Different Kinds of History:
On the Nature of Lives and Change in Central Europe, *c.* 6000 to the Second Millennium BC

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LONG VIEWS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NEAR EAST AND EUROPE

THE PAST WAS NOT JUST ONE other country, but many. In the ancient Near East, we know of individuals who would have understood the nature, if not always the causes, of inherited status, central control of stored resources, monumental architecture, markets, armies, and extravagant death rituals expressive of an ideology of personal and divinely sanctioned power. The early historical record of the area documents many such individuals already in the mid- to later third millennium BC, such as Ur-Nanshe and his son Akurgal of Lagash, Urnammu of Ur, founder of the Third Dynasty, or Sargon of Akkad, founder of the Akkadian dynasty, and his priestess daughter Enheduanna (Leick 1999). There were presumably predecessors, now undocumented as individuals, comparable to Narmer and the early pharaohs in Egypt (Kemp 1989), who would have lived through the key changes in political and economic centralization that constitute the emergence of urban states in the Near East around the end of the fourth millennium BC (Postgate 1992).

Things were never like this in prehistoric temperate (that is, non-Mediterranean) Europe. This difference has been recognized since before the days of Gordon Childe, who himself gave much attention to it and its explanation in the middle part of the twentieth century, and it has been repeated many times since (e.g. Sherratt 1982: 13; 1994, 1995). Many authors agree that it is not until as late as the mid-second millennium BC that small-scale chiefdoms appear in central Europe (e.g. S.J. Shennan 1986, 1993), coinciding in part with the appearance of a male warrior elite or aristocracy (Kristiansen 1998; Treherne 1995). Even thereafter, there is no convincing case to be made for state formation, nor even necessarily for the formation
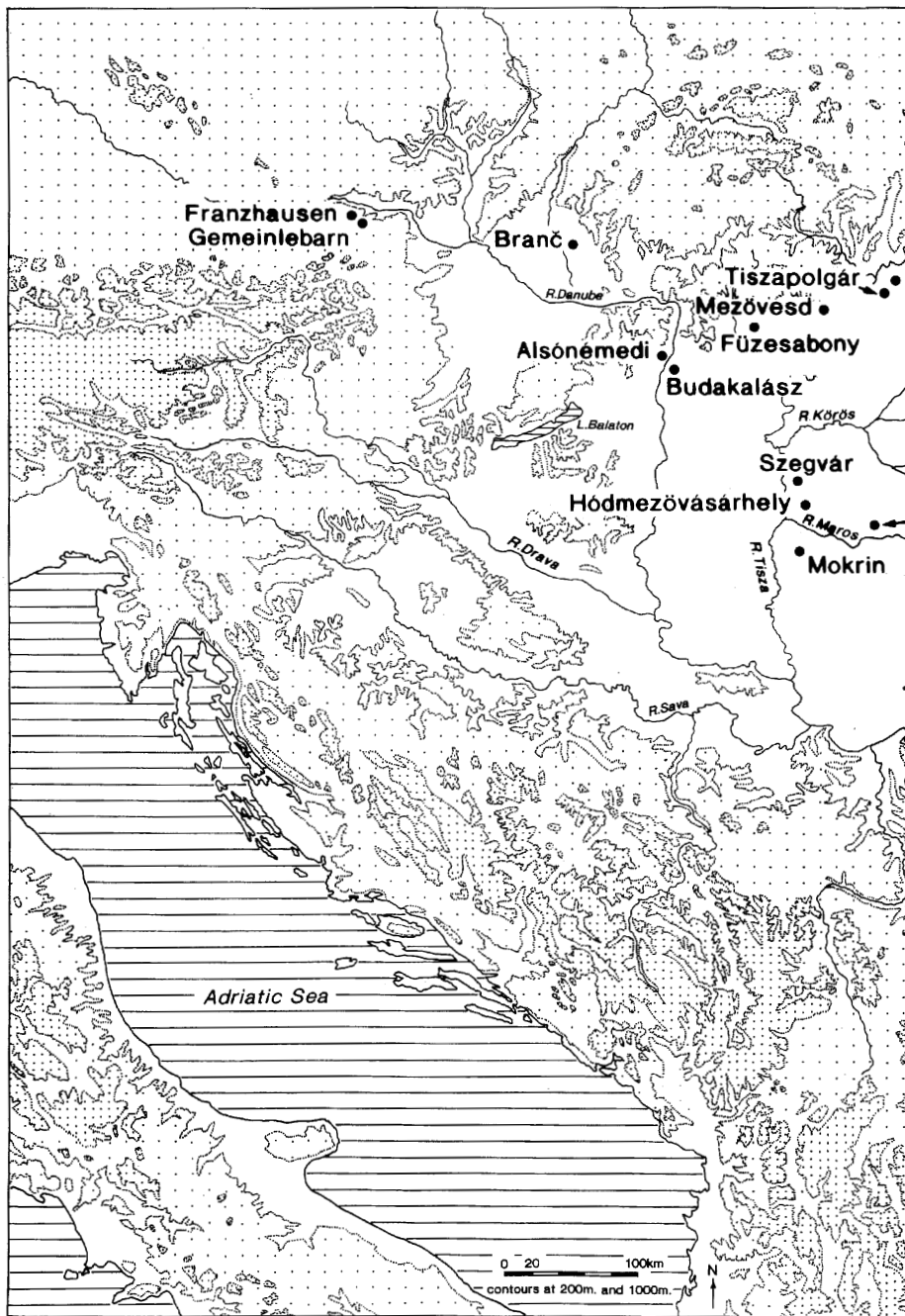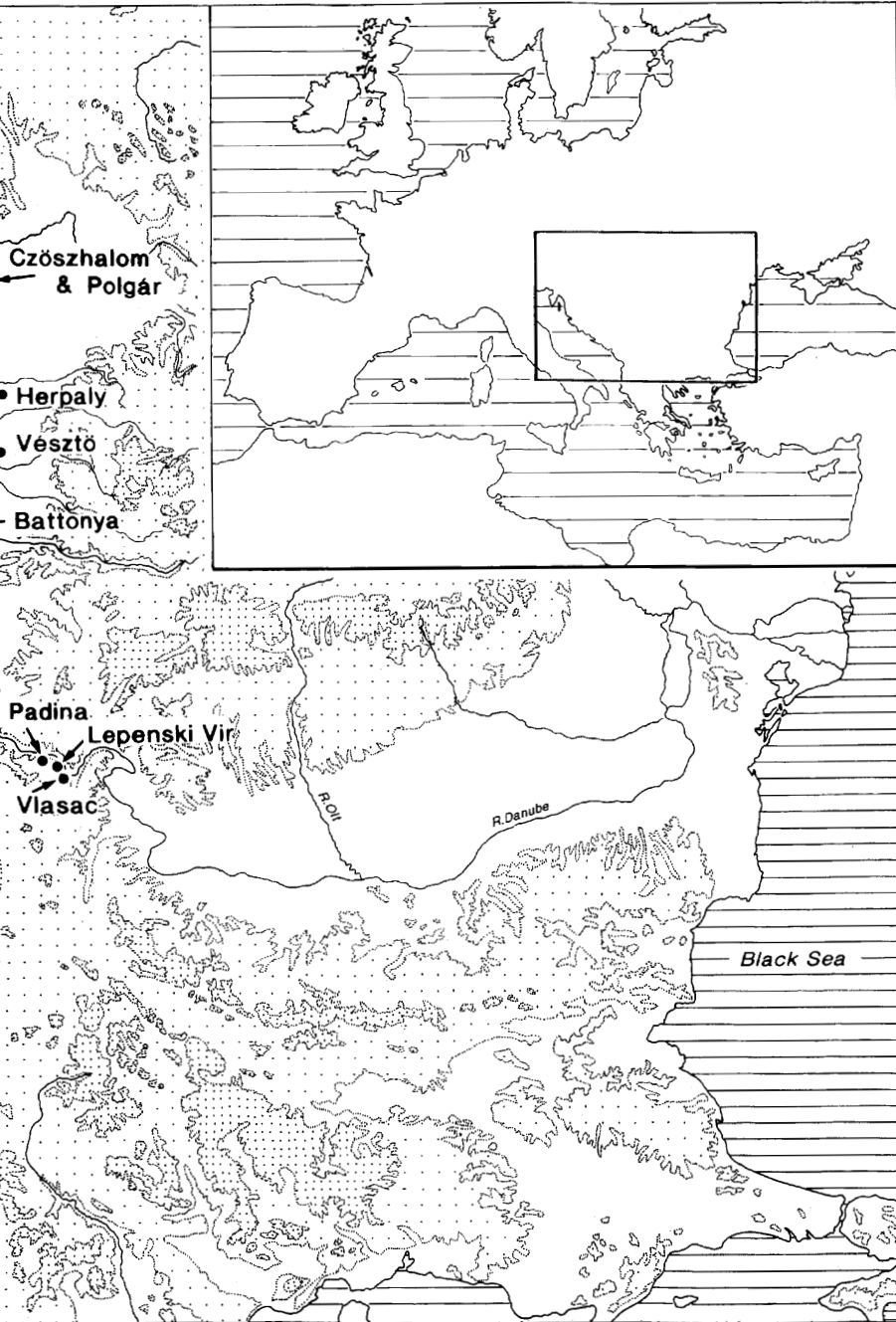
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Figure 1. Map showing the principal sites mentioned in central-east Europe.

