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REVIEW

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The Socio-Cultural Background of the Genesis of the Lublin-Volhynia Culture

Abstract

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The direct sources for the study of the origin of many constitutive elements of the Lublin-Volhynian culture (hereafter: L-VC) from various and sometimes distant areas of a culturally diverse nature prompt us to outline the cultural situation in the second half of the 5th millennium BC, and especially in the final phase, in the vast areas of Southeastern Europe and adjacent parts of Eastern Europe. The rationale behind such a move is to help understand this culture and its multifaceted origins. Like a "posthumous child", it appeared at the last moment of the existence of some cultures belonging to the same cultural complex, i.e., the Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex (hereafter: EECC), at the latest around 4100 BC. Paradoxically, the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex (hereafter: CTCC) in its younger part of the BI phase (4230–4100 BC; cf. Diachenko *et al.* 2024), with a socio-cultural profile distant from the EECC, seems to be the leading "source" of the constitutive elements of the new culture, i.e. the L-VC. The CTCC was the only cultural entity that did not disappear during this period but rather expanded rapidly.

Keywords: Lublin-Volhynian culture, genesis, socio-cultural background, Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex, Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex, Polgar culture

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Introduction

This paper aims to draw attention to the question of the genesis of the L-VC in the light of the analysis of CTCC materials. In order to explain the processes of cultural change taking place at the end of the 5th millennium BC by the upper Dniester and upper Bug rivers, it proved appropriate to use sociological concepts new to archaeology, including cultural analysis by Robert Wuthnow (1987), relational sociology according to Matthew Peeples (2018), and Max Weber's theory of traditional power (2002).

Social issues

It has been established that the richest male graves in the Varna cemetery (for example no 4 – Fig. 1; Ivanov 1988a, fig. 24; 1988b, 189–191) have a repetitive assemblage of artefacts as their furnishing consisting of gold ornaments, copper (sometimes stone) shaft-hole axes and other types of axes, and long flint blades (Klimscha 2016, 239–240). The presence of all of the elements mentioned above characterises the wealthiest graves within the richest cemeteries. In addition to the Varna graves, two graves of the Tiszapolgár culture (hereafter: TC) have similar equipment. We are referring here to the graves from Tibava (grave no. 10/56: one long blade, a copper shaft-hole axe, a stone axe and a gold disc – Fig. 2) and from Vel'ké Raškovce (grave no. 1 – a shaft-hole axe, a copper cutting chisel/chisel and a gold disc – Fig. 3; cf. Klimscha 2016, 239–240)

The artefacts mentioned above and their various configurations symbolise the attainment, or the aspiration to do so, of a warrior social status in the local communities. In a few cases of the wealthiest graves,

Fig. 1. Varna, grave 4. A "male" cenotaph of the VC at the time of exploration (after: Ivanov 1988a, fig. 24; graphic editing by M. Juran).

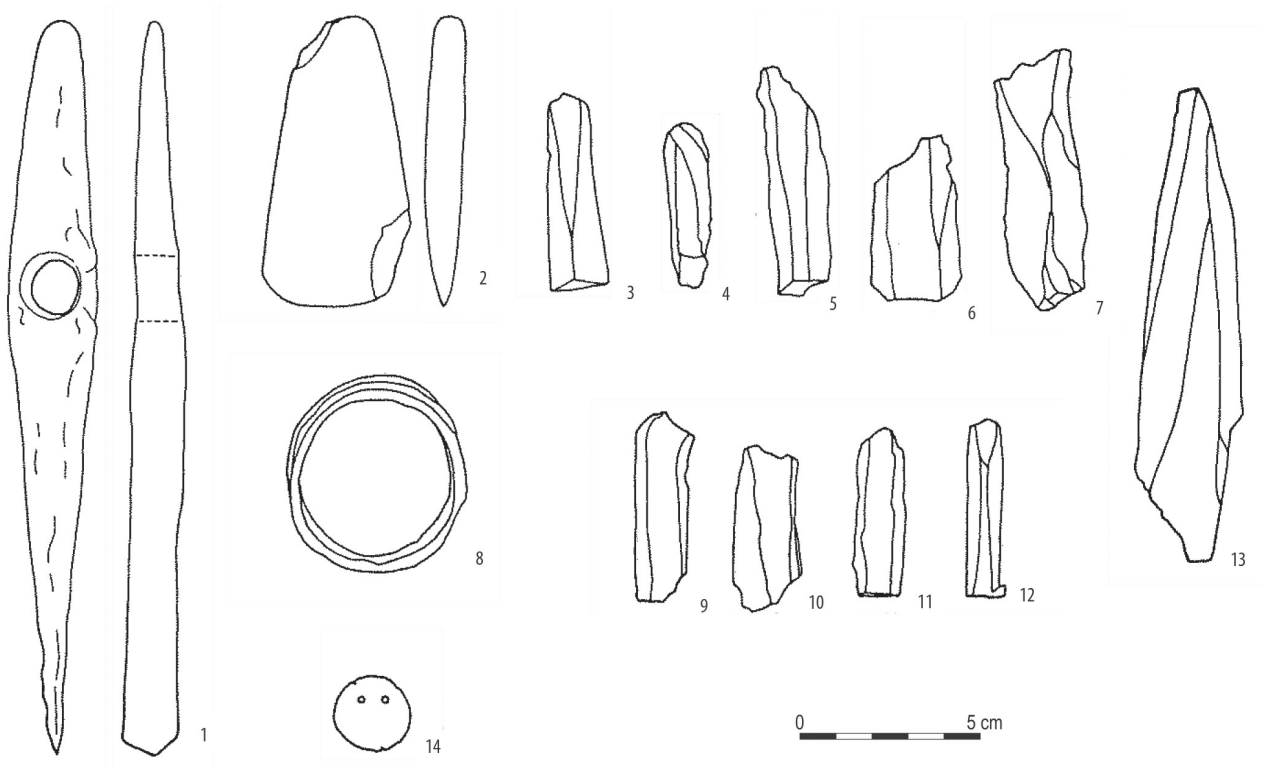

Fig. 2. Tibava, grave 10/56. Selection of grave goods from the TC burial of an adult male: 1, 8 – copper, 2 – stone, 3–13 – flint, 14 – gold (after: Šiška 1964, fig. 15; Lichter 2001, fig. 127; graphic editing by M. Juran).

