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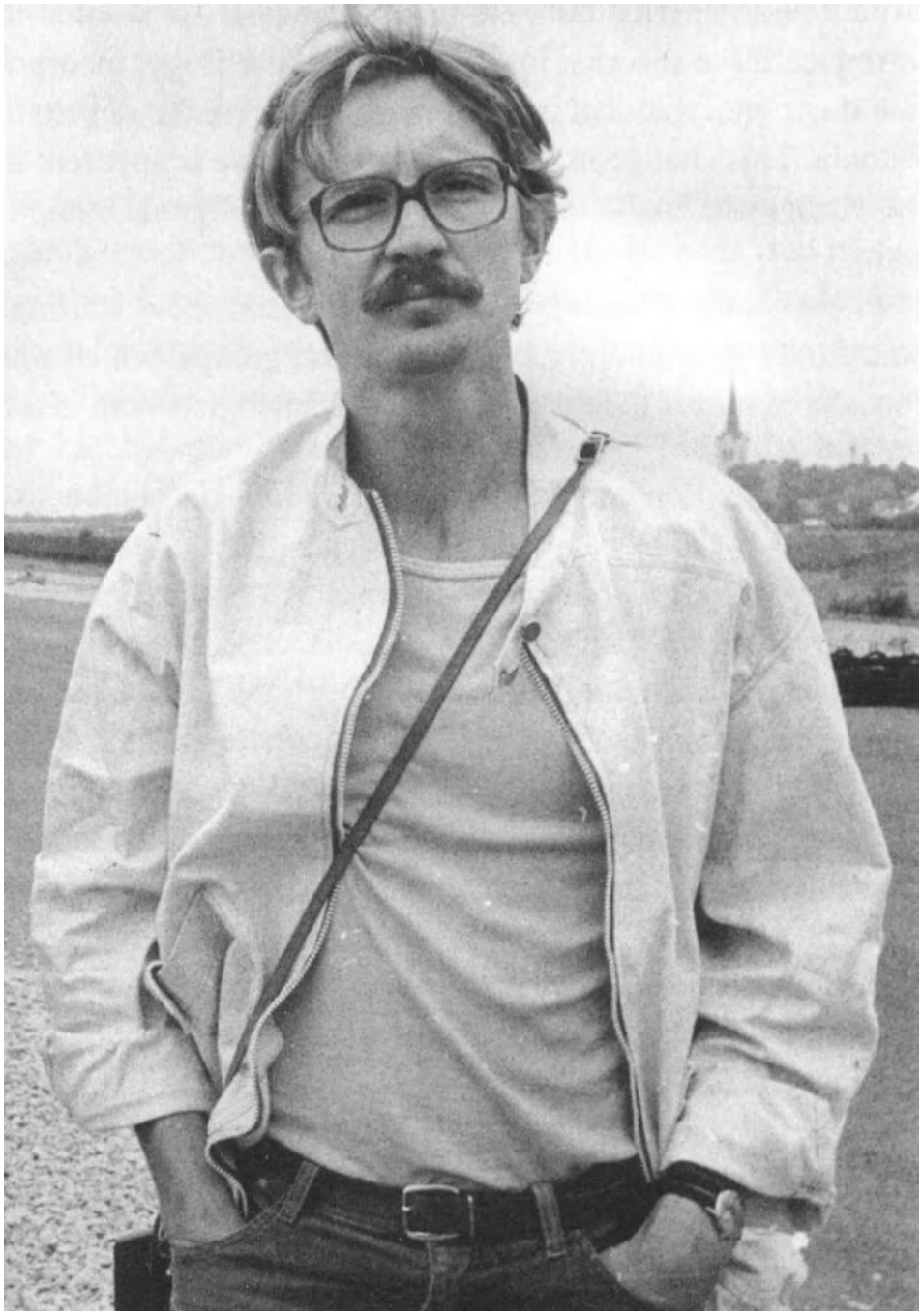

In Memoriam Priit Ligi (24 May 1958 — 28 September 1994)

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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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Pavel M. Dolukhanov

THE NEOLITHIC WITH A HUMAN FACE OR DIVIDING LINES IN NEOLITHIC EUROPE?

