

UDK 903.5.24(292.486.477)"634"

Documenta Praehistorica XXXVII (2010)

## Burial clothing in Neolithic cemeteries of the Ukrainian steppe

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**ABSTRACT** – Over 600 skeletons from numerous Neolithic cemeteries are known from the Pontic steppe. They came from the Lower Don, Azov-Dnieper and Surskaja cultures, with different sets of adornments on their burial clothing. The disposition of adornments provides valuable information on some items of burial clothing: caps, shirts with long sleeves, loincloths, and moccasins.

**IZVLEČEK** – Na področju Ponske stepe je na številnih neolitskih grobiščih dokumentiranih več kot 600 skeletov. Nahajajo se na področju kulture Spodnji Don, Azov-Dnjeper in Surskaja. Označujejo jih različno okrasje na mrtvaških oblačilih. Lega okraja omogoča sklepati o posameznih delih teh oblačil: pokrivalih, tunikah z dolgimi rokavi, predpasnikih in mokasinih.

**KEY WORDS** – Pontic steppe; Neolithic cemeteries; Lower Don culture; Azov-Dnieper culture; Surskaja culture; adornments; burial clothes

### Introduction

Numerous Middle and Late Neolithic (5950–4850 BC) cemeteries have been excavated in the steppe area between the Dnieper and Don rivers (*Telegin, Potekhina 1987; Kotova 2003*), each containing from 30 to 160 burials.

Telegin considered all the cemeteries in the framework of the Dnieper-Donets culture, which occupied a huge area from the forest of Byelorussia to the dry steppe of the Crimea (*Telegin 1968; Telegin, Potekhina 1987*). However, analyses of their localization, burial rites, and analogies of grave goods among the settlement materials allowed us to propose their more detailed cultural differentiation (*Kotova 1994; 2003*). All cemeteries were divided into three groups (Fig. 1). The Eastern group, which is located near the Azov Sea, was related to the Lower Don culture: the Mariupol (*Makarenko 1933; Kotova 2003*), Karataevo and Chirskoy cemeteries (*Kijashko 1994*). The cemeteries in the Dnieper valley and steppe Crimea belong to the Azov-Dnieper culture: Dolinka, Mamaj-Gora (*Toscev 2005*), Vovnigi 2 (*Bodjanskiy, Kotova 1994*), Vasilievka 5, Nikolskiy, Lysaja Gora, the big pit at Jasinovatka (*Telegin, Potekhina 1987; Kotova*

*2003*). The Surskaja culture cemeteries were concentrated in the northern part of the steppe of the Dnieper valley: the Neolithic part of Chaply, Vovnigi 1 and 3, Vilnjanka, Sobachky, the small pits of Jasinovatka (*Telegin, Potekhina 1987; Kotova 2003; 2009*).

The numerous Neolithic burials allow us to reconstruct burial clothing. The first attempt was made in the 1990s by Kotova and Tuboltsev. Now, new materials from the rich Mamaj Gora cemetery have helped clarify some old reconstructions.

### The Lower Don culture

The sites and cemeteries were excavated in the Northern Azov Sea region, which covers the territory from the Lower Don to the Kalmius River, and are dated to c. 6050–5200 calBC (*Kotova 2003*). It disappeared during an arid period about 5200 calBC, when the Sredniy Stog culture was formed. The Lower Don culture materiality was found at Razdorskoye 1 (*Kijashko 1987*), Rakushechny Yar (*Belanovskaja 1995*), Samsonovka (*Gey 1983*), Razdolnoe (*Kotova 2003*) sites and at sites located in the area

of the Tsimlaynskoe reservoir on the Don River. The flat bottomed and shell tempered pottery bears comb ornamentation. The stone tool assemblage consists of high trapezes with flat retouch on the rear, bifacial points, stone axes and maces. Other implements comprise bone points, plates and tubes, and *Unio* shells.

The cemeteries consisted of burials in individual pits forming a line. The biggest Mariupol cemetery included about 130 inhumations and one cremation. The supine position of the skeletons, east-west orientation of their heads, numerous grave goods and adornments of burial clothing mark the cemeteries (Fig. 2).

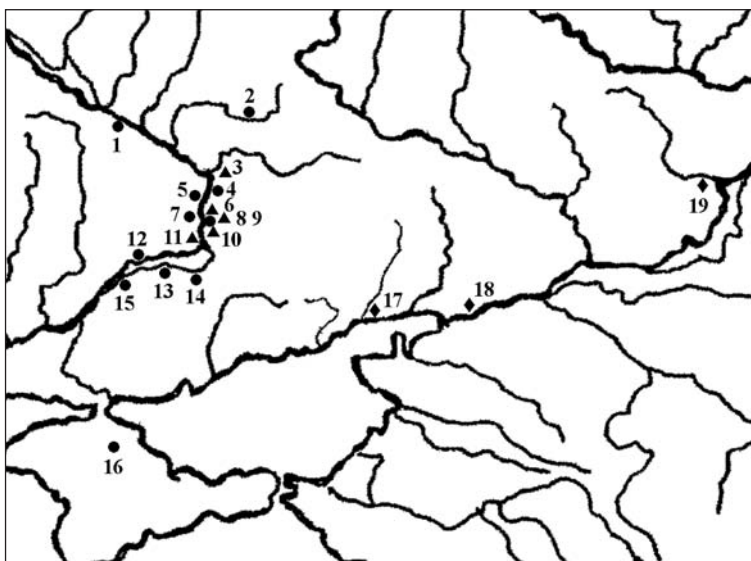
The adornments of the Lower Don culture were the most numerous and various among the Neolithic cultures of Eastern Europe (Fig. 3). For example, 59 of the 130 burials in the Mariupol cemetery had adornments. They are represented by sea shells with holes, rounded pearl beads, pearl beads with a cutting segment, round, rhombic, cylindrical, pear-shaped and figured beads from bone, flat and cylindrical jet beads, pendants from the teeth of deer, badger, wolf, fox, fish, and bone, as well as boar fangs with holes, and plates from the same material. It is possible to trace some regularities in the connection between adornments and the orientation of skeletons. The clothing in burials oriented to the west was decorated mainly with red deer teeth and the fangs of the wild bear with holes. The clothing of burials with an eastern orientation was ornamented with different beads and plates from the bear fangs (Kotova 1990; 1994).

Some ornaments from the Mariupol and Karataevo cemeteries were identical with adornments from the settlements of the Lower Don culture: plaques from wild boar fangs, plates from nacre, stone pendants, and figures of bulls (Fig. 3.37–40).

