Life and death of the longhouse: daily life during and after the early Neolithic in the river valleys of the Paris Basin

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Summary

This thesis discusses the social and architectural changes from the early Neolithic (just before 5000 cal BC; the RRBP: *Rubané Récent du Bassin parisien* and the VSG: *Villeneuve-Saint-Germain* cultures) to the middle Neolithic (4700 cal BC; the Cerny and Michelsberg/Chasséen cultures) in the Paris Basin, France.

Commencing with a characterisation of daily life, the thesis considers the *dwelling perspective*, which underpins the theoretical approach taken here, and then debates different approaches to the study of houses found in anthropology and archaeology. It is concluded that daily life in the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin can be illuminated through consideration of different practices of inhabitation, and how materials and tasks provided particular constructions of time. Thus an approach to archaeology and prehistoric architectures that envisions social life as creative, tactical and performative is advocated.

The longhouse is considered as a suite of practices that provided daily life with a particular temporality and it is argued that this temporality was increasingly challenged throughout the VSG period. The archaeological data is discussed in two case studies. The first is based around the early and middle Neolithic settlements in the Aisne and Oise valleys and the second, those sites at the Seine-Yonne confluence. This facilitates discussion of local experiences of settlement, landscape and deposition, demonstrating that different conceptions of community relations, architecture, animals and social scale existed, leading to the creation of different post-RRBP and VSG architectures in the two areas, including the Passy-style monuments. This challenges the rather static views of LBK social structure that have been prevalent in current literature. The death of the longhouse is characterised as a change in the scale of community and conceptions of temporality experienced in the middle Neolithic, inspired by the desire to explore difference in social relations in a more immediate setting than the longhouse provided. Three appendices contain a site gazetteer and a discussion of the architectural and burial data from the Paris Basin.

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[1] This is the correct spelling of her name. Her father mis-spelt her name when he registered her birth.

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Introduction: inhabiting the LBK longhouse

Introduction

The history of the *Linearbandkeramik* (hereafter LBK) longhouse is unique in Neolithic Europe. Positioned between the tell settlements to the southeast and the monumental architecture to the northwest, the LBK longhouse has been one of the least controversial architectures of the Neolithic. Yet the first longhouses to be constructed, c. 5500 cal BC, would have stood in stark contrast to the structures built by the indigenous Mesolithic communities of central Europe (Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a). The LBK is traditionally associated with the introduction and subsequent spread of a farming 'package' across central Europe (Sherratt 1995; Thomas 1996a) and the longhouse has been regarded as integral to this agricultural society. If the longhouse was brought to central Europe by colonisers, imagine the impact of first gazing upon or helping to construct one of these huge buildings. Trees would have been felled, land cleared, space enclosed, domestic animals encountered and cereals eaten. It is rather surprising therefore that those archaeologists who have studied the LBK have not been more intrigued by the history of these large buildings for themselves alone. Rather, the surprise, and focus for explanation, has been the arrival of the Neolithic and the locations where substantial domestic architectures were not present alongside evidence for farming practices. The longhouse is not considered as a history in itself, but tends to be regarded as a symptom of broader historical and social changes that have required explanations found outside the scale of the local and the everyday.

Part of the reason that such a substantial aspect of LBK life has been sidelined is that the daily lives of the LBK communities have been neglected in favour of writing about the spread of farming practices and ceramic technologies across Europe on a far larger scale. While the numbers of scientific techniques applicable to the study

of the past are developing rapidly, offering ever more detailed appreciations of past people's lives, archaeologists have often failed to contextualise these results within the everyday practices which produced them. For example, strontium isotope analysis has done much to illuminate both the mobility and variety in LBK communities, but the application of this method continues to be lauded for its explanatory place in understanding social transitions rather than viewed as an interesting part of the necessary complex amalgamation of as many strands of evidence as possible (Bickle and Hofmann 2007; but see Knipper forthcoming). In contrast, daily life is multifaceted: a dense *bricolage* of different tasks, people, animals, materials and landscapes. It is frequently varied and creative, following aesthetics specific to a particular community and irreducible to a single dimension (Whittle 2003).

This thesis explores what it meant to live amongst LBK longhouses on a daily basis and what their role was in the formation of community relationships. The consideration of daily life in archaeology is not just a matter of attending to the small-scale, local and particular; it is a re-focussing of the archaeological lens on to how the material remains of the past were created and the appropriate scales for considering them. Here, the emphasis will fall on the more intimate aspects of these Neolithic communities and their everyday lives, examining local instances of construction and deposition in the Paris Basin and the different scales at which social life was performed. The Paris Basin is situated at the western most extent of the LBK and the region witnesses a number of interesting architectural changes and post-LBK developments. The case studies will discuss the two most densely occupied areas of this region: firstly the Aisne and Oise river valleys and secondly, those settlements around the Seine-Yonne confluence. Each case study will begin by looking at life in and around longhouses, considering the architectural spaces of the longhouse alongside the routine tasks and depositional activities at LBK settlements. The discussion will then turn to the end of the LBK way of life and the 'death' of the longhouse in this region. Thus the aim is not to only consider the place of architecture in the early Neolithic social world of the Paris Basin, but also to explore its role in the transformation of everyday life during and after the LBK.

Exploring the LBK longhouse

The LBK is thought to have originated in central Europe, perhaps in Hungary (Gronenborn 1999; Whittle 1996a; 2003), first appearing c. 5500 cal BC (Gronenborn 1999).[1] It has much in common with the preceding Starčevo-Körös culture found on the southeastern extent of the Hungarian plain (Whittle 1996a, 73). However, over the following 500 years the LBK spread out across central Europe, reaching the Paris Basin in the west and as far east as Moldavia (Figure 1.1). The LBK has classically been defined by a particular pottery style, an architectural form, the practice of animal husbandry and the growing of cereals (Bogucki 1988). The expansion of this culture is thought to have two main phases, occurring through the migration of pioneering communities, moving along river valleys and exploiting their fertile soils (Bogucki 1988, 73; Gronenborn 1999; Sommer 2001; Whittle 1996a). The fertility of the loess soils found in the river valleys of central Europe, which were the focus for settlement, is often considered evidence for the primary importance of agriculture in defining the character of the LBK (Price 2000). However, more complex models for the beginning of the LBK have recently been considered, with detailed appreciations of regional sequences (Gronenborn 2007a, 73). As a result a complex array of origins and processes can be envisioned, with mixtures of indigenous adoption and colonisation happening over a longer period and fusing together the traditions of hunter-gatherers with farming (Whittle 1996a; Gronenborn 1999; 2007a, 79–81; Allard 2007; Robb and Miracle 2007, 109–13; Lukes and Zvelebil 2008, 142–3).

Despite the fact that this initial phase of the LBK would have seen dramatic and potentially controversial changes in people's everyday lives, most of the controversy in the literature rests more on the relative appearance of the LBK and subsequent end of the LBK, rather than the fact it appears at all. Many of the debates surrounding the early LBK work with a low resolution chronology based on rough estimates from limited radiocarbon dates (Stäuble 1994; 1995; Sommer 2001). The initial phase, the *älteste* LBK, lasted c. 200–300 years (Lenneis 1989; Lüning *et al.* 1989; Stäuble 1994; Gronenborn 1999; Sommer 2001, 154). This is then followed by the appearance of the *Flomborn* phase, c. 5300 cal BC, which was characterised by expansion into new regions, a reduction in Mesolithic knapping techniques and changes in the number of posts erected in the interior of the longhouse (Lüning

1988, 32; Whittle 1996a; Gronenborn 1999; Sommer 2001). It is in this phase that the classic LBK longhouse design develops, with the complex arrangements of internal post-rows and modular design that has now been found throughout central Europe (Cladders and Stäuble 2003, 495). This phase also sees the increased regionalisation of ceramic styles (Whittle 1996a, 158) and it is during this period that the LBK reached the Paris Basin, just before 5000 cal BC (Constantin and Blanchet 1998; Coudart 1998; Ilett and Hachem 2001). The LBK way of life continues for about 250 years after its arrival in the Paris Basin, known firstly as the *Rubané Récent du Bassin parisien* (hereafter RRBP) and then as the subsequent *Villeneuve-Saint-Germain* (hereafter VSG) culture. The longhouse in the western end of the LBK distribution tends to be slightly more trapezoidal in shape and the internal post structure represents one of the many different regional variations (Modderman 1988; Coudart 1998). However, other aspects remain distinctively the same. External pits are still dug on both of the longer sides of the building (known as loam pits) and the deposits within them are still made up of a similar range of objects (Bradley 2001; Whittle 2003). Thus it is not just the house design that remains recognisable throughout the 500–600 years the longhouse was built, but also the practices that surrounded its construction and use.

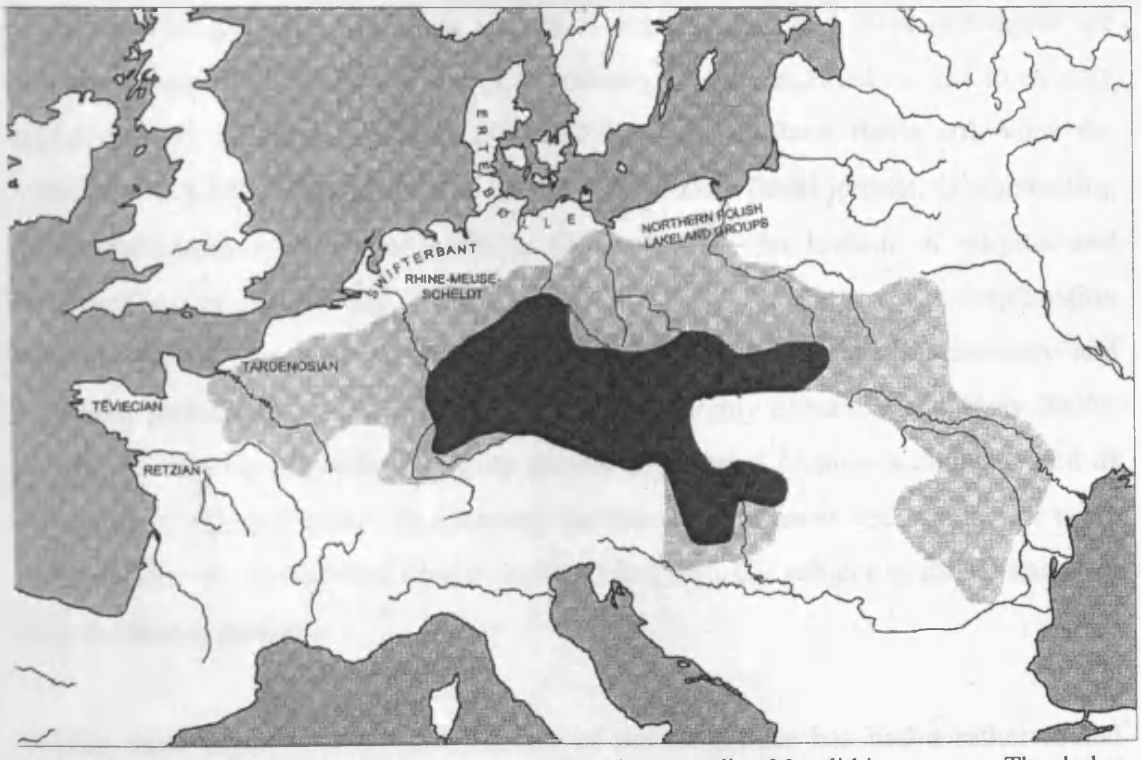


Figure 1.1. A map of the distribution of the LBK and surrounding Mesolithic groups. The darker shading shows the first phase of the LBK and lighter shading, the second. Midgley (2005, 14).

The end of the LBK, occurring in the centuries after 5000 cal BC, is frequently regarded as developing out of this regionalisation. Its end is thus characterised as the decline and eventual break-up of a previously well-ordered and structured social grouping. Some sites, such as the burial pit at Talheim, suggest violence (Wahl and König 1987), an interpretation that is also apparently supported by the increase in the occurrence of enclosure sites (frequently interpreted as defensive settlements) in the final phases of the LBK (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991). The changes at the beginning and end of the LBK therefore remain more controversial than those during its expansion across Europe (Lukes and Zvelebil 2004). However, this period is far from understood. Ceramic groups such as the *Buchauer Gruppe* (Kind 1997), *La Hoguette* and *Limburg* (Gronenborn 1998; Jeunesse 2000a; 2000b) may represent the continuation of a Mesolithic way of life alongside the incoming LBK communities. Indeed, there are some suggestions that assimilation of Mesolithic groups contributed to the post-LBK developments in Europe, particularly in the Paris Basin in the case of the Cerny culture with burnt bone temper evoking the ceramic fabrics of *La Hoguette* and *Limburg* (Midgley 2005, 50).

However, evidence for groups living separate from the LBK communities for centuries after its arrival in these regions is scant at best and these arguments are perhaps rather more a reflection of the tendency to seek external factors to explain social change. Contrastingly, many researchers in the Paris Basin still view the trajectory of LBK development in terms of economic development, characterising the transformation from the LBK to Cerny by the production of surplus and increased social complexity (Constantin *et al.* 1997). In these cases, explanation depends on an assumed naturalised human desire for improved technology and increased production, the occurrence of which is highly debatable (Midgley 2005). Neither of these explanations is truly satisfactory; social change is characterised as the result of external pressure, ignoring internal developments and agency, or these communities are envisioned almost as machines, entirely subject to the demands of their economic systems.