Apparently, the time may be established with great precision when Europe became split up into two fundamentally distinct parts. That may have happened between 8,000 and 6,000 BP uncal., during the Holocene Climatic Optimum, otherwise known the Atlantic period or Althitermal. By that time Europe had been populated by the groups of early modern humans for at least 40,000 years ago and remained basically uniform both culturally and economically. Local distinctions acknowledgeable in the material culture and strategies of subsistence in the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic were of a secondary importance, all basic types of social behaviour and spiritual life being essentially similar from the Atlantic Europe to the Urals [Dolukhanov 1997]. Only at the time of climatic optimum a considerable part of south-eastern and central Europe became rapidly covered by the sites of 'agricultural Neolithic'. At the same time, the remaining part of Europe, in the East and North-East, remained the area of 'forest Neolithic', where the use of pottery and minor innovations in the sphere of culture did not alter the subsistence solidly based on food-gathering strategies, essentially similar to those of the preceding Mesolithic.

Division of Europe into two major Neolithic areas is explicitly shown on several maps, starting with that of S. Piggot [1965] and ending up with one recently published by M. Zvelebil [1994] (Fig. 1). If one scrutinise these maps attentively one cannot escape the feeling that the dividing line between the Neolithic areas is strikingly similar to that of the eastern frontier of the NATO after its latest expansion. The question arises whether this boundary forms a natural line of divide in Europe, which sources go down to the Neolithic? Does Archaeology provide additional arguments for the claims such as: "The newly independent Central European states, particularly Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia consider themselves *part of the West*; they categorically refuse to be relegated to a Russian sphere of influence or to a no-man's land between Western Europe and Russia... They are *morally and politically partners of the West*, seeking membership in the European Union for their economic well-being and in the Atlantic Alliance for their security" [Peter Rodman in the *Washington Post*, 13 December 1994, p. A27].

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the reality of the line of divide in the European Neolithic. The core of the problem consists, first, in the understanding

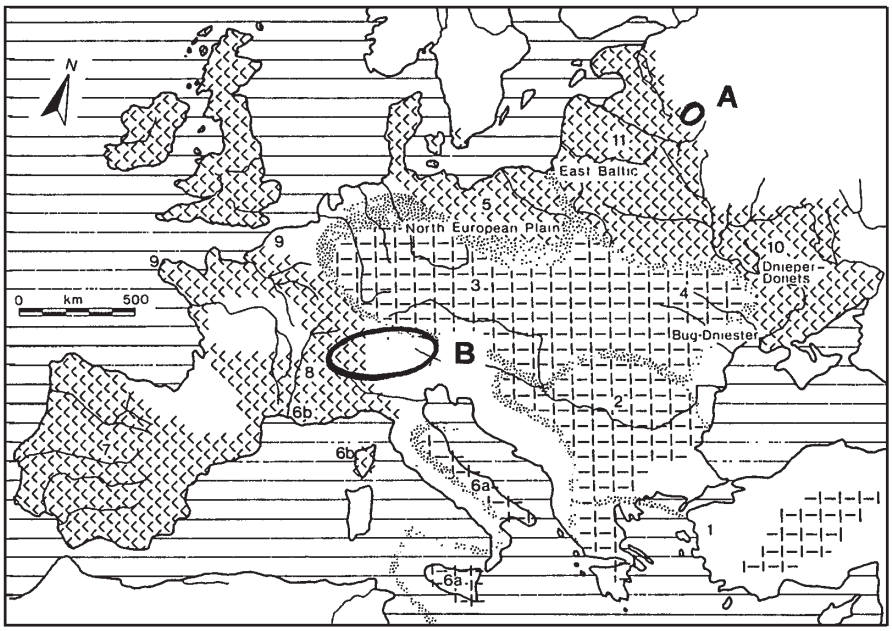


Fig. 1. Major frontiers and Neolithic cultures in Europe [after Zvelebil 1994].
A - Western Dvina; B - Alpine foreland; 1 - Early Neolithic of Anatolia and Greece; 2 - Starčevo-Criş; 3 - Linear Pottery; 4 - Cucuteni-Tripolye; 5 - Funnel Beakers; 6 a,b - Impressed Wares; 7 - Iberian Neolithic; 8 - Chassey and Cortaillod; 9 - Neolithic of Atlantic coastal area and Britain; 10 - Dnieper-Donets; 11 - Corded Ware.

of Neolithic as a socio-cultural phenomenon, and secondly, in the assessment of possible scenarios of Neolithization.