Czöszhalom
& Polgár

Herpaly

Vésztö

Battonya

Padina
Lepenski Vir

Vlasac

R.Olt

R.Danube

Black Sea

of elaborate or large-scale chiefdoms, in temperate Europe before the arrival of the Romans.

Why should this have been so? One recent discussion has explored a 'world system' approach to the relationship between temperate Europe and Mediterranean Europe and beyond from the second into the first millennium BC, to argue that the binding of temperate Europe as a periphery to the core of the Mediterranean prevented further social development (Kristiansen 1998). There can be several objections to this. It assumes that such contacts as can be discerned in the second millennium BC are already part of a core–periphery relationship, and it presumes that state formation would somehow automatically have followed, other things being equal. It also fails to explain why social formations in temperate Europe were not more elaborate by the second millennium BC in the first place. Another recent discussion is much closer to the point: 'The contrast between the Bronze Age societies of Europe and the Near East . . . is a fundamental one: they were constructed on quite different principles. European societies were actively resisting commodification, not beginning a process of convergence' (Sherratt 1994: 343).

Further explanation of the difference of the temperate European sequence has been of two kinds. One processual or modernist approach was to draw attention to the differing distributions of fertile land in Mesopotamia and temperate Europe, linked to the operation of regional exchange systems; in Mesopotamia the combination of competition for 'access to high-yielding irrigated land' with 'increasing large-scale exchange' led to social stratification by the fourth millennium BC, whereas 'the greater uniformity of the temperate European landscape deferred the emergence of such rigid forms of inequality for another 3,000 years' (Sherratt 1982: 24). The same author (Sherratt 1995: 17–19) subsequently abandoned a 'mud, reeds and people' model in favour of the more glamorous role of the Mesopotamian lowland in connecting and exploiting the exchange potential of distant areas, highland and coastal. Neither version, however, really explains very much about conditions in Europe itself. Both highly fertile land and exchangeable objects were available in Europe; with such presumed preconditions, one might, other things being equal, have expected more development on the Near Eastern model.

The other response has been to offer a series of lesser 'grand narratives', which emphasize the patterned nature of change in temperate Europe as intensifying steadily and gradually through time, though at a lesser rate than in the Near East. These have been of several different kinds, but share essentially the same reliance on notions of steady change through time. They are all problematic. They offer large-scale models, some of which may anyway be flawed in their conception, and they do not fit easily with the archaeological evidence on the ground.

One example has been modelling of stages of social 'evolution', from bands

to tribes to chiefdoms (and on to states, even if not in the case of Europe). It was suggested over twenty-five years ago, for example, that chiefdoms existed in Late Neolithic southern England in the third millennium BC (Renfrew 1973), and there have been more recent suggestions for ranked chiefdoms in northern Denmark by the Early Bronze Age, following quite prolonged earlier development from simple ranking with 'Big Man' features to status rivalry without political hierarchy (Earle 1997). It remains a moot point whether it even makes sense to reduce complex and diverse phenomena to simplifying labels such as chiefdoms in the first place (Drennan and Uribe 1987), and alternatives which do not put such emphasis on social difference are often available (e.g. Whittle 1997). There is the further problem that putative chiefdoms, once supposedly arrived, did not further develop, and once again one can note the observation made some time ago that in Europe after the introduction of farming in the seventh millennium BC 'the long intervening period cannot adequately be described by a simple evolutionary succession of increasingly ranked societies' (Sherratt 1982: 14). In one of the most sophisticated examples of 'social evolutionary' modelling, developed for peninsular Italy, a Big Man society was still seen as characterizing the early second millennium BC, to be followed by a semi-stratified tribal confederacy (Robb 1994: Table 1), while it has also been suggested that small-scale chiefdoms did not appear in central Europe until the earlier second millennium BC, towards the end of the Early Bronze Age (S.J. Shennan 1993: 152).

Another example of this kind of modelling, in the sphere of economic production, is the concept of the 'secondary products revolution' (Sherratt 1981, 1987), according to which traction for the plough and wheeled vehicles, the production and consumption of milk and alcohol, and textiles were part of a later wave or waves of diffusion from the Near East, which helped to create special conditions of transformation in Europe from the fourth millennium BC onwards (Sherratt 1994). The model has been criticized by its own author as an example of 'block thinking' (Sherratt 1995: 6). Some innovations may have been present earlier in the Neolithic, including milk drinking, though the introduction of the wheel (Bakker *et al.* 1999) and perhaps the expansion of woollen textiles may be correctly described. The date for ploughing is controversial; the possibility is open that it was present much earlier, while a recent synthesis from the Alpine foreland, where the conditions of organic preservation are particularly good, suggests it could have come in rather later than predicted, gradually after 3000 BC (Jacomet and Kreuz 1999: Abb. 11.36). It remains unclear, however, what scale of effects these now more piecemeal innovations may have had in particular places. In the Alpine foreland area of south-west Germany and north-west Switzerland, for example, ploughs may be connected with a gradual shift to fixed fields or plots (Jacomet and Kreuz 1999: Abb. 11.36). Wheeled vehicles, perhaps in this instance small carts, can be documented in the Corded Ware horizon

(early third millennium BC), but their specific impact on the economy is quite unclear; the overall picture of landscape development is one of very slow change through time, with clearance size and duration and the extent of cereal cultivation still on the increase in the second millennium BC (Rösch 1993).