Many adornments with an accurate fix on their disposition in the Mariupol cemetery have offered the possibility of reconstructing the burial clothes.

The headdress of the Lower Don culture was adorned with boar fang plates (Fig. 4.1, 3) or splintered boar fangs with holes (Fig. 6.1, 3, 4, 6; 7.4). In two

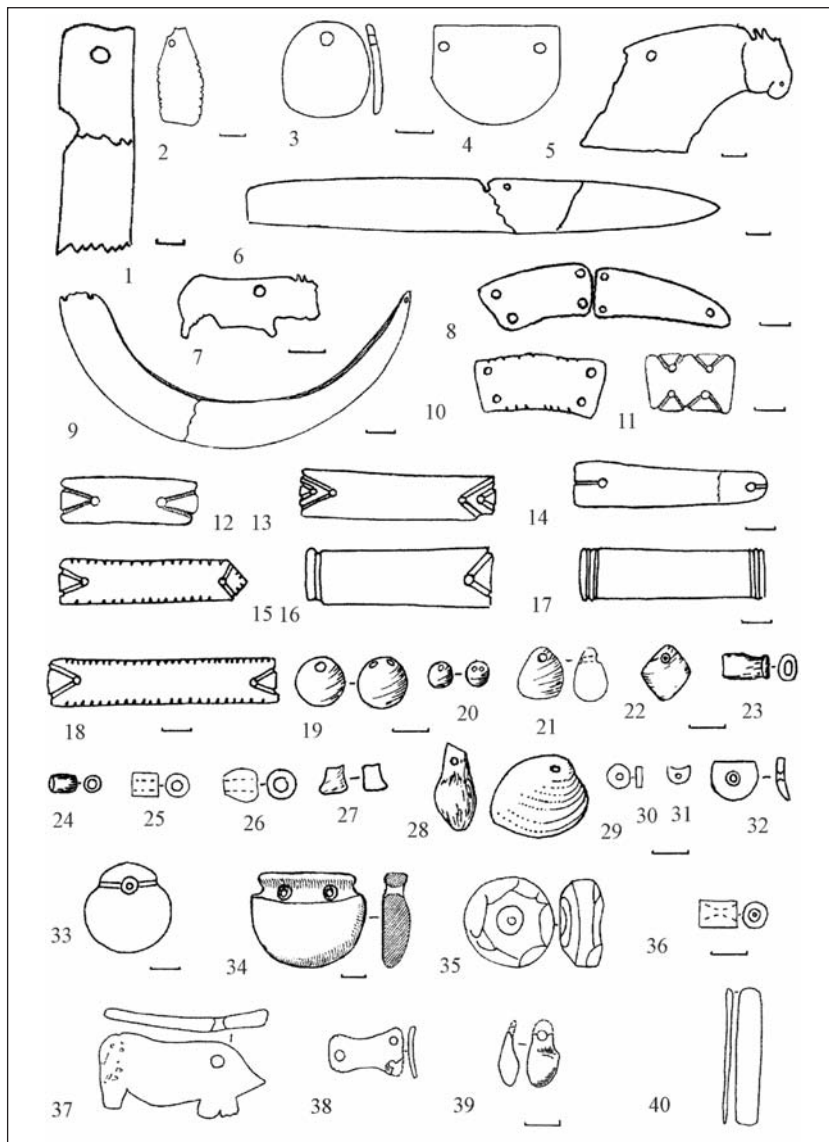
cases, the pointed ends of two fangs met above the forehead (Fig. 6.2, 5); in one case, their pointed ends were located over the sinciput (Fig. 4.4, 5); in another variant, fangs were situated with sharp ends downward, while opposite ends were located near



**Fig. 1. Neolithic cemeteries of the Pontic steppe: 1. Dereivka; 2. Gospitalny Holm; 3. Chapli; 4. Vasilievka; 5. Nikolskiy; 6. Vovnigi 1; 7. Vovnigi 2; 8. Yasinovatka 1; 9. Vovnigi 3; 10. Vilnjanka; 11. Sobachki; 12. Kapulovka; 13. Mamaj Gora; 14. Lysaja Gora; 15. Kairy; 16. Dolinka; 17. Mariupol; 18. Karataevo; 19. Chirskoy. ● – cemeteries of the Azov-Dnieper culture; ▲ – cemeteries of the Sur-skaja culture; ◆ – cemeteries of the Lower Don culture**



**Fig. 2. Burials of the Mariupol cemetery (after Makarenko 1933).**



**Fig. 3. Adornments of the Lower Don culture: 1–36. Mariupol cemetery (after Makarenko 1933); 37–40. Razdorskoe 1 site (after Kijashko 1994). 1–28, 37–39. Bone; 29–32, 40. Shell; 33–36. Stone.**

the sinciput (Fig. 6.3). It allows us to suggest the existence of a cap with sewn fangs. Besides caps with two boar fangs, we know of a cap decorated with boar fang plates which were sewn along the lower part of the cap (Fig. 5). So far, we have reconstructed four types of cap (Fig. 7.1–4). It is possible that caps without bone adornments were also produced.

We have some evidence for the existence of a shirt with long sleeves and a hem lower than the pelvis. The level of the hem was fixed with the aid of the horizontal position of boar fang plates on the pelvic bones (Figs. 5.1, 2; 6.2–5). Long shirt sleeves are attested by pearl beads or boar fangs located near elbows, around the humeruses of wrists (Fig. 4).

They can not be bracelets, because they formed a diameter larger than an arm and had to be sewn onto shirts. The pearl beads were sewn around both elbows and the right wrist in burial IV–V (Fig. 4.2), but only the left elbow was decorated in burial XLVII (Fig. 4.3). Boar fang plates were sewn around the right elbow in burial VI (Fig. 4.4, 5).

The disposition of adornments suggests that the shirt may have had a slit at the left side. For example, splintered boar fangs were sewn on the central part of the yoke in the burial VI (Fig. 4.4, 5), which excluded the possibility of a central slit. The shifting of the slit to the left is also attested by the line of adornments along the body in the burials VIII and LIV (Fig. 5).

Collar adornments are rather variable; they could be decorated with one or two boar fangs (Fig. 6.4, 5), plates from fangs (Fig. 6.1, 2) and beads (Fig. 5.2). The location of two boar fangs near a collar in burial LVI, and plates in burial XXXa, confirm the left slit in the shirt (Fig. 6.2, 5).

