

BEYOND BALKANIZATION

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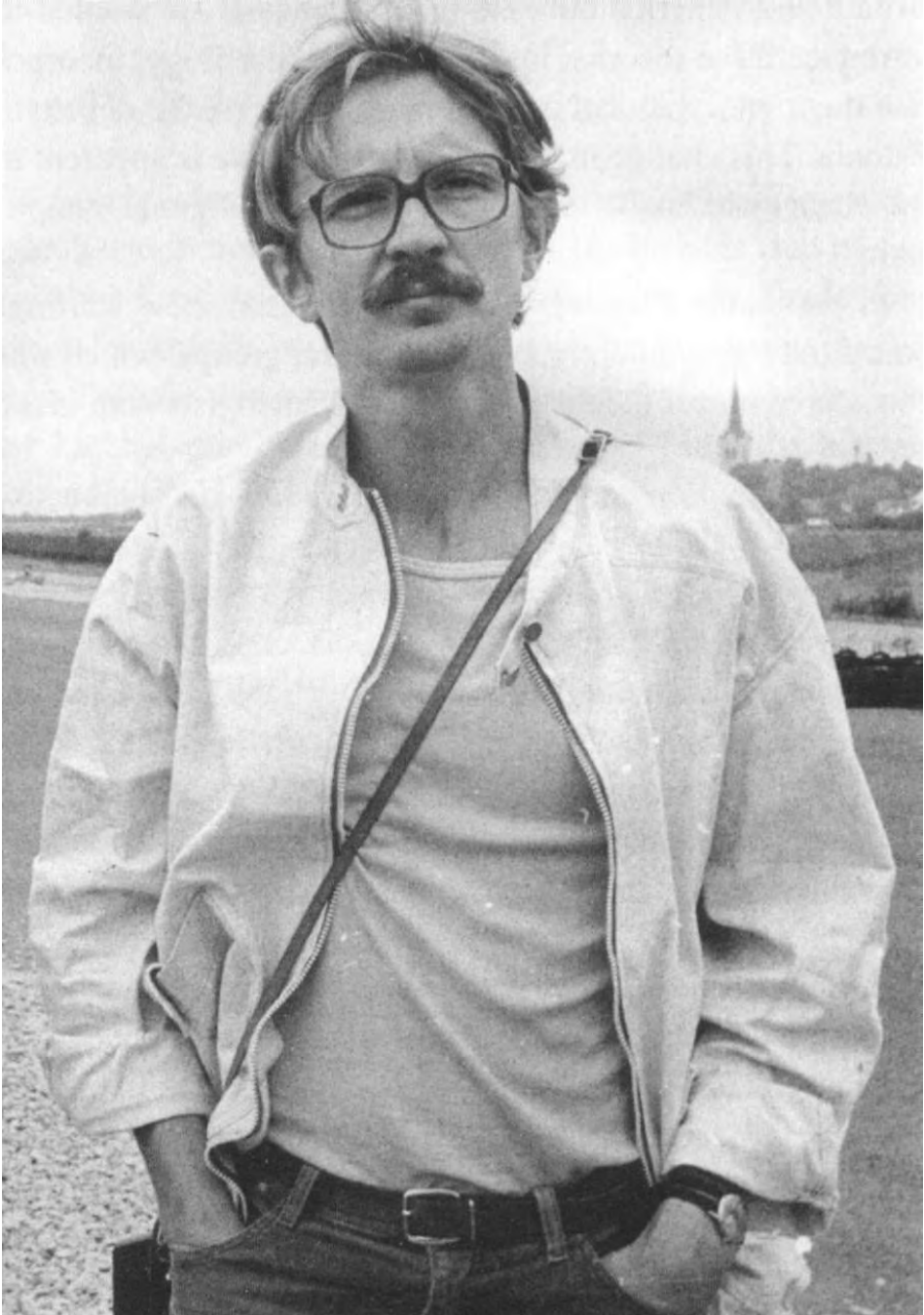
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In Memoriam Priit Ligi (24 May 1958 — 28 September 1994)

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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.

