

BEYOND BALKANIZATION

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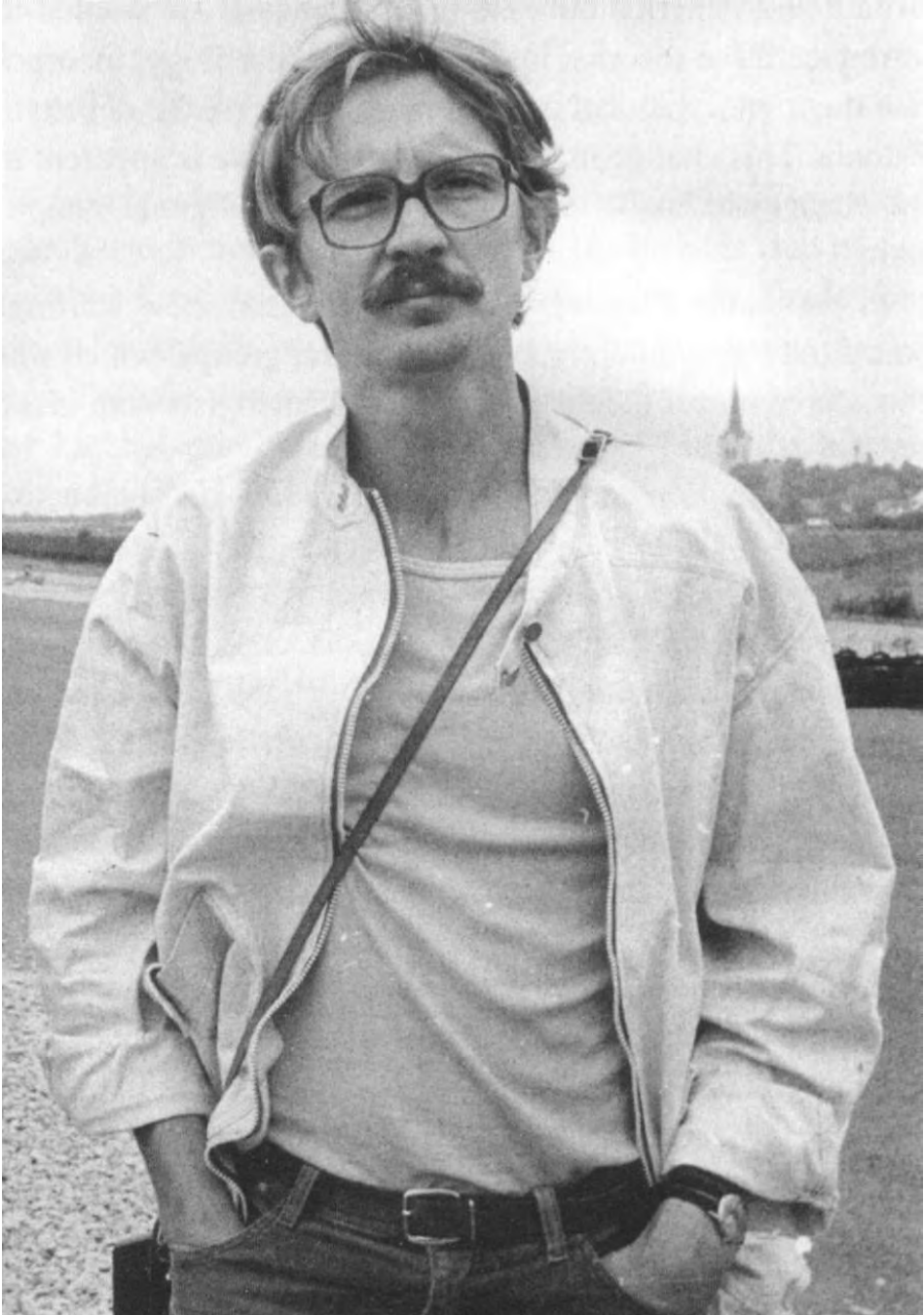
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In Memoriam Priit Ligi (24 May 1958 — 28 September 1994)

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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.

Dmitriy Nuzhnyi

THE UKRAINIAN STEPPE AS A REGION OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN ATLANTIC AND MEDITERRANEAN ZONES OF EUROPEAN MESOLITHIC

1. THE STEPPE ZONE OF THE UKRAINE AS A REGION OF INTERACTION OF TWO CULTURAL AREAS OF THE EUROPEAN MESOLITHIC

The territory of the Southern Ukraine since the Final Pleistocene was an area of intensive cultural contacts between the Northern European (or “Atlantic”) and Mediterranean areas of the Old World. The western coast of the Black Sea during the Early Holocene was a possible way of spreading of some Mediterranean cultures with a new pressure technology of blade processing and with trapezes as infiltration of agricultural economy in to the Central and Eastern Europe [Clark 1958:37-40].

All Mesolithic cultures of the Northern Ukraine belonged to the Atlantic area or zone of European Mesolithic, which was spread over the Northern European lowlands of Poland, Germany and Great Britain [Zaliznyak 1984a; 1989; 1991]. At the same time, according to the S.N. Zamyatnin’s point of view the cultures of the Crimean Mountains were connected with a special “Mediterranean historical-cultural zone” of the Upper Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic of Southern Europe, the Near East and Northern Africa [Zamyatnin 1951:120-145].

The specific Mesolithic cultures of the Northern Crimea and other steppe regions of the Southern Ukraine were situated between these two zones (e.g. Zimovniki, Grebeniki, Donets and various cultures of Kukrek tradition). This territory both in the Final Pleistocene and in the Early Holocene was a steppe terrain with sufficiently stable preservation of open landscape conditions.

However during the Pleistocene-Holocene boundary, the bison (*Bison priscus*) as a main object of Final Palaeolithic mass drive hunting was substituted in Mesolithic assemblages by auroch (*Bos primigenius*). The latter probably came from the West Europe where closed mountainous landscapes were better preserved during the Late Pleistocene [Bibikova 1975:67-72]. At the same time the Pleistocene horse (*Equus latipes*) was substituted by the tarpan-horses (*Equus gmelini*) which existed in

Ukrainian steppe until the recent time [Stanko 1982:151-154]. Other species typical for Pleistocene steppe (*Saiga tatarica*, *Asinus hydruntinus*) coexisted in the Holocene with certain forest and semi-steppe hoofed game (*Cervus elaphus*, *Sus scrofa*, *Capreolus capreolus* and even *Alces alces*). The latter group of hunting prey indicates the presence of some closed forest and bush landscapes in the river valleys and ravines during the Early Holocene.

Therefore some technological traditions of local Upper Palaeolithic industries (viz. Osokorovka and Anetovka I cultures) of steppe area were sometimes preserved and even continued in the Mesolithic assemblages of the Grebeniki and Kukrek cultures [Stanko 1982:114-117; Telegin 1982:117-127]. This situation was quite different from that in the forest zone of the Northern Ukraine where the Mesolithic cultures of Atlantic zone (viz. Komornica and Janisławice) practically had no connections with the previous local Final Palaeolithic ones [Zaliznyak 1991:137]. The further development of local Final Palaeolithic technological tradition of hunting weapons manufacturing in the Mesolithic cultures of steppe zone (especially in cultures of Kukrek tradition) was connected with the preservation in Early Holocene of open landscapes and probably some similar elements of bison hunting strategy but adapted for auroch [Nuzhnyi, Yanevich 1987:40].