Let us start with the traditional view which sees the Neolithization as the spread of farming economies substituting the hunter-gathering which remained hitherto an only viable strategy of food-quest in Europe. There exist substantial differences of opinion even within this paradigm, particularly regarding the concrete details of Neolithic replacement. Nonetheless one may note a remarkable consensus in the acknowledgement of the fundamental distinction between the world of farmers and that of later hunter-gatherers. This distinction was highlighted in then most spectacular form by Ian Hodder [1990] as that between 'domus' and 'agros', timed and wild.

Models of agricultural expansion are deeply rooted in the processualist thought; they obviously find historical foundations in the recorded evidence of a comparatively recent colonisation of temperate forests by agricultural groups: those of northern Finland (in the 1500s) and Upper Canada (in the 1700s). 'Colonisation' or 'frontiering' are the terms which are usually used as synonyms for movement of population [Alexander 1978; Green, Perlman 1985]. Agriculture in this model is vie-

wed as subsistence strategies regulating the flow of food resources into the cultural system by means of the replacement of slow-growing communities with fast-growing ones, in accordance with the principle of 'least possible effort and risk'.

The model of colonisation as an equivalent to a direct migration is omnipresent in the works of Gordon Childe [1958]. In more recent times this took a form of a 'demic expansion' or the 'wave of advance' [Ammerman, Cavalli-Sforza 1973]. An alternative concept, which is slowly becoming popular, is that of diffusion [Dennell 1985] or, in the latest version, of a *reticulate* process [Moor 1994b]: creation of cultural, linguistic and biological units resulting from intermarriage, assimilation and borrowing. M. Zvelebil and P.A. Rowley-Conwy [1984] have suggested an intermediate model, which envisaged a gradual transition from foraging to farming and includes an 'availability phase' during which farming is known but not adopted by the groups of hunter-gatherers, while intensive exchanges in 'materials and information' take place between two 'culturally and economically' independent types of society.

Stemming from these theoretical foundations we may now embark on the analysis of two case studies, both related to the Neolithic development but in two different areas of Europe. The first area focuses on the Upper Western Dvina catchment, lying in the middle of non-agricultural Neolithic. The second case study centres on the Alpine foreland, in the heart of agricultural Neolithic Europe.

1. THE WESTERN DVINA

According to the available pollen and radiocarbon data, the climatic optimum (Atlantic period) in that area took the form of at least two warm maxima: 7500±200 uncal BP (6400-6200 BC) (AT-1) and 5000±200 (AT-3) uncal BP (3940-3870 BC) [Khotinsky, *et al.* 1991]. Investigations carried out in the Upper Western Dvina catchment [Dolukhanov, *et al.* 1989] indicated a pronounced cool interval (AT-2) which separated the two peaks in thermophilous plants. This cool interval lasted *ca.* 6,200-6,000 uncal BP (Fig. 2), and featured a reduction in thermophilous trees reflecting a drop of mean annual temperature, which yet remained above the present-day values.

During the Late Atlantic climatic optimum (6,000-4,600/4,500 uncal BP; 5300--4700 BC), mixed broad-leaved woodlands with oak, elk, lime and alder reached their maximum expansion. Computer simulations indicate that the mean annual temperature at that stage exceeded the present-day values by 2°C, with the rainfall being similar to that of today [Khotinsky, *et al.* 1991] . The subsequent Early Subboreal stage (4,600/4,500-4,200 uncal BP; 3000-2600 BC) marked a considerable decline in temperature and a large-scale reduction in broad-leaved forests.