Within these arguments the architecture of the longhouse has had a rather muted role, preferably studied through typology and as part of the agricultural communities' adaptation to life as farmers (Childe 1949). The dimensions of

longhouses can be anywhere from 9 to 40 metres in length, with substantial height and width (Coudart 1998). These LBK longhouses have created images of farmsteads surrounded by open fields full of corn and herds of cattle. As this image was beginning to be challenged by more sophisticated readings of the pollen record, which suggested a densely forested landscape with small clearings (Ilett *et al.* 1982; Bakels 1984; Bogucki 1988), new ideas about the longhouse came to the fore. Alongside a critique of the previously assumed intensity of agricultural production, the colonisation model was also beginning to be questioned, inspired by considerations of Neolithic transformations elsewhere in Europe in some cases but mainly based on detailed consideration of regional sequences (Modderman 1970; Tillmann 1993; Whittle 1996a; 2003; Kind 1998, 20–2; Jeunesse 2000a; 2000b). Evidence for continued hunting and gathering, and increased understanding of the regional differences within the LBK, seemed to suggest indigenous adoption rather than migration (see Whittle 1996a, chapter 4). Interactions and acculturation between geographically differentiated groups were also supported by recent isotope data, which demonstrated that groups or individuals were experiencing some form of mobility during their life-span (Price *et al.* 2001; Bentley *et al.* 2003; Mateiciucová 2004, 97; Lukes and Zvelebil 2008).

As a more forested landscape was in evidence, and as it was recognised that practices, previously identified as 'Mesolithic' or 'indigenous' could have continued, the domestic cultured landscape began to shrink in the archaeological imagination. This seems to have been played out in Hodder's (1990) opposition of the *Domus* (domestic) and *Agrios* (wild). Not only do these longhouses seem enclosed by a forbidding forest, but the danger of the wild seems to be played against the precarious position of the domestic world. These ideas have served to reinforce the links between the longhouse, the domestic sphere and farming. It will be argued here, in contrast, that no such opposition existed between the longhouse and the wooded landscape that surrounded it. The LBK communities continued to hunt and gather, as evidenced by the presence of wild animals in the bone assemblages at settlements in the Paris Basin (Hachem 2000). The occurrence of wild animals on LBK sites, coupled with evidence for stone and shell being exchanged long distances (Bradley 2001), suggests that people were experiencing significant degrees of movement in the landscape. Cattle herds may also have been

seasonally moved (Whittle 1997; Bentley and Knipper 2005), directly in contrast to the 'garden plot' cultivation which may suggest a more settled lifestyle (Bogaard 2004; Bogaard and Jones 2007; Bogaard *et al.* 2008). The forest did not enclose life, but was thus an essential part of it. The posts of the houses could have been evocative of the trunks of the trees (Whittle 1996b, 25), thus creating, in Hodder's (1990) terms, the *Agrios* within the longhouse itself. As these aspects of LBK settlements are reconsidered it becomes obvious that the everyday concerns and experiences of the LBK communities are far from understood.

The debates about colonisation and acculturation, the persistence of Mesolithic groups and the end of the LBK, while interesting, fail to engage with the daily lives of LBK longhouse inhabitants and result in the longhouse being unproblematically characterised as a domestic building. The implication of this is that we understand the place of the longhouse in LBK social structure and that constructions of notions such as identity, place, landscape and community are of little significance for comprehending the LBK. Yet the temporality of the longhouse remains unique among the various forms of Neolithic European architecture. After construction, the longhouse was used for approximately 30 years, or a generation, before being abandoned (Coudart 1998; Last 1996; Whittle 1996a; cf. Rück forthcoming).[2] Unlike the tell settlements of southeastern Europe, the longhouse was not rebuilt on the same location, but a new dwelling was built near the first and the original building was left to decay *in situ*, rather than being destroyed or burnt (Tringham 1991; Bailey 2000). Whether they were an evocative reminder of the passing of time, or dangerously polluting because of an association with death, the decaying longhouses would have been part of the daily experiences at a LBK settlement. The sights and smells may have been familiar to the local community, but not necessarily mundane.

Recent attempts to challenge this situation and understand the daily life of the LBK from within its cultural contexts have been useful, but brief or only focused on one aspect of the evidence such as lithics and animal bones (see Hachem 2000; Bradley 2001; Whittle 2003; Allard 2005). However, the quality of evidence and extent of excavation in the Paris Basin make a more detailed and sustained appreciation of the archaeology possible. This region is also geographically coherent, evoking a

comprehensible area as a contained case study (see Figure 1.2). The intention here is to discuss the longhouse within the context of everyday life in the LBK of the Paris Basin, and to address the place of the longhouse within the LBK landscape. This necessarily moves the focus of explanation from considering the broader debates (e.g. Mesolithic-Neolithic transition) on to the scale of the everyday and the experiential and performative aspects of the longhouse. Rather than regarding the longhouse as a self-explanatory entity, this thesis will problematise the social relationships which it housed and what it meant to engage in building the longhouse. Therefore, it is necessary to consider how people engaged in their worlds and carefully set out the implications of studying the everyday, to which I now turn.

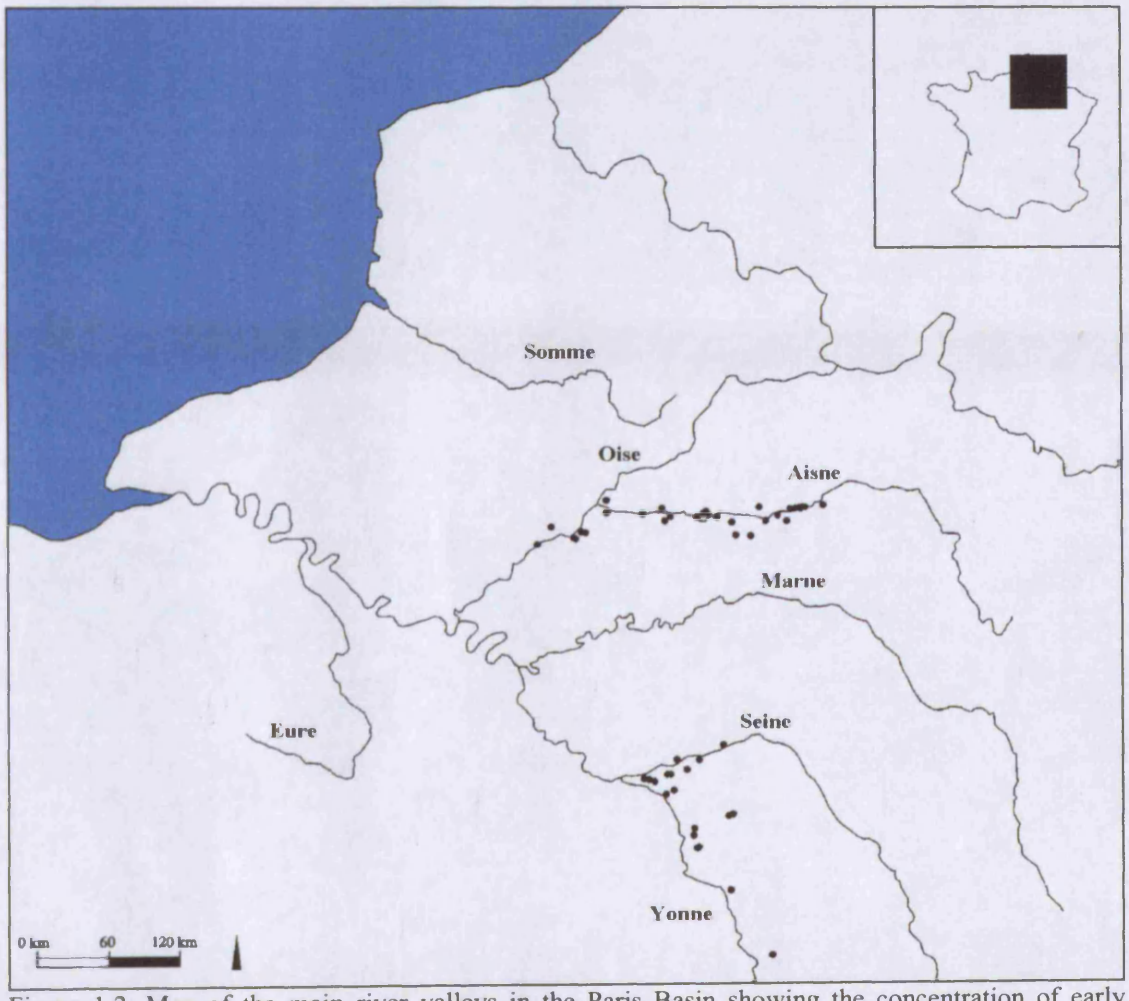


Figure 1.2. Map of the main river valleys in the Paris Basin showing the concentration of early Neolithic settlements in the two areas which will form the case studies: the Aisne and Oise valleys and the valleys around the Seine-Yonne confluence. After Pernaud *et al.* (2004).

Daily life and architecture: theoretical approaches to the past

While the study of daily life has sparked the interest of many social theorists and anthropologists, archaeologists have preferred to study past events as if they were part of extraordinary, yet regular, activities. The theoretical focus on activities that can be deemed ritual has led to domestic life not only being given little attention by those of a theoretical bent, but its facets, such as food production or house construction, becoming considered the preserve of scientific specialists (Lefebvre 1991; Bradley 2005). Only with the publication of a number of recent books and articles has the theoretical focus on the complexities and minutiae of daily life begun to be appreciated as possibly of interest to archaeologists (Brück 1999; Whittle 2003; Bradley 2005). It has been realised that by studying daily life an interpretive approach can be taken that not only supports a theoretical stance inspired by the agency and dwelling theories, but also moves forward into new understandings of individual and community identities and how people attended to their worlds (Ingold 2000). Ingold's (1993; 2000; 2007a) 'dwelling perspective' will underpin the theoretical debates explored by this thesis. Therefore, the Cartesian dualities (subject: object; nature: culture; structure: agency) will be considered as a particular representation of the world and fundamentally *not* how people inhabit their material landscapes. Rather than dividing the world into social and environment (or human relationships and material relations) these are regarded as a continuum out of which particular ways of being-in-the-world or dwelling develop (Heidegger 1962; Ingold 1993; 2000).

This approach is not new to archaeology, but over the last decade it has focused attention on to the individual experience as an archaeological category of study like never before. However, archaeologists have become increasingly frustrated with the failure of agency theory and the dwelling perspective to develop this focus on different individuals in the past in more depth and with more complexity. Debates on the relationship between structure and agency have seemingly taken place at a level of abstraction from the archaeological materials under study, failing to deal both with agency in long-term social changes and with structure at the level of the archaeological event (Dobres and Robb 2000a). This is particularly relevant to the LBK, where longhouses are often presented as imbued with the agencies of the Neolithic, rather than the communities who built them. The phenomenological

approach has attempted to give more specific individualised archaeologies (Tilley 1994; 2004), but has produced singular narratives that appear to narrow the focus on to personal (largely Western and male) perspectives rather than expanding them (Meskell 1996; Brück 1998). Furthermore, archaeologists have become increasingly aware of the debates around the social body in anthropology, originating out of Strathern's (1988) *Gender of the gift* and the discourse on the body by feminist social theorists such as Butler (1990; 1993) and Grosz (1994). These have de-stabilised the individual as the basic category for human identity and the human body as the locus out of which constructions of identity develop or come to be based (Fowler 2004).

The impact of these theoretical discussions has been to reduce the scales on which archaeology has studied the past and, like many of the social sciences, different constructions of identity and the body have provoked many interesting discussions (see Hamilakis *et al.* 2002). However, discussion of the appropriate scales for achieving this analysis and the different possible approaches to the archaeological evidence itself have largely been absent from the debate. This includes the consideration of the everyday scale on which particular understandings of dwelling were created and maintained. While writing about daily life at first seems a pretty obvious endeavour, defining just what is (or is not) daily life quickly becomes enormously problematic. While some activities may be held as 'special' times or places, preparation for them and discussion about them takes place in routine contexts, and rituals can even be about ensuring the safe and productive continuation of daily life (Turner 1969; Bell 1992). Conversely, ritual is often viewed as a type of activity tacked onto the routines of everyday life as an optional extra. Few attempts to achieve a full integration of domestic and ritual in daily life have been made in archaeology, with Bradley (2003; 2005) and Brück (1999) notable exceptions. However, even in these cases ritual and domestic sit uncomfortably together, not quite giving up their separate spheres of influence.

It is far better, therefore, to follow Geertz (1973) and argue for a 'thick' description of daily life. This approach challenges the notion that life can be neatly parcelled into 'domestic' or 'ritual' concerns and argues that life is always 'going on' (Ingold 2000). Following James (2003), it will be argued that the flow of life can be seen as

choreographed like a dance, with artful movements and full of tactical playing (de Certeau 1984). It is this choreography which captures social life and the particular aesthetic by which communities negotiate daily activities and social relationships (Overing and Passes 2000). Like dance, repetition and re-iteration are enormously important to communicating meaning and desires (Butler 1993) and hence come to characterise particular ways of forming relationships (between people, materials and landscapes)[3] and conceptions of how time passes (Gosden 1994; Lucas 2005). This moves the focus from how the body and identity of the individual were constructed on to how people lived together and created the communities which guided how they lived. The materials of archaeological study are not separate from these performances or practices, but rather meaningfully constituted and an active part of dwelling (Bourdieu 1977; 1990; Ingold 2000). Engaging with how people lived in the past necessitates considering this role of material objects, architectures and landscapes in the construction of particular social worlds (Barrett 2001).

