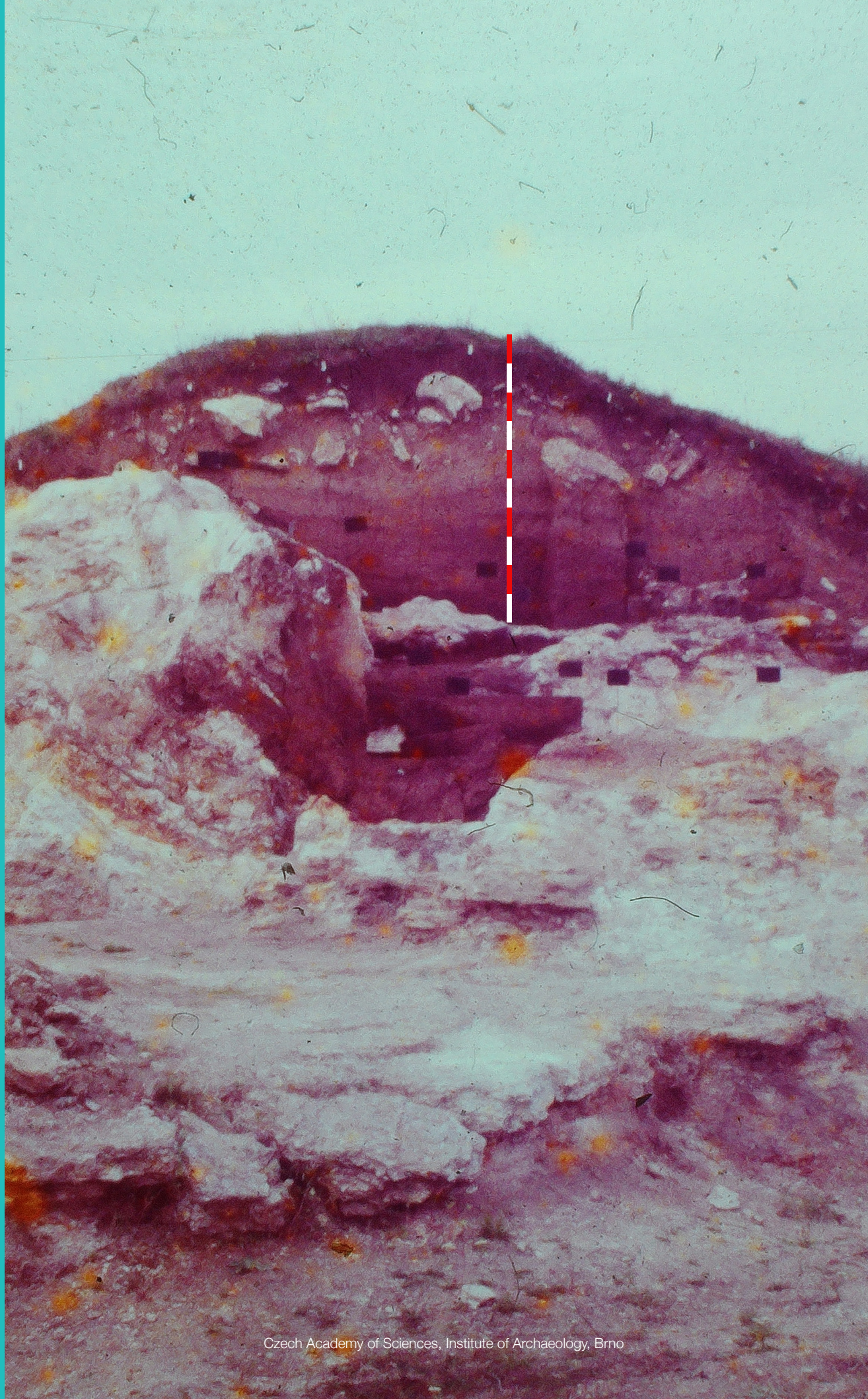


Solving Stone Age puzzles:
From artefacts and sites towards archaeological interpretations



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Adrián Nemergut – Martin Novák et al.