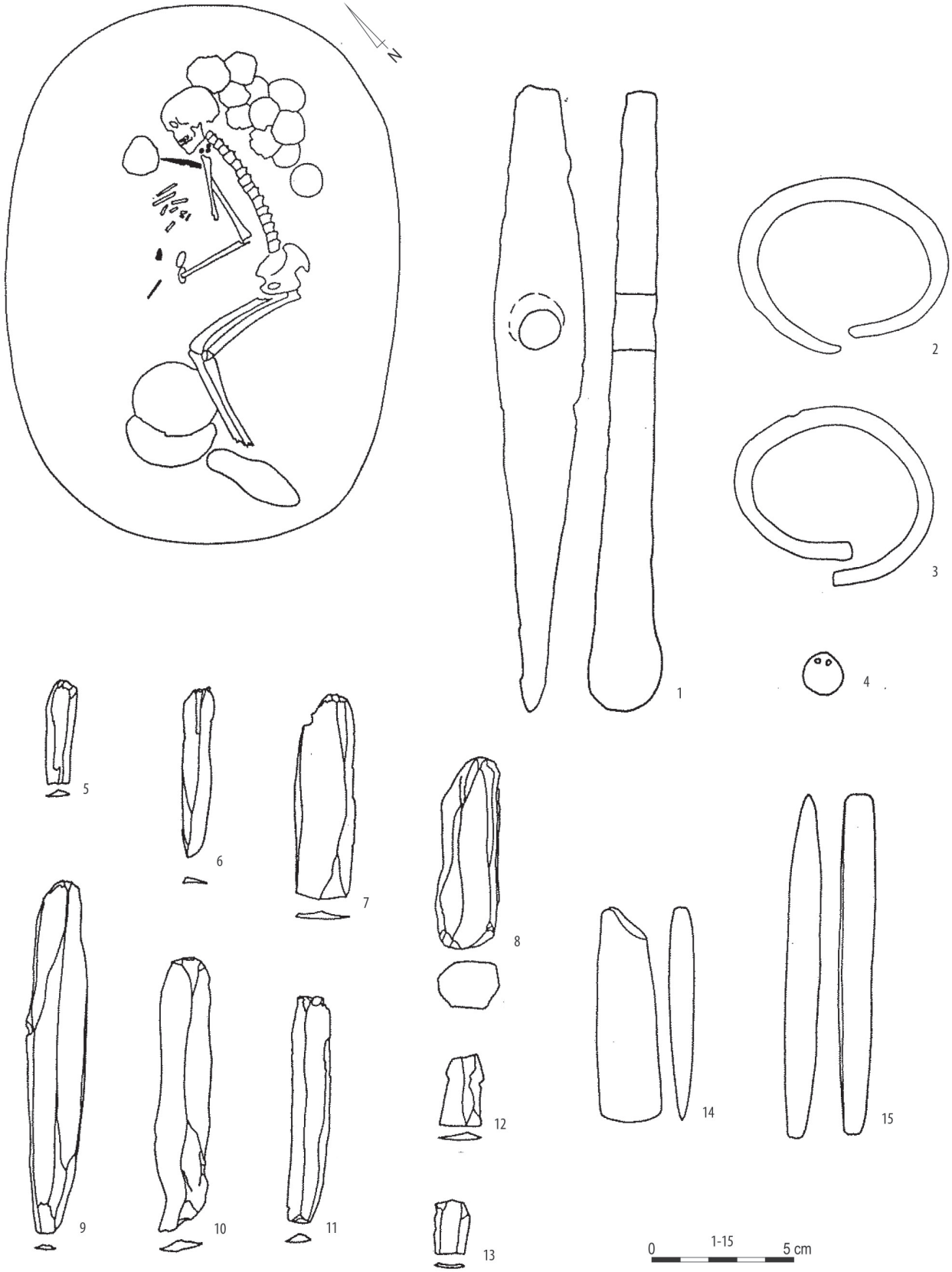

Fig. 3. Velke Raskovce, grave 1. Burial of an adult male of the TC and a selection of the grave furnishing: 1–3, 15 – copper, 4 – gold, 5–13 – flint, 14 – stone (after: Vizdal 1977, fig. 3; Lichter 2001, fig. 128; graphic editing by M. Juran).

all four categories of these symbols are represented. However, the vast majority of warrior graves lack gold ornaments. Also, the further north one goes from the western Black Sea coast, the fewer copper shaft-hole axes and axes and the more numerous stone specimens are found. At the same time, long flint blades and their derivatives, i.e. retouched blades, daggers, etc., are commonly present as warrior status symbols.

Repetitive assemblages of the artefacts described above, insignia of warrior status, have the character of a canon, a socially accepted pattern. However, these sets did not have to be complete in order to fulfil their role effectively. Not all of their elements had to be present and most warrior graves were only equipped with long flint blades. Despite this, they made it possible to effectively distinguish between ordinary men and warriors according to the stylistic figure of *pars pro toto*, in which a part of something represents the whole.

This was possible in a situation where a shared consensus on basic cultural principles and norms, similar world images and value systems (Fig. 4, 5; Klimscha 2016, 264–266), a kind of Greek *koiné*, functioned within the vast areas of the Balkans as well as Eastern and Central Europe.

Male graves equipped with long flint blades define the extent of this area (Fig. 4, 5; cf. Kadrow and Zakościelna 2024, fig. 1). They occur on the western Black Sea coast (Varna culture – hereafter: VC), by the lower Danube (Gumelniţa culture – hereafter: GC), at the mouth of the Danube and in the western part of the Pontic steppes (Suvorovo group – hereafter: SG), on the Pontic and Azov steppes between the Dnieper and Don (Skelya culture – hereafter: SC), by the lower Volga (Khvalinsk culture – hereafter: KC), in the Tisza basin (TC and Bodrogkeresztúr culture – hereafter: BGC), and on the Malopolska, Lublin and Volhynian Uplands (L–VC).

The aforementioned civilisational collectivity was functioning to its fullest within the period 4500–4200 BC (Fig. 4). However, it did not extend to the loess uplands area north of the Carpathians, the most important from our point of view, where the L-VC developed. The oldest assemblages of this culture appeared there no earlier than 4100 BC (Fig. 5). Considering the current radiocarbon chronology, the only element of the cultural community in question that could be contemporary to the L-VC is the BGC in its late phase. However, the presence of flint daggers shaped with the trough-like retouch in the L-VC assemblages, originating from the steppe SC, forces us to revise the dating of the onset of this culture, i.e. to earlier than 4100 BC, or revise the chronology of the end of the culture from the steppe, viz. later than 4100 BC.

An important cultural unit, i.e. the CTCC, is missing from the picture outlined above. It was certainly not part of the EECC described above but was nevertheless an important partner in the cultural contacts of its constituents, especially the Polgar cultures – TC and BGC – (Tkačuk 2023) as well as SC (Rassamakin 1999). The Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex at the time considered here, i.e. in the 2nd half of the 5th millennium BC, differed in many important ways from the Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex. The dense network of large settlements, indicative of a considerable demographic potential (Diachenko and Harper 2016) and the absence of cemeteries in the CTCC, contrasts with the situation in the EECC, as exemplified by the disappearance of the GC population (Harper 2019). In the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex, significant copper production was deposited in hoards (Dergachev and Parnov 2022) rather than in individual graves. This indicates fundamental differences in the social structures of the two cultural blocks: hierarchy (Lichardus 1991) – individualism – smaller populations in Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex vs. heterarchy – collectivism – large populations in Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex (Müller *et al*. (eds.) 2016; 2024; Shatilo 2021, 231–243).

According to some scholars, the CTCC, in its BI phase, acted as an important intermediary in the exchange of prestige goods between the production centre of the Kodjadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI-Varna complex (hereafter: KGK-VI-VC) and the steppes, with the main centre of the latter within the SC (Rassamakin 1999, 111). Others attribute a similar role to the GS (Govedarica and Manzura 2019).