Unfortunately at present we have no reliable reconstructions of auroch's (*Bos primigenius*) models of behaviour and seasonal adaptation in open steppe zone because during historic times it has been preserved only in closed forest terrain. The dental system of auroch was more connected with the meadow vegetation and semi-closed landscape or meadow conditions of river valleys contrary to the bison's one more adapted to dry steppe grass of plateau. However both these species were preserved recently in similar forest conditions of Poland, Belorussia and the Ukraine.

The same Mesolithic assemblages both of faunal remains of clear dry steppe species (e.g. *Saiga tatarica*, *Equus gmelini*, *Asinus hydruntinus* etc.) and auroch were found; the latter probably was adapted to open landscapes, too. At all points the common biological model of hoofed animals behaviour demonstrates the global tendency of herd growth in condition of more open terrain and their reduction in more closed one [Formozov 1969:70-71]. On the other hand, the increased herds stipulated both faster exhaustion of pastures and more intensified migrations of herbivorous animals. That is why the local Upper Palaeolithic tradition of seasonal and collective mass drive hunting of large herd game at the whole was preserved and continued by the population of Mesolithic steppe cultures, too.

The latter kind of economy was very attractive for prehistoric hunters because it permitted the easier and faster obtaining of large amounts of meat. However, such a model of "periodically rich" economy both in the Pleistocene and the Holocene was very dependent on seasonal and climatic conditions (which directed the migrations of game) and therefore was more unstable than "constantly poor" multi-branched one. The latter was typical for different closed terrains and since the Final Pleistocene was represented by economy of Early Mesolithic mountainous hunters of the Crimea (as a region of Mediterranean zone). The similar models of eco-

nomy were spread since the Holocene within the forest population of the Northern Ukraine as a region of Atlantic zone of European Mesolithic. An important role in above-mentioned kind of economy has been played also (except individual hunting with bow and arrows) by fishing.

In contrast to multibranching economy, the specialised Final Palaeolithic and Mesolithic drive hunters of steppe zone carried out the same strategy of intensive exploitation of aquatic resources (first of all fish) only during the periodical food crises. In such a case the richest regions of river valleys (especially rapids) became fields of inter-group "possessive competition", collisions and even warfare conflicts [Balakin, Nuzhnyi 1995:191-198]. In the observed area such territory were the rapids of Dnieper River where the oldest Final Palaeolithic and Mesolithic graveyards (Voloshskiy, Vasilyevka 1 and 3 etc.) were discovered as well as evidence of the human mass killing was found [Telegin 1982:205-208]. It is noticeable that in the numerous Neolithic cemeteries (more than 10 graveyards and near 500 burials) situated in the same region similar data of mass warfare conflicts were practically absent [Balakin, Nuzhnyi 1995:196].

For reasons given above, constant attraction and periodical seasonal instability of tundra-steppe or steppe economy of specialised drive hunters as well as frequent food crises determined the regular infiltration or direct mass migration of steppe population to the regions with more closed landscapes. The latter (mountainous, forests and bush of large river valleys) were poorer for hunting strategy but more stable for fishing and gathering than an open steppe terrain with large herds of herbivores. According to the archeological data this process in the Ukrainian steppe have been taking place more often in southern direction during the Final Pleistocene and mainly to the northern one in the Early Holocene.

For example, since 15-14 millenium BP we have a lot of evidence that numerous "geologically modern" sea and delta shells *Nassa reticulata*, *Cerithium vulgare* and *Ciclope neritea*, *Theodoxus sp.* (drilled and intact) are present in the assemblages of some Epigravettian sites from the Northern Ukraine and the South-Western Russia (Mezin, Mezhrich, Semenivka 2 and 3, Yudinovo). These sites are situated more than 500 km northward from the extreme area of shell habitat on the Black Sea coast and a problem of their origin is still opened [Shovkoplyas 1965:278-283; Nuznyi 1997:18].

As a second similar case of direct migration of some tundra-steppe reindeer hunters group is represented by the well known genuine sites of the Swiderian and Arhensburgian cultures in the Crimean and the Carpathian Mountains [Zaliznyak, Yanevich 1987:12-14]. But closed mountainous landscapes during the Final Pleistocene and the Earliest Holocene were constantly regions of infiltration or even direct long-time migration of large groups not only reindeer but also bison and auroch hunters of steppe cultures of the Epigravettian and Kukrek traditions (e.g. Vishennoe, the Shpan and Kukrek cultures) [Yanevich 1992:20-31; 1993:3-13; 1987a:7-17].

The spread of forests in the Northern Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania and Poland during the Early Holocene also defined another northern direction of periodical migration or infiltration of steppe population. For instance, the influence of

steppe Final Palaeolithic cultures of the Epigravettian tradition to a great extent defined also the peculiar character of microlithic assemblage of the Early Mesolithic Kudlayevka culture in the Northern Ukraine. That was different from the assemblage of related but more western Komornica culture of Poland. This difference has a form of domination of the first various small lanceolate and microgravettian points in microlithic assemblages [Zaliznyak 1991:24-25]. Exactly the same kinds of microliths are very typical for lithic assemblages of the Final Palaeolithic Epigravettian sites of steppe zone. Other expressive case is represented by infiltration of steppe population of the Kukrek culture in the same direction. The typical sites are found in the forest zone of Ukrainian Polesye. The process of the "Neolithization" of the local Late Mesolithic culture was under the Kukrek culture influence [Danilenko 1969:30; Zaliznyak 1991:41-44].

From the author's point of view the proposed hypothesis explains the common model of cultural interaction of population of the Atlantic and Mediterranean zones in the Final Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic of Eastern Europe. This process acquired more intensified forms during the abrupt climatic and ecological changes of the Pleistocene-Holocene boundary.

2. THE SHAN CULTURE AS A NEW PHENOMENON OF THE UKRAINIAN STEPPE MESOLITHIC

The specific assemblage of microliths (including asymmetric triangles, Swiderian points and backed microliths) from the 4th layer and lower part of 3rd layer of Shan-Koba and 5-4th layers of Fatma-Koba rock shelters in the Crimean Mountains for a long time was an object of interest of many archaeologists [Formozov 1954:40; Bader 1961:19]. However the assemblages of both sites stratigraphically lie between the deposits of the Shan-Koba and Murzak-Koba cultures and therefore were mixed with them. The similar microlithic assemblages (formed by backed microgravettian points, asymmetric triangles and oblique truncated points manufactured in the microburin technique and numerous microburins) were identified also at some other mixed sites (Alekseevskaya Zasukha, Balin-Kosh, Sy-At III, Frontovoe I and 3 etc.) both of steppe part of Crimea and alpine meadows [Nuzhnyi 1992: 33-34, 79-81]. As a very specific sign of such backed microliths is a presence of numerous diagnostic impact fractures from their use as pointed arrow-heads.