The Usvyatian group of sites located in the upper stretches of the Western Dvina and Lovat river catchments, had been thoroughly studied by Miklyaev and

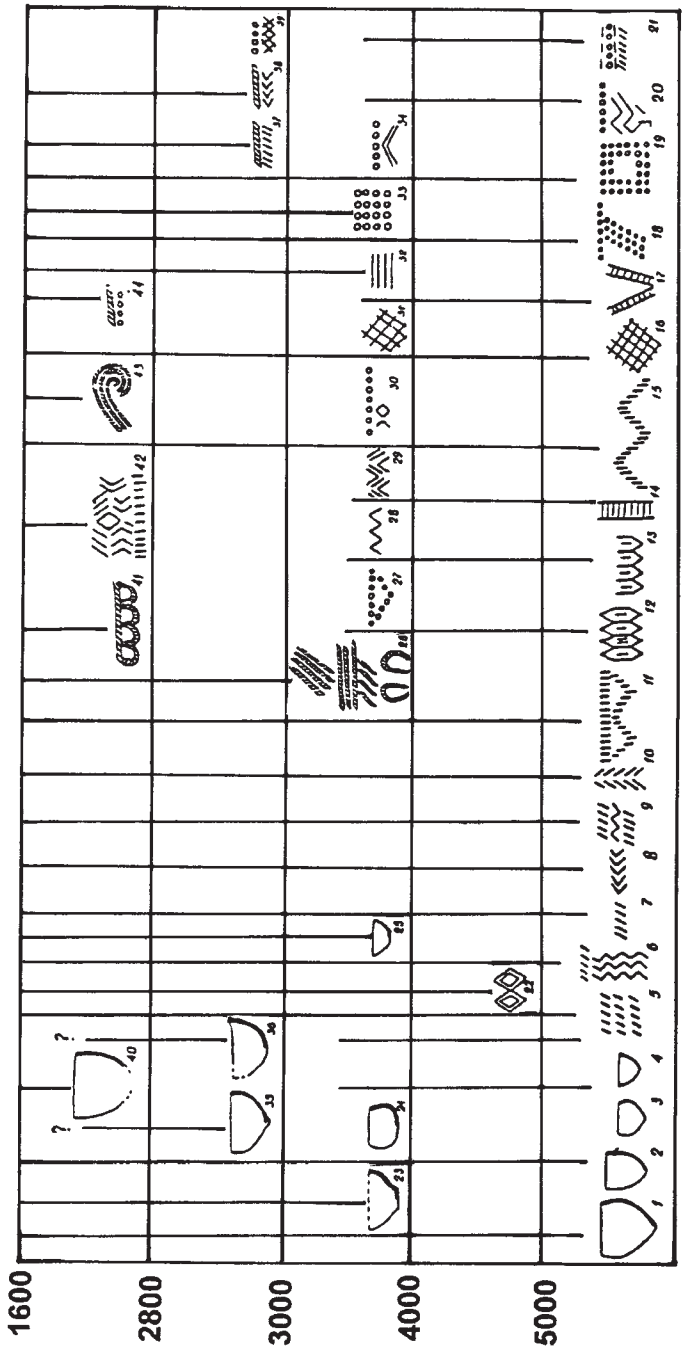


Fig. 2. Usvyatian sites. Evolution of pottery styles.

his associates [Miklyaev 1995]. The area, originally part of a huge ice-dammed lake, was abundantly rich in diversified wild-life resources. It became attractive to the groups of Epi-Palaeolithic hunters at the time of Younger Dryas (11-10 Kyr) and remained an arena of intensive settlement ever since.

Large-scale pottery-making in that area, likewise in other parts of the boreal North-Eastern Europe, started at around 6.4-6.2 Kyr ago (5500-5000 BC). The sites were usually located near large and shallow lakes — the residue of huge ice--dammed basins of the Last Ice Age, at the junction of end-morainic heights and sandy fluvioglacial plains. The faunal remains — practically identical at all the sites — included elk (which predominates), wild boar, red deer, brown bear, as well as waterfowl. Among the numerous fish remains, pike, perch, salmon and catfish were the most common. No less that 30 edible plants were identified in the archaeological deposits, among which chestnut and, especially, water chestnut were particularly numerous. One should note in that respect that water chestnut (*Trapa natans*) is an amphibious plant recently widely distributed in warm temperate Eurasia. Its fruits are rich in protein, fat and minerals. According to historic records, loafs baked from its flour were in use in ancient Egypt and Thrace. Presently water chestnut forms staple food in continental Asia, Malaysia and India and used especially in Chinese dishes. Fruits are also used in the preparation of liniments to treat elephantiasis, pestilent fevers, rheumatism, sores, sunburn and skin complaints. Used also as food for pigs and other livestock in Southeast Asia [Vankina 1970].