On the other hand, at the same time, contacts of the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex from the upper Prut and Seret rivers, as well as the upper and middle Dniester, with the TC and BGC intensified as evidenced by the "imports" and imitations of the pottery of those cultures (Tkačuk 2023; cf. also Kruc and Rižov 1997).

The worldview (religion, burial rites) and socio-organisational differences between the Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex and the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex in the period 4500–4100 BC did not prevent lively contact between them. On the contrary, there was a hive of activity on the CTCC – SC and CTCC – Tisza basin axes. The Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex was a vital intermediary and agent of goods, technology and ideas within the Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex area.

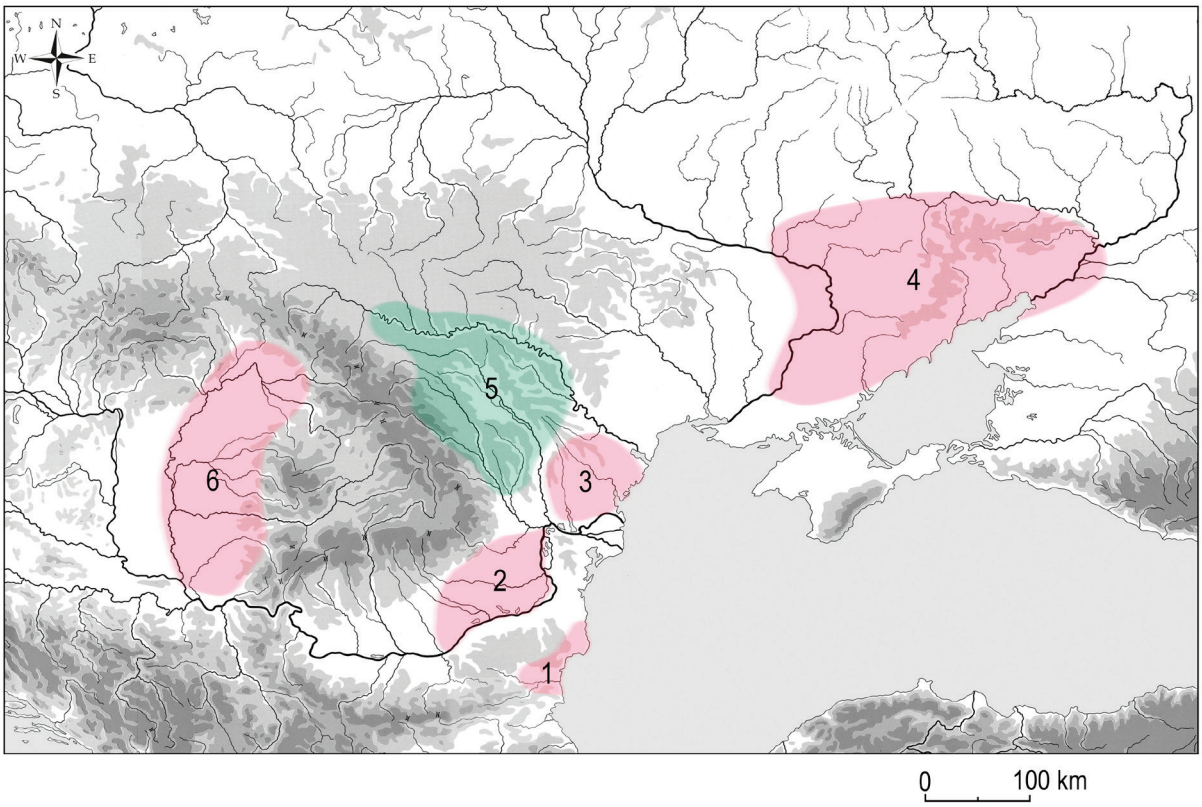

Fig. 4. Cultural situation around 4300–4100 BC: 1 – VC, 2 – GC, 3 – SG, 4 – SC, 5 – CTCC in its BI phase, 6 – Polgar cultures: TC and BGC (graphic editing by E. Starkova).

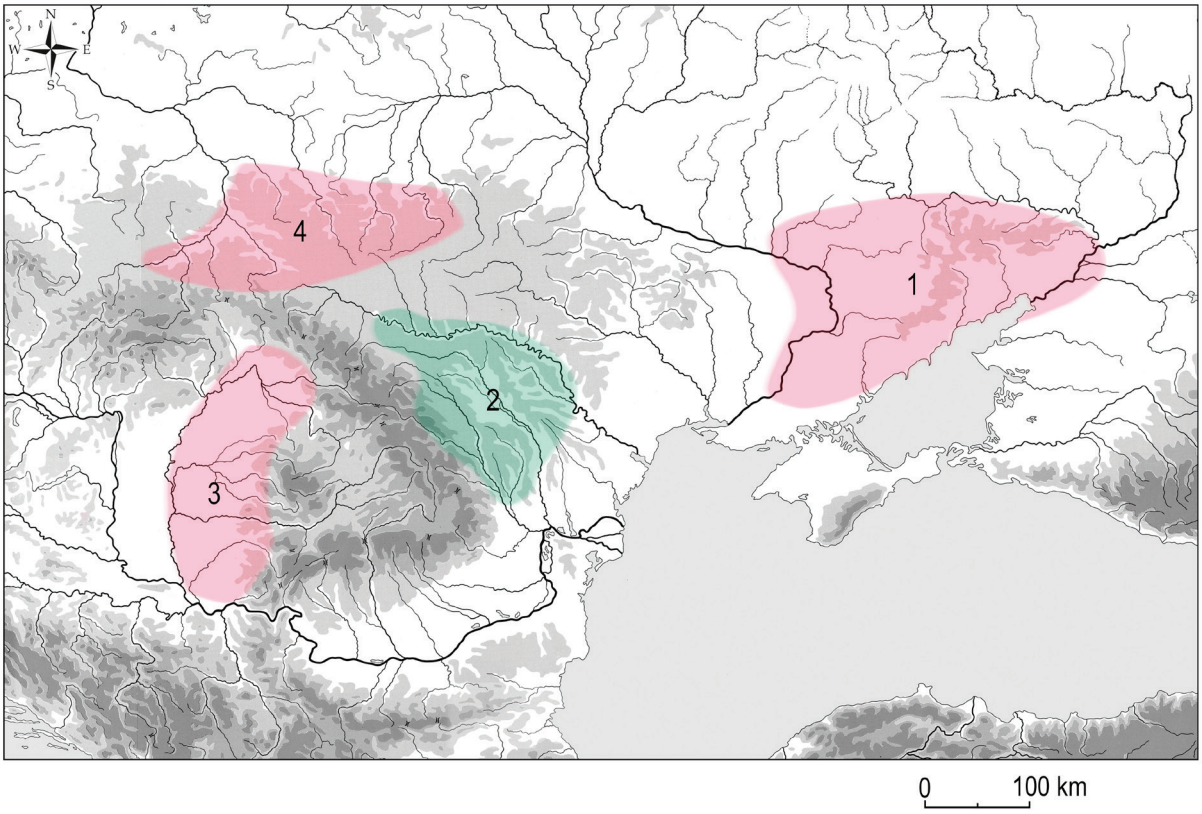

Fig. 5. Cultural situation around 4100–3900 BC: 1 – SC, 2 – CTCC in its BI–BI/BII phase, 3 – Polgar cultures: TC and BGC, 4 – L-VC (graphic editing by E. Starkova).