The afore-described microliths from the Crimean sites had a close analogy with the ones which were found in the human skeletons of Chaplinskiy, Vasilyevka 1 and 3 cemeteries of Dnieper rapids region [Nuzhnyi 1992:79]. The presence of Swiderian tanged points in assemblages of Shan-Koba and Fatma-Koba only as an addition became understandable after the discovery of new sites of Swiderian culture in Crimea dated by Dryas III (the earliest assemblage of Sy-At III, 4th layer of Buran-Kaya III etc.) [Zaliznyak, Yanevich 1987:6-15].

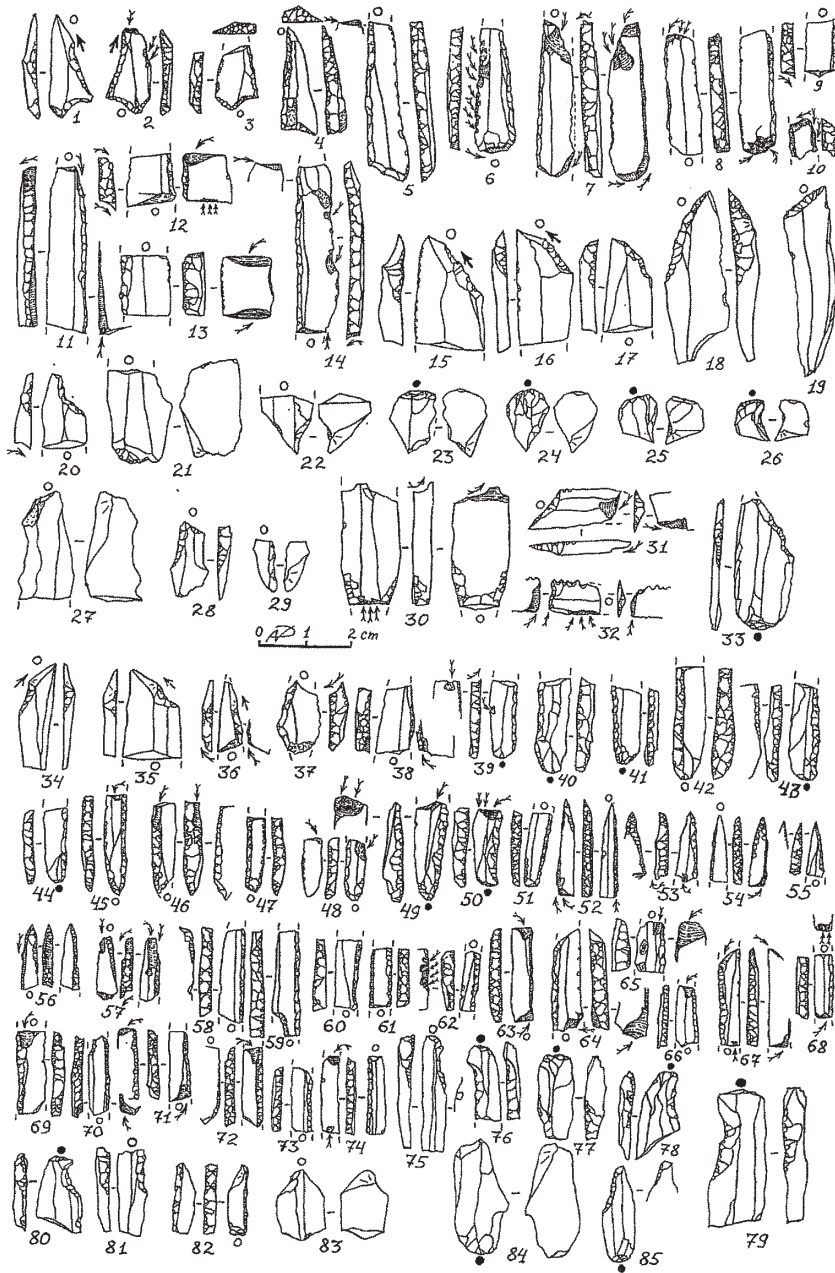


Fig. 1. The microlithic assemblages of the Shpan culture in the Crimea from 2nd layer of Shpan-Koba (1-33) and Balin-Kosh (34-85).

The first more or less clear assemblage of this cultural phenomenon in Crimea was discovered by A.A. Yanevich in the second layer of Shpan-Koba rock shelter situated on the alpine meadows. Above-mentioned assemblage dated by radiocarbon method 9150 ± 150 BP* and other 12 ones mixed (4th and 3rd layers of Shan-Koba, 4-2nd layers of Fatma-Koba, Su-At III, Ala-Chuk, Balin-Kosh, Frontovoe I and 3 etc.) become the main basis for definition of the new Early Mesolithic Shpan culture in the steppe zone of the Southern Ukraine [Yanevich 1993:3-15]. According to this, the genesis of this culture was connected with the local steppe Final Palaeolithic industries of the Epigravettian tradition and concretely with the assemblage of Vishennoe 2 site in Crimea.

The microlithic assemblage of the 2nd layer of Shpan-Koba includes the specific asymmetrical triangles (Fig. 1:1-5) processed with abrupt or semi-abrupt retouch on the longer part and abrupt or bipolar ones on the base. Sometimes these triangles were manufactured in the microburin technique (Fig. 1:1-2) similarly to the oblique truncated points (Fig. 1:15, 16). However, the base of this assemblage is formed by the different fragments of more or less wide and massive backed points (or perhaps parts of triangles, too) processed by the high abrupt and bipolar retouches (Fig. 1:6-14). The largest body of them are fragmented by the diagnostic macro-fracture from the use as arrow-heads (Fig. 1:6-14). The microburins on the proximal and distal ends of blades are present, too (Fig. 1:21-28), but the first are more numerous. There is one pseudo-microburin (microburin without retouched notch) in the assemblage (Fig. 1:29).

In the above-described assemblage are present also some mixed materials in the form of two typical trapezes of the Late Mesolithic Murzak-Koba culture (Fig. 1:31, 32). They probably got here from the upper layer with pure Murzak-Koba assemblage. In the same way two fragments of Swiderian tanged points (Fig. 1:30) probably hit from lower one which contained materials of the Shan-Koba Early Mesolithic culture, dated by the Final Pleistocene.

Other lithic chipped tools are represented by truncated and angle burins on the blades and sometimes by dihedral ones on the flakes. The scrapers are more numerous than burins and usually have the simple form of end scrapers on the blades or also their double version. The technology of blade processing in an assemblage of the second layer of Shpan-Koba was directed to manufacturing of medium-sized blades with the prismatic cores.

However, among the sites of the Shpan culture even in Crimea the considerable variations both of above-mentioned types of microliths and their dimensions presented in the lithic assemblages occurred. These variations probably reflect the different chronological positions of sites and intensified change of both main technological principles and lithic assemblages of the Shpan culture.