Architecture will therefore be considered as part of this material presence in the world and as a necessary part of material culture. Architectural structures are enormously familiar to the Western reader. Our whole lives are structured around buildings; they are an integral part of the landscapes we encounter on a daily basis. As we move between and within buildings we can dramatically change how we move our bodies, what we say and what we do. However, the structures we meet in archaeological contexts often leave very different impressions on us. Suddenly, buildings are no longer inhabited places but plans, walls and dimensions, measurements and numbers of postholes. These houses are most frequently characterised as devoid of inhabitants, and their structures attributed static meanings and uses. There are two broad approaches to domestic architecture in archaeology; either the structure of the house represents practical adaptation to the local environment or the layout is imbued with a structural, cosmological logic (Kent 1990). Both of these approaches are inspired by an attitude to domestic architecture that is repeated throughout archaeology: that a house is an easily recognisable universal structure and a natural part of daily life. This has limited the ability of archaeologists to interpret the houses of the past as modern concepts of how a house makes a central place, stating ownership in the world, become entangled with interpretation.

Houses are not easily defined entities that can be regarded as a totality; they can move between being fluid to fixed, from being fore-grounded to becoming a backdrop to action, barely perceived at all (Tringham 1991). A new approach is needed that does not fall into the trap of regarding the house just as a representation of particular social order, but gets at the reality of living with and building a particular architecture. To move beyond these approaches to architecture, anthropological approaches to life in houses will be examined to draw out the sociality of living together in a longhouse. The world is revealed to the individual as movements are made through the material landscape (Ingold 1993; 2000) and therefore the longhouse, like landscape, was revealed as people moved within it. These movements will have had individual temporalities, guided by the time of day, others present, obstacles and the season, to name but a few of the different factors influencing people's lives (Gosden 1994). Inspiration will be taken from a number of anthropologies, including examples from the Amazon (Overing and Passes 2000; M. Harris 2000) and Lévi-Strauss' (1982) house societies (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995a; Joyce and Gillespie 2000). This will be contrasted with the individual temporality of the longhouse; examining the physicality and risk involved in construction and the experience of being around an abandoned and decaying longhouse. The approach to daily life that sees it as artful or tactical will allow a very different view of the longhouse to be made. Instead of repeating proscribed social rules, the longhouse is an essential facet of the attitudes which LBK communities had about social life and living well.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis begins with a reflection on the anthropological, sociological and archaeological approaches to social life and the formation of community relations. Chapter two will focus on what the study of daily life means for the scales of approach used in archaeology and set out the theoretical stance taken here. It will consider three aspects vital in studying the daily life of past communities: the appropriate scale of analysis, how the passing of time was perceived and the ways in which community relationships were formed. Chapter three will then consider the place of architecture in people's social worlds, exploring architectural and anthropological theories of building and the built environment to challenge the notion that domestic architectures are implicitly understood by the archaeologist.

This chapter will outline the key aspects of studying prehistoric architectures and households, arguing that the material structure of the building is rarely a static representation of social relationships but is normally far more dynamic. Taken together these two chapters define the theoretical approach which underpins this thesis and contribute to how we think about people's place in their social and material worlds.

Chapter four will then consider the contexts and chronologies of the early and middle Neolithic communities of the Paris Basin. It will outline the state of current research, the debates surrounding cultural succession and the environmental contexts of the Neolithic landscape. The environment in the early and middle Neolithic has often been characterised as either open fields or dense forest. This chapter will use recent results in paleo-environmental research to argue that it was more probably a patch-work of man-made and natural clearings set within different types and densities of forest. There has been a tendency to parcel the successive communities in the early and middle Neolithic of the Paris Basin into neatly bounded cultural groups, hence problematising the transition between them rather than their internal changes and character. Furthermore, this has contributed to an unhelpful debate as to whether the groups should be defined primarily geographically or chronologically. This chapter will argue that while the cultural names remain essential descriptive devices, the chronology illustrates more complex transitions, changes and continuities between the RRBP, VSG and post-LBK communities.

In order to explore these ideas in a fully contextualised setting two case studies will be developed based on the early and middle Neolithic archaeologies of the river valleys in the Paris Basin (Figure 1.2). An approach which favours investigations of local formations of community, rather than top-down applications of general theoretical trends, will be taken. The first case study (Chapter five) will focus mainly on the Aisne and Oise river valleys that had a significant concentration of settlement during the early Neolithic and have been extensively excavated since the late 1960s (Ilett and Hachem 2001). The preservation of bone in the region is exceptional (Hachem 2000) and the assemblages of lithic (Allard 2005) and ceramic artefacts (Constantin 1985) are extremely well understood, but there have been very few attempts to bring this evidence together. The second case study (Chapter six),

centred primarily on the Seine-Yonne confluence (though also encompassing the settlements found further south along the Yonne), will then offer the opportunity to consider regional practices and styles of longhouse construction against its more general trends and features. Though there has been significantly less consideration of the LBK-related groups in this area of the Paris Basin, the subsequent post-LBK architectures, the Passy monuments, are unique to the Seine-Yonne area, making this sequence of change particularly interesting.

Chapter seven will then draw the thesis to a close, discussing the different ways in which people lived with longhouses in the Paris Basin and why the longhouse was no longer built. It will examine the particular choreographies of daily life and the negotiations of social relationships through particular forms of architecture. As it has been argued above, the longhouse was part of the expanding nature of the LBK communities. Can the death of the longhouse be seen as an ending of this idea of expansion, is it an end to the significance of the longhouse, or did new ways of living develop that left the longhouse obsolete? The previous ties between farming, social structure and architecture will be loosened, arguing that community and individual identity needed to be made and continually reaffirmed in the daily routines and interactions of the LBK peoples. This chapter will also look more broadly at the place of architecture and daily life in archaeology, demonstrating the necessity of considering notions of social difference in more theoretical depth.

There are two main aims in this research: firstly, to bring the wide discussion about daily life, broached by social and cultural theory and anthropology, into the archaeological sphere, and secondly, to produce a more challenging narrative about the LBK longhouse. By integrating different strands of evidence, normally presented separately, it seeks to offer a fully contextual appreciation of the LBK communities of the Paris Basin. Furthermore, through engaging with one particular region it demonstrates how productive consideration of daily life could be and argues that rather than limiting the scales on which archaeology operates, it allows archaeology to present its unique perspective on human history in meaningful ways: that is, on the scale of human interaction and in the contexts in which the people of the past constructed and lived their lives. This is not directly an appeal to leave

behind such problems as the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, but rather calls for archaeology to recognise that these transitions had very real impacts on people's lives and that it was their commitment to social change that made the history that lies before us today.

[1] However, there are suggestions that the LBK began a hundred years earlier, c. 5600 cal. BC (Stäuble 1995; Sommer 2001, 250). Without a more extensive radiocarbon dating program, this chronology remains unclear.

[2] This has recently been challenged by Rück (2007; forthcoming) who argues that the longhouse was in fact much longer lived, with successive generations continuing to live in the same building. This will be discussed more extensively in Chapters 4 and 6.

[3] I do not wish to imply a hierarchy in the significance of people's relationships with each other, materials or landscapes. They are each equally important in the process of dwelling (see Chapter two).

2

The ceremonial animal: exploring daily life

Introduction

Archaeology, like no other field, lends itself to debates about scale. Agency theory, widespread in archaeology now for over two decades, has significantly reduced the scales on which historical narratives in the discipline have been written (Dobres and Robb 2000a). The time-depth of archaeological sites had previously encouraged social change to be seen through centuries and millennia, rather than in terms of generations and life-times (Shanks and Tilley 1987). The dating methods used in the past have given broad time-scales for sites, rather than more specific, sequence-based assessments (Hodder 1986; Whittle and Bayliss 2007). Agency theory and an appreciation of everyday life therefore went against the grain in a profession that had for a long time felt that its 'strength' lay in its capacity to generalise large-scale regional distributions and long-term changes (Barrett 2001, 143). The post-processual critique of using long-term narratives in historical research was not, however, that the discussion of broad scales of social change was the wrong approach. Rather post-processualism argued that archaeology had ignored human agency and denied experiential conceptions of time, hence starving the discipline of its object of study: human history. There has since been a consistent reduction in the scales on which archaeologists have studied the past, increasingly preferring regional case studies to grand narratives.

Yet, lately the scale of study in archaeology has become of interest again. In a recent special section of the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Robb (2008) was optimistic: with the greater understanding of social life and human constructions of time developed by archaeology over the last couple of decades, is it not now the time to consider long-term change from a more theoretically aware perspective? Bayesian statistics provide refined chronologies capable of being interpreted on the

scale of human life-times (Whittle and Bayliss 2007), while long-term change continues to grasp the archaeological imagination (Bradley 2007; Robb 2007; Lucas 2008). However, tensions between short- and long-term scales of study remain and archaeology as a discipline has neglected to fully theorise how it characterises differences in temporal scale. Agency theory seems to have inspired interest in the individual. It has drawn largely on the growing literature on identity in the social sciences, and while it has been enormously productive, this has been at the expense of understanding the community and material relationships which are both essential in forming people's understanding of their worlds, and through this, themselves. Chapter three will investigate the material aspects of human life and this chapter will explore the various ideas supported by the discussion of daily life in social theory and anthropology and, in doing so, argue that studying everyday life is not just a matter of examining the small and intimate, but rather a way into exploring the different scales at which the enmeshed networks of past communities were constituted.

This chapter begins by discussing the different scales of approach useful in archaeological analysis. After arguing that daily life offers a productive avenue for thought, the first section of the chapter puts the arguments for the significance of studying the daily lives of past communities. Domestic and ritual aspects of life have been studied separately as exclusive categories of human life (Brück 1999; Bradley 2003; 2005), but they will be treated here as unhelpful categories for understanding social life. This raises the problem of how to think about the formation of social groups and change in their institutions. Therefore the final part of this section will broach the topic of 'being', defining the *dwelling perspective* that underpins the theoretical stance taken in this thesis. The second half of the chapter will then explore what studying daily life involves. Three aspects are presented here as significant: the performance of daily life, routine and constructions of time, and the formation of community relationships. Anthropology and ethnography cannot directly stand as analogies for life in the past, but they can help us escape those unacknowledged structures that dictate how we engage in acts of interpretation. Numerous examples from these disciplines, alongside discussion from philosophy and sociology, will be used to demonstrate that engaging with the creative and

tactical aspects of daily life can be beneficial in handling variety and different temporal scales in the past.

The extraordinary and the everyday

Scales of approach

The integration of long- and short-term scales of approach in archaeology remains as problematic as ever. Grand narratives of change show a reluctance to deal with moments of variation, which are frequently characterised as arising outside social structures or as having no impact beyond the immediate event (Souvatzi 2008a, 34), while considerations of narrower time-scales fail to adequately account for change and what inspired it. Yet, as Barrett (1994, 2) states at the beginning of *Fragments from antiquity*, how the archaeologist deals with the different temporal layers of social change is not purely a methodological issue, but one that forces the researcher to question the human relationships and social institutions which crossed these layers of time. Discussing scale in archaeology is therefore not just a matter of defining a culture's geographical and chronological extent or whether long- or short-term analysis should be our goal. It is, rather, the exploration of the scale at which the archaeologist debates the occurrence of social change. Therefore approaching the study of daily life is a process of attending to how peoples of the past conceived of their own scales of being.

However, this necessarily focuses the attention on shorter rather than longer time-scales. Use of short time-scales archaeology is usually associated with concepts such as the individual and identity (Hamilakis *et al.* 2002; Meskell 2003; Fowler 2004). However, these concepts have begun to be criticised for lacking consideration of multiple individual identities in the past (O. Harris 2005) and thus presenting peoples of the past as 'faceless blobs' (Tringham 1991, 94). Meskell (1996) criticises Barrett's *Fragments from antiquity* (1994), for lacking consideration of specific identities and argues that the individuals depicted in this archaeology revert to generalised and typified 'big men'. Not everyone in the past would have the same access to power and knowledge structures, nor the same degree of control over their own lives (Meskell 1996). The individuals in *Fragments from antiquity* possess an agency that allows them access to all ritual knowledge and understanding. This forces archaeological individuals into an interesting position;

they are both the powerful agents that build and manipulate social structures, and also the embodiment of those structures themselves (Barrett 2000, 65). Thus there has been a tendency in archaeology for the individual to stand as a substitute for coping with the complexity of collective and multiple histories (Whittle 2003, 12). The study of daily life cannot therefore be simply equated with a consideration of the individual, without also failing to acknowledge the complexity which makes up experience in the world.