Decorated belts were found in numerous graves, onto which plates of boar fang, pearl beads or combinations of these were sewn (Figs. 4.4, 5; 5; 6). Some variants of belts with different decorations can now be reconstructed (Fig. 7.5–9); no knots have been found. The belts of the Lower Don culture were similar, perhaps, to some Native American belts, where adornments were fastened to the sash.

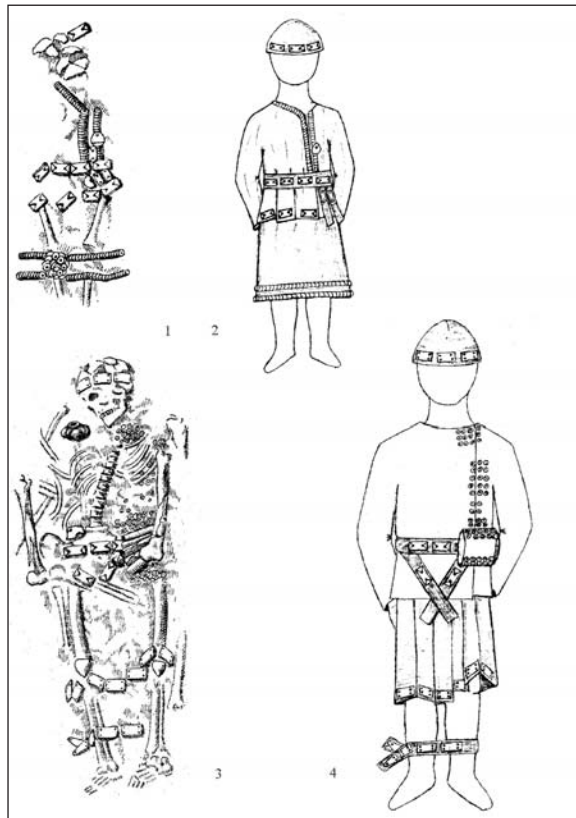
A loincloth or breechclout was reconstructed in some burials of the Mariupol cemetery. Its lower part was decorated with plates (Fig. 4.4, 5). According to the disposition of adornments, its lower part shifted to the left or to the right, but in the majority of cases it was no wider than the legs.

Two burials suggest the existence of skirts, and it is especially interesting that one of these was in a male burial. It was one of two burials with a mace in the Mariupol cemetery. In this burial, boar fang plates formed an irregular line at knee level and could have replicated the pleats of a wide skirt (Fig. 5.3, 4). Two rows of shell beads in a child's burial were wider than the width of the legs, and fixed the hem of a skirt which was located slightly lower than the knees (Fig. 5.1, 2).

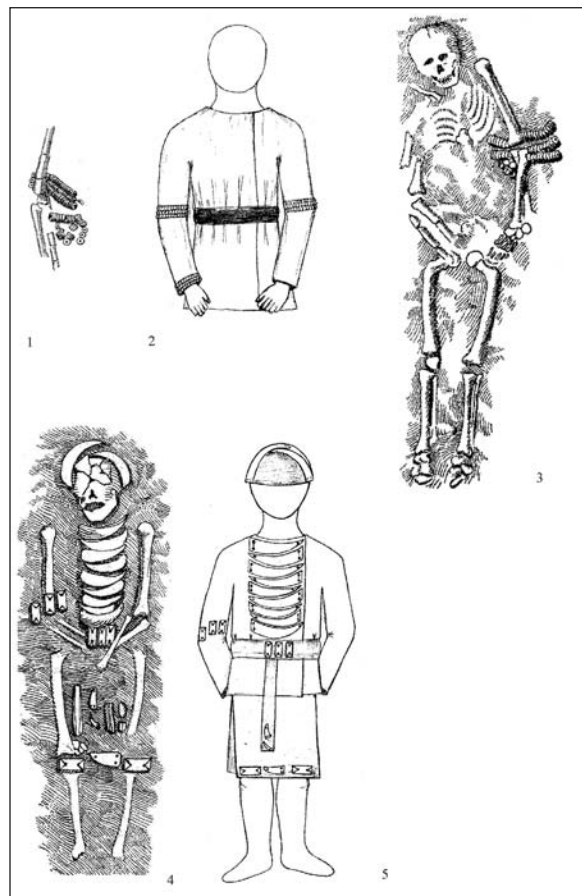
The disposition of adornments on the leg bones in the Mariupol cemetery allows us to assume the binding of the dead with a band decorated with boar fang plates (Figs. 5.3, 4; 6.5, 6).

### The Azov-Dnieper culture

The Neolithic sites at Sobachki, Vovchok, Vovnigi, Semenovka 1, Kamennaya Mogila and others are located in the Dnieper steppe area, the Crimea and the western Azov Sea region. The cemeteries were found in the Dnieper Valley and the Crimean steppe (Kotova 2003). Two periods are recognized in the development of the Azov-Dnieper culture. The material culture is marked by flat-bottom pottery made



**Fig. 5. Burials and reconstructions of clothing from the Mariupol cemetery: 1, 2. Burial LIV; 3, 4. Burial VIII. 1. Child.**