For example, the assemblage of the Sy-At III site, situated on the alpine meadows of the Crimean Mountains, includes many oblique truncated points with microburin spall (Fig. 2:1-5) and small asymmetrical triangles also with the microburin spall on the tips or bases (Fig. 2:9, 10, 12, 13). Among them also two microliths prac-

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

tically in the form of asymmetrical trapezes are presented (Fig. 2:14, 15), they are typical for the Late Mesolithic Murzak-Koba culture. However, in the assemblages of latter we have no traces of microburin technique [Nuzhnyi 1992:81-82].

At the same time, just narrow and lengthened straight backed points (processed with the high abrupt and even bipolar retouch) form the main body of the microlithic assemblage of the Sy-At III, too (Fig. 2:17-92). A lot of them are damaged by diagnostic projectile impact fractures (Fig. 2:21, 24-27, 34, 36-38, 44-46, 50, 53-63 etc). The numerous conjoint fragments and unfinished points demonstrate the large diversity of dimensions and low efficiency of both methods of use and technology of their production (Fig. 2:19-22, 92).

Among the microliths also the different wastes of microburin technique (Fig. 2:6, 7) and microburins on the proximal (Fig. 2:105-110) and distal ends of blades (Fig. 2:111-119) are present. More or less similar quantity of both these kinds of microburins (which is typical for the Shpan culture on the whole) indicates so-called Mediterranean version of microburin technique [Nuzhnyi 1992:78-81]. The large group of "Krukowski's microburins" on pointed tips of oblique truncated (Fig. 2:93, 95-97) and backed points (Fig. 2: 94, 99, 102, 103) is found, too. A lot of these microburins contain also the previous microburin spalls (Fig. 2:93, 95-97). They are accompanied by so-called "pseudo-microburins" which have no retouched notch in the place of flat spall. These microburins were results of an accidental damage of above-mentioned microliths during the processing (Fig. 2:98, 100, 101) or even an imitation of sharp microburin spall on them (Fig. 2:104). The latter technological method in the form of so-called "pseudo-microburin" technique was wide spread also in steppe Mesolithic cultures of the Northern Crimea, Dnieper rapids and Don basin [Nuzhnyi 1992:76-87].

On the other hand, the Shpan microlithic assemblage of other alpine Balin-Kosh site, in the main one and includes large quantity of fragments of narrow and lengthened straight backed points (Fig. 1:38-74) and only single oblique truncated points manufactured in microburin technique (Fig. 1:35, 35). The microburins (Fig. 1:82-84) and other wastes of microburin technique: unfinished oblique truncated points (Fig. 1:75, 76, 78-80), pieces of blade broken on the notch (Fig. 1:77, 81) are not numerous in this assemblage, either. Only one pseudo-microburin was found (Fig. 1:82).

The specific asymmetrical triangles are practically absent in the assemblage of Balin-Kosh (Fig. 1:36, 37), but backed microliths broken by diagnostic impact fracture from use as projectile weapons are still numerous (Fig. 1:38, 39, 45, 46, 48-50, 52-54, 56, 57 etc). The sizes of tanged parts of these broken points (Fig. 1:39, 45, 46, 48-50) indicate of their usage as pointed arrow-heads in contrast to their morphology adapted to the forming lateral composite edges of slotted bone spear points [Nuzhnyi 1990:115-123].

The microliths typical for the Shpan culture are presented also in some mixed assemblages of the northern Black Sea coast, the Lower Dnieper valley and area of Dnieper rapids. For example both similar asymmetric triangles and backed points manufactured in the microburin technique are found in mixed assemblage of

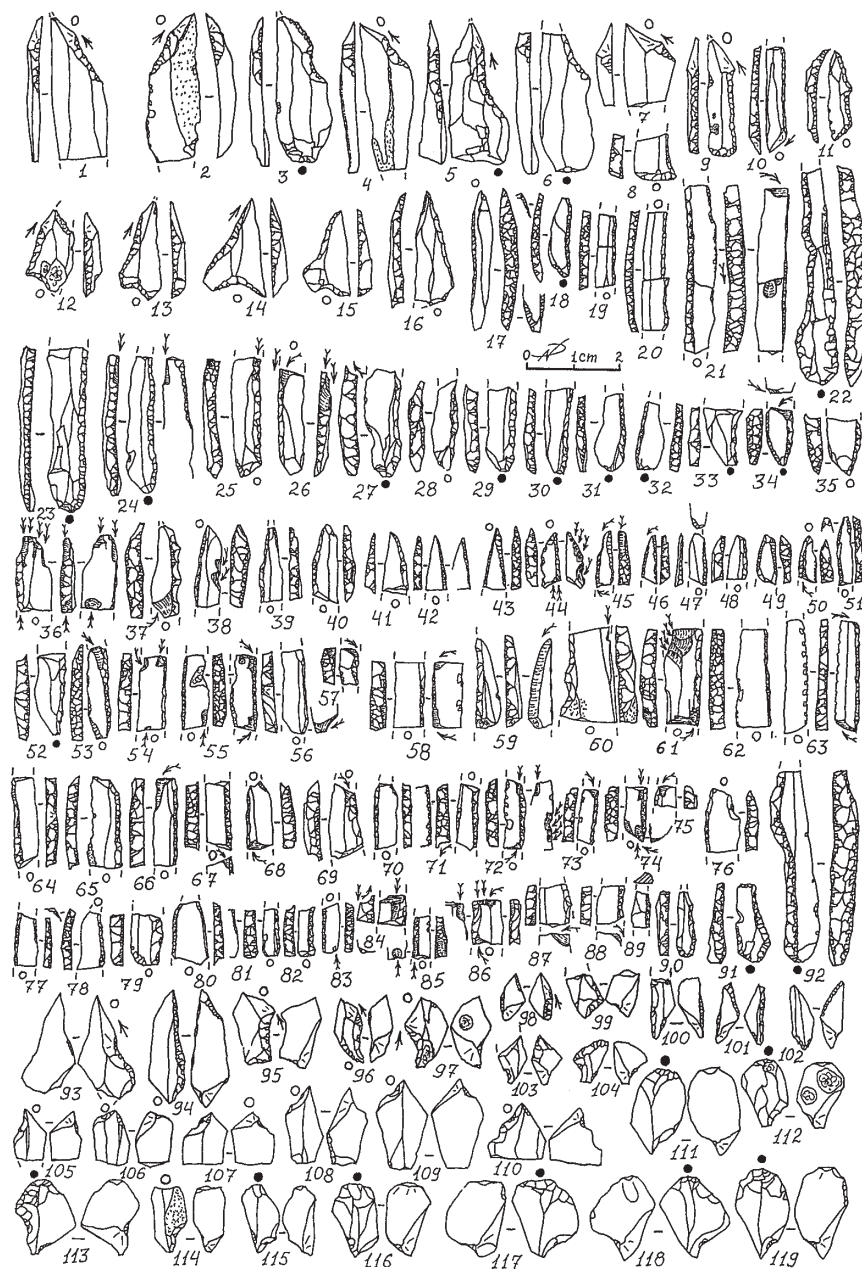


Fig. 2. The microlithic assemblages of the Shpan culture in the Crimea from Su-At III.