Inna D. Potekhina

**SOUTH-EASTERN INFLUENCES ON THE FORMATION
OF THE MESOLITHIC TO EARLY ENEOLITHIC
POPULATIONS OF THE NORTH PONTIC REGION:
THE EVIDENCE FROM ANTHROPOLOGY**

During the Soviet Era some research projects dealing with the ancient history of South-Eastern Europe were subjects to political restrictions imposed by the regime. A number of them were even removed from the studies of scholars. Examples are the influence of the Normans on the Kievan Rus and the history of the tribes and settlements of the Goths in Crimea. However, no one can find a trace of limitations imposed by an official ideology on the origin of the Neolithic and Eneolithic populations. Scholars were able to study and discuss objectively the overwhelming influence of western cultures (for example, Bug-Dniester and Cucuteni-Tripolye) during certain periods of prehistory without persecution by party ideologists who had academic degrees or who lacked them.

During the time of strengthening of the sovereignty of some newly independent states, some scholars may have been inclined to change the former minus to the present plus. However, we are certain that continuation, not revolution, is characteristic of the present views and the goal of the future study of the past in the prehistory of the Ukraine. Meanwhile, in response to the original proposal of the initiators of this conference, I will examine all possible non-Balkan — eastern and southern — influences and components, which contributed to the formation of the physical type of the Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Early Eneolithic populations of the Ukraine.

In the recent discussion of the problem of Neolithization of the North Pontic region, some researchers [Krizhevskaya 1974; Shnirelman 1992; Jacobs 1993b, 1994c] point out importance of the Caucasus as a route of transmission of new economic strategies. According to K. Jacobs's [1993b] new data "the possibility that extensive and intensifying exploitation of cereal grains occurred in the Southern Russian Plain well before and independently of developments in the Danube basin". D.W. Anthony [1994] insists on the traditional position that the process spread from the Balkans and the Danube. However, I. Potekhina and D.Y. Telegin [1995] note that the southern and western routes of the spread of agriculture may not have been the only ones.

The standard idea that the production of food entered the North Pontic region primarily through diffusion from the neighbouring population of south-eastern

European farmers is confirmed by the anthropological evidence. However, the new idea that the earliest and the main route of penetration of agricultural impulses and animal husbandry, that originated in the Levant, ran across the Caucasus to the region north of the Black Sea, still requires this type of confirmation. To prove that the corridor between the Black and Caspian Seas was "either a source of or a route for important influences that demographically, socioeconomically, and biologically transformed the early Holocene Ukraine" [Jacobs 1993b], it is necessary to outline the genetic relations or at least the common craniological components in an anthropological composition of the populations of South-Western Asia and the North Pontic region.

We can see the first evidence of the southern and south-eastern influence on the anthropological composition of the Ukrainian population in the Mesolithic skeletal materials. The Mesolithic population of the Dnieper rapids region and Crimea was not homogeneous. In their morphological traits, the Crimean skeletons belong to the Proto-European type [Debets 1948]. The male skeleton from Murzak-Koba has the closest affinity to the Predmost variant. The male skeleton from Fatma Koba and the female skeleton from Murzak Koba resemble each other and are more similar to the Cro-Magnon type than the male from Murzak Koba. According to V.P. Yakimov [1961], the Crimean skulls have specific character, considerable cranial height, which distinguishes them from the rest of the Mesolithic skulls but is similar to the Ibero-Maurisian culture skeletons from the cemetery of Afalou-Bou-Rhummel in Northern Africa [Vallois 1952]. The similarity between the Crimean and Afalou skulls indicates that southern craniological features (Afalou) may have been ancestral to those which characterize the Crimean Mesolithic physical type.

As support for the southern influence, archaeologists, such as S.N. Bibikov [1959], point to the important role of Palaeolithic elements from Northern Africa in the Mesolithic cultures of Crimea. However, such analogies are insufficient to confirm a common origin of the Northern Africa and North Pontic populations.

We can obtain substantial evidence for the south-eastern links of the Ukrainian Mesolithic from the large skeletal series of the Dnieper rapids region. By the Mesolithic, fishing communities in this region had achieved sufficiently long-term stability and produced sizeable cemeteries: Voloshskoe (19 burials), Vasilyevka I (26 burials), and Vasilyevka III (45 burials). According to G.F. Debets [1955a], I.I. Gokhman [1966], and T.S. Konduktorova [1973] different anthropological variants (cranial measurements) could be distinguished among this population.