The Dolní Věstonice Studies Vol. 26

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*This monograph is dedicated
to Lubomíra Kaminská*

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What do some findings of fauna indicate: Notes on the survival of mammoths and woolly rhinos at the end of the Last Glacial Maximum

Zdeňka Nerudová

Introduction

Not only in recent years, but also through earlier research, we have obtained interesting information about the late Paleolithic settlements, where, in addition to the stone chipped industry, the remains of Pleistocene fauna were often discovered. If we leave aside the cave environment, which has been the focus of archaeological research since its inception, and of which numerous localities are known, open-air localities are also gradually being discovered. These finds, although at first quite rare, were somewhat unusual: in terms of stratigraphic placement, the nature of the finds, or, for example, the presence of representatives of certain types of megafaunas. In this paper, I would like to focus on the phenomenon of the survival of representatives of the megafauna (Martin 1984), specifically the woolly mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, based on known findings of the bones of these animals from archaeological (cultural) contexts. I would like to summarize the faunistic finds of mammoth and rhinoceros from the end of the LGM on our territory and point out some interesting aspects that result from these finds and comment on them in a somewhat broader context. From an archaeological point of view, these osteological finds can be associated with Epigravettian and Magdalenian. Since many of these osteological findings have been directly dated, the occurrence of mammoth or rhino bones in Epigravettian and Magdalenian cannot be attributed to the mere collection of randomly found cadavers. Given the stratigraphic deposits of the Epigravettian and Magdalenian industries, it is not surprising that the bones of these two species of fauna are found in cave environments rather than in open-air localities. At the same time, however, due to the demands of both mammoth and rhino on the ecosystem, the caves represent an environment completely unsuitable for these species. The main focus of this contribution is put on the mammoth or rhino bones, tusks, and teeth. For simplicity, I only write bones, but I mean generally any kind of hard animal tissues.

Fauna, environment, dating

Mammoths and rhinoceros are probably the most typical members inhabiting the so-called mammoth steppe, a cold, dry, and grassy biome, as defined by Guthrie (Guthrie 1968; 1982; 2001). These two representatives of megafauna are often considered to be iconic animals of the Ice Age. Although the extent of their habitat did not completely overlap, the rhinoceros and the mammoth had almost the same requirements for the environment, which was an open steppe or park landscape, with adaptation to cold climatic conditions (Musil 2014, 131). Despite the term mammoth steppe, the mammoth steppe represented a biome with a great diversity of species including large mammals with specific nutritional conditions, focused on sufficient water sources and energetically suitable food (Guthrie 2001).

Towards the end of the last glacial period, probably due to climate changes, some representatives of the large Pleistocene fauna die out, while other (smaller) species migrate to other (more suitable) areas. Numerous works confirm that the extinction of some species at the end of the Pleistocene is not a simple causal phenomenon, but a long complex process with multiple factors. The definition of extinction states that: "When the fossil bones of a given species fail to appear above a certain stratigraphic horizon in a region, we assume that this species died out, at least in that region. However, as the old proverb says, 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.' The discovery of any younger fossils will, of course, mean that the extinction date has to be revised" (Elias, Schreve 2007). It can only be noted that such revisions occur with basically every new archaeological or paleontological find.

Several professional contributions are devoted to the causes and, in particular, to the question of when certain species of fauna die out in the Late Pleistocene. Discussions devoted to the causes of extinction (caused by climate changes, human activity, or the coincidence of both factors) are relatively rich (for example, Musil 1993, 2014; Elias, Schreve 2007; Markova et al. 2010b; Leshchinskiy 2012; MacDonald et al. 2012,) and are not the point of this paper. A great deal of literature is also dedicated to the time of the extinction of individual species, while the absolute dates are refined and condensed, or the extinction limit of the studied species is moved closer to our present day, such as for the woolly mammoth (Stuart et al. 2004; Markova et al. 2010a, 2013; Nadachowski et al. 2011; Stuart, Lister 2012).