Vasilyevka-Progon site (Fig. 3:45-48) on the Lower Dnieper [Nuzhnyi 1992:Fig. 9]. The large body of backed points of this site (with the microburin spall included) are broken with the diagnostic impact fracture from the use as arrowheads, too (Fig. 3:46). The several oblique truncated points with the microburin spall and asymmetric triangle (Fig. 3:49-51) are also present in the lithic assemblages of other sites in region of Dnieper rapids (Vasilyevka-Nenasytets) and in the middle part of the Southern Bug river (Konetspol) [Telegin 1982:116, 120-121; Yanevich 1993:11].

Just the oblique truncated points with microburin spall of lengthened proportions (Fig. 3:46-68) and single backed points, as a component of the Shpan microlithic assemblage, remained in the lithic industries of the local Late Mesolithic and the Early Neolithic cultures of Kukrek tradition (viz. Igren 8, Popiv Mys, Klaguza Ravine, Terlyanska Krycha, Vovnigi-left bank site, Sobachki etc.). It is noticeable that at these sites we have practically no evidence of the usage of genuine microburin technique. Only one classic microburin is found (Fig. 3:44) at the Sobachki site in the same assemblage with a trapeze processed with the microburin technique (Fig. 3:43). The pseudo-microburins as a main sign of pseudo-microburin technique (technology of imitation of microliths with the flat microburin spall) are absent at these sites, too.

There is a reason to believe that such a phenomenon is connected with the different location and seasonality of the above-mentioned sites. For example in the same region we have an assemblage (Lokhanska 3) with the considerable quantity of pseudo-microburins (Fig. 3:37-40) and single waste of genuine microburin technique (Fig. 3:41) but without any oblique truncated points or geometric microliths with the microburin spall.

3. THE FINAL PALAEO-LITHIC AND MESOLITHIC GRAVES AND CEMETERIES OF THE SOUTHERN UKRAINE AND PROBLEM OF THEIR CULTURAL DEFINITION

Only two Mesolithic graves (double and single) were found in Crimea in the cave deposits of Murzak-Koba and Fatma-Koba rock shelters [Telegin 1982:202-203]. Both graves were defined at once as the Late Mesolithic objects connected with the so-called "Crimean tardenoisian" or the Murzak-Koba culture [Bonch-Osmolovskiy 1934:131, 162; Bibikov 1940:166-176]. The double grave of male and female buried on their backs in extended position was discovered under the stones of 3rd layer of Murzak-Koba culture. According to S.N. Bibikov [1940:11-147] this layer was homogeneous from geological and archaeological points of view and included only the Late Mesolithic assemblage of the Murzak-Koba culture. The single grave from Fatma-Koba was of male buried on the side in flexed position and covered by stones and the 3rd cultural layer of Murzak-Koba culture [Bibikov 1966:138-140].

Among the modern scientists the connection of both above-mentioned graves with the Murzak-Koba culture is common and only discussion about meaning of so

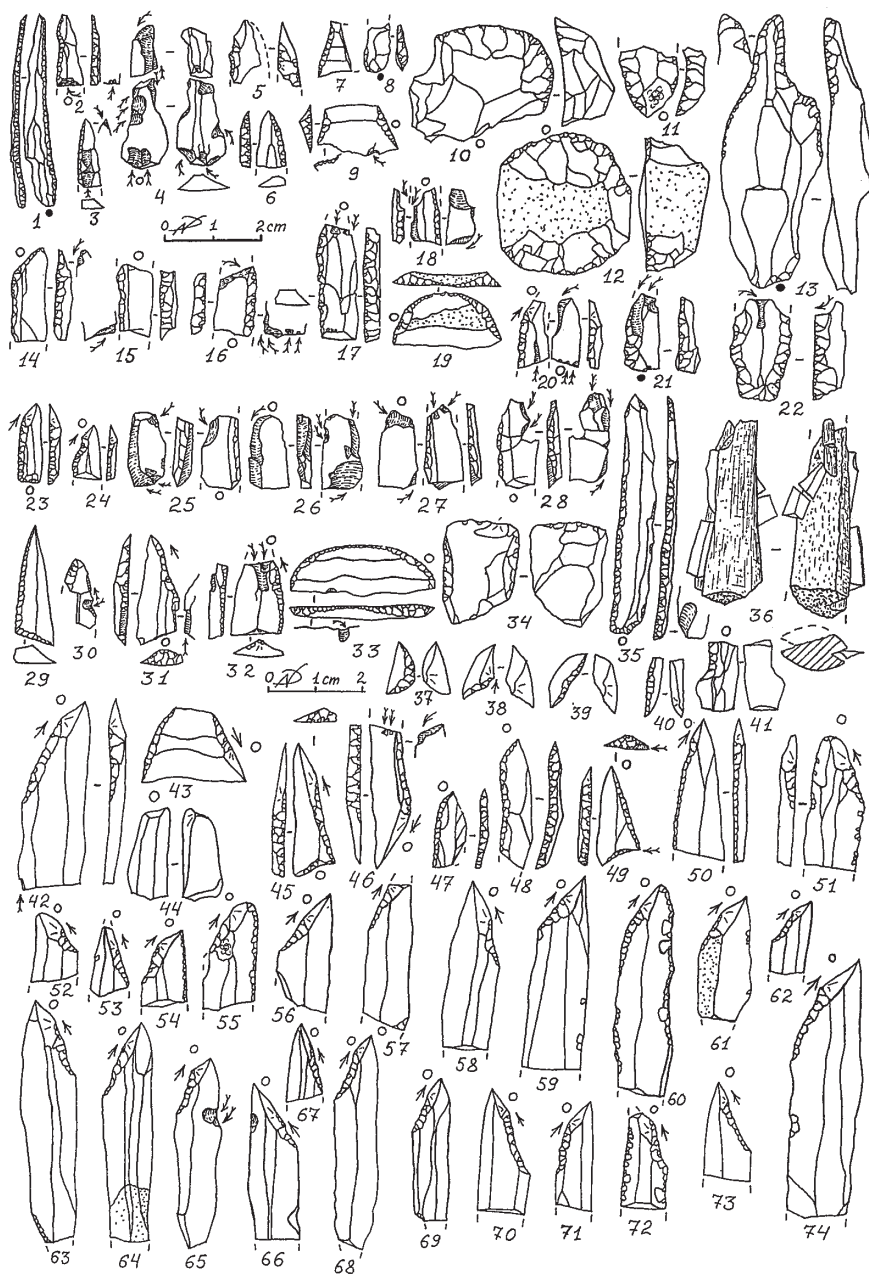


Fig. 3. The lithic assemblages of the Shpan culture from the Lower Dnieper and Rapids cemeteries and sites: Voloshkiy (1-13), Vasilyevka I (14-22), Vasilyevka 3 (23-36) and Chaplinskiy cemeteries (42); Lokhanska 3 site (37-41), Sobachki (43, 44, 52-59), Vasilyevka-Progon (45-48), Vasilyevka-Nenasytets (49-51), Klaguza Ravine (60-62), Terlyanska Krucha (63), Igren 8 (64-67), Popiv Mys (68-72) and Vovnigi-left bank site (73-74).