The CTCC activity increased over time and was inversely proportional to the weakening and disappearance of old centres of civilisation, i.e. the VC and GC (Diachenko *et al*. 2024). Contemporary to the settlement hiatus on the steppe (at the latest c. 4100 BC), the great expansion of the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex communities eastwards to the Southern Bug and Dnieper interfluve begins (Shatilo 2021, fig. 110). During the period of the younger part of the BI phase (4230–4100 BC; cf. Diachenko *et al*. 2024, fig. 5), CTCC influences are evident in the upper Bug, Styr and Horyn river basins in the form of the trough-like retouch (Kadrow and Zakościelna 2022a), painting of pottery with white oil paint (Kadrow and Zakościelna 2022b), and the borrowing of some vessel forms (Kadrow and Zakościelna 2025).

Funeral rites

By analysing the furnishings of male graves in terms of social issues, it was possible to define the Early Eneolithic EECC in Southeast, East, and Central Europe. The analysis, which includes certain peculiarities of the funerary rites of the mentioned Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex, reveals its regional and cultural diversity. Despite these peculiarities, symbolic differences between male and female graves are recorded throughout the entire complex in question. In all EECC units, the graves of both sexes were equipped with different sets of artefacts (material symbols). A cultural practice of this type is in line with Evžen Neustupný's (2008; Kadrow 2015) understanding of the idea of the Eneolithic, in which the spread of patriarchal rules is an essential feature.

In general, weapons were deposited in male graves and ornaments in female graves. This rule is evident in all Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex units. Also, throughout the range of the complex, cemeteries are spatially separated from settlements (Häusler 1994; Lichter 2001).

In the VC, TC (Fig. 2, 3), BGC (Fig. 6, 7) and L-VC (Fig. 7, 8), the differences between the sexes

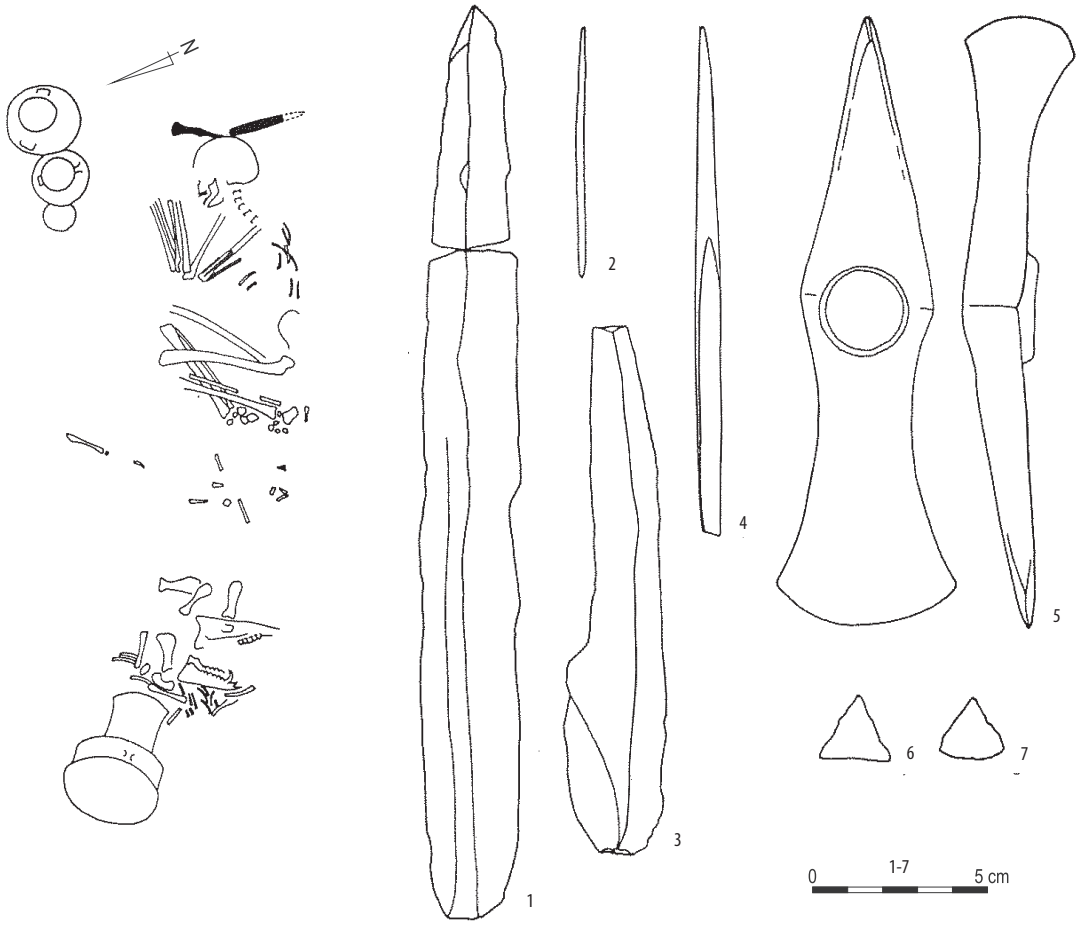

Fig. 6. Magyarhomorog-Kónyadomb, grave 46. Burial of an adult male of the BC and a selection of the grave goods: 2, 4, 7, 8 – flint, 3, 6 – copper, 5 – bone (after: Patay 1976, fig. 27; Lichter 2001, fig. 148; graphic editing by M. Juran).