Some authors state that in the period of the end of the LGM (15–18 ky BP), due to warming, mammoths or woolly rhinoceroses should not be represented in the hunting fauna. They claim that, for example, the bones of the woolly rhinoceros (hunted game) are not found in European Paleolithic sites from the end of the Last Glacial period, or are completely absent (Musil 2003), while they are supposed to be rare already in the Gravettian. In Siberia after the LGM around 20 ka BP, the share of wholly rhino should be only 11% (Lorenzen et al. 2011; Stuart, Lister 2012). Published data indicate that the mammoth became extinct in Europe sometime around the end of the last glaciation, perhaps 12.8 ka (Stuart 1991; 1999). Northern populations decline in the Younger Dryas (–12.9–11.5 ka), except Wrangel Island and Beringia, where the last individuals definitively die out around 4 thousand ka (MacDonald et al. 2012). The definitive extinction of the woolly rhinoceros is supposed to occur around 14 ka (Stefaniak et al. in press), the youngest age of the find is 13.9 ka (Stuart, Lister 2012). Although a Holocene date of 9510 ± 260 BP (IPAE-93) BP (IPAE-93) (Kosintsev 1995; 2007) was previously obtained at the Lobvinsky Cave site in the Middle Urals, this date was not accepted as it is an extreme outlier which could not be tested by further dating (Stuart, Lister 2012). At the same time, at the end of the LGM, there should be a fundamental change in the species composition of the fauna and the quantitative representation of species. Examples are the gates of the

Kammern-Grubgraben and Ságvár localities (Musil 2014, 141). The above-mentioned locality, due to the turbulent history of research (Neugebauer-Maresch et al. 2016), is not an ideal example in the given discussion, Ságvár seems to be a station oriented towards reindeer hunting, although the discovery of mammoth bones is also described from there (Vörös 1982). Musil further states that the Magdalenian [regarding the hunting fauna] shows similarities with the preceding Epigravettian and at the same time points out that the glacial fauna, if they are young finds [in terms of their dating], are always found in caves (Musil 2014, 142).

The above-cited reasoning does not correspond to the archaeological data, which have been multiplying especially in recent years. The disproportion between the faunal findings, often originating from the context of Paleolithic artefacts, and the radiometric dating of some of these faunal findings was unfortunately not accepted by the aforementioned author, especially when it was obvious based on many years of “autopsy” that the species in question simply could not occur at that time. Small localities with rare evidence of animal bone finds were overlooked because their negligible number could not compete with large, long-term investigated localities with dozens or hundreds of faunal finds.

A relatively extensive comparative study devoted to the Epigravettian chronology in Central Europe in the context of the dominant types of stone tools and faunal remains was recently published (Lengyel et al. 2021). From it, I cite data concerning the finds of mammoth and rhinoceros bones and expand them with the context of the finds from Moravia (Tab. 19. 1).

Although not all of the cited finds come from a clear stratigraphic context, it is clear that finds of mammoth and rhinoceros bones are relatively common not only in the Epigravettian but also in the Magdalenian. Even if we exclude finds that do not chronologically fall within the time frame monitored here, and further then finds that have been unequivocally proven to be unrelated to late Paleolithic settlement (for example Šošůvské caves, Výpustek, Vratíkov), the overview of their occurrence in Moravia will remain quite numerous. If we were to mention the findings from the wider area, then we must mention that the bones of the woolly rhinoceros come from Hostim, or the Na Průchodě Cave, from Western Europe the rhinoceros was further documented in Grappin, Rigny, Müzingen, Kesslerloch, Napoleonskopf, Burghöhle Dietfurt, Kuhstalhöhle, Spitzbubenhöhle, Vogelherd, Roche-al-Rue, Gönnersdorf, Wildweiberlei, Wildscheuer, Herdloch Ranis, Oelknitz, Lausnitz, Schafgraben, and Kamegg (Maier 2015). Woolly mammoth bones were also recorded at the Magdalenian sites of Croze-sur-Suran, Grappin, Farincourt, Rigny, Freudenthalh, Kesslerloch, Petersfels, Napolenskopf, Höhle Fels, Schelk, Brilenhöhle, Kastelhanghöhle, Coléoptère, GD, Verlaine, Gönnersdorf, Feldhofhöhle, Wildscheuer, Aschenstein, Teufelsbrücke, Oelknitz, Kniegrotte, Lausnitz or Schafgraben (Maier 2015). Mammoth or rhinoceros bones have also been documented in the late Magdalenian in Poland (Połtowicz-Bobak 2012).