A more recent model put emphasis on the central concepts of *domus* and *agrios*, the *domus* with its nurturing, inturned qualities being both metaphor and mechanism for social domestication, played out against the ideas of the wild inherent in the *agrios*; in time — in central and western Europe largely from the Corded Ware horizon of the third millennium BC onwards — values associated with the male world of the *agrios* came to dominate social relations (Hodder 1990). As many critics have pointed out, this binary model owes much to a simple kind of structuralism, and the model is forced on to the evidence on a continental scale, with little regard for regional variation or individual situations. A newer version has brought in the dramatic evidence of the Ice Man in relation to a discussion of the links between structure and agency (Hodder 1999: 138–44; Hodder 2000: 27). Due attention is given to the individualism of the man in the ice, but it is argued that he can be characterized above all by his independence and self-sufficiency; this allows him to be seen not only as an individual, it is argued, but as standing for the world of male-oriented independence and violence — the *agrios* — which was 'antithetical to societies based on a corporate sense of lineage and dependency and symbolised by the domestic hearth' (Hodder 1999: 144) and was becoming more important in the later fourth millennium BC in central Europe (Hodder 1999: Fig. 8.2). It is not inherently implausible that one individual could stand for a whole social formation (M. Strathern 1992, on the Pacific Garia; and see below), but interdependency is little discussed, nor the strong possibility that the Ice Man was a routine, familiar figure (Whittle 1996: 315–17; cf. Dickson 1995). Many before him had gone into and over high places. His weapons may have been far more for personal defence, including against animals, than for personal aggrandizement or aggression. The evidence for interpersonal violence in periods before the Bronze Age warrior has indeed increased in recent years (Carman & Harding 1999), but it goes at least as far back as the pre-agricultural period of the Mesolithic, and the negative evidence of a lack of injuries and an absence of specialized categories of weapons in many areas over long periods of time is also striking (Chapman 1999, 105–6); interpersonal violence of various kinds was presumably endemic in both hunter-gatherer and agricultural societies, but it did not certainly intensify through the millennia before the Bronze Age. Nor, in terms of his tools and equipment in general, was the Ice Man necessarily especially or unusually self-sufficient, as assemblages of people who lived in cold conditions in the Upper Palaeolithic seem to indicate, as at Pavilland, Sunghir, or Grimaldi (Gamble 1999).

In a less generalized fashion, but in a similar vein, it has been argued by

several other authors that the nature of gender relations altered from the third to the second millennium BC. The outcome, in this view, was the appearance of a warrior ideology in the mid-second millennium BC (Treherne 1995), and beginnings have been sought in gender distinctions claimed in Corded Ware mortuary practices from the earlier third millennium BC onwards, leading to a process whereby male activities and associations were increasingly emphasized, with a concomitant downplaying of the value of women (S.J. Shennan 1993: 149), to the point where some women buried with valuable items in the Early Bronze Age of the earlier second millennium BC have been regarded as possessing such valuables by virtue of their husbands' wealth or as bridewealth in a pattern of exogamy (S.E. Shennan 1975). A related model has been argued in detail for Italy (Robb 1994). As set out in more detail below, one of the problems with this view in central Europe is the instability of representations of gender relations in mortuary ritual from place to place and through time (S.J. Shennan 1994: 124–5). In one account, the development of the use of 'secondary products' should have led to an *increase* in female power (Chapman 1997a: 137). There was much variation within the vast Corded Ware area, and cemeteries in central Europe in the second millennium BC (e.g. O'Shea 1996; Rega 1997; S.E. Shennan 1975, 1982) have much in common with earlier examples of the Early and Middle Copper Age of the later fifth and earlier fourth millennia BC (e.g. Chapman 1997a; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000), of the Neolithic earlier still, back to the sixth millennium BC (Jeunesse 1997), and even indeed of the Late Mesolithic of the late seventh millennium (Radovanović 1996a, 1996b). The treatment of women in death can be distinguished from that of men, but age and life process are at least as important as biological sex (Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000), and the scale of difference is hardly ever extreme. It is not clear anyway that we should be seeking a simple pattern. In another context, Marilyn Strathern has urged that it may not be helpful at all to try to reduce complex situations to one dimension only, be it complementarity, dominance, or separation, because 'there is no single relationship' (M. Strathern 1987: 29). In one example, the Hua of Eastern Highland New Guinea, Meigs (1990) has emphasized a threefold male ideology, of accentuated chauvinism on the one hand, but of envy of women and of complementary interdependence on the other.

DAILY LIVES AND MORAL NETWORKS

Something remains missing from most of these narratives. It is pattern rather than texture which is being described, and explanation is generally top-down rather than bottom-up (cf. Shanks 1999: 3). We also need a much better sense of the textures and styles of past lives, and the conditions in which people

understood and lived out their existence. This is not just an appeal for more detail, nor a substitution of history from the outside by history from the inside. The way in which daily lives were led, and how they were guided not only by 'forward-looking intentionality' (Hodder 2000: 23) but also by values and codes of behaviour, need to be added to the account. Looking in these ways, we may come to see different kinds of history.

Interpretive archaeology has been discussing the role of individuals since the 1980s (cf. Barrett 1994; Hodder 1986), and there is currently much debate about agency (e.g. Dobres and Robb 2000). It has been stressed that agency has been used in many overlapping ways (Dobres and Robb 2000), and is not to be equated simply with individuals (e.g. Barrett 2000: 60), but in practice many discussions of this kind have had the effect of concentrating on individuals (e.g. Hodder 1999: 133–7; 2000). This enterprise has been only partially successful, as the example of the Ice Man already discussed shows. I have set out elsewhere a short account of approaches to the individual (Whittle 1998b). In essence, with the exception of some gender-oriented narratives (e.g. Tringham 1991), what have been proposed so far are mostly disembodied agents, lacking faces, identity, motivation, or values (see also Hodder 1999: 133–7). What has arrived is a sense of individuality, in the terms of Rapport (1996; cf. Rapport 1997), rather than of individualism.

Drawing on Bourdieu (and beyond him Mauss), and other sources, there has been rather more successful, though still rather general, discussion of the *habitus*, the setting of existence in which habits and unthinking bodily action maintain a sense of understanding of the world (Gosden 1999: 124–7). An overlapping recent strand has been the 'dwelling perspective', derived in large part ultimately from Merleau-Ponty (Tilley 1994: 12–14) and Heidegger (Thomas 1996), and further considered in a series of important papers by Ingold (1993, 1995, 1996; cf. Harris 1998). This, parallel to the idea of *habitus*, discusses how people act in a world which is never separate, pre-formed, or a prior given.

The idea of individualism and the dwelling perspective begin to suggest more of the texture of lives missing from so many 'grand narrative' accounts of the various kinds already outlined above, but even these are not enough on their own. A broader approach is now required, and I will briefly sketch what I believe should be some of its constituent elements, before returning to the central European evidence. These elements include the notion of people taking a view in the world rather than of making a view of it; what goes without saying; the non-linearity of thought; the overlap of competing concepts or hybridization; the instability of individual identities; flows or networks of interaction and exchange and especially open systems; and finally shared values within a moral network.

The dwelling perspective (Ingold 1993, 1995, 1996) seeks to give a better

sense of how people get on in a world which is not pre-given, 'taking the human condition to be that of a being enmeshed from the start, like other creatures, in an active, practical and perceptual engagement with constituents of the dwelt-in world' (Ingold 1996: 120–1); 'apprehending the world is not a matter of construction but of engagement, not of building but of dwelling, not of making a view *of* the world but of taking up a view *in* it' (Ingold 1996: 121); and finally, 'knowledge of the world is gained by moving about in it, exploring it, attending to it, ever alert to the signs by which it is revealed' (Ingold 1996: 141). This kind of approach conveys well a sense of people *attending to* their world, in ways which may not have changed much over long periods of time. As Bloch has noted (1998: 5), we are sometimes guilty of seeking too much diversity, and as already argued above, the effect of certain technological innovations may have had limited impact on the ground.