For example, G.F. Debets [1955a] distinguished two types among the nine Voloshskoe skulls that could be measured. G.F. Debets called the first type the Australoid type, and assigned to it two skulls with a combination of prognathism with a broad nose and low orbits. The reliability of the Australoid type was not confirmed in further investigation of the Ukrainian Mesolithic cemeteries. The second type is very important for our discussion. It is characterized by pronounced dolichocrany, great cranial height, a strongly expressed horizontal profile, and a very narrow (129,2 mm), high, vertically elongated face with high orbits and a narrow nose. G.F. Debets named this type Ancient Mediterranean. G.F. Debets saw analogies to these skulls

in Mesolithic and Neolithic skulls from Kenya, which also had a combination of marked dolichocrany and a high narrow face [Leakey 1935].

The discovery of the Ancient Mediterranean type seemed too unusual for the territory of the steppe Ukraine, which was inhabited mainly by different variants of proto-Europeans during the Mesolithic — Neolithic. The people of the proto-European type were tall and massive with a considerably large skull with a very broad face. The bizygomatic breadth of the male skulls in different variants of the North Pontic proto-Europeans varied between 142,5 and 151,8 mm [Potekhina 1992]. The representatives of this type were buried in Vasilyevka I, in "flexed" burials of Vasilyevka III, and in all of the Mariupol type cemeteries. In addition, I.I. Gokhman [1966] distinguished a special variant with a moderately broad (135,6 mm) face in skulls from the "extended" burials of Vasilyevka III cemetery. This variant is intermediate between the hypermorphic proto-Europeans and pure Mediterranean but is closer to the former. Y.D. Benevolenskaya [1990] named this variant the mesomorphic Mediterranean type. It was widespread in Mesolithic — Eneolithic Europe (Zvejnieki, Oleneostrovskiy, Alexandriya).

Since no other evidence (beyond Voloshskoe cemetery) of the Ancient Mediterranean type has been found in the North Pontic area, anthropologists expressed some doubts and criticism concerning its reality in this region (Gokhman 1966). Only after T.S. Konduktorova [1957, 1973] had distinguished the traits of the Ancient Mediterranean type in the skulls from Vasilyevka I (but in a softer form than in Voloshskoe), the reality of this type was finally confirmed in the steppe Ukraine during the Mesolithic.

The Ancient Mediterranean type completely disappeared from the anthropological structure of the North Pontic populations in the Neolithic. During the Neolithic, the same territory, the Dnieper Rapids region, was inhabited by the bearers of the Dnieper-Donets culture, who constructed the Mariupol type cemeteries [Telegin, Potekhina 1987]. These populations exhibit a unique complex of features (thick cranial vault bones, massive and fairly large skulls, and postcranial robustness) and are generally classified as protomorphic or hypermorphic proto-Europeans (sometimes called the Vovnigi type). Two craniological types can be distinguished. The first has a sharp dolichocrany and a very broad (142,5 mm) and well-profiled face. The second, the mesocranic type, has an even broader (151,8 mm), high, and slightly flattened face [Potekhina 1992].

The first type was probably genetically related to the proto-European type of the native Mesolithic population. The second one should be associated with the most ancient hypermorphic North-European race, which includes the Mesolithic craniological series from Denmark and Sweden. First of all, this component appeared in the anthropological structure of Vasilyevka II, the most ancient Mariupol type cemetery. Due to the general chronological division of all of the Mariupol type cemeteries into three stages, we can trace the gradual increase of the role of the second, the North European, component in the later stages of these cemeteries. Such changes in anthropological composition of the Neolithic North Pontic populations were associated with several waves of migration from northern territories.

The considerable increase in the robustness of the Neolithic North Pontic populations, as compared with the Mesolithic people, is traditionally explained as a result of penetration of the representatives of hypermorphic North Europeans into the Dnieper Valley and replacement of "already gracilized" people by "still not gracilized" ones [Gokhman 1966; Konduktorova 1974; Potekhina, n.d.]. Recently, K. Jacobs [1993b] suggested that the growth of robustness reflects the increasingly stressful musculo-skeletal subsistence activities of the Ukrainian Early Neolithic populations. If so, the increase in the postcranial robustness in the process of the hard work of the Neolithic people during this period should be accompanied by the increase in the massiveness of the skull, or at least, by an increase in the main cranial and facial diameters, which are closely correlated with the long bone dimensions. In contrast, the comparison of three chronological groups of skulls from the early, late, and final stages of the Mariupol type cemeteries shows a slow, but rather steady decrease in robustness and the size of brain cases and faces in the late and, especially, in the final stage [Potekhina 1992]. These changes point to the beginning of the process of gracilization, which took place in the North Pontic region earlier than it has previously been thought.