At about 5.2 Kyr or 4000 BC a new type of settlement emerged: pile dwellings located in the coastal areas of shallow lakes. This tradition was in place in the Upper Dvina area for no less that two millennia, and disappeared only after a prolonged catastrophic flooding which hit the area 3.6-3.5 Kyr ago (2000-1800 BC).

Basing on the analyses of the ceramics (the technology, shapes of the vessels and ornamental patterns) as well as other groups of material culture A.M. Miklyaev [1995] has identified several cultural stages in the local sequence. The earliest group (the Serteya, 6.4-6.2 Kyr; 5500-5000 BC) featuring thick-walled conic-shaped vessels and had no direct analogies in the neighbouring areas. Both the ceramics and bone--and-antler industry of the next cultural stage, the Rudnya (6.2-5.5 Kyr; 5000-4000 BC), were basically similar to the Narvian, a cultural tradition widely spread in the North-Eastern Peribaltic.

The next cultural stage is referred as 'Usvyatian' (5.2-4.0 Kyr; 4000-2500 BC). The pottery featured different ornamental patterns, some of which may be seen as derivatives of Funnel Beaker traditions. After a short-lived transitional stage, a new cultural tradition became established in the area; the North-Belorussian, which is seen as a local variant of the Corded Ware (4.0-3.6 Kyr; 2500-1900 BC). Substantial changes are observable not only in the new types of ceramics (Fig. 2), but also in the stone inventory and, particularly, in a nearly total disappearance of bone--and-antler industry. The faunal assemblage of pile-dwellings of North-Belorussian culture contain the bones of domesticates: sheep, goat, pig and cattle, yet their total number never exceeded 14% [Dolukhanov, Miklyaev 1986].

More than 100 Neolithic and Bronze Age lake settlements are known to exist in the Alpine zone of Europe: in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, Austria and Slovenia. They started appearing 4200-4000 BC and disappeared by 1500 BC. An increased intensity in pile-dwelling construction on the Boden Lake occurred between 3586 and 3500 BC [Schlichtherle, Wahlster 1986].

The time of the existence of pile-dwellings corresponded to the climatic optimum. According to M. Rösch [1983], thermophilous tree plants (ash, and alder) started spreading in the area at 8500 BP, beech appearing at about 7300 BP. Likewise in the North-Eastern Europe, a prolonged cool episode at 6200 BP (ca 5000 BC).

It is generally acknowledged that Neolithic lake dwellers in the Alpine foreland were essentially farmers and stock-breeders. Yet a considerable part of the faunal remains reported from these sides belonged to wild species. At the Swiss and German sites red deer was the most common, followed by brown bear and wild boar. The predominance of wild species was still greater at the sites of the French Jura [Petrequin, Petrequin 1988]. In the case of Lubljansko Barje region in Slovenia, 74% of the total amount of bones belonged to wild animals, with a prevalence of red deer (*Cervus elaphus* — 53%); brown bear (*Ursus arctos arctos*) — 11% and elk (*Alces alces*) — 8%. The prevailing domestic animals were cattle (*Bos taurus*) — 14%, with a small proportion of sheep (*Ovis aries*) — 7%. Pollen analyses shows that the immediate environment was dominated by fir and beech forests [Budja 1997]. The sites (Reshnikov kanal and Maharski prekop) are located within the lake basins, currently drained by small channels. Stratigraphic data suggest several changes in the lake-levels during the Holocene.