This is, of course, the difficulty in reconciling how structure (the rules which guide social action) and agency (the ability and motivation to act differently) can co-exist and how people can have multiple or contrasting understandings and experiences of the same event. If someone is free to manoeuvre within their social system (that is, if they possess agency), why do they still adhere to particular structures that may not benefit them? This has been debated at length elsewhere (see Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979; 1984; Dobres and Robb 2000b; Barrett 2001). As constraining and enabling mediums, structure together with agency, represent a duality; structure makes agency possible, which in turn facilitates both the deliberate and unintentional reproduction of those structures (Giddens 1984, 25). It is worth stressing that Giddens (1984) considered agencies and structures to be specific to each particular social group, rather than formed in universally defined notions of power or human capabilities. Robb (2007, 7) explains this through the metaphor of language, arguing that although language is a universal human ability, the actual languages spoken (such as English or Italian to take Robb's examples) are not. The 'duality of structure' was thus Giddens' (1984) attempt to overcome an opposition or separation of structure and agency.

Barrett (2001, 148) argues that this dualism has been configured in archaeology as the relationship between the 'individual' and 'society', with structures being formed over longer time-scales than everyday life. However, for Giddens (1984, 26) structure is no more external to individuals than agency is internal, it is rather the enabling and constraining practices that allow social life to 'go on' and to be meaningful. Structure and agency are therefore both implicated in social organisations but not reducible to either society, in the case of structure, or the individual, in the case of agency. Therefore, structure does not float outside of

social interaction but is implicated in its formation and hence is related to the everyday. In practice, agency 'vitalises' structure, which at the same time allows the agent to negotiate the 'conditions it confronts' from a knowledgeable perspective (Barrett 2001, 150). People are thus always situated in a world they already understand and continue to learn within (Thomas 1996b; 2004).

The implications of this for the discussion here is that daily life and therefore the materials of archaeological study are created through 'practice' in the world. Thus, by being situated in amongst a community, people learn through physical engagement within the world. This notion of practice is at the heart of Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) work. Bourdieu (1977, 72), like Giddens (1984), sought to explain through the concept of the *habitus* how 'objectively "regulated" and "regular" activities were produced without *in any way* being the product of obedience to rules' (my emphasis). The *habitus* is the underlying, sometimes unrecognised, specific understanding and experience people have of the world, created by everyday moving and dwelling in 'the material conditions of existence' (Bourdieu 1977, 72; see discussion of performance below). It is this networked quality of people's everyday lives that thus constructs how they operate and think about the world. This does not, however, occur in isolation but in the connections between people and the material world (Bourdieu 1977; Ingold 1993; 2000). As Ingold (2000, 197) argues, social life is made up of 'a complex interweaving of very many concurrent cycles'.

Daily life is therefore an endless interaction of events and structures (Harding 2005, 91), but is experienced and formed by the community which lives within them. The aim of writing about daily life and quotidian experience is to get at how these different scales mesh together. I propose that considering how people conceive of and operate within particular constructions of time is fundamental to exploring past societies. These constructions of time will be particular to a community or society rather than general and universal (Gell 1992; Gosden 1994; Bradley 2002; Lucas 2005). Historical conceptions of time often divide the individual life-span from the institutional long-term, within which certain individuals only exceptionally influence the outcomes of social change. In reality, there is only one time and that is the one lived in the here and now. Harding (2005, 94) describes this as the 'lived "present" within which individuals experience directional real-world temporality as

both memories of the past and as future anticipations'. Thus, as Gell (1992, 223) argues, daily life has its 'own thickness and temporal spread'. Everyday events do not occur in isolation, as singular happenings in the short-term, but are always taking place as understandings of time are constructed (Ingold 1993; 2000).

Husserl's (1991) work on the subjective time-consciousness has been enormously influential and his work on internal conceptions of time can be useful here. Beyond considering the individual experience of time, Husserl (1991) wanted to get to grips with a number of philosophical issues that are raised when dealing with time. One of the particularly interesting issues he tackled was how someone can distinguish between an event as past (his example was hearing a musical note), i.e. as having occurred in the past but recalled in the present, and the event in the present, that becomes past the moment it is comprehended (Husserl 1991, 21–5). To deal with this, Husserl (1991, 37) distinguishes between 'retention', an event as temporally removed from the conscious now, and 'reproduction', the reconstructed event as if it was the present. Husserl (1991, 89, 99) views future anticipation, or in his terminology 'protention', similarly, arguing that the individual has future intentions regarded not as future *per se* but as a possible present or 'now'. The significance of this for the discussion here is that events are not a continuous sequence of bounded moments of the present, the past and the future, but they exist in a process of becoming in which understandings of time are constructed as daily life carries on (Ingold 1993).

Husserl (1991, 28–9) thus argues that time is continuously perceived in terms of the 'running-off' of phenomena. By this, he means that as time passes it facilitates an agent's orientation amongst temporal phenomena, that is, the perception of time in its 'ways of appearing' rather than what it represents. Figure 2.1 is Husserl's (1991, 29) attempt to present this phenomenon graphically. This fading of the 'now' into the past is a continuous process; the moment an event begins it is already forming an understanding of the past (Husserl 1991, 30). What this means is that in everyday engagements (which create meaning) it is not the specific meaning of the event *per se* which is significant, but how the passing of time (the 'running-off' of time) creates meaning. Husserl's (1991) example is the act of hearing an orchestra playing, in which the individual does not respond to each note played by each

instrument one moment to the next, but rather to the ensemble of patterns created by the piece. In a similar way the consideration of daily life is not a choice to attend only to the short-term and immediate contexts, but to engage with the very necessary constructions of the conditions in which the development of time-perception took place (Gosden 1994; Thomas 1996b; 2004; Robb 2007). It is therefore an attempt to understand how history is formed through the conditions in which people carried out their everyday lives, recognising the complex intersection of the formation of subjective experience in the context of event and routine (see the section on *Routine and rhythms* below).

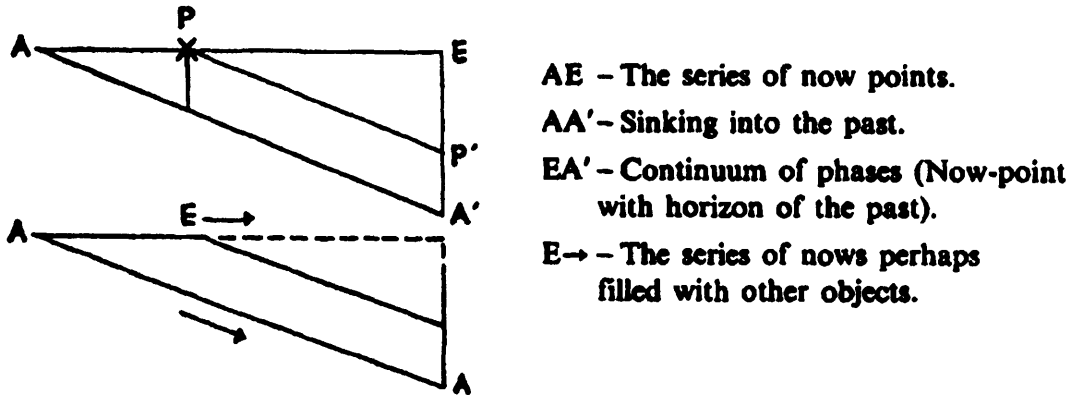


Figure 2.1. Husserl's (1991, 29) diagram of the experience of time. If 'P' is the present, then the event lasting A-E has both 'run-off', but is also still perceived as 'running-off'. Time is therefore continually conceived in the present, but in the terms of how the present became past (A-A'). This gives rise to the second diagram, in which time is experienced continuously although the events which form its experience are varied (the dashed line).

Ritual practice

Defining what daily life is has not formed a major focus for study in archaeology. Everyday life is often confused with the concept of domesticity, and thereby viewed as too obvious to require explanation (Highmore 2002a). Domesticity is frequently treated as tedious and unremarkable (Overing 2003, 298). Joanna Overing (2003), a social anthropologist specialising in Amazonia, argues that as we know very little about the daily lives of others, we rarely know how to see it and are instead 'bewitched' by the events that seem to stand out of the daily routine. Daily life is seen as the antithesis of meaning; its complex yet un-thought and routinised structures are problematic to archaeologists seeking to illuminate the facets of individual identity. As Lefebvre (1991, 97) argues, everyday life had become defined by what is left over after 'all distinct, superior, specialised, structured

activities have been singled out by analysis'. This has created an opposition between domestic contexts and ritual times and places, which has perhaps been reinforced in Neolithic archaeology specifically because of the apparent spatial division between the 'domestic' LBK and the 'monumental' Atlantic seaboard (Brück 1999).

Similarly, ritual is also a fairly slippery term and defining an event, an object or a site as ritual involves it standing out from the background noise of routine (Bell 1992). Archaeologists have thus regarded ritual times and spaces as defining aspects of community knowledge and individual identity (Brück 1999; Highmore 2002a). Different forms of ritual architecture are credited with producing the dominant identities of individuals or experiences of the landscape (Brück 2001, 651). This is an idea which has been borrowed directly from characterisations of ritual from anthropology. Inspired by such texts as Durkheim's (1976) *The elementary forms of religious life* and Van Gennep's (1960) *The rites of passage*, anthropologists have tended to characterise rituals as the fundamental structuring and categorising experiences that form the basis for a community's understanding of time and space (James 2003). Thus Turner (1969, 75) argues that ritual is a 'transformative performance revealing major classifications, categories and contradictions of cultural practice'. The focus was on the symbolic structures of a community as, firstly, the most important in characterising what life is like and, secondly, as predominantly and most informatively found in ritual.

However, such a rigid division between ritual and domestic life can be questioned. As Bradley (2005, 31–3) has noted, ritual has come to cover a myriad of different modes and means of communication. However, despite the proliferation of meaning and a desire to study ritual in its specific context, ritual practice and domestic activity are still regarded as mutually exclusive (Brück 1999, 316). Frequently, the characteristics that were thought to define ritual (repetition, structuring, specific sequences of events, rigidly defined modes of bodily expression, movement or dress: Van Gennep 1960; Turner 1969; Durkheim 1976; Bloch 1989) can be found in secular activity (Brück 1999; Highmore 2002a; James 2003; Bradley 2003; 2005). Furthermore rituals can take place to ensure the successful continuation of daily life or can be a form of activity which has no distinction from the rest of everyday life

(Bourdieu 1977; Bell 1992). Anthropologists are therefore increasingly arguing for a rapprochement between ritual and secular activities (James 2003).

In the place of ritual, some have favoured ritualization, which is perhaps best explored by Bell (1992, 7), who defines this concept as a strategic way of acting within the context of the everyday. Others, like James (2003, chapter 5), have preferred to do away with the distinction altogether, instead favouring an approach that regards all action as in some way formed by strategic performances of social life (this will be discussed below). The Mbendjele Yaka, forest hunter-gatherers of Congo-Brazzaville, have one word, *massana*, for describing children's play, organised games and the collective rituals carried out by adults (Lewis 2002). These activities emphasise the importance of play, fun and laughter: the community engaging in activity together. Rather than *massana* making identity, it makes people. This is not just a matter of semantics; *massana* facilitates the style of the different experiences of engagement in the complex and relational community to be drawn out. For the Mbendjele Yaka, there is no division between ritual life and domestic (or non-ritual) activities and an attempt to use these definitions when studying their practices would be misleading as it is the continuum which exists across all social experience that is the necessary quality of Mbendjele daily life (Lewis 2002).

Archaeology, however, has held on to the notion of ritual much more strongly. As Bradley (2005, 31) has demonstrated, ritual has seen an increased frequency of use in archaeological texts since 1990. The various uses of ritual have not been without their problems. It was, after all, the focus on the ritual spaces of the Neolithic period that led to the individuals that used them being characterised as all-knowing, powerful and ultimately masculine (Meskell 1996). Thus rather than focusing on the making of community at ritual times and space, it is frequently rites of passage, associated with certain individuals, that are allowed to dominate archaeological discourse on ritual. Consequently, there is an implicit hierarchy in archaeology that places significance on ritual times and places as not only more exciting, and interesting, but inherently more valuable for the archaeological narrative. Symbolic activity may have been considered to exist outside ritual practices, but it is still considered to be divorced from the practical considerations of everyday life (Brück

1999, 325). Even when more sensitive accounts of the interplay between domestic and ritual are elucidated in more detail by Bradley (2005), certain events or practices are ritualised thereby elevating them to ritual status. Therefore these 'domestic' events are merely treated as if they were ritual, reinforcing rather than breaking the ritual-domestic opposition. Maintaining some quality of ritual in our considerations of the past may be beneficial but clearly concepts of ritual and domestic remain problematic and difficult to navigate. Brück (1999) thus argues that rather than considering action to be either symbolic or practical, and hence defining archaeological evidence as belonging to either one category or the other, the goal of archaeologies of the everyday should be to explore the particular logic or rationality that past communities used to approach their worlds.

This leaves two distinct problems; firstly, what actually constitutes daily life and secondly, what are the appropriate ways of thinking about how people construct their particular rationalities (in Brück's (1999) terms) of the world. At first glance everyday life is the obvious tasks and routines which make up the passage of time during people's lives, but delving deeper into what constitutes daily life the term becomes vague and problematic (Highmore 2002b). In summary of the previous discussion, there are three statements that I would like to make here to illuminate how daily life is to be recaptured and used as a productive medium for approaching the past. First, as discussed above, the study of everyday life forwards agency and structuration theories by giving attention to the experience of being within past communities, rather than focussing solely on individual identity. Second, routine activities and constructions of time constitute a necessary part of daily life. Third, daily life can be characterised not as singular, individual acts, but as the inter-relational structure common to a community (Highmore 2002a, 5). Here anthropology can make a profound statement about the networked heterogeneous individuals that make up communities (Overing and Passes 2000). Ritual may remain useful to demarcate times of events with particular qualities, during which people and bodies act in specific and restricted ways. However, in studying daily life, ritual activities must be seen as fully embedded in the routines and worldviews of the communities which practise it.