The approach, however, is incomplete. It seems to give insufficient attention to learning and to socialization. These may be long, almost unconscious or casual processes during childhood (e.g. Mead 1943), but there are also stages, such as initiation, when instruction may be much more direct, and when, as among the Hua, already cited (Meigs 1990), gender ideologies may be at their most accentuated. The approach seems to give insufficient attention to the weight of collective tradition or culture (cf. Sahlins 1999) — however that may be taken up or contested by individuals — which may affect *how* people acquire 'the skills for direct perceptual engagement' (Ingold 1996: 142) with the world. It seems an extreme claim that people never make a view of the world, and it is possible to propose that people act at different times and in different situations from varied perspectives. The dwelling perspective is best at giving a sense of the flow of life, but less satisfactory perhaps at showing how people cope with situations of change (such as the first intake of the Great Hungarian Plain, for example) or with innovations.

The dwelling perspective also evokes a rather active, conscious kind of attention to the world. This may not be how people think all the time. Bloch (1992) has explored a sense of 'what goes without saying' in Zafimaniry society in Madagascar — attitudes and beliefs, rooted in practice and material experience, which are central to people but which seem so obvious that explanation of them to outsiders seems pointless. These concern ideas about such subjects as people themselves, trees, sex, gender, and houses. The relevance of elaborate house decoration is not easily put into words, as it is simply part of the right way to treat the living and growing house (Bloch 1995). Not all ideas need necessarily be seen as rooted in the practice and material experience of a single generation, since the concept of the maturing house relies on a considerable passage of time and presumably some active transmission from generation to generation. However it is passed on, this is also a powerful model for thinking

about enduring beliefs over very long periods of time (even though the historical Malagasy situation has been far from static or timeless: Bloch 1998).

Another dimension of this study was a use of 'connectionism' (see also Bloch 1993), or the non-linear ways in which people often actually seem to think. Speed of thought and the ability to react instantly in different social situations suggest that thought can be held in central nodes or concepts, such as again in the Zafimaniry case to do with what people are like and how they mature, the differences and similarities between men and women, and what good marriages, trees and wood, and houses are like (Bloch 1992). In the Zafimaniry case, these could be seen to make up some sort of coherent world-view, though that might never or rarely be expressed as a single unified whole. But the compartmentalization is potentially highly significant, since it raises the possibility in other cases of non-congruence between separate nodes of thought. In another context (of discussion of post-1989 Europe), it has been proposed that this is just how we often do think, a pattern or mixture which has been called hybridization (Latour 1993). At the present time, we may be said to retain elements of pre-modern, modern and post-modern thought (Latour 1993: Fig. 5.1). This model certainly fits the discipline of archaeology in its present state and, although very general, may be a useful way to think about modes of thought in the past across horizons of change and over long periods of time.

Apart from borrowing from structuration theory (principally of Giddens), interpretive archaeology has so far developed little by way of a theory of the individual (Whittle 1998b). There is now some welcome emphasis in the more recent gender-oriented archaeological literature on life process (e.g. Sofaer Derevenski 1997: 887, 2000), whereby notions of biological sex and gender must be combined with age stages to produce a sense of identities that change through life. Rather less attention has been given to wider anthropological writing on the subject. While post-modernist archaeology has dealt with a very restricted concept of the atomized, universal individual, 'out there' notions of the individual seem to vary dramatically widely. In parts of southern India, for example, gender seems fixed and stable, based on bodily difference between men and women and their capacity for procreation, whereas in Melanesia, gender is performative, shifting, and contextually defined, depending on notions of exchange of substances or parts of persons and on the idea of the partible person (Busby 1997). In the Indian case the person may be seen as 'internally whole, but with a fluid and permeable boundary', while in the Melanesian case, the person may be 'internally divided and partible', with a mosaic of male and female substances which internally divide up the body into differently gendered parts (Busby 1997: 269–70); the body can be a microcosm of relations (M. Strathern 1988: 131), lacking stability, and extending to include objects which are or once were parts of relationships. Among the

'Are'are, the person may even be said to be made up of persons or different substances (Barraud *et al.* 1994; M. Strathern 1996: 526). In the case of the Garia, individuals themselves can stand at times for the whole society, in ways unfamiliar to a western way of thought in which the individual is normally defined in relation to a wider whole (M. Strathern 1992). Such a lack of fixity and such an ambiguity of the individual cannot be assumed as universal, as the south Indian case shows, but it is a powerful notion, and one that may be useful in thinking again about long-enduring situations in prehistoric Europe, in which individuals, in contrast to the situation in the Near East, were not tied into determined roles and identities. Something of this approach has been applied to the central European evidence, but chiefly with reference to artefacts rather than people (Chapman 1996, 2000b).

Although the Garia individual may at times be the whole, individuals have also to be set in context. They belong to networks or flows of relation, exchange, and interaction (M. Strathern 1996). These may be in part constituted by kin and closed descent groups, but there is an equally if not more important place for co-residents, friends, allies, and neighbours. It took anthropology a long time to rid itself of the notion of the dominance of the unilineal, closed descent group (Kuper 1988) and it is time for interpretive archaeology to catch up. Potentially endless networks of relations were formerly a problem for anthropologists, but only when considered in isolation (M. Strathern 1996: 529–30). Far greater attention could be given, for example, to open, bilateral systems of descent (e.g. Rivière 1995; cf. Taylor 1996: 207), which could be considered alongside the growing importance attached by interpretive archaeology to places and a sense of place in the landscape, which if not necessarily able to cut the network would at least serve to punctuate it. We will come back to both dimensions in further discussion below of the Great Hungarian Plain.

Most of the individuals sketched so far by an interpretive, post-modernist archaeology lack any or much sense of shared values. While the *domus* can indeed stand as a quite rare example of an explicitly formulated value system that includes everyone involved, the same cannot be said of the *agrios*, which only seems to have affected adult men (Hodder 1990). The Ice Man's self-sufficiency is enough to make him stand as a representative of a whole ideology (Hodder 1999). I have argued instead that there was a long-lived set of values in the European Neolithic, incorporating ideals of participation, sharing, non-accumulation, and commonality, but also the pursuit of prowess (Whittle 1996). This is not to claim that values in the European Neolithic were uniform in all times and places, nor that actual behaviour always accorded with such ideals. Nor is it to restate a Durkheimian position in which society makes its individuals. But there is socialization, and each individual does not take up a view in the world *de novo* and unaffected by others. Analogies suggest a wide range of possibilities. In an Aristotelian sense of being concerned for the

response of others, it is possible to see exchange, for example, as a moral activity (Hagen 1999). In arguing that exchange among the Maneo of eastern Indonesia has in this sense a vital moral dimension, however, not reducible to its social effects, Hagen has suggested that the Maneo are not guided by specific moral principles such as would mandate sharing (1999: 362). In many cases in the Mediterranean world, individual personal responsibility is held in the 'triangle of honor, shame and luck' (Douglas and Isherwood 1996: 23). Referring to the Kabyles of Algeria, Bourdieu (1977: 48) has observed:

> The ethic of honour is the self-interest ethic of social formations, groups or classes in whose patrimony symbolic capital figures prominently. Only total unawareness of the terrible and permanent loss which a slur on the honour of the women of the lineage can represent could lead one to see obedience to an ethical or juridical rule as the principle of the actions intended to prevent, conceal or make good the outrage.