The geographical location of Alpine lake dwellings suggest a great importance of fishing. This was confirmed by the numerous finds of fish bones (pike being the most common) combined with frequent occurrences of harpoons, hooks and various fishing devices. The plant remains identified in the deposits of lake dwellings show a predominance of domesticates: wheat (belonging to two species: *Triticum monococcum* L. and *T. dicoccum* Sch), barley, millet. At the same time, one notes a considerable presence of wild edible plants: hazel-nut, beech, strawberry, rose, blackberry, wild pear, lime, and carnelian cherry (whose seeds constitute strata of notable thickness). It is highly significant, that like in the Upper Dvina catchment, dwellings in the Alpine area were usually located on the ancient lacustrine deposits. It is still more important that very often the area within an immediate vicinity of the sites was totally unsuitable for agriculture. H. Schlichtherle and B. Wahlster [1986:86] note the arable land in the Boden Lake area are usually found at the distance of up to 1 km from the dwelling site; often high in the mountains, or on the opposite shore of the lake.

Basing predominantly on the pottery styles, several cultural groupings are distinguishable in the sequences of Alpine pile-dwellings. In the area of Boden Lake, several cultures were identified, which age was calculated on the base of dendro-

chronological measurements: Aichbühl: 4200-4000 BC; Hornstaad : 4000 BC; Pfyn: 3843-3500 BC; Horgen: 3333-2863 BC; Corded Ware: 2690-2500 BC, as well as Early and Middle Bronze Age cultural units which lasted until ca 1500 BC.

Summing up the evidence for the two areas, one may conclude that cultural phenomena fairly similar in several respects had independently developed at the same time in two parts of Europe, both in the so-called agricultural and non-agricultural Neolithic areas (Table 1). One notes particularly remarkable similarities in the general environmental setting and in the technique of house-building. In both cases this technique included an enormous quantity of pointed posts thrust into the lacustrine silt, forming the foundation of platforms on which various structures were erected. In the both areas the settlements were occupied all year round. The living structures were often refurbished, rebuilt, moved to a higher elevation following a rise of lake-level; on several occasions major fires could be recognised. The dwellings were often surrounded by fences and palisades.

Yet in the majority of cases the pile-dwellings emerged in a different cultural environment: their inhabitants were interacting with distinct social and cultural groups. The only exception form the levels of Corded Ware, acknowledgeable in the both cases. This observation needs further elaboration, but before doing so, one needs to touch upon a sensitive theoretical issue, related to the existence (or non-existence) of larger-scale archaeological entities referred to as 'archaeological cultures'.

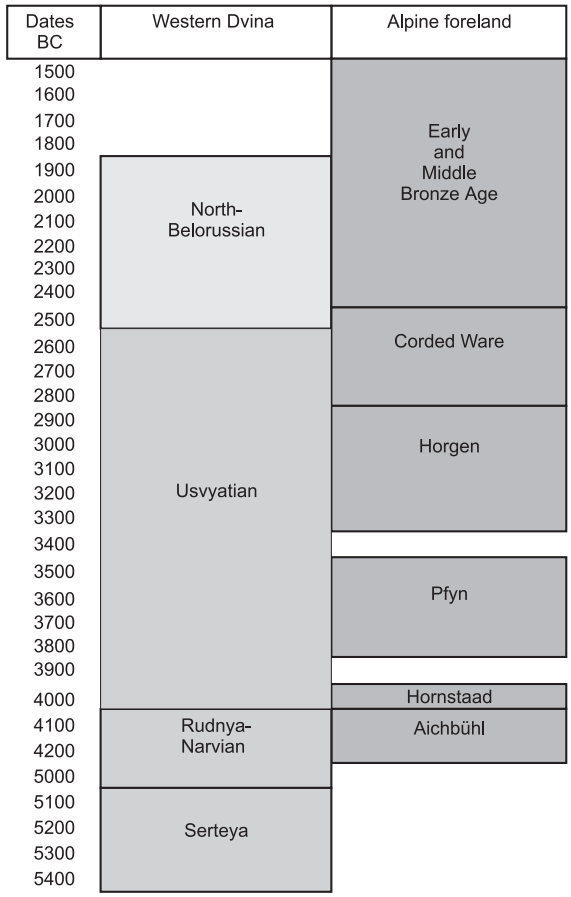
The concept of (archaeological) culture was defined in a most succinct form by D. Clarke [1968], as a *polythetic set of specific and comprehensive artefact-types which consistently recur together in assemblages within limited geographic areas*. Proponents of a 'cultural-historic paradigm' argued that *archaeological culture* corresponded to distinct social (ethnic or linguistic) units. Thus, Bordes viewed Mousterian 'facies' identified by him first in France and, later in the whole of Europe, as belonging to distinct 'tribes' of Neanderthal Man. This concept became firmly established in Central and Eastern European archaeological schools in the early 20th century, when its principles were explicitly formulated by G. Kossinna [1911:11]: 'sharply defined archaeological culture areas correspond without doubt to areas of particular peoples and tribes'. It may be shown that the principles of 'cultural-historic paradigm' were omnipresent in the Soviet archaeology, particularly after the collapse of the stadial concept of the 1930s [Dolukhanov 1995].