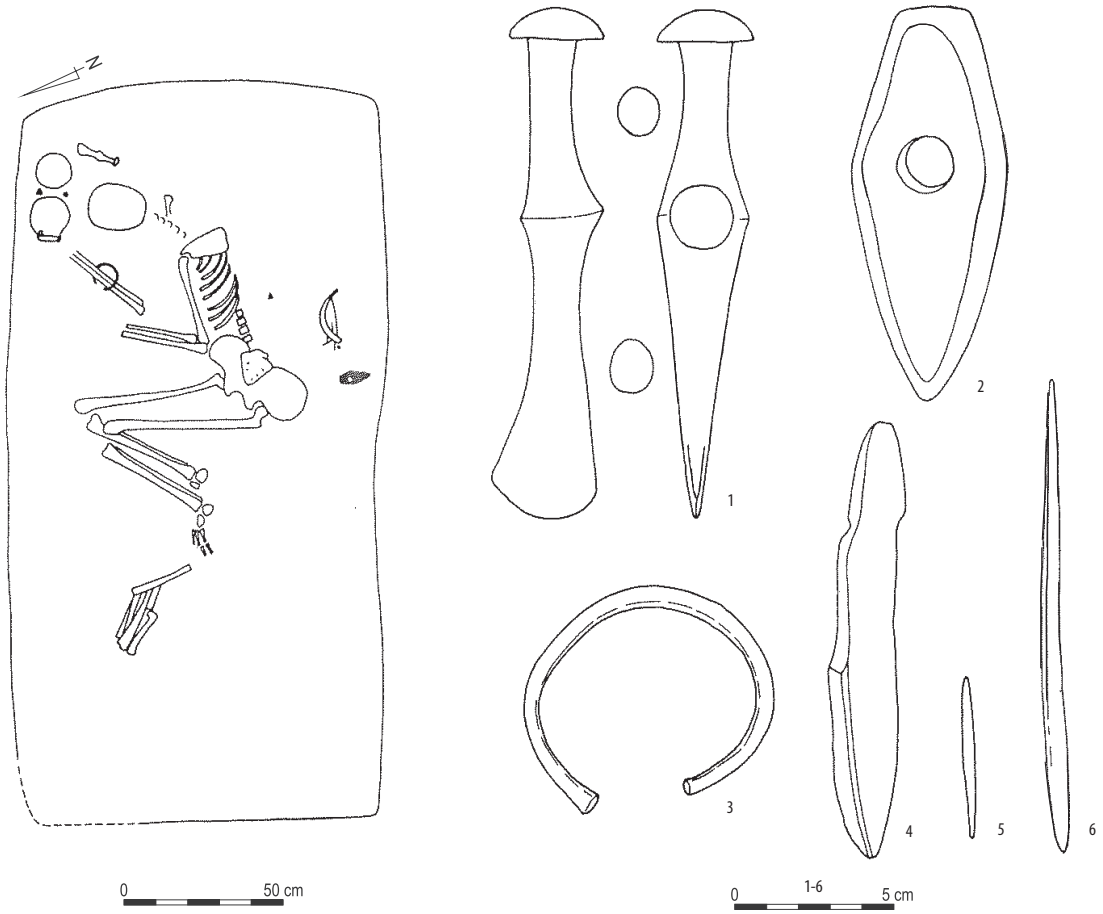

Fig. 7. Tiszavalk-Kenderföld, grave 29. Burial of an adult male of the BC and a selection of the grave goods: 1, 3, 5, 6 – copper, 2 – stone, 4 – flint (according to Patay 1978, fig. 26, tab. IX; Lichter 2002, fig. 141; graphic design by M. Juran).

of those buried are further emphasised by the different rules for arranging the corpse in the burial pit. In phase A/BI of the CTCC, burial rites are archaeologically intangible.

In the late Hamangia culture and the VC, men were laid on their backs in an extended position while women were buried in a flexed position on their right side (Todorova 2002). However, while a small percentage of men were buried like women, weaponry and tools were only deposited in men's graves (Borić 2015, 939–941).

In the TC and BGC, the dead were buried in cemeteries separated from the settlements. Women were laid in graves in a flexed position on the left side while men – on the right. Weapons and tools, as well as gold discs and ornaments made from boar tusks, were deposited in male graves, while copper and gold ornaments were deposited in female graves (e.g. Pusztaistvanháza – Hillebrandt 1929; Nevizánsky 1984; Lichter 2001). Similar elements of funeral rites are recorded in the L-VC cemeteries (Zakościelna 2010; Wilk 2018). In the Hunyadi-halom group (hereafter: H-hG), a shift from the rules described above began with the introduction of cremation (Borić 2015, 942–944).

In the steppe SC and KC, the dead of both sexes were laid on their backs with their legs contracted. Weapons, tools, and copper bracelets were deposited in male graves, while ornaments of small size in female burials (Fig. 10; Agapov *et al.* 1990; Rassamakin 1999; Agapov (ed.) 2010; Anthony *et al.* 2022).

The situation within the Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex at the end of the 5th millennium BC (4200–4000 BC), the collapse of its centres and expansion of the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex to the east and possibly to the north

The EECC fully flourished during the period 4500–4200 BC (Fig. 4) and, thus, before the emergence of the L-VC. The populations of the former entity reached their highest level during 4450–4350 BC. A deep though slow crisis, especially by the lower

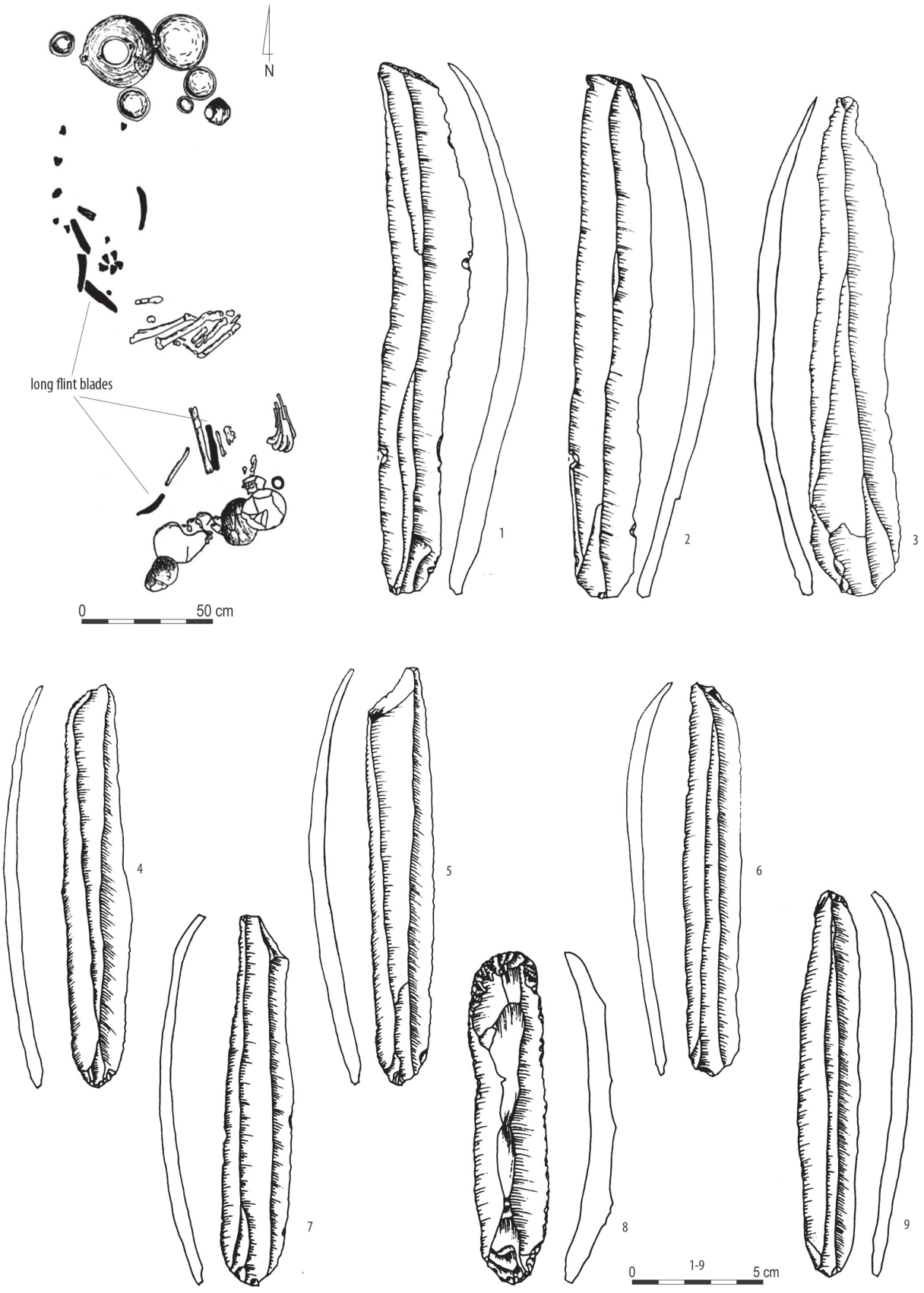

Fig. 8. Strzyżów IA, grave 1/1960. Burial of an adult male and adult female of the L-VC: 1–9 – flint, selection of male grave goods (after: Głosik and Gurba 1963; Zakościelna 2010, tab. LII: B, LIIa, LIIb); graphic editing by M. Juran).