Experiencing everyday life

The discussion above characterises the production of life as occurring on the scale of the everyday, but it can be argued that this creates a problem that Gell (1992) has identified in anthropological thinking about time. He argues that because it is necessary that such understandings of time are collective (that is, shared by a community) they are 'both *derived from* society and also *dictate to* society' (Gell 1992, original emphasis). The dwelling perspective can go someway to extricating us from this problem and help us to understand how social forms enable that which they restrain (Foucault 1977; Butler 1993; Ingold 2000; Thomas 2004). This section will explore the dwelling perspective and its place in the discussion of identity and time in the broader social sciences. Although Ingold (1993; 2000) is regarded as the key theorist in developing the dwelling perspective, this approach to social life draws on a wider range of social theory, which will be discussed here in order to situate the dwelling perspective within the context of current social theory.

Ingold (2000, 185) develops the 'dwelling perspective' through a consideration of Heidegger's (1993) essay '*Building, dwelling, thinking*'. This essay explores the differences between building and dwelling and Heidegger (1993) concludes that dwelling in the world is not to possess a mental image of that world which exists separate from it, but rather to come to an understanding in the world.[1] Heidegger (1962) calls this *being-in-the-world*; the way people are embedded in their world. Ingold (2000, 186) expresses this as 'animal-in-its-environment' rather than the cultural layered on top of a passive environmental background. This point is further explored in Ingold's (1993) seminal paper *The temporality of the landscape.* It is not that people's social worlds shape them more than their natural worlds, or that we should consider both cultural and natural in our archaeologies of the past. Ingold (1993) advocates that we do away with such divisions completely, seeing dwelling as a continuity. Furthermore, this works recursively as well people both shape and are shaped by their dwelling in the world, or, expressed another way, in shaping the world people shape themselves. It is this approach to the enmeshed place of humanity with their environments that I believe best characterises the dwelling perspective.

The dwelling perspective is therefore heavily influenced by the phenomenological philosophers. The phenomenological approach has also had a significant impact on post-processual archaeology, though it arrived somewhat later than agency theory, in the early 1990s. Although this philosophical approach has been increasingly criticised (Latour 1993; Brück 2005; Fleming 2005; 2006), phenomenology still has much to say about how people are situated within their worlds and still continues to form how much of interpretative archaeology is carried out. For phenomenologists the world is always there, always going on, and is revealed to the individual through movement of the physical body in the landscape (Tilley 1994; 2004). The physicality and material existence of the body in the world are the starting point of Merleau-Ponty's (1962) exploration of the position of human society in the world. This, he argues, is the basis for all knowledge, understanding and experience in the world. Merleau-Ponty (1962) argues that all knowledge is perception, and in order to know space, place and landscape it is the lived body that has to be known. Therefore, where a body is referred to it is not the unique physical being devoid of responses or thoughts. The body and mind cannot exist without each other; they are one (Merleau-Ponty 1962). The body is not wholly body, controlled by soul as in the Cartesian division between mind and body, but the two are united within the physical presence of being (Thomas 1996b; 2004; Ingold 2000; Tilley 2004). Therefore, phenomenology allows consideration of the social world to move forward, by recognising that it is at once material, social and environmental.

Thus to begin to explore daily life through the dwelling perspective, it is the 'body' that has to be the starting point for study. It is through the body that a position is taken up in the world; 'not a view of the world, but a *view in* the world' (Ingold 2000, 200). This is because life is constructed through movement of the body in time and space (Heidegger 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Ingold 1993; 2000; Tilley 1994; 2004). Heidegger (1962) argued that a single experience cannot be isolated from the rest of daily life, rather it should be considered as part of the flow of daily life. While the phenomenological philosophers placed emphasis on sight as the basis of perception, others have added emotion, memory, identity and other corporeal experiences (Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, 5). Dwelling is achieved through the movement of the body, as different experiences of sight, smell, sound and touch are encountered. This means that the identities of individuals cannot be taken as the

locus for meaning in everyday life; it is found in the engagements and liaisons between people, objects and landscapes (de Certeau 1984; Deleuze 1993; Ingold 2000). Phenomenology thus centres its attention on conceptions of 'being', most extensively explored in Heidegger's (1962) *Being and time*. However, the intention of this work and many others of the phenomenological philosophers was what it meant to *be* (alive) in the world (Heidegger 1962). This is far too general for us here because, as archaeologists, we are interested in the specifics of dwelling in different communities in the past rather than the general abilities of a human to conceive that they are alive in the world.[2] The dwelling perspective, in contrast to phenomenology, allows the archaeologist to be more specific and to ask questions of the particular ways of dwelling and how they changed in the past.

A brief tour through the sociological and anthropological literature shows the many different ways individuals and communities can be thought about. As discussed above, many of the current considerations centre on the notion of identity as being the means through which people dwell and the consideration of how identity is constructed is a productive avenue into exploring the specifics of dwelling. However, the dominant portrayal of past identities has hidden the interactive, inter-subjective individual behind a rational and formal social self (de Certeau 1984, chapter 6). This echoes the work of Goffman (1959; 1967) and his work on asylums in the 1950s, which emphasised the self as a social product, arguing that there is no essential essence inside a person waiting to get out. Goffman (1959) argued instead that a sense of self arose from socially supported performances. He used metaphors of drama and games to argue that social experiences were 'framed' by the continuing biography of people's lives (Goffman 1959). Thus the events at which the self is performed do not have an intrinsic meaning; rather it is through the performance that the self is framed in reference to the rest of the community. To quote Goffman (1967, 10), 'the social 'face' is only on loan to him from society'. If this discussion is considered within its context of the growing individualism of the twentieth century, we can see that this understanding of identity is part of a particular way of dwelling. As the individual becomes evermore divided from social institutions, the identity of individuals is increasingly an object of sociological study.

This has also impacted on how archaeology has approached the study of identity in the past. The search for the being in the past, driven by the interest of agency theorists in the individual has led to confusion between identity and constructions of the individual. Hodder's (2000) study of the Ice Man illustrates this point well. The individual discovered in the Alps is credited by Hodder (2000, 27) as struggling with the 'large-scale transformations in economy, society and ideology' as he mediates the changes between lowland and upland ways of life. Whittle (2003) makes a significant criticism that the Ice Man seems to represent the whole way of life in his very being (and dying); however, there is an underlying problem with the use of individuals to tell the narrative of the past. Identity is on the surface of the Ice Man; he owns it and portrays it without concern or purpose. Effectively, therefore, we have sought to discuss the individuals and communities of the past, when we have only attempted to see identity. Therefore, rather than discussing how people formed relationships, approached their daily tasks and landscapes, effectively how they dwelt (of which identity is a necessary part), archaeologists have been searching for past identities without asking how identity was lived through (or dwelt through) in the past. Identity does more than just define individuals; it is the means by which people know how to go on in the world and how they form meaningful relationships with others.

It is not that the endeavour to consider how past identities were constructed was mistaken, but rather that this approach has neglected the nature of small-scale face-to-face communities, in which social relations and the negotiation of emotions are fundamental aspects of dwelling (Overing and Passes 2000). The anthropology of Amazonia illustrates this point well as the concerns of daily life are not centred on the typical questions which post-processual archaeology asks of identity, but on how to live together in convivial intimacy (Overing and Passes 2000, 7). Overing and Passes (2000, 7) argue that the emphasis on how individuals structure their social orders has neglected the significance of inter-personal relations. They argue that collectivity in Amazonia cannot be seen in terms of social institutions as people are far more concerned with acquiring and using the necessary skills for living well together. The 'conviviality' (the sociable aesthetics of successful relations between people) of everyday life is not always easy to achieve but is desired (Overing and Passes 2000, 14).[3] Identity is accomplished, mediated and manipulated through the

complex array of everyday tasks, but the aim of these tasks is convivial social living and interaction, not the production of identity (Overing and Passes 2000; de Certeau 1984). This 'artful living' recognises that everyday living is far from being unremarkable and boring but lies at the very essence of being and dwelling (Overing and Passes 2000, 7).

Furthermore, identity is rarely stable—as Butler (1990; 1993) has demonstrated in the case of gender—but rather continually in need of reiteration and performance (this will be explored in more depth below). Butler (1993) demonstrates the need for gender to be rooted by performative acts such as naming. Thus a baby girl remains un-gendered until the mid-wife pronounces her to be either a girl or a boy (Butler 1990; 1993, 7). This speech act is performative; it creates that which it names, but is not totally free to name as it chooses (see below). In this sense, people can be and are creative with their daily activities, as de Certeau's (1984, 25) example of *La perruque* (carrying out unrelated work on an employer's time) demonstrates. While de Certeau (1984) had these workers rebelling against capitalism's harsh temporal divides, they were also guiding what form their revolt took. It is within the routines of daily life that the performative actions which take place give meaning to people's conceptions of themselves and their worlds. Therefore, through the everyday patterns of event and repeated action communities can develop narratives that explain the world and the temporal experiences of the rhythms of life.

Narrative is also an extremely powerful tool for presenting archaeology; the transition from hunting and gathering to farming during the Neolithic period tells an exciting story. For example, this transition can be characterised as the movement from innocence and living with nature, to mastery over a distanced environment and cultural concord. While narratives are constructed in the everyday, daily life does not easily lend itself to being told as a narrative. Time and its progression can be perceived in very different ways by different societies. Following Bloch (1998, chapter 2) I would therefore argue that daily life is often made up routines structured around ideas that 'go without saying'; thus the negotiation of time and the activities which make it have a logic not directly open to structured decision making. When Parapraxes (also known as Freudian slips) occur, the speaker makes (or expresses)

links between desires or words (Freud 1973). They are moments of unstructured remembering of previous thoughts, desires or emotions. Anthropology from Amazonia and Melanesia often focuses on the humour that can be found in word play throughout different societies and communities (Overing 2000; James 2003). Words and movements make links between different activities that come together as events and practices are juxtaposed in daily life.

It is this *extra*ordinary linking between biography (narrative) and unstructured remembering which allows the study of the everyday to be such a powerful tool for the exploration of past societies. While there are events on which personal biographies are based, a great deal of daily life is not available to the immediate consciousness and is subject to a certain amount of 'forgetting' (Freud 1973). Unlike Freud I would not argue that previous experiences (or performances) are actively repressed, but agree that everyday life involves the process of forgetting events, experiences and feelings. Regulatory ideals therefore involve a sense of forgotten actions and thoughts being recalled (Butler 1993); iterative norms are learnt without ever needing to be fully recalled in order to be remembered (Freud 1973). Following Bloch (1998, 101) people *do not* live in a 'world entirely constructed by their coherent and exhaustive historical narratives'. Thus the historical narrative which archaeologists claim as their endeavour in searching the material remains of the past only gives us an incomplete picture of everyday life or the social desires and aims of people in the past; it is merely one aspect of their lives.

Far from being reinforced by the ritual times, so much of the emphasis of post-processual archaeology, the ways people dwell become durable through the re-iteration and repetition of performance through daily routines (Butler 1993). This challenges the idea that sociality is a given, and sees it rather as daily and precariously achieved through the actions of individuals through community relations (Overing and Passes 2000, 12). These actions are in part guided. Whether one wants to argue that they are framed by Gidden's (1984) structure, Bourdieu's (1977) *habitus* or Butler's (1993) regulatory ideals, these daily actions are part of a choreography of practice that produces and governs normative categories of sociality. The iterative (and re-iterative) power of these norms means that they are

achievable and it is only through being able to be reproduced that practices can become 'regulatory ideals' (Butler 1993). Studying the everyday is thus not just about examining the purely mundane or the routines (or rhythms) of daily life, but the extraordinary process that makes the passage of what is and is not repeated and explored unique to a particular community or time.

Choreographies of daily life

The first half of this chapter has discussed why studying daily life is worth pursuing in an archaeological context and set out how the dwelling perspective characterises the ways people engage in their worlds and construct varied understandings and knowledges within them. The second half of this chapter builds on these ideas, but also lays out the facets through which daily life can be studied, exploring the aspects of dwelling necessary for a discussion of how daily life is choreographed (James 2003; Overing 2003). Bourdieu (1977; 1990) and Ingold (2000) have called these 'choreographies' the *habitus* and the *taskscape* respectively. Though slightly different concepts, they are both attempts to understand how practical activity in the world can be formulated into social life, always ongoing, yet somehow particular to each group or community (Ingold 2000, 195–7). However, the *habitus* and *taskscape* are not limitless and are enacted in certain ways. These are identified here as the three themes that have been recurrent during the last section of the chapter: performance or practice, routine and conceptions of time, and, finally, community relationships. Therefore, although this section is divided into three different parts, it should be viewed as an extended discussion of dwelling through exploring specific examples.