In contrast to that, the 'processual school', which became dominant in the Anglo-Saxon archaeology since the 1950s, tended to view archaeological culture as an extra-somatic means of adaptation, a non-genetic response to local environmental changes [Binford 1972]. Culture was further viewed as a 'general system with subsystems' [Clarke 1968]. This approach left little or no room for social, linguistic or ethnic interpretations of archaeological culture.

A further blow to the 'cultural-historic paradigm' was delivered by the scholars belonging to the post-processual school in archaeology. Basing on the observed or imagined lack of correlation between cultural styled, on the one hand, and linguistic, ethnic and religious entities, on the other, I. Hodder [1978, 1982] claims that the

Table 1

Sequences of Western Dvina and Alpine Neolithic cultures



entire concept of archaeological entities is a 'robust reactionary view'. This negative approach was shared by C. Renfrew [1977] and S.J. Shennan [1978], who consider archaeological entities, including culture, as 'constructs of our own devising' which are 'useless and misleading for analytical purposes'.

If not a migration, what else?

It is highly significant, that the 'Belorussian' cultural assemblage in the Western Dvina likewise numerous Corded Ware-related 'cultures' in the eastern Baltic area included only limited elements of Corded Ware tradition, mostly restricted to the corded ornamentation on certain types of vessels. This became particularly apparent when the entire pottery corpus from the stratified site of Naumovo was subjected to an computer analyse with the use of the multivariate technique. The principle

component analysis of pottery ornamental patterns shows a gradual intrusion of an alien tradition, absorbed at the final stages by the local one [Dolukhanov, Fonyakov 1984]. A number of 'hybrid' pottery assemblages is distinguishable at that time both in the eastern and western Peribaltic area [see Timofeev in this volume]. A suggestion was made that an infiltration of Corded Ware traditions taking form of shared styles of pots and also battle-axes may have resulted from a 'regionalised continuity' or 'open social relationships' [Whittle 1996:285-7].

Signals of sex and age groups are clearly recognisable in Corded Ware burial sites. Thus in the Fatyanovo graves the males were usually buried on the right side, the head directed to the west, while the female were found on the left side, the head towards the east. Shaft-hole axes were usually located near the head in the male's graves, and at the feet in children's graves. Female graves usually contained jewellery, predominantly pendants made of animal bones and teeth as well as amber beads [Kraynov 1972].

These observations evoke the question: to what extend the Corded Ware society was male-dominated? This rises yet another question: to what extend the gender symbolism reflects the social role of the sexes? In A. Whittle's view [Whittle 1996] the common occurrence of battle axes in male graves may be viewed rather as a message of a tradition of 'integration, participation, hospitality and generosity'.

It is true that female representations were much more common among the works of portable art in the Neolithic of South-Eastern Europe as compared to the Corded Ware-related zone further north. Yet the idea of 'Mother Goddess' as a symbol of peaceful matrifocal cultures in sharp contrast to aggressive and destructive patriarchal world of kurgans and battle axes is increasingly viewed as a pure mythology [Hurcombe 1995].

One can hardly argue, that the majority of human figurines (the 'idols') found in the Corded Ware context of forested Eastern Europe are obviously portraying men (Fig. 3). This was a male face that looked at the astonished world when a mummified body of a Neolithic 'Iceman' appeared from beneath the glacier high in the Tyrolean Alps in 1991. This man was obviously a hunter, whose base-camp, judging from the radiocarbon dates (3350-3300 BC) may well have been located far below, at one of the numerous lake-sites in the Alpine foreland. His equipment, the cloth and organic remains found on him, all that is clearly shows that his livelihood was based predominantly on hunting and food-gathering [Barfield 1994].