In other cases, however, imagined moral life and moral language seem to be more centrally linked to an ethical sense, tied to ideas of the person and identity, and generating powerful emotions within a shared value system. Among the Amuesha people of central Peru, greediness and meanness are regarded as immoral, irrational, and anti-social, and 'power is legitimate only when its holders are seen as loving, compassionate and generous life-givers' (Santos-Granero 1991: 229). Among the Rauto people in Melanesia, ceremonial exchange carried out in the right way creates a 'cultural landscape of memory and emotion', and the emotions generated can be considered as a kind of moral perception; emotions 'define and render compelling a particular moral stance towards life', the result of choice between this and more individualistic alternatives (Maschio 1998: 86, 97). Among the Western Apache, as described by Basso (1984), certain historical narratives served to link past events to named places, in stories which 'stalked' their listeners with their moral force; and native American appropriation of the landscape has been envisaged as by 'an act of imagination which is moral and kind' (Momaday 1976: 80). Among the Etoro of Papua New Guinea, however, male-dominated social inequality is constructed as a moral hierarchy or hierarchy of virtue, grounded in cosmology and worldview (Kelly 1993); a moral sense need not in itself be neutral.

The concept of a 'moral community' was used in a discussion of the Nuer, to connote those participating in a common value system (Johnson 1994: 327–9), as well as with reference to the Amuesha (Santos-Granero 1991: 119); the related concept of mutuality has also been discussed by Moore (1988) and Gosden (1994), and the practice of 'moral coalitions', though with a greater sense of conflict between sets of gender-based values, has been discussed by Robb (1994). Adapting these ideas, the idea of a moral network can be proposed; the extent to which others are involved and affected may define the moral network, which like other networks (Latour 1993: 117–20) is liable to

remain local at all points but may also be open and unbounded. Values may be seen to act as sanctions on behaviour; there were limits to what individuals or limited interest groups could attempt or hope to get away with, and there may have been limits, within this perspective, to what they could conceive as possible.

It is not possible to discuss all these possibilities further in great detail here. In the second half of this chapter I want to concentrate on individuals in their social settings, within the perspective just outlined. In doing this, I will use burial evidence quite extensively alongside other data, and that brings of course many of its own problems of interpretation (Parker Pearson 1999). At the same time, the treatment of the dead in burial grounds shows both a very long-lived commonality and a lack of pronounced differentiation in mortuary rites. The aim is to use these two themes to show something of both the texture of daily lives and the things that endured.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS WERE LIKE: CHANGING SETTINGS ON THE PLAIN, *c.* 6000–4000 BC

Returning to the central European evidence, specifically for the Great Hungarian Plain, I want to repeat that episodic phases of aggregation and intensification did not lead, as in the Near East, to progressively entrenched social differentiation. I want to suggest that this long-term European pattern can best be viewed through the nature of daily lives and experience, shared values in moral networks, and unstable or non-fixed individual identities. Long-term process resides in the complexity of daily lives; shared values mediated trends to aggrandizement and differentiation; and identities that were not fixed and at times ambiguous prevented people from being tied into roles and relationships in which they could be permanently dominated by others. Here are the beginnings of an explanation of the long-term patterns which I am claiming. In my first examples, I emphasize the settings and contexts of daily lives, and the shifting nature of individual identities, and in the second set of case studies I emphasize shared and enduring values as seen in mortuary practices widely separated in time.

The settlement sequence on the Great Hungarian Plain is one of the richest and in many ways best-documented such sequences in Europe as a whole. It has been intensively if episodically investigated for much of the past century, and has been described and discussed many times (in the English literature: Chapman 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000a, 2000b; Sherratt 1982). The plain appears to have been largely empty at the onset of the Neolithic around 6000 BC, with indigenous populations around some of its fringes but not apparently within it (Whittle 1998a and references). Whether by colonization from the south or by processes of acculturation or enculturation involving the

indigenous regional population (Whittle 1998a), the first Neolithic communities appeared in the southern part of the plain; their distribution northward was finite. This is the Körös culture of the southern part of the Great Hungarian Plain (*c.* 6000–5500 BC), part of the northern fringe of the south-east European Early Neolithic, and it represents new practices including the use of pots, domesticates, and cultivated cereals, as well as the intake of the plain itself. The settlement pattern was both riverine and dispersed. People lived off sheep and goats, cattle, other domesticates, wild game, fish, birds, and cultivated cereals. Many sites are known but it is unclear whether they all represent permanent sites or whether some are shorter-stay bases and camps; probably no one site was occupied for long and the social group at any one place of occupation may have been small, apart from during seasonal or ceremonial aggregations. There are therefore contrasts with earlier life in the Danube Gorges and in surrounding regions, but it may be an exaggeration to claim wholly new attitudes to 'nature' and 'culture' compared with what had gone before (Whittle 1998b: 473). This was a lifestyle that also involved close attention to and engagement with the environment, for stock-raising, perhaps limited cultivation on terrace edges and levees, hunting, fishing, and fowling. There was some flow of raw materials, including obsidian from the hills to the north, and so from well beyond the limits of Neolithic occupation. We do not yet understand the rhythms of this lifestyle, whether people were permanently in one place, moved with the seasons, or were captured in one place, on a seasonal basis, by flooding of the rivers, channels, and meanders whose edges they normally occupied. Occupations are marked by considerable depositions of broken pottery; one possibility is that these represent residues, many carefully placed, from seasonal or periodic aggregations of a population which was fragmented or dispersed for much of the time into much smaller units or groupings. Such places were already significant arenas.

Burials occur quite commonly on these occupations, predominantly of women and children, and there are depositions of skulls and partial remains (Chapman 1994, 2000b). Figurines present, on a literal reading, rather bland if not anonymous and mask-like faces (some could even be taken to represent people wearing masks); many are of the human female form, but the common type with elongated neck may also have phallus-like qualities (Whittle 1998b: 473–5, Abb. 1). Representations of the human form on pottery also lack faces, and emphasize stylized gesture or activity. It is possible (starting again from a literal reading) that identity was at this time ambiguous or in parts contradictory (cf. Taylor 1996), with frequent metaphorical or literal masking of the inner self, some blurring of the differences between women and men combined with different treatments in death (men's bodies presumably being frequently deposited in some way out in the landscape), and attachment to and frequent commemoration of chosen places, but also a fluidity of allegiance which

allowed much coming and going in the landscape as people attended to a spectrum of social relationships and other activities.

From around 5500 BC, there was further expansion across the plain, taking Linear Pottery (AVK: *c.* 5500–5000 BC) settlement to the northern fringes of the plain. In many ways the settlement pattern continued as before, with the population dispersed through the riverine system. There was continued interaction with people around the fringes of the plain. Pollen analysis in the northern hills suggests woodland clearance or interference there (Gardner 1999a, 1999b), and some of this activity close to the plain could have been carried out by people from the plain. Large-scale motorway excavations near the north edge of the plain at Füzesabony-Gubakút have recently shown the existence of longhouses, formerly not recognized until the late AVK Szakálhát phase (mainly known further south); there were also graves near the houses, notably of children as well as mature adults (Domboróczki 1997). It remains to be seen whether these structures were typical of the whole plain, and to what extent they were the centre of a sedentary existence. Structures at the early AVK site of Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás (Kalicz & Koós 1997) lacked postholes; they were accompanied by 25 graves. One possibility is that such structures will prove to be markers of the establishment of local, short-lived sedentism.

The human face is represented on figurines, pot attachments, and pot decorations. Pot or clay vessel attachments from Füzesabony-Gubakút show triangular faces, still rather expressionless and mask-like, or even representing masks. So far, the majority of such representations come from the northerly parts of the plain (Kalicz and Makkay 1977: Abb. 4). We do not know whether such representations are of spirits, ancestor figures, or even particular individuals, and the nature of individualism can hardly be easily read off from them. It could be that they are something to do with the assertion of identity in the newly colonized parts of the north of the plain, and with the creation of longhouse-based relationships. The connection between house and face representation is also seen in the Szakálhát phase, but to the south. A well-known series of face pots continues the emphasis on human form, with sharper delineation of eyes, nose, and mouth, and schematic delineation of hair and ears. The recurrent M-motif below the face has been suggested as female, but this is open to question. The remains of at least 22 such pots were found in a burnt house at Battonya (Goldman 1978), suggesting a close relationship between the emergence of households, however constituted, and a continued interest in the definition of identity. The dead were themselves treated simply in mortuary rites, while the rupture of death may have had more dramatic effects on household life, bringing it on occasion to an abrupt end by deliberate house destruction (Stevanović 1997).