In the past, several extensive dating projects have been carried out, focusing on the woolly mammoth and woolly rhinoceros in the wider area of Central Europe. For example, in the case of woolly mammoth finds in Poland, it turned out that after a certain break, bounded by roughly 24 cal. ka BP up to 18 cal. ka BP, when the mammoth disappears from the records, its return occurs between approximately 18 and 15 cal. ka BP (Nadachowski et al. 2011; Stefaniak et al. in press). According to the definition, “extirpation” (i.e. local extinction) occurred in these species, which is not synonymous with extinction (Elias, Schreve 2007).

Considering the research of available resources and the ecological demands of both species, I would like to point out several problems. Musil states that both the mammoth and the rhinoceros needed

Tab. 19.1. Findings of woolly mammoth (M) and rhinoceros (Cl) dated to the end of the LGM from an archaeological context. If it is significant, and if the information is available, the number of MNI in the locality is also given.* indicates a problematic find (i.e. old find, uncertain stratigraphy or context, uncertain dating, etc.)

Site	Datation	Specie	Note	Source
Bratčice	Epigravettian	M (>1)	Date from the mammoth: OxA-33454: 14,395 ± 70	Nerudová et al. 2019
Brno-Štýřice II I	Epigravettian	M (>1), Cl	Date from the mammoth bone OxA-28114: 14,870 ± 90	Roblíčková et al. 2015
Jaroslavice	Epigravettian	M, CL	GrA-7574: 19,340 ± 100 BP	Wurmbrand 1878
Horákov "Macocha"	Epigravettian	M		Škrdla, Kos 1999
Kamenná (Brno-Štýřice)	Epigravettian	M	Date from the mammoth bone *OxA-24105: 14,235 ± 60 BP	Nerudová 2010
Nemocnice Milosrdných bratří (Hospital)	Epigravettian	M	*GdA-459: 15,650 ± 70 BP	Škrdla et al. 2005
Opava – Předměstí I (Lundwall's Brickyard)	Epigravettian	M		Bayer, Stumpf 1929
Oslavany – elektrárna (power station)	Epigravettian	M, Cl		Oliva 2007
Stadice	Epigravettian	M	GrN-15862: 14,280 ± 120 BP Date from mammoth bone – OxA-42443: 14,121 ± 83 BP	Vencl, Fridrich 2007; Oliva 2023
Stránská skála IV	Epigravettian	Cl	GrN-13954: 18,220 ± 120	Svoboda 1991
Stránská skála IV	Epigravettian		GrN-14351: 17,740 ± 90	Svoboda 1991
Stránská skála IV	Epigravettian		Poz-101463: 18,670 ± 110	Svoboda et al. 2020
Třebíč 1 – Ptáčov	Epigravettian	M		Vokáč 2003
Velké Pavlovice	Epigravettian	M	Date from the mammoth bone *GrN-16139: 14,460 ± 230 BP	Svoboda, Fišáková 1999
Vídeňská 11	Epigravettian	M, Cl (>1)	Date from the rhino bone: Poz-137944: 15,560 ± 80 BP	Nerudová et al. 2022
Vídeňská 15	Epigravettian?	M	Association with Epigravettian according to stratigraphy	Nerudová et al. 2022
Vojtova	Epigravettian?	M or Cl	Association with Epigravettian according to stratigraphy	Nerudová et al. 2022
Zlín-Louky	Epigravettian	M		Klíma 1956a
Moravany nad Váhom-Podkovica (all excavations)	Epigravettian	M (>1)	The data range from 22,682 ± 400 to 17,160 ± 690 uncal BP	Hromadová et al. 2021
Moravany nad Váhom-Žakovská	Epigravettian	M		Hromada, Kozłowski 1995; Kubiak 1995; Lengyel et al. 2021
Krakow-Spadzista, Trench E, 1986	Epigravettian	M	Stratum C2, AMS from mammoth teeth 7,350 ± 35 BP	Wiśniewski et al. 2017; Wojtal et al. 2015
Krakow-Spadzista, Trench F, 1989	Epigravettian	M, Cl		Wiśniewski et al. 2017; Wojtal et al. 2015
Krakow-Spadzista Trench E1, 2012	Epigravettian	M (2 MNI)		Wiśniewski et al. 2017; Wojtal et al. 2015