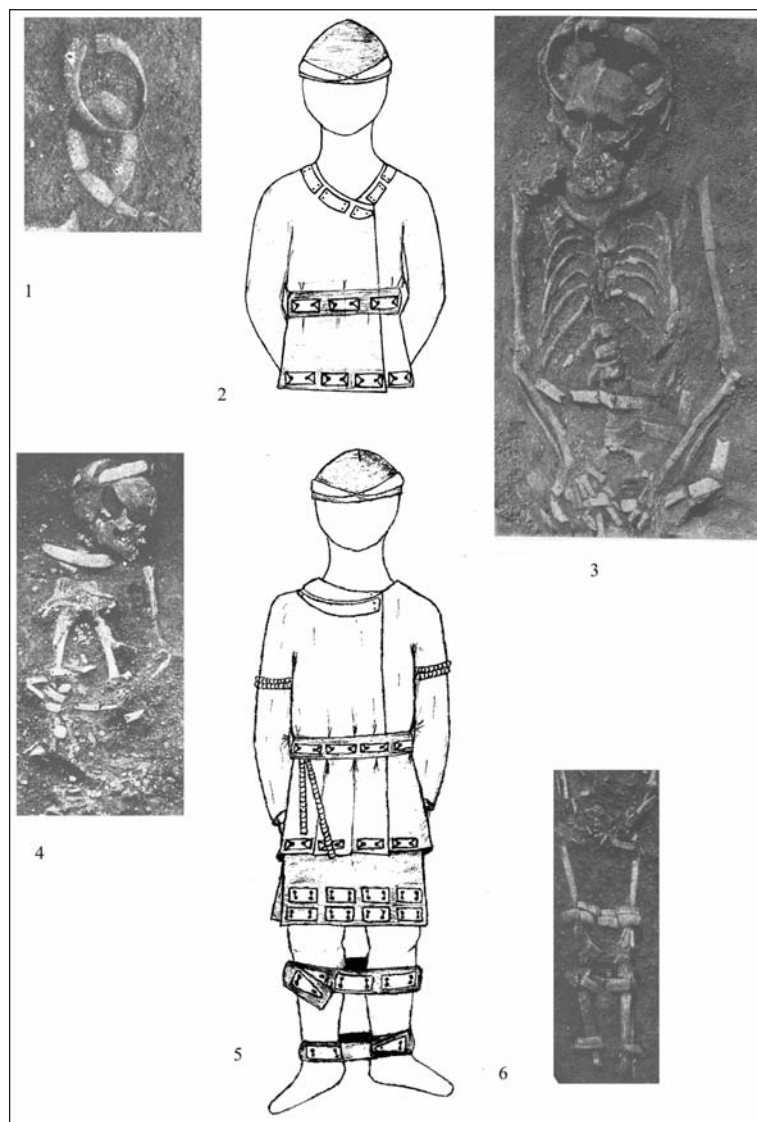


**Fig. 4. Burials with reconstructions of the clothing from the Mariupol cemetery: 1, 2. Burial IV - V; 3. Burial XLVII; 4, 5. Burial VI; (1, 2, 4 after Makarenko 1933).**

from clay with sand, tempered with plant remains, and decorated with comb imprints in the first period, and triangular impressions and lines in the second. Stone tool assemblages consists of flint blades and trapezes.

The cemeteries of the first period (6000–5200 calBC) consisted of single or double burials in small separate graves arranged in lines: Mamaj-Gora, Vovnigi 2, Vasilievka 5, the oldest part of Nikolskiy. Supine skeletons, the eastern and western orientation of heads, small numbers of adornments on burial clothes, and sacrificial sites on the surfaces of cemeteries with fires were typical of the cemeteries of this period.

The Nikolskiy, Lysaja Gora, and Yasinovatka cemeteries date to the second period (5200–4750 calBC) and include large pits, which were used repeatedly over a long period, resulting in the significant destruction of skeletons. The dead were buried supine, with eastern and western orientations; however, individual flexed skeletons and cremations are also



**Fig. 6. Burials with reconstructions of the clothing from the Mariupol cemetery: 1, 2. Burial XXXa; 3. Burial LXXIV; 4 - 6. Burial LVI (1, 3, 4, 6 after Makarenko 1933).**

known. The fires, marker stones, sacrificial places with broken pottery, tools and bones were located on the surfaces of the cemeteries.

The grave goods of the Azov-Dnieper culture comprise *Unio* shells, bone points, large and middle-sized flint blades, trapezes, including flat retouch on the back, scrapers on blades and flakes, bifacial points and stone axes.

The burial practices in the second period have given no information about clothes, due to the destruction of the majority of skeletons. Therefore, only the materials of the first period are considered here. The set of adornments of this period was rather poorer than that of the synchronous Lower Don culture: fish and deer teeth, pearl and stone beads (Fig. 8).

But beads were a rare decoration in the Azov-Dnieper cemeteries, occurring mainly in the oldest Mamaj-Gora cemetery.

The disposition of adornments allows us to reconstruct clothing elements. However, it is more difficult than with the Lower Don material, because the Azov-Dnieper adornments were smaller (mainly teeth and small beads) than in the Mariupol cemetery discussed above, and archaeologists did not draw all of them on the plans of the burials. The available diagrams and descriptions give helpful information about the main elements of clothes. Existing reconstructions of clothes include fewer adornments than the overall number found in burials, because publications and field reports do not provide necessary data about location, and include some contradictions between the descriptions and the drawings of burials.

We have reconstructed the faces of the deceased from the Vovnigi cemetery using the skulls of the Azov-Dnieper people as a base model (Fig. 9.1-3). This population decorated their headdresses with shell beads, pendants from red deer and fish teeth (Fig. 9.4, 5). The decoration is arranged in rows, which allows the reconstruction of a head ribbon or cap (Fig. 9.6-8). Deer teeth and beads located around the upper part of the head in two burials of the Mamaj-Gora cemetery indicate caps (Figs. 9.9; 10.2, 5).

The adornments of shirt collars or short necklaces were rare in the Azov-Dnieper culture context (Fig. 10.3). The disposition of adornments on the upper arms, near the elbows, and the vertical disposition of deer teeth on the arms confirm the existence of shirts with long sleeves (Figs. 10.5, 6; 11.1, 2, 4, 5). Pearl beads were located near the wrists in two burials, but, unlike the bracelet, they show the outlines of wide sleeves. The placement of a vertical row of beads and deer teeth in one burial at the Mamaj-Gora cemetery suggests a slit in the center of the shirt (Fig. 11.4, 5). However, the location of pendants from red deer teeth in another burial at this ceme-

tery allows us to assume a slit from the left side (Fig. 11.2).

A variant of the decoration of shirts, where lines of adornments on sleeves extended a line of ornaments on the breast, was typical of the Mamaj-Gora cemetery (Fig. 11.2, 5).

The hem of a skirt situated near a pelvis is fixed on the basis of a line of pearl beads (Fig. 10.1, 3, 5, 6).

Decorated belts were most uncommon in the Azov-Dnieper culture, but have been found in the Mamaj Gora and Vovnigi 2 cemeteries. They were decorated with one or two lines of shell beads (Figs. 10.2; 11.3), a line of stone beads (Fig. 10.5) and fish teeth (Fig. 10.4).

A loincloth or breechclout has been traced in two burials of the Mamaj Gora cemetery. The shell beads (Fig. 10.5) and red deer teeth fixed above the knees can be considered hem decorations (Fig. 11.3).

In one child burial at the Vovnigi 2 cemetery, we can reconstruct a long dress with fish teeth on a hem near the ankles (Fig. 10.4).

Only the oldest Mamaj-Gora cemetery, with numerous adornments, has provided information about footwear. The presence of leggings or long moccasins can be assumed on the basis of this material (Fig. 12.1, 2), and the vertical rows of beads located along shinbones could have comprised their adornment. All the vertical rows of beads extended to the knee and were absent higher, so we may assume that leggings reached the knee.