Each of these three aspects of daily life is drawn on in diverse ways by different communities. The following discussion will therefore draw heavily on a number of anthropological studies, which are not intended as direct analogies for the past but as ways into exploring the multitude of different ways people encounter dwelling. Performance refers to the ways people respond to their worlds, negotiating meaning, other people and particular tasks through embodied actions. Routine activities can lead to different constructions and experiences of time, essential in demarcating how people interact with the world. Community relationships are not independent of the individual, but rather need to be continually worked at and created. The desire for

community relationships can inspire action and their successful negotiation forms a significant part of people's skill at social life and particular tasks. The case studies (Chapters 5 and 6) will use these aspects of daily life not as separate spheres of study but as significant aspects for understanding the way daily life is organised. The aim, therefore, is not to produce a definitive definition or methodology for studying daily life, but rather to explore its significant guiding structures that form productive avenues into considering daily life in the past.

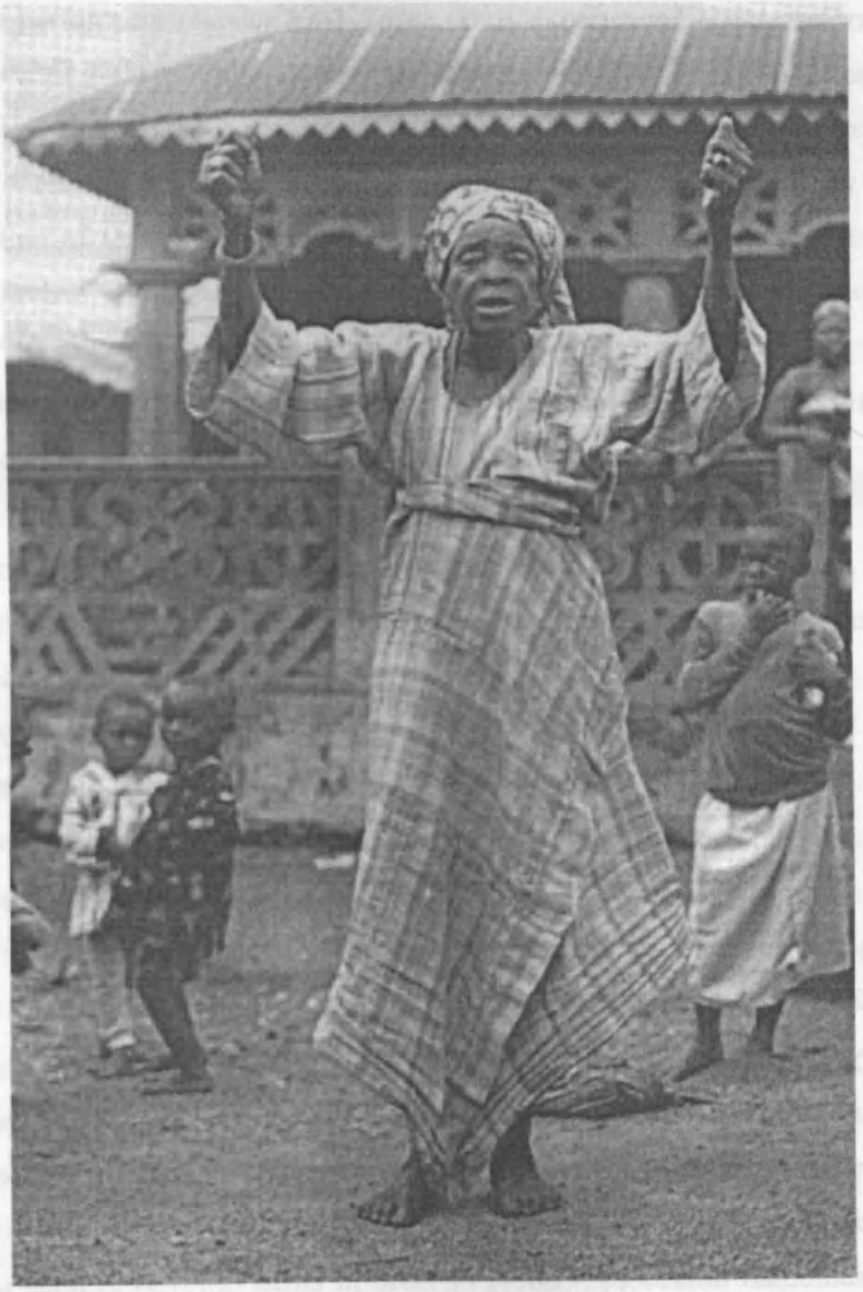


Figure 2.2. Sangowemi performing *Oriki*. Photo: P.F. de Moraes Farais. James (2003, 152).

Performance, performativity and dance

Drama and skill can be and are part of people's everyday lives. The Yomba, in Nigeria, perform *Oriki*, spoken epithets about certain people or topics, which involve the creative use of language (see Figure 2.2; James 2003, 149). Practiced *Oriki* tellers can become experts and find fame through the performance of them (James 2003, 149). They are mainly performed by women and are part of domestic life; an everyday dramatic performance of creativity with words (James 2003). Performance of the *Oriki* involves not only playing with words and language but with the rhythm and 'music' of the language as well as the whole body of the individual performing (James 2003, 150). Thus experienced *Oriki* performers will improvise with great subtlety, making allusions to political and social events (James 2003, 153). Every gesture and intonation adds to the effect of the piece on the audience. The ability to understand and respond to an *Oriki* similarly involves interpretation of these movements and acts. This is not analogous to the ability to 'read' or 'know' the players' performance but it is rather the ability to actively and creatively engage with the performance itself. The *Oriki* are not separate commentaries situated outside daily activities, but rather capture the qualities of life in 'fragments of the past' (James 2003, 153).

Performance can therefore be part of people's everyday lives. Thomas Gregor's (1977, 6) anthropology of the Mehinaku starts with the eponymous quote from Shakespeare's *As you like it*:

'All the world's a stage,
And the men and women merely players,
They have their exits and their entrances
And one man in his time plays many parts'.

Shakespeare's theatrical metaphor stands large throughout this anthropology, which draws on the work of sociologists Goffman (1959; 1967) and Garfinkel (1967). The dramaturgical approach of Goffman (1959) and the ethnomethodology school, named by Garfinkel (1967), have more interest in daily interaction than in broader patterns of social structure. The skilful involvement of individuals is at the forefront of both of their works, and is developed in Gregor's (1977) anthropology. The Mehinaku need to develop skills in order to produce successful outcomes in social interactions, and these skills are regarded in terms of correct behaviour or knowing

when and how rules can be broken. This is particularly the case with extra-marital affairs, in which gossip and discretion play equal roles (Gregor 1977, 140–2).

The final part of this ethnography consists of attempts made by Gregor (1977) to film everyday life in the village. The action of handing fish from husband to wife, a simple action that expresses the male-female relations of the Mehinaku, becomes elaborated by the participants when focused on. They do not explain the balance of male and female relations but choose to exaggerate their actions. The husband says to his wife 'My, I hope my wife has a fire lit to cook these fish and make manioc bread—they are delicious together' (Gregor 1977, 354). The wife replies; 'The fire is ready, my husband. You've caught the fish and I'll make manioc and distribute them' (Gregor 1977, 354). They emphasise the different but complementary roles of the two sexes by acting out the significant aspects of their everyday social relations. The ease with which they choose to act out, rather than passively explain their actions illustrates the power of dramatic action to affect meaning and understanding. The couple recognise that by the successful completion of their different tasks they have achieved a harmonious and welcome social interaction.

Daily life is therefore full of skilful embodied performances, with intended outcomes and moments when it can fail. M. Harris (2000, 142) focuses on the social lives of the Parú who do not separate everyday tasks from general activity; work is considered to be all activity. Skill and work are a single concept: the 'process of nourish[ing] social life' (M. Harris 2000, 144). Thus the work of mending a canoe and the capability, or skill, to do so cannot be separated (M. Harris 2000, 144). The Parú do not distinguish between skill in work and skill in social life. The concept of skill at different tasks is closely related to the strength and capabilities of the body. The effort the Parú put into growing crops requires strength not just of individuals, but also of groups. Thus it is argued by the Parú that those who buy their food from shops 'do not eat'; since the dual skills of farming and the social relations needed to ensure you have enough people to assist in the growth of crops have not been used, shop-brought produce cannot be called food (M. Harris 2000). Therefore what is considered to be 'food' has to be socially created, as well as grown and tending to crops is as an activity that requires skill at both community living and cultivation. By purchasing food from a shop, it limits how generous you can be with others (M.

Harris 2000). This prevents the performance of the body in certain ways. The skilful engagement in tasks within the crop fields not only demonstrates community strength, but once food has been prepared it can be offered to others as another performance of community strength.

The perspective suggested by these examples is explained by de Certeau (1984) as taking up an interest in the non-discursive activities of daily life. He points out the difficulty in reducing daily life to the *habitus* by arguing that this concept reduces the scope of non-verbal, non-discursive activities to 'strategies' that 'do not know what they know' and therefore allow Bourdieu (1977) to explain and be conscious of all discourses present in everyday life (de Certeau 1984, 63). Unlike the bodily situated actor whose everyday, ordinary life is being studied, Bourdieu (1977; 1990) does not have to engage as a participant in order to gain knowledge of the *habitus*; it is revealed before him and at any time Bourdieu (1977) has access to all of the links between different aspects of meaning and knowledge. The situated individual does not and cannot have this ability. Thus de Certeau (1984) argues that the notion of *habitus* 'come[s] down to the 'docta ignorantia' claimed to be knowledgeable without knowing it, precisely because it knows only too well what it does not and cannot say' (de Certeau 1984, 60). While using the *habitus* to allow us to understand social and material engagement can be productive (and is supported here) reproducing the *habitus* as a reified essentialisation of everyday life is a false and misleading activity.

This debate ties in well to Bloch's (1998) notion of 'what goes without saying'. The Zafimaniry make links between the hardening of people through their lives and the hardening of wood; people are said to harden like wood, rather than both people and wood hardening because of the aging process (Bloch 1998). People are considered to harden and straighten as they age, yet while the bendiness of babies and straightness of elders are often commented on, the process is rarely referred to in discourse (Bloch 1998, 27). It is perfectly 'obvious' to the Zafimaniry how people and trees are and how maturation occurs and therefore it 'goes without saying' (Bloch 1998, 36). The regulatory ideals of bendiness and straightness are only possible because people and trees mature; the process of maturation, however, has to be achieved (Bloch 1998). While a non-discursive element of daily life, maturation

is understood as *moving* from the regulatory ideals of bendiness to straightness and this movement means creative plays can be supported by the process of ageing. The connection between people and wood is not therefore a static structural relationship, determining how people develop. These concepts of youth, age and maturation are therefore not fixed notions applied to the human body, but come about in how the body behaves and can been thought of as qualities that daily life has, rather than the rules which define and limit how people can act and how the body can move.

The movement and performance of the body have been significant in many of the examples discussed above. This topic has also been of enormous interest in the social sciences. The origin of this attention to the body dates back to the growth in the study of gender constructions from the feminist perspective from the early 1980s onwards (Grosz 1994). It developed in opposition to the bodiless and genderless agents that grew with the first interest in agency theory and power structures. Gender, rather than interest in the body, has been more influential in archaeology and only recently has a more sophisticated approach provided by studies of the body in the social sciences been attempted (see Fowler 2004; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002b). This approach moved away from the problematic dichotomy between nature and culture. The opposition of nature and culture has led to a situation where gender can only be one or the other: therefore the subject of free choice if cultural or fixed and unchangeable if natural (Butler 1993, 94). This tendency has affected the way the performativity of social life has been perceived. The performance people engage in on a daily basis is neither free nor dictated. It is the re-iterability of daily life that provides its apparent naturalistic basis (Butler 1993) allowing it to become 'what goes without saying' (Bloch 1998).

These notions of 'performance' and 'performativity' require a more clear elucidation because they are not the same. The notion of performance (as it is used in the social sciences), is really first explored by Goffman (1959, 15), who argued that 'performance may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way ... the other participants'. Goffman's (1959) ideas of drama and presentation of the self through performance remain influential in post-structural conceptions of the self (Lemert and Branamen 1997): Marvin Carlson (1996, 5) considers performances to have some consciousness to

them and therefore open to contestation and accusations of being unauthentic. Like Sartre's (1989) waiter who performs his tasks a little too well, exaggerating his movements to emphasise his role, performance seems to be the conscious acting at a social role, where an individual is fully aware of their audience. Within this definition of performance, the degree of consciousness of the performer is key. Performance is therefore best considered to be a process whereby the participant attains a particular consciousness of its facets and boundaries. Therefore, the waiter learns the positions and depositions of his body and his audience's responses to the 'waiter character' helps him to readdress the way he performs this role. This is slightly, but significantly, different from performativity.