Langmannersdorf	Epigravettian	M (17 MNI), CI	C-14 dating directly from the mammoth bone; 19,340 ± 100 up to 20,590 ± 110 uncal BP	Verpoorte 2004; Lengyel et al. 2021
Estergom-Gyurgyalag	Epigravettian	M (1 MNI)	C-14 dating directly from the mammoth bone; 15,120 ± 80 up to 16,160 ± 200 uncal BP	Lengyel et al. 2021
Budapest-Csillaghegy	Epigravettian	M (1 MNI)	15,940 ± 150 uncal BP, the youngest date 13,460 ± 70 uncal BP; date from the mammoth tooth	Lengyel et al. 2021
Balcarova skála Cave*	Magdalenian	M, CI		Knies 1900
Barová Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI		Horáček et al. 2002; Seitl et al. 1986
Býčí skála Cave*	Magdalenian	M, CI		Musil 2002
Čertova díra Cave	Magdalenian	CI	In Layer 2	Musil 2002
Hlavicova Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI	Retrospectively reconstructed according to the data	Skutil 1955
Jeskyňa č. 10 u Křtin (Vinckova) Cave	Magdalenian	CI		Valoch 1950
Jeskyně č. 16 ("Pod Vintokami", V Hložku)* Cave	Magdalenian?	M, CI	Numerous perhaps splintered bones	Skutil 1949
Jezevčí díra Cave	Magdalenian	M		Skutil 1941
Kolíbky Cave	Magdalenian	M		Skutil 1941
Křížova Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI	Rather basis of Magdalenian layer	Musil 2002
Kůlna Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI	In layers 5 and 6.	Musil 2002
Liščí Cave*	Magdalenian	M, CI	Basis of Magdalenian layer or older	Musil 2002
Michalka Cave*	Magdalenian	M	Basis of Magdalenian layer or older	Musil 2002
Nová Drátenická Cave	Magdalenian	CI		Klíma 1949
Pekárna Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI		Musil 2002
Sklep Cave*	Magdalenian?	CI	The association with the Magdalenian is not certain	Musil 1954
Šipka Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI		Musil 2002
V Hložku Cave	Magdalenian	M, CI	102 pcs of rhino bones, 8 pcs of mammoth bones	Skutil 1949
Zkamenělý zámek (Javoříčko)	Magdalenian	M, CI		Skutil 1941
Žitného Cave	Magdalenian	CI	Date from the rhino bone: 11,425 cal BP	Musil 2014
Desczowa	Late Magdalenian	M, CI		Cyrek et al. 2000
Dzierżysław 35	Late Magdalenian	M	C-14 dating directly from the bones	Ginter et al. 2002
Maszycka	Magdalenian	CI		Lasota-Moskalewska 1995
Wilczyce	Late Magdalenian	CI	Often butchered!	Irish et al. 2008
Zawalona	Magdalenian	CI		Alexandrowicz et al. 1992

a cool, open, and grassy landscape, but at the same time states that the youngest bone finds known in our country come from the caves of the Moravian Karst (Musil 2014). This is a completely different ecosystem, which, moreover, does not represent the places where animals live, but the preferences of people (hunters) or other animals.