The in-migration of the North Europeans into South-Eastern Europe produced fundamental changes, not only in the formation of anthropological structure of the Neolithic tribes, but also in ethnic composition of the native population. The anthropological changes were accompanied by new features in the material culture. These included new kinds of graves construction, the appearance of a large collective pit-grave, changes in burial goods, tools, the use of ritual fire, and a skull cult. The historical importance of the advance of ancient North Europeans into South-Eastern Europe lies in the ethnic changes. The Ancient Mediterranean inhabitants of the Dnieper rapids region were completely dislodged.

The Early Eneolithic in the North Pontic region is characterized by several different cultures (Sredni Stog, Novodanilovka, Post-Mariupol, Lower Mikhaylovka, Yamnaya, Kemi-Oba). The bearers of the Novodanilovka and Post-Mariupol cultures belong to the proto-European type, while the series of Sredni Stog skulls includes both the proto-European and the mesomorphic Mediterranean types [Potekhina 1992]. The new evidence of the Ancient Mediterranean type was found only in the materials of Kemi-Oba culture of Crimea. The Kemi-Oba culture and somewhat earlier the Lower Mikhaylovka group of the North Pontic steppe have been put into a common cultural-historical area.

The skulls from the Kemi-Oba burials are characterized by marked dolicho-cranium, very narrow and high faces, and well expressed horizontal profiles [Kruks 1972]. They are very similar to the skulls from the Voloshskoe cemetery. The low Penrose distance coefficient (0,288) between the Kemi-Oba and Voloshskoe skulls points to their close genetic links.

While seeking the origin of the Voloshskoe and Kemi-Oba population, represented by the same, Ancient Mediterranean type, comparative analysis of the synchronous craniological series of the adjacent territories directs us towards the south-east (Fig. 1), because Western Europe and the Balkan-Danube region were

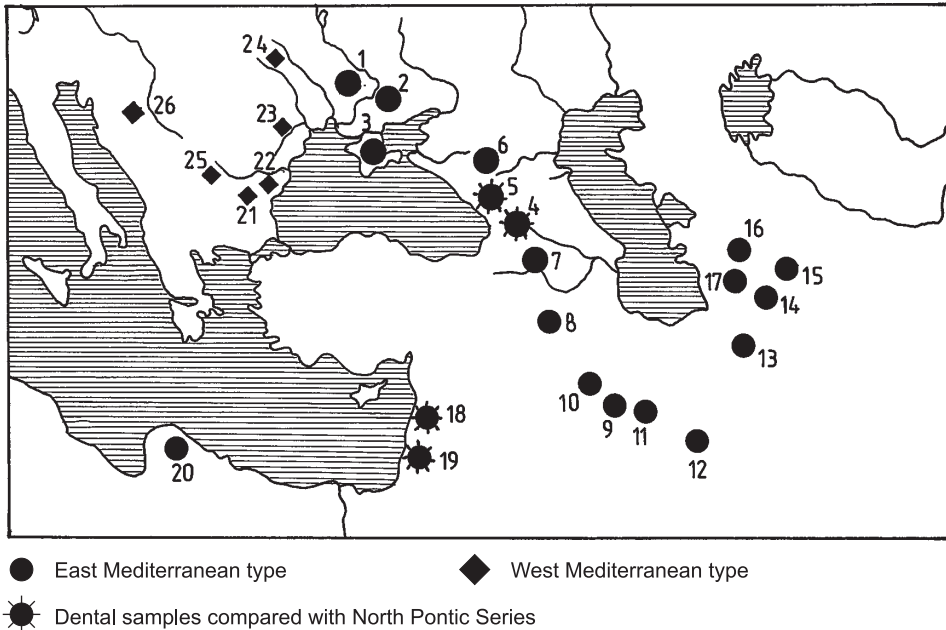


Fig. 1. Sites characteristic of the Ancient (East) Mediterranean and the West Mediterranean craniological types. 1 - Voloshskiy; 2 - Vasilyevka I; 3 - Kemi-Oba; 4 - Dzhurchula Cave, Ortvala Cave, Sakazhia Cave; 5 - Akshtyr Cave, Barakayevskaya Cave, Kvchara Cave; 6 - Unakoz Cave; 7 - Shengavit; 8 - Hasanlu; 9 - Dzheyjan Tepe; 10 - Vad Khora; 11 - Tepe Dzhemshidy; 12 - Sialk; 13 - Tepe Gissar; 14 - Altyn Depe; 15 - Geoksyur; 16 - Ovadan Depe; 17 - Chogally-Depe, Chokmakly-Depe; 18 - Quafzeh, Amud, Skhul, Tabun; 19 - Ain-Ghazal; 20 - Afalou-bou-Rhummel; 21 - Russe; 22 - Kubrat; 23 - Troyan; 24 - Vykhvatynts; 25 - Vincha; 26 - Vlasats