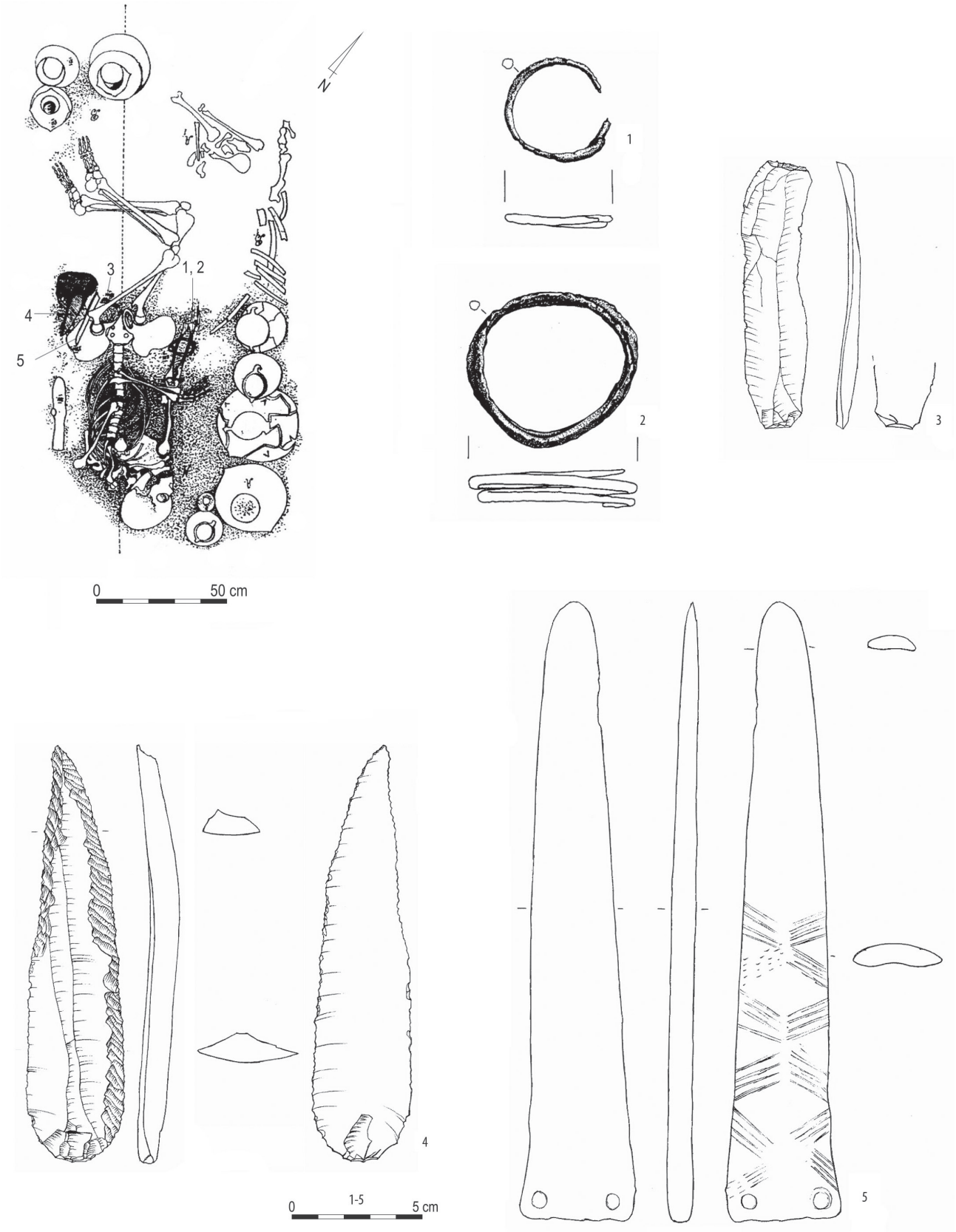

Fig. 9. Złota, „Grodzisko II", grave 101/1930. Burial of an adult male of the L-VC and a selection of grave furnishing: 1, 2 – copper, 3, 4 – flint, 5 – animal bone (after: Sałacińska and Zakościelna 2007; Zakościelna 2010, tab. LXXV, LXXVa; graphic editing by M. Juran).