It had been noted long ago that the pottery, and particularly the styles in the pottery design, were closely related to female symbolism. Pots with feminine symbols or in shape of women were largely spread in Neolithic Europe [Hodder 1990:61-64; Thomas, Tilley 1993]. One can hardly doubt that the conceptual link between the woman, the house and the pottery that had been postulated by I. Hodder [1990:216] in relation to the European Neolithic was equally valid for the Corded Ware area. This observation becomes particularly significant, if one takes into account the great importance attached by Russian archaeologists (based mostly on the ethnographic observations in Siberia) to pottery styles as a powerful ethnic symbol [Tretyakov 1972]. This implies a relationship between the female and ethnic symbolism.

Fig. 3. 'Idol' from the Usvyaty IV site.

Earlier observations about the dominance of male graves among Corded Ware sites in Denmark, are probably invalid or at least partially valid in respect to the boreal forests of Eastern Europe. At the Corded Ware cemetery of Abora I (near the Lubana Lake in eastern Latvia) [Loze 1979] four out of five anatomically identifiable skeletons belonged to women. Jewellery (mostly amber) prevailing in the grave goods, one may hardly doubt that females were the dominant among 61 skeletons buried there.

When one tries to sum up the available evidence in relation to the Corded Ware/Battle-axe cultural area as a whole, several conclusions become apparent. First and foremost a considerable degree of continuity in respect to the preceding cultural units is perceptible, above all in the geographical distribution of the sites. These sites remained basically in the same areas as at the previous stage, no new terrain was colonised. In most cases the subsistence pattern did not experience a change of any dramatic proportions, only in some areas the role of nomadic stock--breeding had increased in a noticeable manner; in still other areas one may note

the appearance of elements of stock-breeding in a predominantly hunter-gathering context. At the same time one notes a considerable diversity of subsistence patterns which were dependant both on the local resource base and cultural traditions. The most spectacular changes are acknowledgeable in the pottery styles, which were directly related to female gender symbolism. Thus it is tempting to link the culture change marking the spread of the Corded Ware tradition with the modification in the mating system and related transformation in the social role of women.

One may note that a similar approach had been adopted by T. Dobzhansky [1962], who viewed human races as gene pools initially developing in endogamic tribes. This was further developed by K. Jacobs [1994b] who treated archaeological cultures in terms of social groupings forming mating networks with a large degree of closure.

The long-established scholarly tradition linked the spread of Corded Ware cultures with the proliferation of the Indo-European speech. The present writer shares the concept developed by C. Renfrew [1987] according to which the Indo-European languages had appeared in Europe much earlier, together with the first farmers. I agree with M. Zvelebil [1994] that this process involved the neighbouring groups of hunter-gatherers, who were embroiled in complex social networks with the communities of early farmers. During the Late Neolithic — early Bronze Age, there occurred an intensification of intercommunal links, probably resulting in the development of more firmly established dialects. One may argue that the total Corded Ware area corresponded to as yet undifferentiated Balto-Slavic-Germanic protolanguage, which existence was postulated by several linguists [Georgiev 1959].

Regarding the initially set questions about the 'dividing lines', I may stress that they had never existed in the reality of Neolithic Europe. The Neolithic was a multiple carriageway with both fast and slow lanes. In each particular case, the individuals and the groups of individuals had a free choice, which lane to take. Their choice was influenced by the availability of resources, their own experienceand traditions, as well by various factors which we shall never be able to grasp. But in each case the chosen strategy proved to be sufficiently successful: it guaranteed the group survival, based the constant flow and the sustainable renewal of resources.

The European Neolithic was a highly dynamic social phenomenon, the groups involved were bound together by multiple links via which both the materials, the genes, and the symbols were constantly interchanged. This was a society open to innovations and change. The observable transformations in material culture and life style were but outward reflections of deep-rooted societal changes which included the reshaping of mating networks, the mutation of gender roles and the spread of new dialects.

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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