The notion of performativity was first defined by the linguistic philosopher J. L. Austin (1962), who used the word 'performative' to define speech acts in which the language 'does' something and is not merely representative of action (Schechner 2002). This is perhaps most famously developed by the social theorist Judith Butler (1990; 1993) in the context of gender. For Butler (1993), the body therefore makes (or rather *does*) gender through the actions it carries out. Re-iterability is significant to performativity, as each repeated act therefore re-does that which arises through it. Performativity creates meaning and understanding in action and unlike performance it may not be pre-understood, but only arises out of performance. However, it is strange that, given the title of her book *Bodies that matter*, Butler (1993) actually has very little to say about the performativity of the material body; and like Austin (1962), it is the acts of speech which are her primary interest. Therefore, in *Bodies that matter* the body is materialised through language (Chambers 2007, 48). However, as Grosz (1994, 19, 84) argues, the body is more than a material symbol of the person forming a direct representation of identity; it is a site of political contestation and the means by which the world is encountered. This corporeality of human existence means that the performativity of the body is its ability to be re-made. Thus, in Grosz's (1994) terms the body is volatile, unstable and fluid. Hence the identity of a body or a person is made in its/their engagement in the world, through moments of performance and performativity, rather than an inherent part of the physical being (Butler 1993; Shilling 1993; Grosz 1994).

The tensions that therefore exist between the notions of performance and performativity are worth holding on to, as there are clearly moments in people's everyday lives when roles are adopted, manipulated and challenged, but at the same time the actions of adopting roles, manipulating behaviour and challenging boundaries are performative. The question remains, however, what guides particular performances or acts of performativity? Each society seems to form its own aesthetic, which informs how people move and engage with each other. Recently there has been increased interest in anthropology in the aesthetics of movement (James 2003, 74). James (2003, 75) uses the metaphor of dance to express this aesthetic. Gell (1998) argued that dance is a highly stylized version of ordinary movements, exaggerated to emphasise the embodied nature of social life. The individual movements within dance may not have inherent meaning, but the potential of the body to move in pleasing, shocking, provocative and terrifying ways is captured in dance. Dance parallels how the body is always subject to appropriate ways of moving, and being, whose meaning stretches further than the locus of the body; hence whole worldviews can be expressed in statements such as 'sit up straight' (Bourdieu 1977, 69). The position of Tourette's syndrome in Western medicine is an interesting example of how our own society has influenced archaeological views over the body. Anybody without the ability to fully control their body, like Tourette's sufferers, with the resulting twitches and outspoken moments, makes others around them uncomfortable and shows just how much we rely on reading the movements of others to create comfortable situations (Davis *et al.* 2004). The reaction of doctors to this syndrome has been one of scepticism. Like many illnesses that are considered under the rubric of mental illness, the relative position of the patient in the decision-making process of their own treatment is devalued (Davis *et al.* 2004). They have less control over their bodies and are therefore given less credit to act as fully socialised individuals.

This view has often been paralleled in social theory; even Durkheim (1976, 217–8) says very little about dance and wrongly assumes that it is a loss of self-control. Yet, as the growing field of dance studies demonstrates, there is much of cultural significance that can be gleaned from considering dance in more depth (Carter 1998). Mauss (1979) argues that bodily movement can be seen as a form of language that speaks to others. However, unlike language, in dance the body does

not explain the meaning of its movements. It has an aesthetic (though not necessarily one of beauty) that relates to the story that threads its way through the unfolding movements of the dance (James 2003). Furthermore, dance is not an outlet for intuitive feelings which cannot be expressed through language as it frequently involves repeated practice and demonstrations of extreme control of bodily movement (Carter 1998). Following Gell (1998) ceremony, music and dance cannot be 'read' like languages. They do not prioritise meaning over performance. Their symbolic resonance is not because of their inherent meaning, but from the satisfaction of choreographing their position in a narrative of social memory (Bourdieu 1977). James' (2003, 91) analogy is that of traffic moving or not moving around a busy city; the choreography of the vehicles is part enshrined in rigid law, part encapsulated by the 'gestural 'Will you, won't you, yes please do'' of drivers letting others on to roads at busy intersections. In the same way that the driver of a vehicle has to negotiate both the rules of the road and unexpected events in the immediate contexts in which they are driving, the dancer 'sees *the world in which his* [sic] *body moves* (see Figure 2.3; Langer 1953, 197).

Figure 2.3. The dancer 'seeing the world in which her body moves'. Margot Fonteyn, multiple exposure, c. 1949. Photo: Getty images. James (2003, 90).

The dance metaphor for the movements of everyday, like Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus,* suggests that in some way these embodied actions are pre-planned and have decided outcomes. Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) *habitus* comes from within the bodily matrix, putting it beyond knowledge and out of reach of explicit statement. This means that a *logic* of the body is expressed through the movement and use of the body, rather than explicit links being explained through a discussion of meaning (Bourdieu 1990, 70). These inherent statements are realised through recognised and aesthetically pleasing ways of walking, talking, standing and sitting, to name but a few movements which the body can make. The Kabyle often express ideas about the opposition between men and women through spoken epithets about the qualities of 'maleness' and 'femaleness' and there is no separation between the expression of these different qualities through performance and the actual meaning of the different actions. The opposition between men and women in the Kabyle takes the form of a contrast between the straightness of men and the bendiness of women (Bourdieu 1990, 70).

These ideas are expressed in gestures, postures and methods of walking; and body postures are invoked to reveal states of mind and emotions (Bourdieu 1990, 70). The process of olive picking expresses these unspoken complementary positions, with the man standing tall, knocking the olives off the braches, while the woman bends to gather the fallen harvest; the division of these labours expresses the difference between the male and female body and brings satisfaction as it expresses the complementary aspects of the two genders (Bourdieu 1990, 71). Learnt from childhood, these everyday movements of the body are heavily charged with emotion and social meaning. It would be wrong to regard these movements outside the social spaces in which they occur. The collecting of olives is an act of harvesting the values of social meaning and investing in their continuity.

The contrasting movements, between male upwardness and outwardness and female inwardness and downwardness, between straightness and bendiness, are therefore played out within the division of labour (Bourdieu 1990, 72). Bourdieu (1990) argues that these structure the classificatory schemes of the gender differences within the *habitus*. Thus it cannot be reduced to simply the image of the body, rather the performance of these gestures, and movements, expands outwards

drawing into their sphere of influence the whole *habitus,* which is at once experienced through the body and is the body (as this is the only understanding people can have of their world if Bourdieu's line is taken). This paradox emphasises the flaw in Bourdieu's connection between bodily practice and the performance of meaning, as performance is bodily practice. Any desire to separate the two has a structuralist bent. The straightness of men and bendiness of women does not therefore come from any preformed structural opposition of straight to bendy and men to women, but rather a man is a man because the performance of his body emphasises its straightness through how it moves in everyday tasks. Performance theory and dance metaphors for daily life are therefore not a rejection of the notion that people's lives have order and routine, but rather it characterises life through the rhythms and choreographies which enable movement and communication in the world. As Wittgenstein (1979, 7) says, 'man is the ceremonious animal'.[4]

Routine and rhythms

In both the discussions of time and performance, routine and repetition have been regarded as significant mediums for the way life is made meaningful. Daily life is not fixed akin to a narrative, with events spaced out on a continuous and uni-directional line, but it is fitted into local naturalisations of the way time passes, or multiple times pass (Gell 1992). These understandings of time are composed in the routines which make up everyday life (Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1990). However, constructions of time vary from society to society and people frequently live with multiple conceptions of time (Gell 1992; Whittle 2003; Lucas 2005). Alongside linear or genealogical senses of time, cyclical understandings based on an annual agricultural cycle, for example, can also be conceived of (Gell 1992, 38). These notions of time can co-exist, though apparently contradictory (Gell 1992; Gosden 1994; Lucas 2005). Anthropology has frequently considered how senses of time were constructed through rituals. Edmund Leach (1961) was particularly influential with his notions of ritual time as repetitive and reversible. However, as Figure 2.4 illustrates, these events are fully embedded in the cycles of routine of both everyday continuity and ritual 'events'; as Gell (1992, 50) stresses, ritual time is in no way separate or different from the rest of life's routines. This section will therefore explore how considering daily routine can provide insights into conceptions of how time passes and the constitution of daily life.

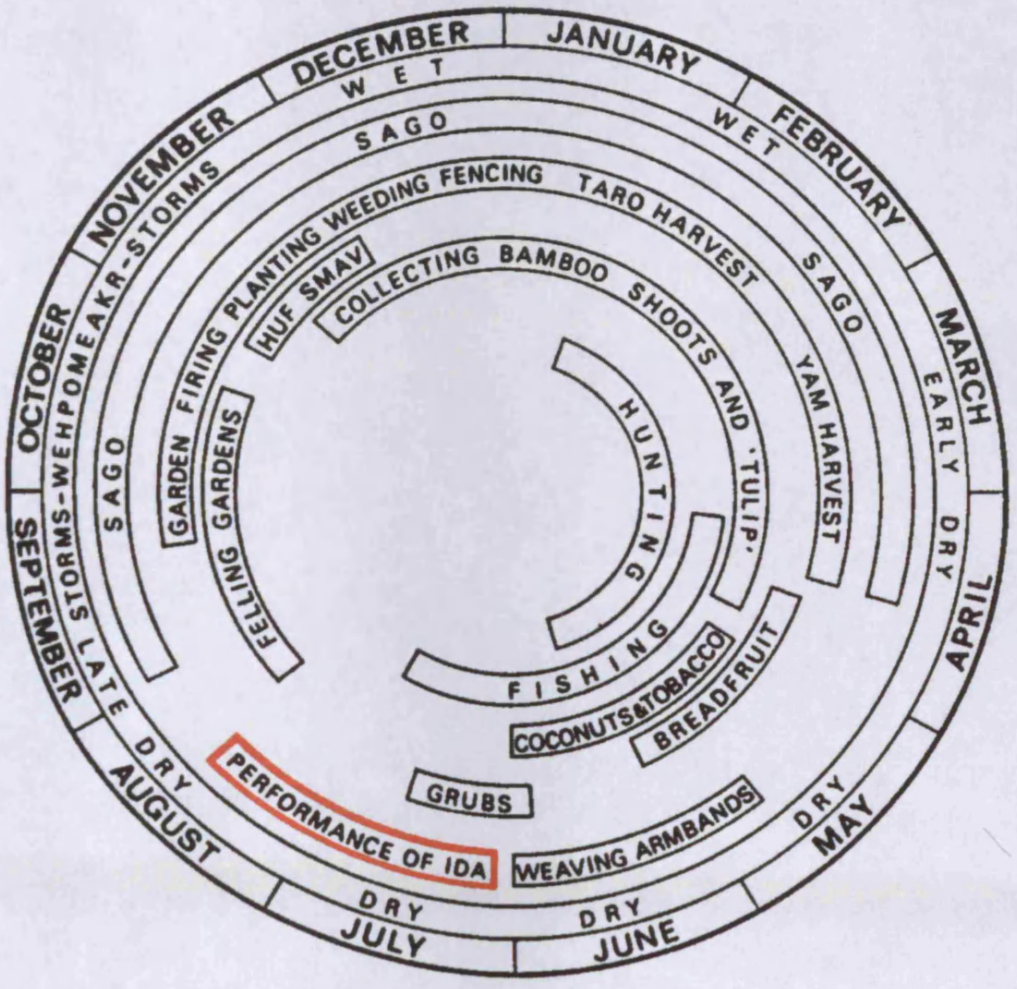


Figure 2.4. Diagrammatic representation of the Umeda annual cycle, illustrating how ritual forms a significant part of the cyclical calendar bringing it into certain relationships with other events in the year. The ritual event of *Ida* is emphasised in red. After Gell (1992, 39).

In the West, the conception of the day is achieved through abstract divisions that can be measured and lead to time being considered to be a constant backdrop to social life (Gosden 1994, 3; Lucas 2005). However, this does not mean that people living with watches and clocks perceive time to be unvarying and frequently the task they are engaged in can influence how they take notice of time's passing (Gell 1992). Evans-Pritchard (1940, 94) argues that the Nuer concept of time is highly relational, with two contrasting conceptions of time; one based on the yearly cycle, which he considered to be fixed and limited because it repeats and 'therefore cannot be used to differentiate longer periods'. The second understanding of time, Evans-Pritchard (1940, 95) calls structural and is based on the individual life-course, informed by

rites of passage and genealogical histories. These senses of time have a spatial aspect to them, as the year is divided by movements between camps and villages and time is named accordingly (Evans-Pritchard 1940, 96–7). Therefore, rather than having months of the year in the Western sense, periods of time are considered to be collections of particular tasks, people and the space they occupy. Evans-Pritchard (1940) envisages structural time working in much the same way in terms of spaces between kin-groups. Gell (1992, 19) argues that Evans-Pritchard's (1940) model of Nuer time could also stand as a model for Nuer conceptions of space, with kin and the seasonal round encountered as people move through the landscape and through the year.