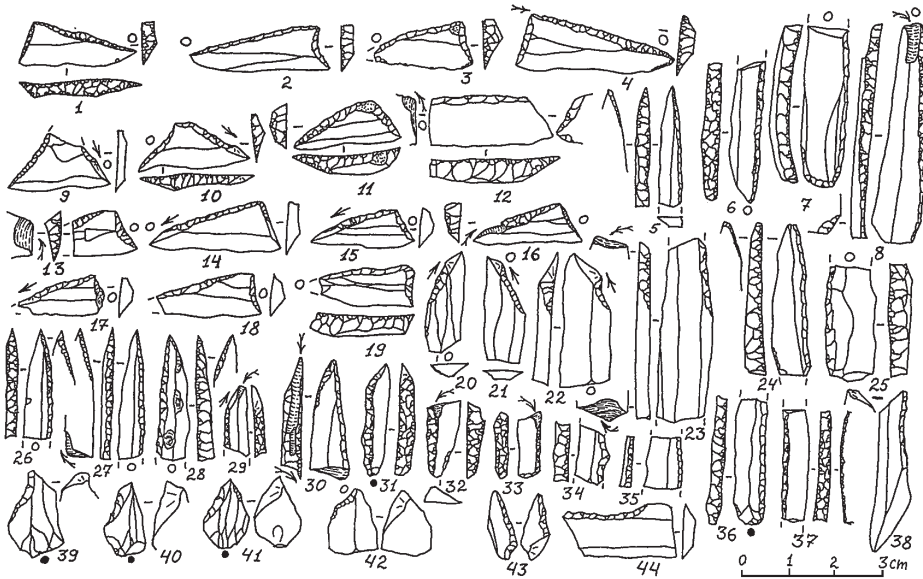


Fig. 4. The microlithic assemblages of the Shpan culture from 4-5 layers (1-3, 5) and mixed deposits (4, 6-8) of Fatma-Koba and 4 layer of Shan-Koba (9-44).

different grave rites of one culture takes place [Bibikov 1966:140; Telegin 1982:210-212]. However, after the last reexamination of the Murzak-Koba assemblage, the presence of materials of other cultures (typical Shan-Koba crescents and microburins, Swiderian tanged points and both Neolithic microliths and ceramic) in the main late Mesolithic assemblage of 3rd layer should be noticed [Nuzhnyi 1992:49].

The cultural definition and dating of the Final Palaeolithic and the Early Mesolithic cemeteries of the Dnieper rapids (Voloshskiy, Vasilyevka 1 and 3, Chaplinskiy) also are the object of scientific discussion. After the discovery of the Voloshskiy cemetery, first in this region, the oldest flexed graves of Vasilyevka were dated on the base of inventory and stratigraphical position by the Final Palaeolithic and the extended ones, by the Early Mesolithic [Danilenko 1955b:60-61]. However, A.D. Stolyar [1959:125-136] and V.A. Alekshin [1983:31] believe that the amorphous inventories of all these cemeteries have no analogies among lithic assemblages from the Ukraine and all cemeteries should be dated by the Late Mesolithic. According to the degree of skeletons flexing, the first author also proposed the following relative chronology for above-mentioned cemeteries: Vasilyevka I, Voloshskiy, Vasilyevka 3.

At the same time, S.A. Dvoryaninov [1978:10-13] regarded that Voloshskiy and Vasilyevka 3 flexed skeletons were connected with the local steppe Upper Palaeolithic assemblages. The extended burials of latter cemetery and graves of Vasilyevka I were left by the population of the late Mesolithic Kukrek culture and local Mesoli-

thic culture with geometric microliths of the Northern Black Sea coast accordingly. From the D.Y. Telegin's point of view [1982:212-214], the inventory and stratigraphical position of flexed graves of Voloshskiy, Vasilyevka 1 and 3 had analogies in the local Final Palaeolithic sites of the Lower Dnieper basin (Pidporizhnyi 2, layer 5a of Osokorovka I etc.).

The extended burials from Vasilyevka 3 had similar counterparts in the Late Mesolithic assemblages of Murzak-Koba culture in Crimea and the Kukrek culture of Dnieper rapids region. According to this scheme, the oldest cemetery was Voloshskiy. A later date had Vasilyevka 1 and flexed graves of Vasilyevka 3. The most recent were extended burials of Vasilyevka 3 [Telegin 1982:212-214]. The last detailed comparison of microlithic assemblages of above-mentioned cemeteries with the local Final Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites, in principle, confirmed this hypothesis [Nuzhnyi 1990:117-119].

However, the preliminary results of radiocarbon dating from two flexed and one extended burials of Vasilyevka 3 confirmed the Final Pleistocene age of them (10060 ± 150 ; 9980 ± 100 ; 10080 ± 100 B.P.) [Jacobs, Price 1998] and also the rightness of the latest chronological scheme in the part connected with the flexed graves. The certain surprise was only the same age of flexed and extended graves. The latter were dated before the Late Mesolithic. The main problem of cultural definition of cemeteries was connected with the specific character of their so-called "burial inventory" (viz. different projectile points) which were reasons of human death. As it has been noted by S. Dvoryaninov [1978:11], these points probably belonged to the population of other culture than killed and buried humans.

The first cemetery discovered in region of the Lower Dnieper valley and excavated by A.V. Bodyanskiy and V.N. Danilenko [1955b:56-61] was Voloshskiy cemetery situated on the third rapid. This cemetery contained many flexed burials of humans injured by microgravettian points (Fig. 3:1-3, 5, 6, 8) and some extended ones accompanied by symmetrical trapezes (Fig. 3:9). The microliths of the first group were covered by blue patina contrary to the second ones which were not. Both kinds of burials were deposited in loess-lake Final Pleistocene clay without any traces of grave pits. However, the flexed skeletons as a whole had deeper stratigraphical position [Danilenko 1955b:56]. Within the cemetery among the graves a marine shell *Nassa sp.* from the Black Sea coast, two end scrapers on the flakes (Fig. 3:10, 12), a base part of point retouched on both sides (Fig. 3:11), a perforator (Fig. 3:13), a blade and a flake were also found. All these lithics were covered by blue patina, too.

The morphological features of both microliths and tools covered by patina from the Voloshskiy cemetery are typical for the local Upper Palaeolithic assemblages of steppe zone connected with the Epigravettian tradition. The geometric microliths from that group of cemeteries are similar to the ones from the local Mesolithic assemblages of steppe area dated to the Boreal period (e.g. Grebeniki or Donets cultures) [Telegin 1982:92-98, 179-185; Stanko 1982:109-117]. Among them different more or less symmetrical trapezes of low proportions and simple outlines constitute a basic part of microlithic assemblages [Nuzhnyi 1992:51-54].