Just as AVK-longhouses could be seen as an enhancement of Körös structures, so the tell settlements of the Tisza culture period (*c.* 5000–4500 BC)

can be considered as a development of what had gone before, leading to the local establishment of phases of sedentism and aggregation. The first tells emerged, principally in northern and eastern parts of the plain, alongside the continued use of 'open' or 'flat' sites (Raczky *et al.* 1994: colour table III). The situation seems very complex. Tells themselves varied in character, from some of the lower and broader examples further south, in which there were discernible shifts of focus through time, to the small conical tells of the eastern Herpály group, to the northerly ditched roundel of Csőszhalom, tell-like and with some occupation on the mound, but accompanied by a large open settlement a little distance away (Raczky 1987; Raczky *et al.* 1994, 1997a). Some of these sites may have been deliberately planned 'timemarks' which drew on an ideology of deep ancestral time, the aim of a deliberate strategy carried out by limited local interest-groups (Chapman 1997b, 1997c), rather than part of a grand plan to manage plains–fringes relationships including flows of goods and cattle (Sherratt 1982; cf. Shanks and Tilley 1987: 37–41). However, it is also possible that the mounds in question were rather more the outcome of social practices than a predetermined effect, the unplanned result of prolonged occupation of one place. In any case, they represent concentrations of well-constructed buildings, which seem at least in part to be connected with permanent occupation. Cattle became the most important animal. There were flows of exchange within the plain and with the fringing highland, involving perhaps both animals and material valuables (Sherratt 1982). The tells speak for continuity, aggregation, and perhaps an importance given to group ancestry, but these were not in themselves new in this period. Nor are tells found uniformly across the plain, as noted already, and individual site histories vary considerably in the intensity and episodicity of occupation; it is not yet certain that all tells were inhabited all year by the same people. Difference is thus more apparent between regions and between sites, than within sites.

Houses seem not to be markedly differentiated by size or contents (the latter now including rich assemblages of decorated pottery and figurines). The dead were again present among the living. Child burials and aurochs skulls under house walls and floors at Berettyóújfalu-Herpály (Kalicz and Raczky 1987) bound fertility and the power of wild creatures into the foundation of the house. Groups of burials, probably mostly in open spaces between houses, are known, some now in coffins; adults are well represented, including men, but children were in a clear majority at Berettyóújfalu-Herpály. Some adults were presumably therefore still disposed of out in the landscape. Grave goods are generally simple, as before, including beads, other simple ornaments, and simple tools at Vésztő-Mágor (Hegedűs and Makkay 1987), and ornaments in stone, bone, spondylus, and copper at Berettyóújfalu-Herpály (Kalicz and Raczky 1987). In the settlement near to Csőszhalom, men and women were

distinguished by being lain on opposing sides of the body; women had strings of beads in marble and spondylus, on their heads and around their waists, as well as spondylus bracelets, while men had small stone axes and pairs of modified wild boar tusks. Anthropomorphic vessels, vessel attachments, and figurines were part of the rich material culture. Their forms were now very varied, from the striking sitting figurines (male as well as female) of sites such as Hódmezővásárhely-Kökénydomb, Vésztő-Mágor, and Szegvár-Tűzköves (Razcky 1987), some of which are really vessels as well as figurines, to the much more modest small figurines of a site such as Berettyóújfalu-Herpály (Kalicz and Raczky 1987: 206–8). It remains dangerous to try to read off identities from these representations, but their very diversity may speak in a general way for a greater sense of individualism.

There was thus much continuity in this phase as well as slow change. Tells did not emerge overnight, and are barely characteristic of the plain as a whole. Some of their occupants may not have been present on them all the time. They may have attended to their landscapes in very similar ways to their predecessors, though with cattle now becoming the animal of dominant concern. Individuals continued to belong to groups which had a concern for descent and belonging. But things were hardly exactly as before. Individual places were picked out for special occupation (cf. Chapman 1997c), and the business of living in closely spaced houses, even if only for seasons or for short runs of years, must have affected individuals in new ways; the effect, however, at least in specific places and at specific times, may have been to constrain individual action, at a time when figurines and burials might suggest greater individualism.

Around the middle of the fifth millennium BC the pattern alters again, and many of those sites with previously prolonged reoccupations were now either abandoned or much less intensively used. From the Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture through to the Late Copper Age Baden culture, there seems to have been a long phase again of dispersal of small sites across the landscape. In the Tiszapolgár culture phase (c. 4500–4000 BC), just at the point when certain sites or groups could have created or reinforced pre-eminence, few tells remained in occupation. The break was not immediate. There were proto-Tiszapolgár burials at Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa (Horváth 1987) and Tiszapolgár burials at Vésztő-Mágor. The population seems mainly to have been dispersed once more in scattered small units, in a lifestyle in many ways of now considerable antiquity. To our eyes at least, the most notable places in the Early and Middle Copper Age (or Bodrogkeresztúr culture, 4000–3500 BC) were burial grounds, set apart from settlements or occupations; the classic but probably atypical example is Tiszapolgár-Basatanya itself (Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 1972). Once again, this shift had been prefigured in the preceding phase; some of the burials at Berettyóújfalu-Herpály, for example (Kalicz and Raczky 1987), had been placed at a distance from the tell. While it has been suggested

that competing limited interest-groups would actively have sought new ways of promoting themselves, and would thus have sought to make displays in this period through mortuary rites separate from occupations (Chapman 1997b), other explanations may apply. The costs of maintaining tell existence may have become too high (cf. Bogucki 1996), in social as well as economic terms. In another context, among the Foi of Papua New Guinea, considerable tension from the demands of close communal living has been recorded, to be contrasted with the greater freedom of more independent existence (Weiner 1991: 78). The flow of materials and goods through tells and open sites in this period (cf. Sherratt 1982: Fig. 2.5) may have produced tensions at odds with an otherwise communal ethos (cf. Hagen 1999), to be resolved once more by fission among the living. There are burial grounds of varying sizes, the smaller ones perhaps serving more local populations than the largest example, Tiszapolgár-Basatanya itself (Bognár-Kutzián 1963); the northerly position of that site in relation to flows of copper into the plain may have been significant (Sherratt 1982). While some sites therefore may have been the location of a greater range of artefacts, and been longer-lived, there is little other sign of differentiation within the length and breadth of the plain (Bognár-Kutzián 1972). Burial grounds both large and small seem to promote an ideology of commonality, now prolonged among the close community of the dead after its practice among the aggregations of the living on tells and large open sites in the preceding Tisza phase.

Not all Tiszapolgár mortuary rites were identical. Nor was the situation necessarily static. In the Early Copper Age some of the richest sites may have been near or on the edge of the plain, well placed for exploiting movements of copper (Sherratt 1982). The small group excavated at the Vésztő-Mágor tell to the south of the Körös River were more traditionally furnished than elsewhere, with less variation in grave goods, but still some gender differentiation (Chapman 1997a: 143). From other instances, however, there seems to have been a very widely distributed common way of doing things. A proto-Tiszapolgár female grave at Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, east of the Tisza and north of the Maros (Horváth 1987: Fig. 23), was provided with a pot behind the head, abundant beads probably formerly in strings on the legs, hips, and neck, and a bracelet on the right arm. By the early Tiszapolgár phase at Polgár-Nagy Kasziba in the north of the plain (Raczky *et al.* 1997b), there were a male, a female, and two child graves (probably part of a larger burial ground) with differentiation by body side and by some of the grave goods, in ways familiar from Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, while both the woman and the man were accompanied by many pots.

