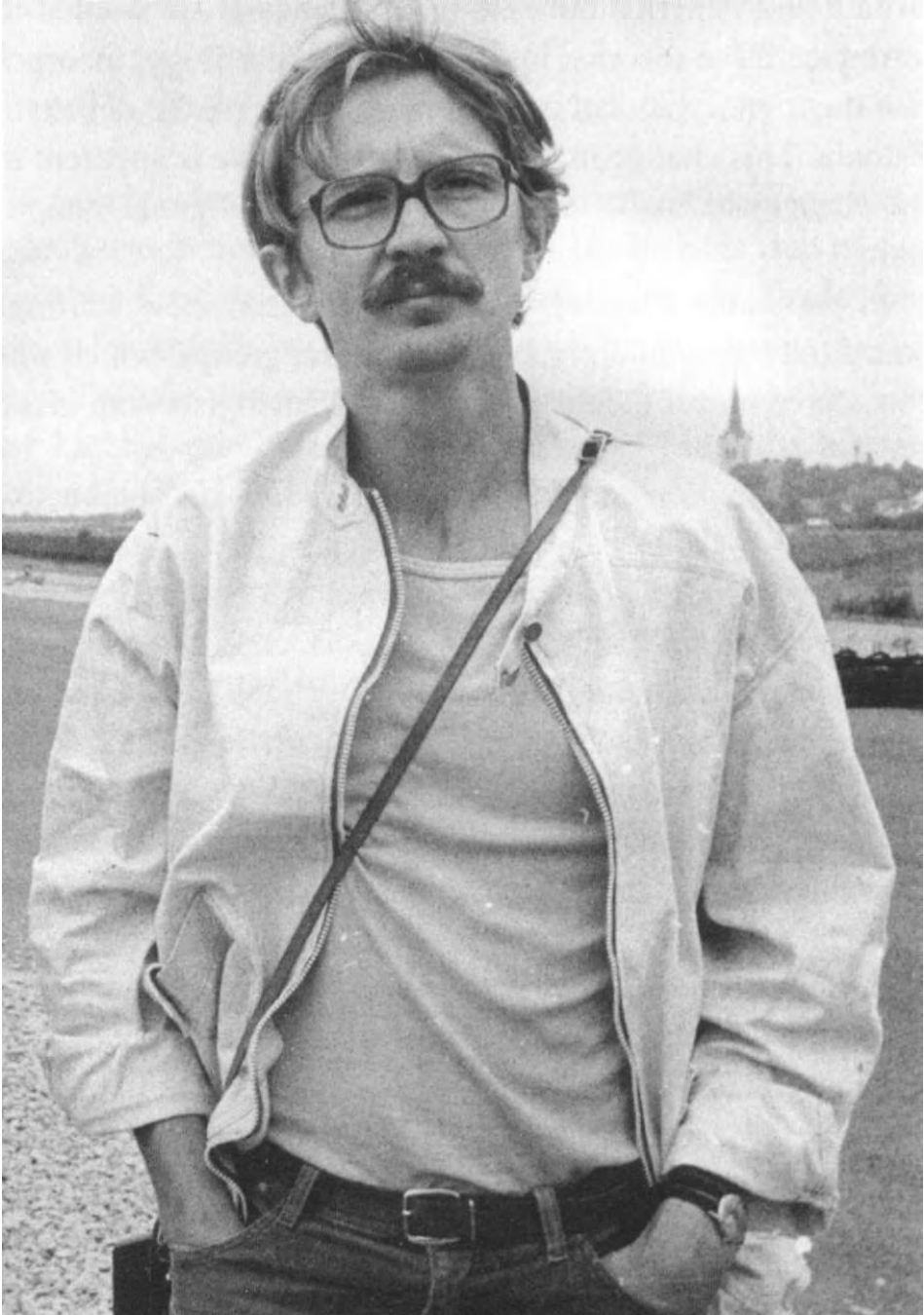
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Cover Design: Eugeniusz Skorwider

Linguistic consultation: Monika Wojcieszek

Printed in Poland

Computer typeset by PSO Sp. z o.o. w Poznaniu



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.

Ken Jacobs, Lucyna Domańska

“BEYOND BALKANIZATION” — AN OUTLINE PROGRAM FOR A DISCUSSION

As in all volumes, such as the one presented here, the papers speak for themselves. We will use these introductory pages to discuss in some detail and from our own point of view 1) the process whereby these papers and their authors were brought together, 2) a thematic typology of the papers, including those of authors not represented in this volume, and 3) the future of the ideas presented herein, with particular attention to the dual themes of inter-regionality and the increased recognition that our various researches have inescapable theoretical and ideological roots and implications.