It has been hypothesized that short moccasins were also used; they were decorated near the knee and ankle and above the feet (Fig. 12.3, 4).

### The Surskaja culture

The sites were investigated in the steppe Dnieper valley (Surskoy Island 1 and 2, the lower layer of Strilcha Skelja, Kizlevy, Vovchok *etc.*) and the western Azov Sea area (Semenovka 1 and 2, *etc.*) (Danilenko 1950; Kotova 2003; 2004). The <sup>14</sup>C sequences and chan-

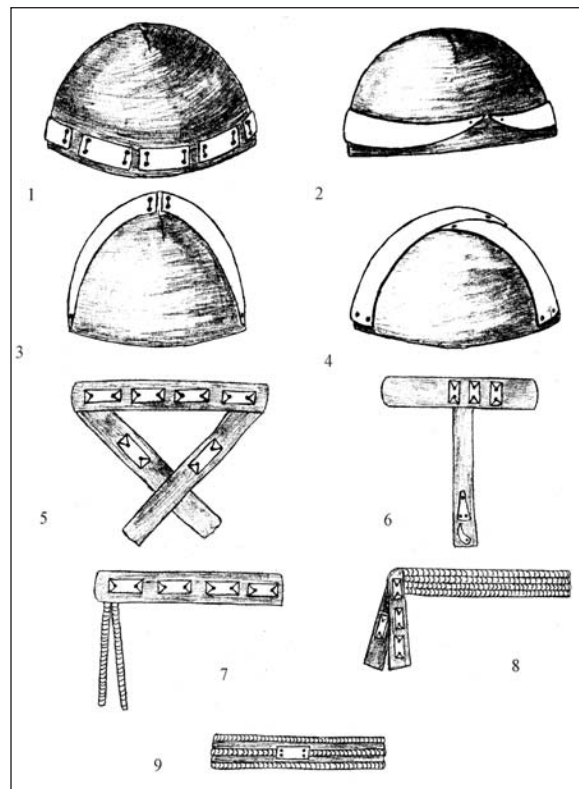


Fig. 7. Reconstructions of caps and belts of the Lower Don culture from the Mariupol cemetery: 1. Burial LIV; 2. Burial XXXa; 3. Burial LXXIV; 4. Burial VI; 5. Burial VIII; 6. Burial VI; 7. Burial LVI; 8. Burial I; 9. Burial XLIX.

ges in material culture structure allow us to divide the Surskaja culture into three phases (Kotova 2003).

The first is embedded within c. 6300–6000 calBC, and includes the Surskoy 1, 2, Vinogradny and Kodachok sites. Pottery was similar to the oldest ceramics of the Rakushechny Yar and Bug-Dniestr cultures. The second phase at Semenovka 1, Kamennaya Mogila 1 (the first ceramic layer), Igren 5 and Ena-

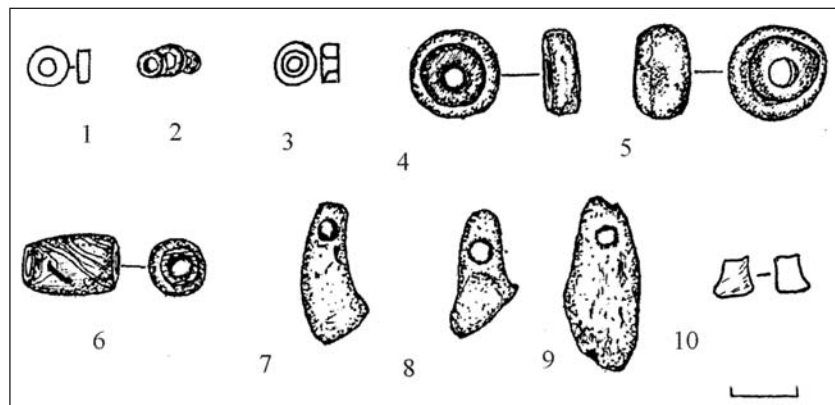
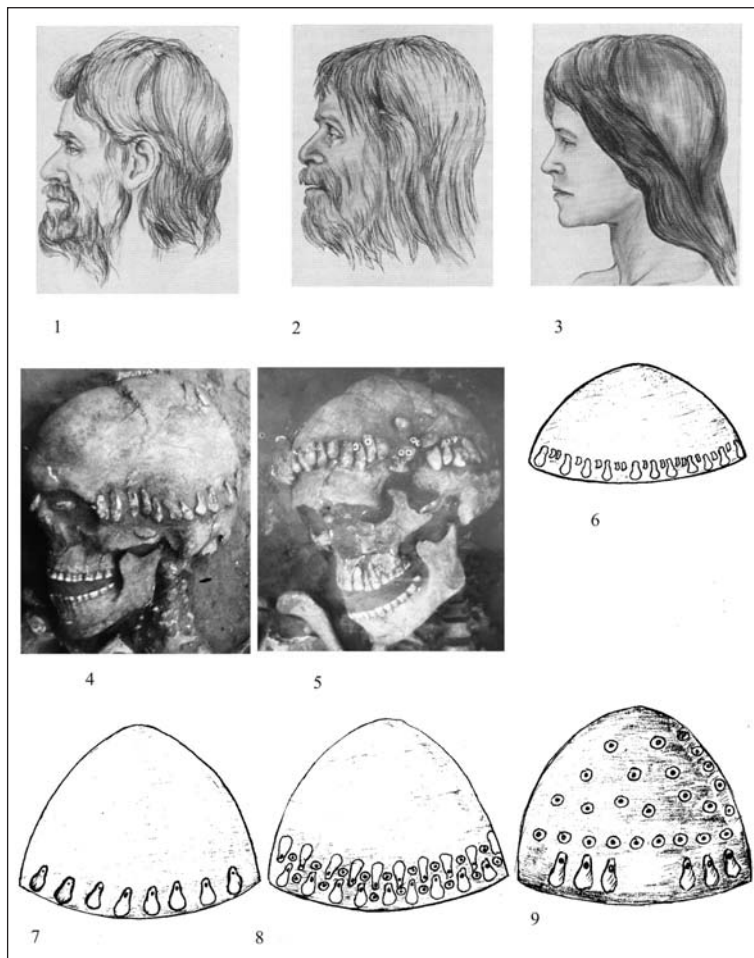


Fig. 8. Adornments of the Azov-Dnieper culture: 1, 3. Nikolskiy cemetery; 2, 4–9. Mamaj-Gora; 10. Vovnigi 2. 1, 2. Shell beads; 3–6. Stone beads; 7–9. Red deer teeth; 10. Fish tooth.