The fact that R. Musil mentions finds mainly in caves and not from open-air locations is due, on the one hand, to the fact that he did not carry out careful research of the finds and then especially to the fact that the cave environment was, after all, more suitable for the preservation of animal bones than the late glacial secondary sediments in open air. Animal bones or dentition are not preserved at many of the Magdalenian open-air sites (Kobylanka, Borky, Loštice, Hošťálkovice), and also at many Epigravettian stations (Kašov, Nitra III). Many localities do not have suitable depositional conditions, animal bones are fragmented, incohesive, corroded, and/or undeterminable: Świąte 9, Targowisko, Sowin, Kašov, Nitra III (Wiśniewski et al. 2012; Kaminská 2014; Kaminská, Nemergut 2014; Łanczont et al. 2021). If the soil conditions allowed preservation, the entire spectrum of the glacial mammoth fauna can be found (Brno-Štýřice III). In this context, it is appropriate to recall that “absence of evidence is not evidence of absence” mentioned in the introduction.

The depiction of mammoths and rhinoceroses in the Magdalenian – among other animals – is usually interpreted as depicting something that people probably did not already know from autopsy, even though these depictions are perfect and faithful. Some authors even deny the possibility of hunting them. Stuart and Lister 2012 write: “Although figured in Palaeolithic art, there appears to be no compelling evidence that woolly rhinoceros – a large, formidable and dangerous animal – was hunted by humans, although presumably, this might have happened occasionally. The rare occurrence of their remains in caves and open-air sites could well represent material collected after death” (Stuart, Lister 2012, 12). Without discussing the question of hunting here, there is a contradiction between the facts, because their finds, at least on a regional scale, are not rare. Moreover, many of the youngest bone finds come from a clear archaeological context (Bratčice, Stadice, Brno-Štýřice III, Kamenná, Vídeňská, Moravany-Podkovic; see Tab. 19.1). Therefore, I contend that the argument of merely collecting the bones of dead animals is not tenable. Even if we take into account the statistical variation of the dating, then if such young cadavers were collected, the particular Paleolithic settlement would have to be quite a bit younger than we think, or the cadavers would have to be quite fresh, given that many absolute dates come from animal bones.

Conclusion

Osteological finds from Central and Western Europe indicate a long survival of the mammoth and the rhinoceros, in some cases until the beginning of the Holocene.

Their sporadic presence on late Paleolithic sites may not be due to their extirpation or extinction, but rather to depositional conditions in late-Pleistocene sediments that are soiled by Holocene sediment. The most eloquent evidence is the skull of a mammoth from Brno-Štýřice III, the upper part of which was covered with Holocene sediment!

The main hunting fauna in the Magdalenian were horses and reindeer, while in the Epigravettian it was probably still mammoths. Especially in the early and late stages of the Epigravettian, mammoths dominate the fauna, as reported by Lengyel (Lengyel et al. 2021, 177, Tab. 11). Therefore, there was no need for competition between Magdalenian and Epigravettian in terms of subsistence.

Given the long survival of both mammoths and rhinoceroses, there is no reason to believe that the Magdalenians could not have known them from autopsy. Assuming that the reasoning about different subsistence strategies in the Magdalenian and Epigravettian is true, then if the Magdalenians themselves did not actively hunt these animals, they may have obtained them (e.g. by exchange) from the Epigravettians.

Regardless of the meaning, the material used, or the style of execution, I tend to believe that realistic depictions of animals are mostly always based on autopsies. How else to explain that, for example, in the Wadi Buzna rock art gallery, the wild animals shown correspond to the desert climate and the time of creation of the rock carvings (Jelínek 1994); in Mathrmdush (Fezzan) the progressing domestication of some animals is recorded (Jelínek 1984). A small engraving of a mammoth cub with its mother was found at the Petite grotte de Bize locality in the younger Solutréen, proving the ethology of these animals (Sacchi 2017). Realistic representations of the woolly mammoth with many details are dated to the middle and late Magdalenian (Rouffignac, Font-de-Gaume, Les Combarelles, Bernifal). Finally, why else would the regions of occurrence of the fauna overlap with the localities where it was depicted (Braun, Palombo 2012)?

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