Tiszapolgár-Basatanya itself has been the most analysed, since it is well published (including Chapman 1997a; Meisenheimer 1989; Sherratt 1982; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). Its use ran from the Tiszapolgár phase on into

the succeeding Bodrogkeresztúr phase, on into the fourth millennium BC; there were over 150 graves in all, mainly individual inhumations. Women, men, and children are represented. The dead were set in rows and their graves were probably individually marked, their positions thereby subsequently respected over long periods of time. Though there is a wide range of grave goods (Table 1), there is overall no clear sign of major material differentiation between individuals or groupings (the latter explored by Meisenheimer 1989) within the burial ground. There was clearly some emphasis put on gender differences, as emphasized by recent analyses (Chapman 1997a; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). These change between the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr phases, though it may be rather artificial to contrast only two such large blocks of time without trying to take account of changes from generation to generation (cf. Meisenheimer 1989). In Sofaer Derevenski's accounts (1997: 887, 2000), the various objects in question are linked in the Tiszapolgár phase not only to gender but to age, creating a strong sense of life process, whereas in the Bodrogkeresztúr phase there is a greater emphasis simply on female:male difference (reinforced by the slightly different analysis of Chapman 1997a: 138–43). While there is thus difference, there is hardly, in crude terms, discernible inequality evident in the mortuary rites, since women's graves can be as abundantly furnished with goods as men's, and children (at least in the Tiszapolgár phase when they are more common) seem often to be treated in anticipation of their future development. There seems to be increased emphasis throughout on the dead as though they were living: a performative view of people. Thus women, men, and children all receive food remains and quite abundant and varied pottery, though relative numbers may vary depending on age and gender (Sofaer Derevenski 1997: Fig. 2), and there are tools and other objects to do with dress and appearance. The last sight of the dead in the grave

Table 1. The range of grave goods and their principal gender associations in the Early Copper Age phase (Tiszapolgár culture) at the burial ground of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, Hungary (modified after Chapman 1997a: Table 10.3). For further details of age categories, see Sofaer Derevenski (2000).

Social category	Grave goods
Child only	Flint scraper, obsidian
Adult male only	Wild animal bones, snails, complete dog, limestone disc, loom-weight, ochre lumps
Adult female only	Deer tooth, bone spoon, pebble
Adult male and child only	Shed antler, boar's tusk, cattle metatarsal, pig mandible, domestic animal bones, copper bracelet
Adult female and child only	Aurochs bone
Adult male and adult female	Mussels, cattle bones, bone awl
All categories	Pottery, antler artefacts, flint blade, ground stone, limestone beads, copper bead and ring, fire

was of individuals furnished, in ways appropriate to their gender and age, for full, active participation in social life and the maintenance of long-established commonality.

WHAT THE DEAD WERE LIKE:
FURTHER EARLY AND LATE EXAMPLES

I have concentrated so far on the shifting sense of individualism in the changing settings in which daily existence was lived out. I want now to use two further examples, from the beginning and end of this long sequence, to suggest from a study of mortuary rites that many shared values seem to have endured for very long periods of time; in Barrett's terms (2000: 65), while structural conditions may have changed quite frequently, structuring principles may have altered rather less. These examples can be combined with others already considered above.

The nature of late hunter-gatherer communities in the Danube Gorges is a complex issue and this brief account is not intended to offer mere simplification, but the example provides a useful and important starting-point. Even the chronology of development is uncertain; I follow Radovanović (1996a) in seeing the most intense practices as later rather than earlier, probably at the transition from the seventh to the sixth millennium BC, and perhaps in reaction to the appearance elsewhere in the wider region of early Neolithic communities (Whittle 1996). While some communities in the gorges may have been semi-sedentary, others may have followed a more mobile lifestyle. In either case, people were engaged in their environment with subsisting, including fishing in the river and hunting in the hills. There were flows of raw materials into the gorges from north and south (Chapman 1993). People chose special places such as Lepenski Vir, Vlasac, and Padina (Radovanović 1996b), in the inner-most gorges, to mark their identity and their relationship to the river and its surrounding rocks and hills, with structures, perhaps shrines, and with burials, offerings, and other depositions. By Lepenski Vir II, in the conventional chronology, the dead were placed parallel to the river and facing downstream (Radovanović 1997). By the same phase sculpted or carved boulders in structures or shrines, which had first been more abstract, had assumed ambiguous faces, between human and fish. These have plausibly been seen as based on the great sturgeon of the river (Radovanović 1997; Srejović 1972) and beyond that as ancestor figures, whose annual return upstream was awaited by the dead and presumably also by the living (Radovanović 1997). In the latter stages of Lepenski Vir, it seems that large sturgeon were not eaten. It has been tempting to present this as a unified system, revealing hunter-gatherers in tune with 'nature', as opposed to the orientations of early farmers to 'culture' and human

identity (e.g. Whittle 1998a). This is too simple. There may be hybridization here already, plausibly enough in a context of regional change. There may have been multiple identities, and more than one kind of ancestry, of creatures as well as humans, though bound together by continued attention to chosen special places.

The dead were collected in these special places, perhaps in greater numbers than elsewhere (Radovanović 1996b: Table 1). The dead could be divisible, especially adults, separate remains of skulls and jaws being notable features of Lepenski Vir I (Radovanović 1996b: Table 13). Some of the dead were provided with accompanying goods, with already some differentiation, though not marked, by gender and age (Radovanović 1996b: Tables 7–14 (see Table 2)).

Changes continued to occur through time, and something of these has been seen in the previous section. There is not the space here to complete a detailed account through the fourth and third millennia BC. Thus the Baden horizon starting in the mid-fourth millennium BC could have seen the shift or part of the shift to Indo-European language, and the arrival of wheeled vehicles (Sherratt 1981), though 'secondary products' do not seem to have affected the situation on the ground to any great extent in terms of possible intensification or complexification. There were some dramatically new mortuary rites, including the burials of people with cattle pairs at Alsónémedi, off the plain near the Danube by Budapest (summarized in Whittle 1996: 122–6). From the perspective argued here, however, we could just as well stress the now very familiar kinds of mortuary rites seen in the rest of the burial ground at Alsónémedi. A comparable situation can be seen in the largest burial ground of this period, at Budakalász (Whittle 1996: 124 and references). A more recent characterization has talked of 'kaleidoscopic potential for fine-tuned and diverse statements about the living and the dead' and 'subtly varied identities' in the deployment of grave goods in this cemetery (Chapman 2000b:164 and Fig. 5.11). Without therefore ignoring this and other intervening horizons of change (see Chapman 1997a, 2000b; S.J. Shennan 1993), the final examples here will come from the early second millennium BC. There has been a tendency for Neolithic specialists to end their interpretations in the fourth or third millennium, and for Bronze Age specialists to begin in the late third millennium. It is instructive to take a longer view.

By this date, the late third running into the earlier second millennium BC, there had been further changes including the development of abundant bronze production and enclosed upland sites, the latter not necessarily to be regarded as fortifications (Harding 2000: 294); tells reoccupied or created on the Great Hungarian Plain do not appear in the main to be defended or placed with regard to defence or remoteness. In this horizon, the tradition of cemetery burial was not only maintained on the Great Hungarian Plain, but found widely over much of the area between the Rhine and the Vistula (Harding 2000:

Table 2. Selected grave goods and their principal age and gender associations in late levels at Vlasac, and in Lepenski Vir I (later levels) and II, in the Danube Gorges.