**Fig. 9. The Azov-Dnieper culture: 1–3. Graphic reconstructions of people from the Vovnigi 2 cemetery (after Balueva et al. 1988); 4, 5. Burials 73 and 74 from the Vovnigi 2 cemetery; 6, 7. Reconstructions of caps from burials 73 and 74 from the Vovnigi 2 cemetery; 8, 9. Reconstructions of caps from burials 9 and 28a from the Mamaj Gora cemetery.**

kievo is dated to *c.* 6000–5600 calBC. The influence of the 1a phase of Azov-Dnieper culture has been traced in pottery production.

The majority of investigated sites and cemeteries are in the third phase: the Strilcha Skelja, Igren-Gorodok, Vovchok, Kizlevy 5, Razdolnoe, Semenovka 2, Vovnigi, Vilnjanka, Vovnigi 1 and 3, Yasinovatka 1 cemeteries. The end of the Surskaja culture has been dated to *c.* 5100–5000 calBC, when it was assimilated by the Late Azov-Dnieper and Early Sredniy Stog cultures.

The skeletons in the Surskaja cemeteries were in a supine position, with north-south orientations. Grave goods included bone points, flint blades and flakes, trapezes, flint tools. The set of ornaments was very poor and included only pendants from red deer and fish teeth and separate small shell beads.

Thanks to the very careful work of Telegin (1956) at the Vilnjanka cemetery, we have reconstructed some elements of the Surskaja clothing. He fixed the disposition of the main part of the numerous small pendants in the burials. The anthropological materials at this cemetery have given some information for the reconstruction of the faces of Surskaja people (Fig. 13.1–3).

A Surskaja culture headdress was decorated with deer or fish teeth (Fig. 13.4–6), and only in three burials of the Vovnigi 3 cemetery with shell beads, in which caps with pearl beads in combination with red deer teeth were traced (Fig. 13.9, 10). Another corpse from burial 35 at the Vilnjanka cemetery had a cap with fish teeth (Fig. 13.7, 8).

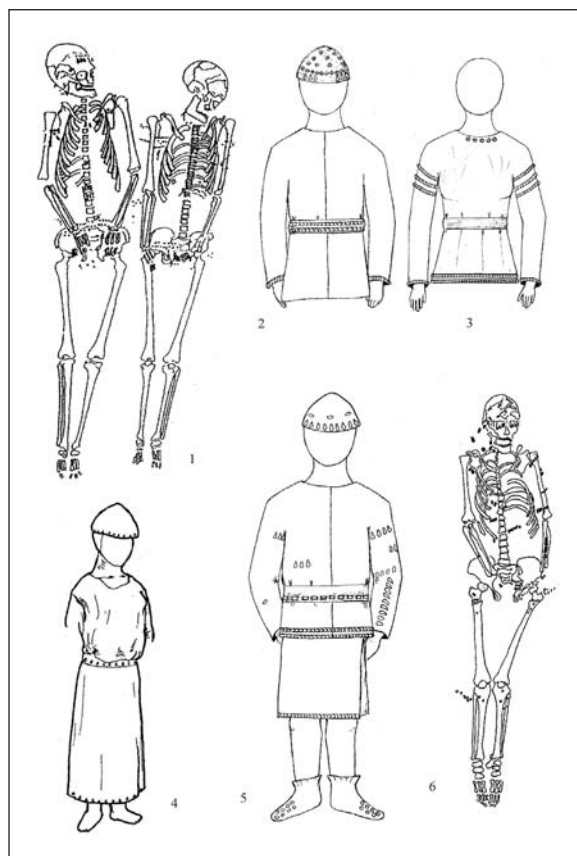
The fish and red deer teeth pendants situated below the neck in some burials can be interpreted as collar adornments (Figs. 14.4, 5; 15.2).

Fish teeth were the main decoration on long sleeves; they were sewn onto sleeves around the elbows in the burial of a child in Vilnjanka (Fig. 16.4, 5) and on the upper arms in burials at Yasinovatka, Vovnigi 1 and Chaply. Single red deer teeth were

fastened near wrists only in two burials at Vilnjanka and Sobachki (Fig. 16.1, 2). Like the Azov-Dnieper shirts, some of the Surskaja shirts had lines of adornments running from one sleeve across the breast to the other sleeve (Fig. 16.3). Skirt hem decoration is very rare, and fixed in some burials as a horizontal line of fish or red deer teeth at the pelvis or below (Figs. 15.1, 2; 16).

The placement of a vertical row of red deer teeth was rather common in the Surskaja burials (Figs. 14.1–3; 15.3); all were located in the center of the chest, which suggest a central slit. These rows were of varying lengths.

Decorated belts were very uncommon in the Surskaja culture and can be assumed for only two burials. A number of fish teeth on the left part of the pelvis in one burial at Vilnjanka could be interpreted as



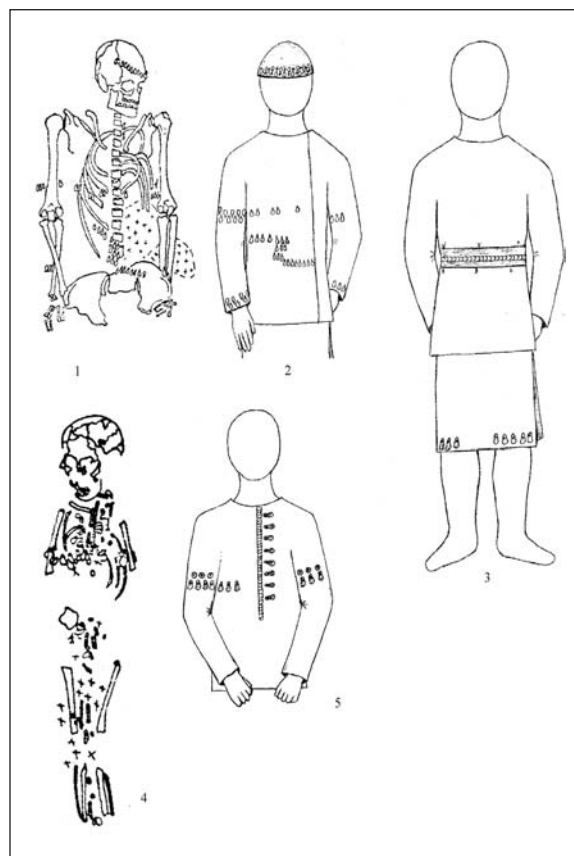
**Fig. 10. Burials of the Azov-Dnieper culture with reconstructions of the clothing: 1–3. Burial 28 from Mamaj Gora; 4. Burial 121 from Vovnigi 2; 5, 6. Burial 36 from Mamaj Gora. 1. Man and woman 25–30 years old; 4. Child; 6. Man 35–40 years old (1, 6 after Toscev 2005).**

decoration of the end of a belt. Another skeleton at this cemetery had three red deer teeth at the waist.