The second cemetery discovered by A.V. Bodyanskiy and excavated by A.D. Stolyar was Vasilyevka 1, which was situated on the 5th Dnieper's rapid "Nenasytets", the most powerful in the region [Stolyar 1959:78-165]. The cemetery contained only flexed burials deposited in loess-lake Final Pleistocene clay without any traces of grave pits, too. Among the buried humans were also two killed persons injured by more massive kinds of backed lanceolate points (Fig. 3:14-18). Within the cemetery and in its destroyed part similar backed points made in microburin technique with the projectile impact fractures (Fig. 3:20, 21), one crescent (Fig. 3:19) and a base part of massive point retouched on both sides (Fig. 3:22) were found. The latter was broken by the projectile impact fracture, too.

As it was noted above, the massive backed points both processed with the microburin technique and intensively used as arrowheads are typical signs of the Shpan culture. The crescent has the closest analogies among the microlithic industries of the Shan-Koba culture in region of the Crimean Mountains or in the assemblage of Belolesye, a single site of latter culture in steppe area on the north-western Black Sea coast. Afore-mentioned culture is dated by the Final stages of Pleistocene from Allerød to Preboreal period [Zaliznyak, Yanevich 1987:11].

The richest cemetery at Vasilyevka 3 situated near above described graveyard was discovered by A.V. Bodyanskiy and excavated by D.J. Telegin [1982:208]. The cemetery contained both flexed and extended burials which had no traces of grave pits in loess-like clay. However, the first graves were deposited deeper than the second ones. Both kinds of burials were dated with the radiocarbon method by the Dryas III [Jacobs, Price 1998] and a lot of them had the humans killed with the microlithic projectile weapons, too.

The humans from flexed burials were injured by backed lanceolate points (Fig. 3:23-28) of practically identical form as were found in Vasilyevka I cemetery. These points had projectile impact fractures and were processed in microburin technique, too (Fig. 3:23, 24). One backed point has also retouched base (Fig. 3:23). The points from extended burials were slightly different and had a form of asymmetrical triangles (Fig. 3:29-32). However, the latter as a whole are only some changed type of backed microgravettian points with retouched base which was better adapted for intensive use as arrowheads of pointed type [Nuzhnyi 1989:94].

In one case the base part of such a triangle was processed with bipolar retouch (Fig. 3:31). For manufacturing many microliths the microburin technique was used, too (Fig. 3:31, 32). Practically all microliths were used as arrowheads and had projectile impact fracture (Fig. 3:30-32). Both above-mentioned signs are typical for backed points and asymmetrical triangles of the Shpan culture in Crimea and some of them are present at the sites of the Lower Dnieper region, too (Fig. 3:39, 40, 43). The back bone of one extended skeleton was pierced by the piece of bone slotted spearpoint with the lateral microblade insets. This kind of weapon is well-known among practically all Mesolithic cultures of the steppe zone of the Ukraine (Grebentki, Kukrek, Donetsk etc.) since the Early Holocene.

Among the burials in the area of the cemetery low crescent (Fig. 3:33), long microgravettian point with retouched base (Fig. 3:35) and "piece esquillee" (Fig.

3: 34) were also found. The latter kind of lithic tool is very typical for many local Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic assemblages of the Ukrainian steppe zone. As it has been noted above the closest analogies of low crescent are in assemblages of the Shan-Koba culture in Crimea.

The last Mesolithic cemetery at Chaplinskiy was discovered and excavated by A.V. Bodyanskiy and A.V. Dobrovolskiy and situated above the first Dnieper rapid [Telegin 1982:203-304]. The cemetery contained four or five badly preserved and flexed Mesolithic graves and ten or nine extended skeletons of the Neolithic and Eneolithic time which were situated in the sand deposits. The first group of graves as a whole had deeper stratigraphical position than the second one. Also was noted a case of destruction of a Mesolithic skeleton by a Neolithic burial. In the area of the cemetery among the graves an oblique truncated point with microburin spall (Fig. 3:42) was found. Near the extended grave also the trapeze processed with flat retouch was discovered. The first kind of microlith has clear analogies both in assemblages of the Shpan (Fig. 1:15, 16, 34, 35; 2:1-5, 7) and Kukrek (Fig. 3:50-74) cultures of Crimea and Dnieper rapids. The second one is very typical for the local steppe Late Neolithic and Eneolithic sites and cemeteries.

4. CONCLUSION

The ecological and landscape stability of steppe region both in the Final Pleistocene and the Early Holocene admitted the successive development of local Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures based on collective drive hunting of large gregarious game adapted to conditions of an open terrain. Just to such an economic strategy assemblage of projectile weaponry of Final Palaeolithic steppe hunters based on the local Epigravettian technological tradition was adapted. The main mean of this was connected with the joining of the ancient Aurignacian tradition of wide usage of bone composite spearpoints with the younger Gravettian technology of vertical fixing of backed microliths with resin [Nuzhnyi 1992:165-167].

The different kinds of microgravettian points and rectangles (manufactured of the small blades or microbalades) were used by the steppe Upper Palaeolithic hunters first of all as lateral edges in the composite slotted bone spearpoints. The latter (as a base of so-called "steppe projectile assemblage") perhaps were well adapted for collective mass drive hunting. According to the projectile impact damage the backed microgravettian points only sometimes were used by steppe hunters as pointed arrowheads with bow [Nuzhnyi 1990:122-123].

The similar hunting strategy and technological tradition of an intensive usage of bone slotted composite spearpoints with atlatl has been continued during the Mesolithic time in practically the same landscape conditions of the Holocene steppe. In the purest form we can see this process in the clear steppe cultures of the Kukrek

tradition which were connected with the further development of local Final Palaeolithic industries [Stanko 1982:114-117; Telegin 1982:117-127; Nuzhnyi, Yanevich 1987:40-41]. The microlithic assemblages of these cultures are formed by backed and truncated microblades while the geometric microliths (as a good indicator of bow and arrow usage) were well spread here only in the final Kukrek [Yanevich 1987a:14-16].

Even microlithic assemblages of the steppe Late Mesolithic cultures based on quite different technological tradition of wide usage of trapeze microliths (Gribeniki, Donetsk, etc.) were distinguished in more closed territory of the Northern Ukraine or the Crimean Mountains (Janislawice, Pesochnyy Rov, Murzak-Koba cultures). In all cases the microlithic assemblages of steppe cultures had more simple typological structure which reflected the simpler and poorer construction of their arrowheads [Nuzhnyi 1992:49-65].

At the same time microlithic assemblages of the steppe Epigravettian hunters (e.g. Vishnenoe culture) migrated into closed territory of the Crimean Mountains during the Final Pleistocene [Yanevich 1992:30] and became gradually more and more changed. This process was carried out in direction of "geometrization" of straight backed and lanceolate points. They received a final form of low symmetrical crescents which were typical for the Shan-Koba culture. The new form of geometrized backed points was adapted to their different usage as pointed arrowheads and lateral barbs. The first composite arrowheads were more intended for an increased role of individual bow hunting in closed conditions of the mountains. However, the morphology of large body of Shan-Koba microliths (according to the data of experiments and projectile damage) was not suitable for transversal arrowheads. It was that kind of arrowhead that was the most efficient in "blood tracks hunting" with dogs in the conditions of forest or bush terrain [Nuzhnyi 1990:117; 1992:109].