Artefact	Vlasac	LV I	LV II
Bone awl	–	f sen	f mat
Bone projectile	f mat	–	–
Bone tool	f mat	–	f mat
Antler tool	m mat	–	–
	f adu	–	–
	f mat	–	–
Boar's tusk tool	f mat	–	–
Flint	f mat	m juv	–
Decorated stone	m adu	–	–
Decorated bone	f mat	–	–
Necklace	inf	–	f mat
			f adu
Cyprinidae teeth	m mat	–	–
	m adu	–	–
	f mat	–	–
	f adu	–	–
	inf		

Note: f: female; m: male; inf: infant; juv: juvenile; adu: adult; mat: mature; sen: senior.
Source: After Radovanović 1996: Table 8.

76). While barrow burial in some peripheral areas further north may suggest greater extremes of wealth, sites such as Helmsdorf and Leubingen in Thüringen being often-cited examples, cemeteries of mainly individual inhumations seem to project a different kind of ideology, though this need not have been stable or uniform across such a wide area. Allegiance was given, at least in death, in part to a collective ideal, and burial grounds can include literally hundreds of graves, for example at Franzhausen in the Danube Valley west of Vienna (Neugebauer & Neugebauer 1997). Attention was also given to other groupings, perhaps on the basis of kinship or residence, since many burial grounds appear to have internal areas in simultaneous use; Gemeinlebarn, Singen, and Mokrin are examples (Harding 2000, with references). Women, men, and children continued to be represented, individual graves being presumably marked, and successive burials often being made in rows to respect previous interments. There was normally distinction made between men and women in terms of body side.

Much analysis has been carried out of variations in the provision of grave goods (e.g. Bátora 1991; Kadrow 1994; O'Shea 1996; Rega 1997; S.E. Shennan 1975, 1982; cf. Harding 2000: 394–8). While there are graves with no goods, as in a sizeable percentage at Iwanowice near Kraków (Kadrow 1994), or in some of the graves at Mokrin (Rega 1997: 231), many contain something, and as in earlier times pots were recurrent. In many accounts, the amounts or kinds of goods deposited with the dead have been the dominant consideration. The

wider context sketched above, and the circumstances in which different kinds of deposition might have been appropriate (Parker Pearson 1999), are both often neglected. There is indeed variation, and it is possible that the range of variation was greater than in earlier times. At Branč, Slovakia, there were more richly endowed graves of women than of men, and the explanations discussed so far have included a display of the wealth of husbands, descent through the female line, bridewealth, and polygyny (S.E. Shennan 1975: 286). In southern Hungary and northern Serbia, it is proposed that whereas the treatment and disposition of the body were strongly normative, more variation relating to status can be seen in grave good variation (O'Shea 1996: 187). Such a combination might rather be considered problematic, though it could reflect various kinds of tension, not inconsistent with the discussion above of overlapping points of view about the world. Some of the variation is ascribed to life process, to changing roles through successive changes in life (O'Shea 1996: 276–83; cf. Rega 1997), which is familiar from the situation in the Early Copper Age at Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, but some, such as sashes for women and head ornaments and weapons for men, to hereditary and other vertical social differentiation (O'Shea 1996: 283–94) (see Table 3).

There is little need to challenge the demonstration of variability in the provision of grave goods, but the total context does cast doubt on the scale of differentiation and the rather mechanical scoring and separation of individual elements of the totality of mortuary treatment. It is also telling that analysis of the Maros area ends with discussion of 'leveling rules' that maintained a 'basic egalitarian ethos' through the 800-year existence of the tells or villages in question, 'enforced by the power of obligation, reciprocity and kinship' (O'Shea 1996: 348–9). Nor is there any need to insist upon uniformity, but the observations that at Branč, in south-west Slovakia, 'the distinctions between "rich" individuals and others are by no means absolute' (S.E. Shennan 1975: 287), and that in the early second millennium BC the detected shifts, varying

Table 3. Suggested classification of funerary distinctions at Mokrin.

Feature	Sex	Age	Social category	Type of differentiation
Cemetery burial	all	all	community membership	normative
Flexed position	all	all	community membership	normative
East-facing	all	all	community membership	normative
Weapon	m	adu	hereditary social office	vertical
Head ornament	m	adu	hereditary social office	vertical
Beaded sash	f	adu	hereditary social office	vertical
Bone needle	f	?	hereditary social office	vertical
Head ornament	f	adu	associative social position	vertical

Note: f: female; m: male; adu: adult.
Source: Selected and simplified from O'Shea 1996: Table 8.5.

from site to site with more marked examples in Mokrin and other burial grounds of the Maros area, were from minimal to moderate ranking (S.E. Shennan 1982), have particular significance in the context of this discussion of the nature of change over very long spans of time.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF HISTORY

This returns us to what I have referred to above as the moral network. Probably never quite the same from place to place and time to time, and constantly open to re-interpretation, manipulation, and indeed subversion, because we cannot reduce social interactions to single relationships, none the less shared values and ideals seem from the evidence presented to have been extremely long lived, and capable of enduring through changing conditions of existence. By the Early Bronze Age, some individuals may have had a more defined social role, though that was hardly a uniform or stable development, and older concerns for the collective of the shared burial ground, distinctions between genders, allegiance to groupings within the wider whole, changing roles through life, and participation in social interaction, especially through the medium of food and drink, remain prominent. It has been a standard assumption to suppose that power and competition for it were the major focus of people's lives, that such concerns intensify through time, and that the principal actors involved were members of limited interest-groups (e.g. Chapman 1997b: 147; cf. Bailey 2000). This seems to me to pick out a single dimension of past social interaction for undue attention, and to risk being drawn into seeking patterns of steadily intensifying change where none may exist (cf. Chapman 2000b: 167). It avoids the complexity and messiness of past lives, and the rhythms and timescales of individual existence in specific places. Tension between people may have existed throughout the central European case study explored here, to varying degrees. In the case of the Pangia area of the southern highlands of Papua New Guinea, it is argued that principles of hierarchy and unity coexisted, with 'debate, confusion and improvisation' and continuing 'experiential flux' (A. Strathern and Stewart 2000). The European evidence discussed seems to suggest a less extreme situation, but the argument here can allow a measure of what has been called 'alternating disequilibrium' (A. Strathern 1971: 11) from phase to phase or within particular phases. Overall, however, this did not lead to the establishment of a pattern of marked hierarchy, even by the earlier second millennium BC, in accordance with the many older characterizations of the sequence noted at the start of the chapter.

What I have tried to show is that giving attention to the conditions and textures of daily existence may help better to explain this long duration. This

was not a history in which nothing happened and in which nothing changed; some kinds of change were recurrent, but these came at irregular intervals. At varying times there were, in some senses, cycle, reversal, and stasis. In addition, the timescale of individual lives allied to shifting senses of what it was to be an individual conditioned a state of flux within social networks. People acted in varying ways, often from habit and without thinking, and often in non-linear and overlapping or contradictory ways, in skilled and continuous engagement with their social worlds, regularly in accordance with the expectations of others, and sometimes more consciously to create new possibilities. They were also constrained by what was normally sanctioned as acceptable. This was learnt through childhood, reinforced at initiation, and encountered daily in the social taskscape, which changed through life with age and role. I argue that it was these broadly shared values, meshed with the ways in which people routinely acted out their daily lives and thought about their worlds, which enabled the long continuities of the different kind of history proposed here. Perhaps the kind of developments seen in the Near East remained for many European moral networks simply unimaginable.

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