Ornamented loincloths are also very rare in the Surskaja culture (Figs. 15.1, 2; 16.1, 2), whereas decorated footwear is frequent. However, red deer or fish teeth were located only on feet, and were absent from the upper part of the legs, which may mean that only footwear with a short upper part reaching the ankles was used (Figs. 15; 16.3–5).

### Conclusion

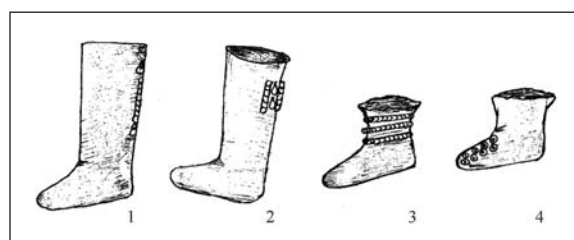
From the disposition of adornments in the Neolithic burials on the Pontic steppe we may assume the existence of diverse elements of funeral clothing. Small caps, shirts with long sleeves and hems located on the pelvis or below, and loincloths have been reconstructed for all cultures. But there are some special features in the decoration of clothes in the Azov Sea area (the Lower Don culture) and Dnieper valley (the Azov-Dnieper and Surskaja cultures). I



**Fig. 11. Burials of the Azov-Dnieper culture from the Mamaj Gora cemetery with reconstructions of the clothing: 1, 2. Burial 9; 3. Burial 30; 4, 5. Burial 19. 3. Man 25–30 years old; 4. Child (1, 4 after Toscev 2005).**

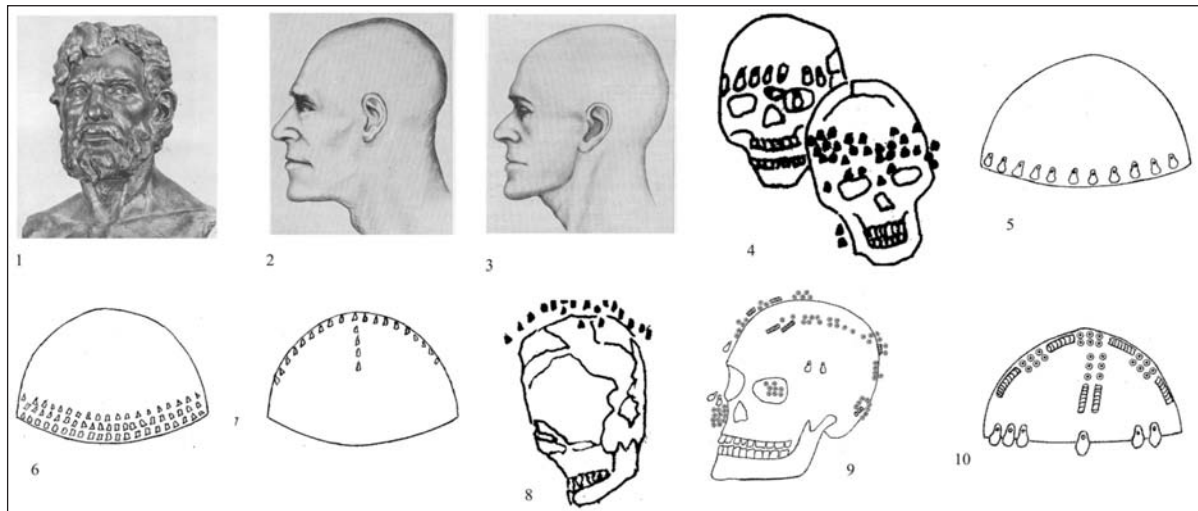
have hypothesized a vertical slit in the left side of shirts for the Lower Don culture, and the ornamentation of collars and belts. In the Azov-Dnieper and Surskaja cultures, a slit could have been situated in the center of the shirt, while collars and belts were rarely decorated.

The use of narrow loincloths which reached the knees can also be assumed for all three cultures. However, it was decorated mainly in the Lower Don and Surskaja cultures. A long skirt or dress has been found only in Azov-Dnieper cemeteries.



**Fig. 12. Reconstructions of footwear of the Azov-Dnieper culture from the Mamaj Gora cemetery: 1, 2. Burial 22; 3. Burial 18; 4. Burial 36.**





**Fig. 13. The Surskaja culture: 1–3. Graphic reconstructions of people from the Vilnjanka cemetery (after Balueva et al. 1988); 4. Burial 31 and 32 from Vilnjanka; 5, 6. Reconstructions of caps from burial 31 and 32 at Vilnjanka; 7. Reconstructions of caps from burial 35 at Vilnjanka; 8. Burial 35 at Vilnjanka; 9. Burial 4 at Vovni 3; 10. Reconstructions of caps from burial 4 at Vovni 3.**

Decorated footwear was prevalent in the Surskaja culture; there are separate finds from the Azov-Dnieper culture, but not from the Lower Don culture. So far, decorated leggings extending to the knee have been reconstructed only for Azov-Dnieper burials.

The individual burials of all three cultures had tied legs. Belts for binding in the Lower Don culture were sometimes ornamented with boar fang plates.