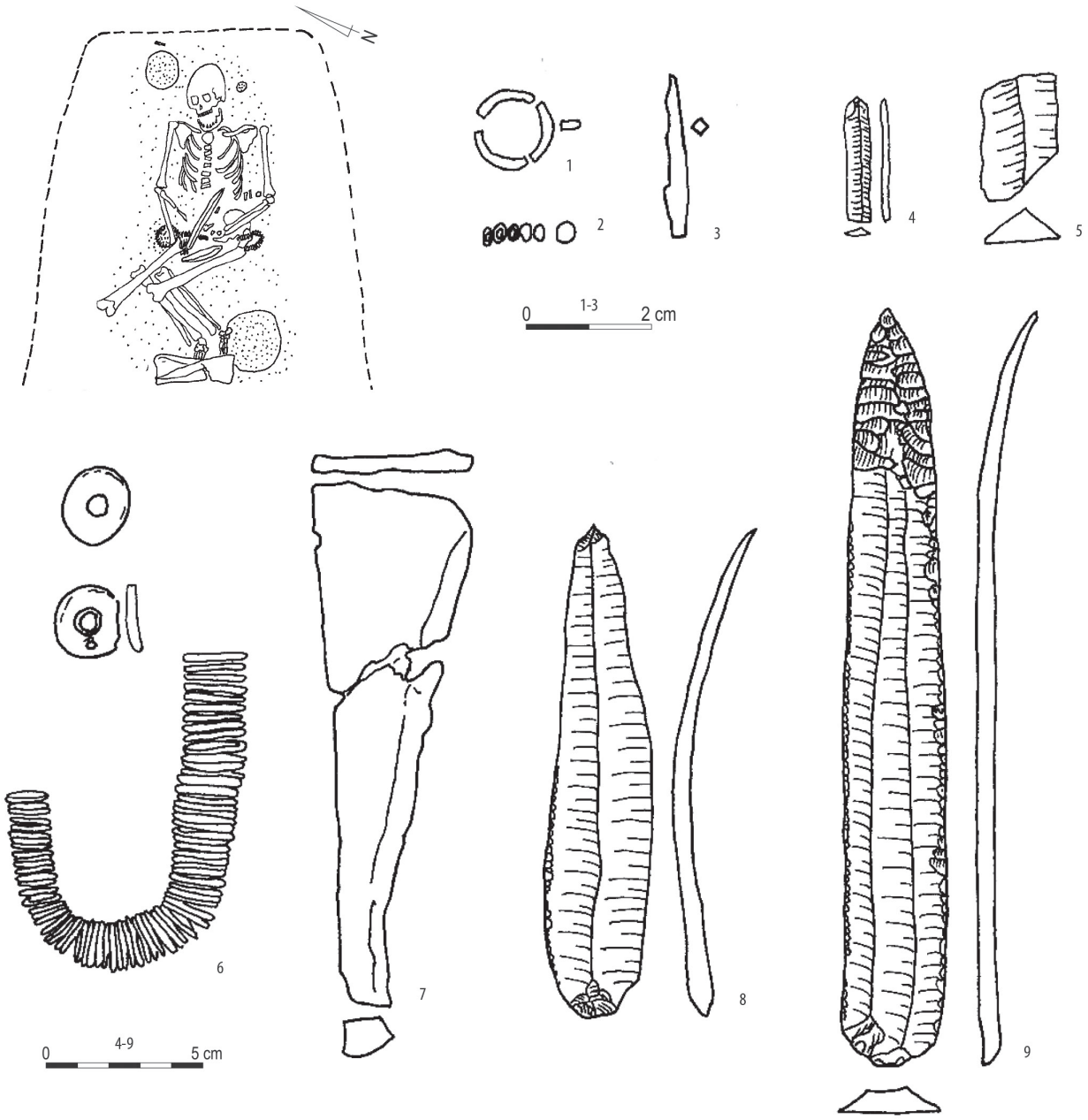

Fig. 10. Aksay "Muhin II", barrow 5, grave 9. Burial and grave goods of an adult male of the SC: 1–3 – copper, 4, 5, 8, 9 – flint, 6 – shell, 7 – animal shoulder blade (after: Rassamakin 2004, plate 291; graphic editing by M. Juran).

Danube, caused by the drying of the climate, started around 4200/4150 BC and, in places, lasted until 3800 BC (Popescu *et al*. 2023).

The aforementioned population decline was concurrent with a sharp increase in the CTCC populations at the end of the BI phase in Moldova and by the middle and upper Dniester, which started at least around 4100 BC (Diachenko and Harper 2016, 91; Harper 2019). This was also when the first BII phase Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex assemblages appeared (Harper 2021, fig. 1, 2). At the same time, some of the population moved slowly eastwards to the area between the Southern Bug and the Dnieper, giving rise to the giant settlements of the 1st half of the 4th millennium BC.

Probably a smaller part of the discussed CTCC population started to penetrate the areas by the upper Bug, Styr and Horyn (Fig. 5), inhabited by the people of the Malice Culture (hereinafter: MC) of the Rzeszów phase. As a result, the area of the Volhynian Uplands was saturated by the end of the 5th millennium BC with Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex elements, which became constitutive components of the L-VC. These include some forms of pottery, pottery ornamentation

technique using white oil paint, trough-like retouch, burins, Trypillian arrowheads, etc.

The two expansions of the CTCC population dated to the end of the BI phase, the first one confirmed in the eastward direction and the second postulated northward one, although driven by the exact causes (climate and demography), must have taken different courses and were subject to diverse mechanisms, as evidenced by their various outcomes.

An instructive example in this regard comes from a study of the socio-cultural transformation of the Zuni and Mesa Verde culture populations from the SW part of the USA (Spielmann *et al.* 2016). The exact same reasons, i.e. climate and demography, led to an increase in the diversity of settlements and the stabilisation of politico-religious institutions in the case of the Zuni while, in the case of Mesa Verde culture, there was an increase in the diversity of these institutions. As a result, the Zuni communities overcame the threshold of climatic and demographic change by preserving their former structure, while Mesa Verde was affected by the abrupt change of the former structure, which led to reaching its new state.

Thus, two similar cultural communities (Zuni and Mesa Verde), connected by a network of information exchange, as they belonged to the same cultural circle, responded to climate stress in very different ways (Spielmann *et al*. 2016, fig. 4).

A model of how society acts in the face of change (symbols, rituals, ideologies and institutions)

In most studies conducted in the field of cultural-historical archaeology, stylistic-typological analyses, mainly of pottery and metal artefacts, form the basis for drawing conclusions about the genesis and direction of the cultural development of prehistoric communities. The dynamics of stylistic-typological change are dictated by the movement, including migrations of various scales, and contacts of human groups (e.g. Czarniak 2012).

We believe that changes in all elements of material culture, some to a lesser and others to a greater extent, result from transformations of interrelated parts of the cultural structure (Wuthnow 1987). These changes are a response to internal (moral uncertainty, crisis, demography) and external (climate, environmental change) factors.

Cultural structure consists of material symbols and rituals involving these symbols in their performative function. The action of rituals and symbols, as opposed to their meaning, is directly accessible to archaeological observation. Therefore, ideology and social institutions, i.e. further parts of the cultural structure, are indirectly accessible to archaeological observation because they are connected with the action of symbols and rituals.

The increasing diversity and intensification of ritual practices are indicators of growing uncertainty within a community. Rituals aim to restore social stability and are apparent symptoms of a social crisis resulting in socio-cultural change and the transformation of one culture into another (Wuthnow 1987).

The type of power and authority characteristic of the given era is relevant to our considerations. In our case, it is traditionalist authority, in which people believe in the sanctity of the traditions that have been in force "forever". In patriarchalism, i.e. one of the varieties of traditionalism, one person designated by the rules of heredity reigns. In traditionalism, it is impossible to "create" a new law through its establishment. New rules could only be treated as legitimate if they were considered to have been in force "forever" (Weber 2002, 194). Hence, there is room for manipulation of material culture (symbols) in the process of exercising power (Kadrow 2008) and for a relatively arbitrary selection of various symbols, even of a foreign origin, in order to emphasise legitimate aspirations to seize or maintain that power (Kadrow 2017).

Elements of relational sociology are also of great interpretative importance to us. These have been successfully applied in studies on cultural transformation processes (e.g. Drummer 2022). Relational sociology is based on the assumption that it is possible in archaeology to identify a group identity that consists mainly of categorical identification (e.g. ceramic style, funerary ritual, personal ornaments, etc.) but also to some extent of relational elements (e.g. ceramic technology; cf. Peeples 2018).

Symbols and rituals define group identity, with broadly defined funeral rites of primary importance in this regard. A change in funeral rites is a manifestation of social change and a change of group identity (Drummer 2022, 17–18). The interrelation between relational and categorical identification is important for a comprehensive assessment of social identity and its change.

Relational identification is the result of direct or indirect contacts, interactions and relationships between people. On the other hand, categorical identification results from a person's sense of belonging to a group. It stems from sharing the same values (Drummer 2022, 18).