These papers represent the partial proceedings of a conference entitled “The Future of the Past in Eastern Europe: New Visions of the Peoples & Societies that Formed the Present,” which took place May 16-21, 1997 at the Uniwersytet Łódzki in Łódź, Poland. However, “Beyond Balkanization: Towards Integrative Perspectives on the Identities and Interactions of Human Communities during Eastern Europe’s Recent Prehistory” was the title of the IREX (International Research & Exchanges Board) grant that provided the necessary funding.

These titles reflect the polygenic origin of the conference itself and, thus, of this publication. Initially, the results of our own skeletal research caused us to become intrigued by the possibility of a considerable interaction between Mesolithic and Neolithic human communities from Ukraine’s Dnieper River rapids region and communities lying within, or even beyond, the corridor between the Black and Caspian Seas (Potekhina, South-eastern. . .). After discovery of our editors’ suggestions along the same lines [e.g. Domańska 1990a, b] the idea to hold a conference addressing “the Near East Issue” germinated.

Subsequently, the nuances of and potential alternatives to the traditional “Out of the Balkans” model for both the Indo-Europeanization and the Neolithization of Eastern Europe were clarified through correspondences with James Mallory of Queen’s University, Belfast and Marek Zvelebil of Sheffield University, UK. The results of their work and that of others made us acutely aware of the manner in which prehistoric cultures, tribes and/or “ethnoses” typically are created. They are in fact the result of conveniently conjoining what are often ontologically independent sets of archaeological artifacts, presumed subsistence systems, anthropological

types, and putative linguistic affinities. Sometimes, these amalgams are quite nicely mapped onto a sub-divided socio-political landscape of historical or recent origin (Dolukhanov, *The Neolithic...*). As a result, the necessity for an intensified inter-regional approach provided added impetus for the conference.

The notion that we, as scholars, must actively consider how we intend to construct “the future of the past in Eastern Europe” can be traced directly to the influence of the late Priit Ligi, to whom this volume is dedicated. Through personal conversations and close consideration of his latest publications [e.g. Ligi 1993; 1994; 1995] we became concerned about the need to be suspicious of and indeed to dissect vigorously all reified (pre)historic ethnic lineages in both their temporal and spatial dimensions. Special concern for this issue is imperative, especially during our current period of nationalist, ethno-geographic and general political volatility.

Thus, the term “Beyond Balkanization” came to have two meanings for the conference. The first evokes an overtly empirical inquest into inter-regional interactions and influences in Eastern European recent prehistory which are not rooted in the Balkans. The second calls for an overtly theoretical inquiry into the best way to avoid the potential pitfalls of “balkanizing” the past (Kohl, *National...*; Lindstrom, *History...*). As with a sumptuous banquet table, where appetite so often exceeds capacity, so it was with this conference. The result was a unique blend of papers, a brief typology of which we will now suggest.

A predominant theme was that of “Inter-Regional Comparison.” The true significance of any archaeological or bioanthropological features that are described as being typical of any site or small set of sites can only be understood when a comparison is made to material found over a very broad geographic range. Papers in this volume that underscore this point are those of I. Loze, V.I. Timofeev, A.M. Haeussler, I. Potekhina, N.S. Kotova, D. Nuzhnyi and P.M. Dolukhanov. In addition, we would add to this group the papers presented in Łódź, but not printed here, of Y. Chistov (St. Petersburg, “Craniological data banks and the study of the early stages of European ethnic history”) and of I.I. Gokhman (St. Petersburg, “Anthropological structure of East Europe’s ancient population”).

Linked with the previous theme was another, which emphasized the “Open Nature of Bio-Social Systems.” By this was meant the idea that prehistoric communities were invariably open to cultural and biological influences from neighboring communities and regions. One implication of this is, of course, that hypotheses of purely “local” or autochthonous developments must be placed under the closest scrutiny. The papers here of P.M. Dolukhanov, L. Heapost, N.S. Kotova and D. Nuzhnyi address this issue, as did the Łódź conference papers not printed here of P. Bukhrashvili (Tbilisi, “Settlement archaeology and cultural systems of the Caucasus during the Palaeometal Epoch”) and of R. Jankauskas (Vilnius, “Skeletal biological data on Neolithization in Lithuania: causes and consequences”). That autochthonous developments continue to be asserted is not to be doubted. The papers here of D. Telegin, A.A. Yanevich, and L. Zaliznyak illustrate this point.