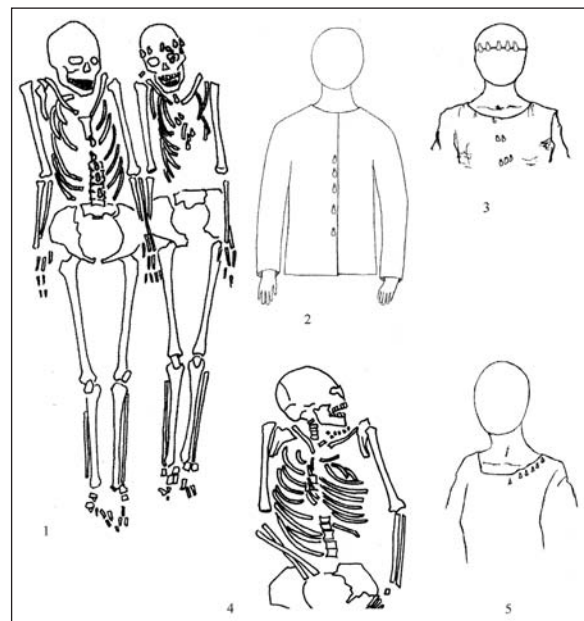
We can see some patterns in the use of decoration on clothes in the Neolithic of the Dnieper steppe region. The numerous skeletons of the Surskaja and Azov-Dnieper cultures had age and gender identifications. Unfortunately, the richest Mariupol cemetery of the Lower Don culture has not been studied by anthropologists. The anthropological data offer a chance to correlate the different type of clothes with gender and age groups: children, teenagers, young men and women (18–25 years old), men and women about 25–35 years, from 35 to 50 years, and over 50 years.

The children of the Azov-Dnieper culture had very lavishly decorated clothes, with a specific type, quantity and location of adornment, which included stone beads, otherwise very rare for this culture. More than 100 pendants or beads (maximum 672) were found in some child burials. Rows of fish teeth, not typical of this culture, were fixed in one child's burial.

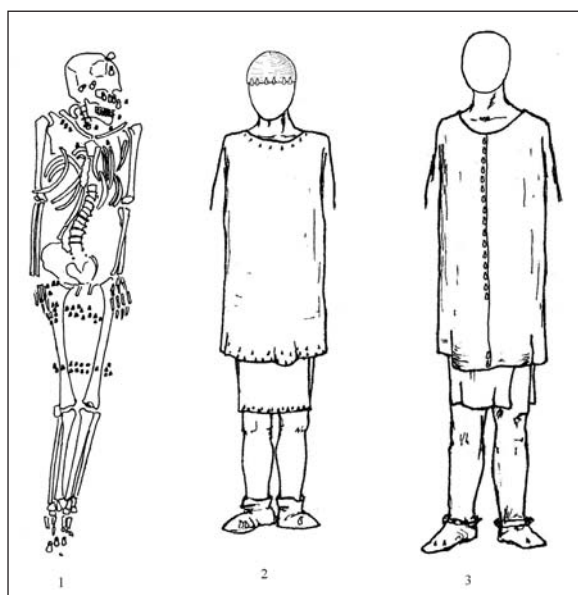
Two of three teenage burials had decorated clothes, with a range and number of adornments similar to the adults.

The decorated clothes were typical of men from 18 to 40 years and 25–35-year-old women. Fish teeth were found only in male graves, but the teeth of red deer are known for both genders.

As opposed to the Azov-Dnieper culture, the Surskaja population had rare and modestly decorated children's clothes. Only six burials out of twenty-six had decoration sets and numbers of adornments. The numbers of burials with decorated clothes increased



**Fig. 14. Burials of the Surskaja culture from the Vilnjanka cemetery with reconstructions of the clothing: 1–3. Burial 32 and 34; 4, 5. Burial 19; 2. Man 20–25 years old; 3. Man 30–40 years old; 4, 5. Woman 20–25 years old.**



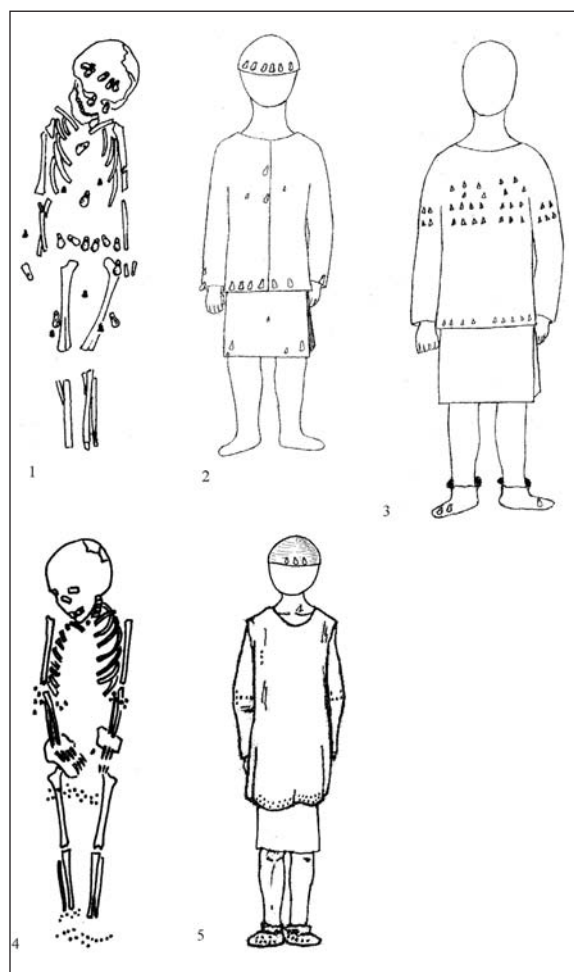
**Fig. 15.** Burials of the Surskaja culture with reconstructions of the clothes: 1, 2. Burial 20 at Vilnjanka cemetery (man 20–25 years old); 3. Burial 65 at Yasinovaika cemetery.

among teenagers. The disposition of ornaments in these age groups had some peculiarities. For example, fish teeth in the children's and adolescent burials laid in heaps or unsystematically, whereas rows of them are known only in adult burials.

Female clothes in the Surskaja culture were decorated mainly with fish teeth; male garments, with fish and red deer teeth in equal measure.

Among female burials, decorated clothes were typical only of 18–35-year-old women, while all age groups of men had adornments. But the most numerous burials with adornments were among men of 18–25 years (75%) and 25–35 years (56%). Their numbers decrease in older groups: 35–50 years (40%) and over 50 years (33%).

Thus we can conclude that the adornments were typical of women and men of childbearing age (18–



**Fig. 16.** Children's burials of the Surskaja culture with reconstructions of the clothing: 1, 2. Burial 14 at Vilnjanka cemetery; 3. Burial 56 at Yasinovaika cemetery; 4, 5. Burial 37 at Vilnjanka cemetery (1, 4 after Telegin 1956). 1, 2. Child – 10–12 years old; 3. Child; 4, 5 Child 6–7 years old.

35 years) in the Azov-Dnieper and Surskaja cultures, and of children in the Azov-Dnieper culture. While women over forty were buried without adornments in both cultures, men over forty had no adornments in the Azov-Dnieper culture. In the Surskaja culture, some wore decorated clothing.

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