In this paper, we do not develop further the concept of heterogeneous culture (Barker 2005; Kadrow and Zakościelna 2024) and its heterogeneous grave assemblages. Unfortunately, the source base of this category of tangible culture by the upper Styr and Horyn rivers has not expanded. The current ^{14}C dating of the local CTCC in its phase BII is too late to be included in the consideration regarding the genesis of the L-VC. The chronology of the grave assemblages from Holishiv (Wilk 2018), hitherto considered crucial to the origins of the L-VC culture (Kadrow and Zakościelna 2000, 208–213), is also questionable.

Reconstruction of the cultural transformation processes within the Early Eneolithic Cultural Complex and Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex at the end of the 5th millennium BC and the genesis of the Lublin-Volhynia Culture

The L-VC consists of an eastern and a western component, with the boundary between the two running along the middle course of the Wieprz River. The main, but not the only, criterion for distinguishing the zones is the exclusive reliance of flintmaking of the eastern part on the Volhynian raw material, while in the western part on other raw materials, i.e. Świeciechów, chocolate, Jurassic, as well as Volhynian flint (Kadrow and Zakościelna 2025). Other elements defining this culture in the eastern and western zones also differ.

Thanks to the analyses and studies of the L-VC grave assemblages at Książnice 2, we have a precise and reliable absolute chronology of this culture with its origins in the western part (Wilk 2016; 2018). The genesis of L-VC in the west is clearly marked by the influences of the Bodrogkeresztur culture (funerary rites, copper artefacts and some pottery forms) with the participation of the Ludanice culture elements, such as pottery. Western communities also adapted arrowheads in the form of microlithic inserts of Mesolithic origin and pottery characterised by the technology and style of "forest Neolithic" decoration into their inventories (Kruk and Milisauskas 1985).

However, in the oldest L-VC graves at Książnice 2, eastern elements are present, i.e. a dagger made of Volhynian flint formed with a trough-like retouch (grave 5) and traces of white paint on pottery (graves 3 and 4). All of the above are male burials.

The grave assemblage from a female grave of early chronology from Podlodów 2 supplies a powerful argument that the oldest L-VC pottery in the eastern zone does not show any Bodrogkeresztur culture or Ludanice culture features but displays obvious Trypillian connections. Painting pottery with white oil paint also originates from the CTCC. Most of the flint knapping techniques and flint products used in the L-VC come directly from the Cucuteni-Trypillia Cultural Complex or were adopted through this cultural unit. For example, we can mention here triangular arrowheads, trough-like retouch, long blades, burins, etc. Daggers formed with trough-like retouch come directly from the steppe SC. In contrast, most copper products in the L-VC have ties with the Polgar culture milieu (Wilk 2016; 2018).

Traditionally, stylistic and typological analyses of pottery (e.g. Czarniak 2012), sometimes also of metalwork, are used to determine the genesis of a given culture. This is done while disregarding the environmental and socio-political conditions of the broader background.

Considering the views of researchers who implement the conceptual apparatus of relational sociology, the funeral rites with associated sets of symbols are of the most significant importance for reconstructing group identity (Peeples 2018; Drummer 2022). For this reason, the BGC, with its almost identical funeral rites, should be considered the most significant factor in the genesis of the L-VC. This is also supported by the tendency to express aspirations to achieve warrior status among men which is distinctive for communities of both cultures.

The above trend is also shared with the L-VC by the steppe SC. Without intermediaries, the latter passed on the idea of a flint dagger formed with trough-like retouch to the former. What is essential is that the idea had been passed while the daggers themselves were not exported. In the L-VC, the raw material used for their production always consisted of Volhynian flint, while local flint was used by the Donec River. This transmission has multiple meanings, as only in the cultures mentioned above was such a product found, always deposited in the graves of men of higher social status. Moreover, this transmission must have occurred before 4100 BC, i.e. before the disappearance of the SC. It also proves the need to look for the origins of L-VC prior to this date.

Paradoxically, the most constitutive elements of the L-VC came from the BI phase of the CTCC, that is, from an environment with which it did not share a common group identity, viz. categorical identifiers. Instead, the shared elements include various technologies, viz. relational identifiers, such as the technique

of painting pottery with white paint, some pottery forms, long blades, and trough-like retouch. Shared relational traits result from close interpersonal contacts, relationships and interactions. They do not, however, result in shared values.

A pre-4100 BC CTCC community, or communities, living in the area by the upper Prut and Dniester rivers with a dissident (deviant) nature from the heterarchy and collective action prevailing in this cultural circle (Müller *et al*. (eds.) 2016; 2024; Shatilo 2021, 231–243), must have been the origin of the L-VC. At that time, that area was penetrated quite intensively by the BGC population (Tkačuk 2023), and it was still within the network of interactions with the SC. The reason for the emergence of this community is unknown. However, it is acknowledged that the emergence of such groups, i.e. offering new ideologies, results from internal conflicts and political struggles (Wuthnow 1987).

Not accepting the identity of the CTCC populations among whom they lived, the communities in question sought a "promised land" to realise their vision of the world. They found it by the upper Bug River and its tributary – the Huczwa River. There, they came across culturally passive communities of the late phase of the MC. They brought various Trypillian technologies and other features without symbolic meaning to this geographical area. Using the technique of manipulating material culture, typical for traditional power, and rejecting the entire Trypillian sphere of symbols and rituals, they instead adopted the universe of religious and socio-political values borrowed from the EECC, together with its symbolism, i.e. the categorical identifiers. In this way, they created and established their own identity. From the BGC milieu, they adopted the funerary rite, while from the steppe world, they took over the social structure in which men aspired to achieve the status of warrior, symbolised, above all, by the long blades and their particular example, i.e. the daggers shaped with trough-like retouch.

The following question then arises: where did the Trypillian dissident communities adopt the Polgar funeral rites from? This could have occurred while they were still by the upper Prut and Dniester rivers before moving out to areas by the upper Bug. However, there is no confirmation of this in the available sources. The presence of categorical identifiers, i.e. daggers formed with trough-like retouch, and relational identifiers, i.e. decorating the pottery with white paint in the oldest L-VC graves in Książnice 2 cemetery, argues in favour of the high mobility of Trypillian dissidents (men) and their conscious, active role in the process of synthesising Bodrogkeresztur, Trypillian and steppe elements, resulting in the establishment of a community with an original group identity in the form of the L-VC.

Conclusion

Climate change, namely drought, by the Lower Danube and in the Dobrudja, led to the decline of the VC and GC civilisation centres and the weakening of the other cultural entities constituting the EECC. On the other hand, the CTCC populations began to expand rapidly. As a result, regional micro-processes were set in motion. One of these led to the emergence of the eastern L-VC by the upper Bug River in the late MC environment. It was possible thanks to the activity of Trypillian dissidents, although with the involvement of crucial Bodrogkeresztur culture impulses.

After the disappearance of BGC just before the end of the 5th millennium BC, the L-VC was the only continuation of the EECC. The development of H-hG, which included the appearance of cremation and lack of long blades in graves, contradicted the ideals of the EECC and thus fit in with the tendencies of the Middle Eneolithic.

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