inhabited by West Mediterranean type populations [Criş-Starčevo, Gumelnitsa and Tripolye cultures). The representatives of the West Mediterranean type were generally short people with narrow and gracile faces, and dolicho-, mesodolicho- or brachycephalic skulls. The main trait, which distinguishes them from the Ancient Mediterranean type, is a considerably lower face. Therefore, the relative height of the face (the upper facial index) can be used as a diagnostic criterion for identification of these two Mediterranean types.

The Ancient Mediterranean type originally inhabited the Near East and adjacent areas. In literature, it is often called the East Mediterranean type, because it is usual for the populations of the East Mediterranean region and of western part of Central Asia (Fig. 1). During the Mesolithic, the East Mediterranean region was also inhabited by the massive and broad-faced people of the proto-European type, such as those buried in the Natufian culture cemeteries of El Vad, Eynar, and Vady Falla [Ferembach 1973].

During the Eneolithic, the East Mediterranean type populations were widespread in southern and eastern Turkmenia (Altyn-Depe, Geoksyur, Kara-Depe,

Ovadan-Depe, Chogally-Depe), Iran (Tepe Sialk, Tepe Gissar, Tepe Dzheyjan, Tepe Dzhemshidy), and the Caucasus (Shengavit, Ginchy) [Ginsburg, Trofimova 1972; Cappieri 1973; Alekseev 1974; Kiyatkina 1987]. Comparative analysis of the Voloshskoe and Kemi-Oba skulls with those from Turkmenia, Iran and the Caucasus indicates their similarity. The Penrose coefficients vary from 0.164 to 0.299.

In the Eneolithic, the Caucasus was the contact zone of the proto-Europeoid and the East Mediterranean types. The skulls of the Kuro-Araks culture cemetery, Berkaber, have traits of both types [Alekseev, Mkrtychan 1989]. Our recent study of the Early Eneolithic skull from Unakoz Cave in the northern Caucasus points to the strong East Mediterranean component (very narrow and high face) [Potekhina 1995]. All of these facts indicate the possibility of the penetration of the East Mediterranean type into the Caucasus in the Early Eneolithic.

The earliest south-eastern links of the Ukrainian Ancient Mediterranean Mesolithic (Voloshskoe and Vasilyevka I) and the Crimean Mesolithic populations can be traced in the morphological analyses of the dentitions [Haeussler, n.d.a]. According to A.M. Haeussler's analysis, the comparisons indicate a close relationship of the Ukrainian Mesolithic with the Caucasus Palaeolithic (Akhshtyr, Barakayevskaya, Dzhruchula, Ortvala, Sakazhia Caves) and the Near East Neolithic (Ain Ghazal) and the Near East Palaeolithic (Skuhl, Tabun, Amud, Qafzeh) (Fig. 1). According to A.M. Haeussler's opinion, "any movement of people from the Mediterranean Sea region would have included circumventing some of the Mediterranean people and arriving at the Black Sea by a route that involved either the Caucasus, the western Caspian region, Turkey, or Bulgaria."

Thus we face the question of the genetical influence of the ancient Mediterraneans from the Near East to the steppe regions of the Ukraine. Two possible routes for such an influence exist: 1) the western route, from Anatolia to the Balkan region, and around the western side of the Black Sea and 2) the eastern one, through the inter-Black/Caspian Seas corridor. Since we lack anthropological evidence of the East Mediterranean populations similar to those of the Ukrainian Mesolithic and early Eneolithic in the Balkan-Danube region, the western influence route from the Near East to the North Pontic region finds no support here. Therefore the eastern route appears more than simply plausible. The anthropological similarity of some Ukrainian groups (Voloshskoe, Vasilyevka 1, Kemi-Oba) and populations of the Caucasus, the Near East, and south-western Turkmenia points to very ancient links, which could have been carried through the inter-Black/Caspian Seas corridor.

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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