The next wave of steppe migrants into the Crimean Mountains was connected with the population of the Shpan culture and took place during the Dryas III or the Preboreal. But the process of transformation of above-mentioned "steppe projectile assemblages" and their adaptation to new methods of hunting (as a result of the harsh and global climatic changes) was carried out very quickly and probably more dramatically. According to the projectile impact fractures the hunters of this culture were forced to use narrow microgravettian points as arrowheads practically without any change of their morphology. To judge from numerous damaged specimens and data of experiments they absolutely were not adapted to such a new function.

At first the steppe Epigravettian or Pre-Shpan population probably occupied the alpine meadows which had similar landscape conditions as their native terrain. In this area we have assemblages with the numerous narrow microgravettian points but practically without oblique truncated points with microburin spall and specific asymmetrical triangles (e.g. Balin-Kosh). The latter were transformed from the microgravettian points later as a result of prolonged influence of new projectile function of pointed arrowheads. Oblique truncated points, the most simple kind of pointed arrowhead which could be manufactured from the blade with the abrupt retouch technology had the same function.

The invention of both afore-mentioned kinds of microliths fixed the direct appearance of the Shpan culture in the Preboreal which with the new assemblage of projectile weapons (adapted for new ecological condition) could already have been spread in an area of mountainous forests. The developed microburin technique (well intended for quick processing of oblique truncated edges) perhaps occurred later as a result of influence of assimilated population of the Shan-Koba culture. In the layers of cave sites (Shan-Koba and Fatma-Koba) the materials of the Shpan culture are accompanied by asymmetrical crescents and even triangles (smaller sizes than Shan-Koba ones) processed often with the microburin technique (Fig. 4:9-11). The asymmetric triangles of the Shpan culture probably were base prototypes of microlithic assemblage of the Late Mesolithic Murzak-Koba culture.

As a whole, the afore-described process of transformation of “steppe projectile assemblage” based on Epigravettian technology had the same direction in the valleys forest or bush conditions of steppe rivers, too. In the Mesolithic assemblages of Lower Dnieper and rapids both specific asymmetrical triangles and especially oblique truncated points with the microburin spall and without retouched base were wide used. However, the latter had lengthy proportions and were manufactured in the pseudo-microburin technique. According to the materials of the Final Pleistocene cemeteries in the region of Dnieper rapids as in the Shpan culture of the Crimean Mountains two stages of such transformation took place.

The first one was connected with a “faint geometrization” of backed microgravettian points as a result of an intensive use in new function of pointed arrowheads (Vasilyevka 1 and flexed graves of Vasilyevka 3). The second stage was started with invention of oblique truncation and wide use of microburin technology when the asymmetrical geometric and oblique truncated points (more adapted to the same function of pointed arrowhead) were in use (Chaplinskiy, extended graves of Vasilyevka 1).

The spread of forests in Eastern Europe during the Early Holocene stipulated also as much as three waves of direct migration or infiltration of steppe Epigravettian population in a forest zone of the northern Ukraine. The first one took place immediately after the Pleistocene and was connected with the forming of the Kudlayevka culture in the Middle Dnieper basin. The microlithic assemblage of it, based on backed microliths, was very easily and weakly adapted to be used in the arrows (the main projectile hunting weapons of closed landscapes). It is notable that microlithic assemblages of related Komornica culture situated more to the west in Poland and the western Ukraine is as a whole more “geometrized” and suitable for that [Zaliznyak 1991:23-27].

The second wave of migration of steppe population, perhaps, took place from the Late Boreal and stipulated the forming of the Janisławice culture in the North-Western Ukraine. In this case the more eastern and southern sites had some differences in their microlithic assemblages than western and northern ones situated in Poland, Belorussia and Lithuania. As in the case of the Komornica culture, the western assemblages of Janisławice are as a whole more “geometrized”, too. For instance the typical oblique truncated points with microburin spall (or Janisławice

points) of this culture have usually retouched base and a form of asymmetric triangles and trapezes.

The south-eastern Janisławice sites on the contrary contain mainly these points without retouched base as are present in steppe assemblages of the Northern Crimea, regions of Dnieper rapids and Don [Zaliznyak 1991:39-41]. However, from the L. Zaliznyak's point of view, these points in steppe assemblages were only results of some influence of the Janisławice culture. This hypothesis is doubtful as far as we have the Preboreal carbon date of the Shpan culture in Crimea and Boreal ones of the Kukrek culture in Dnieper rapids.

The last, third wave of direct migration or infiltration of steppe population both in forest zone of the Northern Ukraine and the Crimean Mountains took place in the Middle and the Early Atlantic accordingly. It was connected with the spread of cultures of Kukrek tradition and also with the process of "Neolithization" of local Mesolithic cultures [Danilenko 1969:9-45; Zaliznyak 1991:25-44; Yanevich 1987a:13-17].

The initial areas of the most ancient Neolithic cultures of the Ukraine and adjoining regions of southern Russia (Bug-Dniester, Surska-Dnieper, Azov etc.) were located in steppe zone but only in the valleys of large rivers [Danilenko 1969:216-217]. The population of these cultures as early as in the Early Atlantic had some agricultural elements in economy (viz. cattle and less sheep breeding), certain sedentary residence mobility and ceramic production. However, since hunting (steppe species included) and fishing were still the main branches of their economy so weaponry and lithic assemblage were based on the local Kukrek steppe tradition [Danilenko 1969:176-183].

Probably, the neighbouring population which occupied more open areas of steppe zone limited by large river valleys and still continued the traditional model of steppe economy in purer form was the main source of above-mentioned migrations. This population had some knowledge about both multibranch and agricultural models of economy but used it only sometimes. The activation of multibranch "Mesolithic" or agricultural "Neolithic" models of economy took place during the seasons unsuccessful for collective mass drive hunting large herd hoofed game. The absence of large valleys on the considerable space of this zone (or other terrains with high diversity of food resources which could be sufficient for afore-mentioned models of economy) was the main cause of periodical increased mobility of last steppe hunters. The spread of a new agricultural model of economy among the population over the limits of steppe zone perhaps was a result of these migrations, too.

There is every reason to believe that in the East European Mesolithic two main areas with principally different economical strategies existed. The first was connected with the continuation of "Upper Palaeolithic" collective or specialised mass drive hunting which took place mainly in the open steppe landscapes. The second had the more individual or multibranch "Mesolithic" form. The latter was carried out in more closed forest and mountainous terrains. The mobile steppe population with the first kind of "traditional" economy during the unsuccessful seasons was

periodically spread over “more stable” closed landscapes. It was the main source for both intensified inter-cultural contacts and transferring new technical and economic ideas into this part of Europe.

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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