The remaining thematic categories are less frequently represented in this volume, but were of no lesser importance. The dangers of too great a use of “Strict

Typological Constructs” were made evident in the papers of V.I. Khartanovich, P.M. Dolukhanov, L. Heapost, and R. Jankauskas. The potential importance of the “Black Sea/Caspian Sea Corridor” was discussed by I. Potekhina and A.M. Haeusler. The “Politics of the Past” was the topic of the papers here of P.L. Kohl and R.W. Lindstrom, as well as of two conference papers not reproduced in this volume: Paul Barford (Warsaw) discussed “Paradigms of the Social Past for the Present” and Ludomir Lozny (Hunter College, New York) presented ideas on “Surviving the Change: Polish archaeology in the next century.”

The issue now to be discussed is: Where do we go from here? This topic, invoking both of the questions described in the Editors’ Forward, was frequently discussed during the Łódź conference, both informally and in a closing session.

The importance of expanding the inter-regional comparison of archaeological and bioanthropological data over as broad a geographic scale as possible was recognized by all participants. Similarly, it was widely accepted that hypotheses about the regions and geographic directions involved in the prehistoric inter-regional interactions of Eastern Europe should not be limited to those which have received the greatest attention in the past. It was considered important to continue and to expand the comparison of materials currently housed in museums and institutes that are usually quite distantly separated. In the same fashion, it was hoped by all that more excavations in some previously understudied geographic areas might be undertaken. This alone would help immeasurably in filling in some of the gaps in our ever-expanding inter-regional maps. Given the goodwill, the energy, and the scholarly dedication of the participants, there is every reason to believe that such hopes will not go unfulfilled.

The discussion of how to confront the “political” aspects of prehistoric research in Eastern Europe was more tentative and diffuse. This very fact both reflected the changing societal contexts in which we all currently work and served to heighten the pertinence of the subject itself. However, these discussions were useful and helped to demonstrate that it would be a major error to assume that this is a new debate. For example, a familiar claim is that “ideological issues, broadly understood, (are) embedded in scientific argument” and are “inherited from the larger society(’s) distinct social, philosophical, metaphysical, theological, political and aesthetic traditions.” Countering such ideas, frequent pleas are made “to transcend the limits of older, naturalistic and political debates . . . and [to] establish a new, internally consistent, self-referential tradition of investigation and argumentation within science.” Yet, despite its current resonance, the rhetoric here derives from attempts by James Cowles Prichard (1808) and Sir Wm. Lawrence (1822) to set a new course for their “new” science [Stepan 1982].

At the same time, it was clear to all that the epistemological dilemmas arising from the fact that scientific research is conducted in a political and ideological context are not unique to the study of later Eastern European prehistory [see, e.g. Jones 1997; Scham 1998]. Indeed, it is now impossible to find a geographic area or (pre)historic period in which such problems are not actively debated from all sides of the question.

While the debate may occur everywhere, this does not provide a warrant to turn away from it. Very much the opposite is true. As much as our data are real and subject to empirical investigation, “it is hard to deny that science has both value implications and value origins. Science is as important to . . . power as to soul-searching questions of cosmology or cosmogony. Science lies close to the roots of many forms of power: power to create or destroy, to heal or harm, to feed or let hunger, to enlighten or obscure” [Proctor 1991]. We and those among whom we live have a direct, human relationship to those whose remains we study. We and those among whom we live will feel the consequences of the uses to which these remains may be put, regardless of our presumptions to objectivity. Thus, in closing, we will borrow from a kindred author: “(we) as a group also have the political responsibility to prevent the abuse of (our studies) . . . With (our) status in society there must be connected special responsibilities. It is now time for us to recognize the public price we must pay” [May 1989:901]. With this in mind, we fervently hope that we, as the scholars who are in closest contact with the prehistoric data themselves, will not turn from the debate. We trust that we will instead actively engage ourselves in it. Should such be the case, this additional goal of the conference shall be fulfilled.

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 Prichernomor'ya, 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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Orders regarding B-PS should be adressed directly to the Editorial Office (Baltic-Pontic Studies, Institute of Prehistory, Św. Marcin 78, 61-809 Poznań, Poland).

This publication was supported by a grant from the International Research & Exchanges Board, with funds provided by the U.S. Department of State (Title VIII), The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. None of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed.

The publication was partly founded by the University of Łódź and by the Foundation of Adam Mickiewicz University too.

ISBN 83-86094-04-4

ISSN 1231-0344