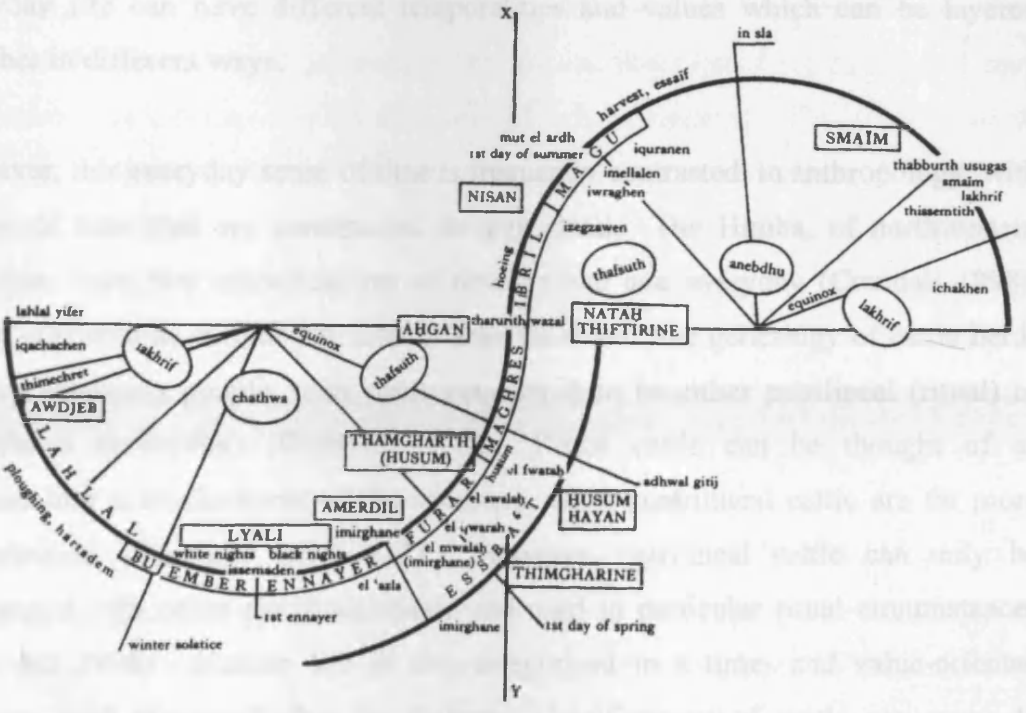


Figure 2.5. An 'imagined' calendar of the Berber. Bourdieu (1990, 99).

However, as Bourdieu (1990, 97) argues, it may be false to envisage such classificatory schemes as providing a totalising structure for everyday life. Figure 2.5 illustrates the Berber calendar as collated by Bourdieu (1990) from his informants. However, Bourdieu (1990, 105–7) argues this is not a representation of time as perceived, but how the carrying out of tasks within the context of time leads to the production of meaning. It is only because certain tasks are considered to have created a particular temporal space in the annual round that they are possible to be

conceived of as part of the year. Therefore, rather than being markers of time or signposts in the annual round, such activities are an impetus for time to move on and hence in a very real sense create how people perceive time. It is only in the attempt to envisage a 'year' of activity that liaisons and structural opposition come to be recognised in ways that would not necessarily be made possible by practice (Bourdieu 1990, 107). Bourdieu (1990) calls the tendency to infer a particular logic from such attempts a 'synoptic illusion'. It is perhaps Gell (1992, 294) who best elucidates what Bourdieu means by falling victim to this illusion; it is the attempt to find 'logic coherence' which, rather than 'practical coherence', may not necessarily be easily accessible to a structural account of routine. In this sense, the routines of everyday life can have different temporalities and values which can be layered together in different ways.

However, this everyday sense of time is frequently contrasted, in anthropology, with senses of time that are constructed through ritual. The Himba, of northwestern Namibia, have two classifications of times: ritual and everyday (Crandall 1998). These conceptions of time are closely associated with the genealogy of cattle herds and by extension people, with cattle considered to be either patrilineal (ritual) or matrilineal (everyday) (Crandall 1998). Ritual cattle can be thought of as representing a timelessness of the ancestors, while matrilineal cattle are far more genealogical (Crandall 1998, 112). However, patrilineal cattle can only be exchanged with other patrilineal cattle and used in particular ritual circumstances (Crandall 1998). Human life is also categorised in a time- and value-oriented manner, with the result that the different classifications of cattle can come to represent the life stages that an individual experiences (Crandall 1998, 111). These two concepts of time should not be considered as separate, as cattle from the matrilineal line can come to be considered as part of the patrilineal line. However, the reverse is not true, as movements in the opposite direction are not possible. The hierarchical understandings of time are value-laden and materially recognised, as cattle not only form relationships between people but also between humans and the passing of time.

Patrilineal time is not directional, as the next generation is not considered to be any further removed from the ancestors than the previous age group (Crandall 1998,

112). Although valued in different ways, the two classifications of time are not, however, hierarchically experienced. Ritual in no way mediates its own sense of time, entirely separate or opposed to everyday life (Gell 1992, 53). In the case of the Himba, rituals therefore work to situate people within these conceptions of time, and temporality and timelessness bring a particular quality to an event, which mark it with a particular value or meaning (Crandall 1998, 108). Therefore, while necessarily context-driven, one sense of time does not take precedence over the other in helping the anthropologist to understand Himba notions of time and how they impact on the materials of everyday life.

Therefore, in contrast to these routine- and practiced-based constructions of time found in the yearly cycle, personal memories and histories of the life-course may also impact on the way routine and daily life are envisioned. The experiences of time and space can be drawn into a more linear fashion by narrative. This does not mean that linearity may be characterised in ways familiar to a Western audience, as a series of events, but may rather take other forms as myths or within materials (Bloch 1998). These may form conceptions of people's individual pasts and the past of their community or social grouping (Bradley 2002). However, people are equally capable of negotiating multiple narratives and at times hold different conceptions of historical accounts to both be true. Bloch (1998, chapter 7) explores this amongst the Zafimaniry and the two different ways they recount the anti-colonial revolt of 1947, in which close to 80,000 people were killed. Bloch (1998, 107) had originally thought that he would be able to uncover the Zafimaniry view of time through analysis of the narratives they told about their history. However, he found two separate accounts of this event, which were both told by the same people (Bloch 1998, 107). Some individuals evoked narratives of the event, but stressed the moral truths and the continuity of the past in the present, while other accounts were considered to be more like myths, the truth of which is frequently denied (Bloch 1998, 108). Therefore, while the first form of narrative is rarely challenged, the second is continually being manipulated to stress the possible arbitrary outcomes of social events (Bloch 1998, 108–9).

These narratives can also be non-verbal; Bloch (1998, 109) notes the possibilities of finding narratives of the past in material objects such as the patterns woven into hats

and the house architecture. These pasts may be commented on, but remain present in all aspects of practical living with the house even when it is not verbalised (Bloch 1998, 109–10). The way the past is conceived of is thus continually present in everyday routines and can be open to manipulation to different extents, but does not necessarily have to be verbal. As material histories are just as present in people's everyday lives, time is not necessarily experienced just as an internal or cognitive aspect of human existence. Like Gell's (1992, 326) conception of ritual time, I consider material histories to be a 'series of ... commentaries on a world, which cannot be defined in advance or once and for all, which have to be understood practically, not metaphysically'. Therefore, rather than categorising time into oppositions such as ritual: everyday, material; verbal or linear: cyclical, I advocate considering the interplay of different routines in the context of a particular situated understanding of how time passes. This could occur at multiple levels, of the body, tasks, particular materials, architectures, social groupings, landscapes and so on.

Figure 2.6. Waiting for the floods to recede during the wet season. Photo: Mark Harris. M. Harris (2000, 170).

This is the case with the rhythms of Amazonian time, which follows the particularly dramatic seasonal changes in the Amazonian Basin (M. Harris 1998; 2000). M. Harris (2000, 127) notes that the movement of people in daily life (fishing, between villages and fields, to visit friends, to wash and play in the river and so on) constitutes particular attitudes to different seasons. The wet and dry seasons are

starkly different, turning river into land and land into river (M. Harris 2000, 129). The wet season is thought of as cold, with people not venturing far from their houses, preferring to stay 'warm'; therefore this season is seen as a 'boring' time and a period of recuperation (see Figure 2.6; M. Harris 2000, 138). However, M. Harris (1998; 2000) does not argue that this means people's emotions and social experiences are completely guided by their environmental setting on a flood plain, but rather that the seasonal rhythm of life is social life. The 'constellations of their social relationships' and the seasonal changes of their landscape are completely entwined (M. Harris 2000, 140). Therefore conceptions of time, in this case the seasonal flow of sociality and the river, are created together, concomitantly with each other. In a particular choreography of everyday life there will be a multitude of the different appreciations of time and routine possible. This does not mean, however, that there are endless appreciations of the world available to people on a daily basis; in the sharing of tasks and negotiation of relationships, dominant conceptions of time will arise (Gell 1992). To emphasise the point, because people live in worlds that are made as much from the environment as they are of other people, conceptions of time are contingent on particular forms of routine.

Community life

One of the key issues in de Certeau's (1984) call for increased attention to daily life was the desire for the artful aspects of daily life to be considered. This desire is beginning to be echoed throughout anthropology, as the understanding of social life as a form of performance is increasingly recognised (Wagner 1991). However, this does not always mean that social life is always successful and the multitude of different possible interpretations can and does lead to confusion, contradiction and disharmony. A key component of daily life is therefore the multitude of different experiences provided by living with other people. In illustrating this point we can turn to an example a little closer to home and to an ethnography that seeks to explain the cycles of youth homelessness in southern Britain (Hall 2003). The ability of individuals to cope on the street relies upon their abilities to include themselves with others around them (Hall 2003). The homeless community is therefore made through shared interpretation of the experiences they have together (Hall 2003). Staying within the local network of friends is therefore preferable to a bed in a hostel outside the known area (Hall 2003, 78). Often, when leaving the streets or

hostels the community also has to be left behind and is replaced by a relative increase in isolation. This results in the move away from homelessness being temporary with people subsequently returning to the streets.

Living in bedsits is boring and lonely, and time passes slowly, while out on the streets or in hostels there are events and gossip; incidents to re-enact and exaggerate (Hall 2003, 67). As one of Hall's (2003, 75) informants says, 'whenever I go in a bedsit I always go wrong'. Her time in the bedsit began well but loud music and smoking annoyed the other residents and her friends were soon banned from visiting in the evening (Hall 2003, 74). Without the support provided by hostel workers and with friends still living on the streets, the temptations of drugs and alcohol become too strong and then created further problems with keeping employment and maintaining good relations with her landlord. After two months she was homeless again (Hall 2003, 75). While there are other social factors, the loss of community performance and a sense of belonging present considerable barriers to moving into a different society (Hall 2003). Although frequently termed a sub-culture, this group of individuals are not deliberately resisting the laws and restrictions of a mainstream life, rather they were negotiating the conditions they confront on a daily basis.

Studying daily life is therefore not just about assessing the different tasks which individuals may carry out routinely throughout the year, it is also about engaging in how the experience of community life facilitates the choreography of ways of performing and conceptions of a life well lived. The aesthetics of convivial living are specific to each community and it is the exploration of the interplay of routine with these artful ways of living that is the aim of an archaeology of the everyday. Therefore, the way community life is experienced and people's understanding of their place in the world are bound together. The example above shows just how essential this is both to how people dwell and what guides their motivation in everyday contexts. However, this also problematises how community relationships are formed. Community is clearly more than just shared space or knowledge but can come about and be formed through these activities (i.e. living in the same place and sharing knowledge). Isbell (2000, 249) turns to the notion of the 'imagined community' to explore this problem, which he defines as 'volatile, characterised by dynamism'. Therefore, community is that which is negotiated through competing

concepts and desires in the formation of social relations (Isbell 2000, 263). This concept of community relations is contrasted by Isbell (2000) with the notion of community as 'natural', that is, as formed through the behavioural adaptations of human beings. As the example above illustrates, community is not only sought out but composed of different relationships not necessarily based on kinship.

Furthermore, social relationships are not always thought to be natural or given at birth. The emphasis in the West on the blood ties of family forces us to regard such social organisation as based around the extended family group as to some extent natural and therefore not requiring explanation (Carsten 2004, 7). The tendency to naturalise the relationships between people and give them a biological basis means that social relations are seen in terms of distance (Carsten 2004, 25).[5] This is particularly pertinent to the study of households (Souvatzi 2008a; 2008b), but I will return to this when discussing the archaeology and anthropology of the household in the next chapter. Community and family relationships do not exist between people purely because they share living spaces, but rather have to be made (M. Strathern 1992; Allison 1999a; Amit 2002; Carsten 2004; Souvatzi 2008a; 2008b). This is a fragile and emotional process, not always easily attainable (Rivière 2000, 254). The Trio Indians of the Suriname/Brazilian border have two contrasting ways of describing aesthetically the ritual states of feeling and the desired everyday feelings. *Onken* is everyday living, searching for the tranquil, quiet and calm, with low levels of noise, while feasting is associated with *Sasame*: noisy and bawdy behaviour (Rivière 2000). Noise is also closely associated with anger and complete silence with sorcery (Rivière 2000). The experience of these different noise levels will have been emotionally felt or responded to, and those making noise levels will have understood the implications of the appeals that they were making. In Overing's (2000) study of laughter in Amazonian society, she stresses its importance not only for producing congenial collectivity but also for the performance of it. If this congeniality is stressed through laughter and play, then when these events occur in everyday life they physically become the congeniality as it is bodily experienced. It is the body (as neither exclusively physical being nor solely mind) learnt through experiences that take place in the social group or community that produces these appeals and responses to the performance of everyday life.

The body is central for knowing how to go on in the world. In Bourdieu's (1990; see above) account of the bodily positions of the Kabyle, it was through learning appropriate movements and positions of the body that people came to comprehend their identity and hence place in a community. The body, however, can also be a fundamental part of helping people to form relationships with others as well. The ways in which the body, social relationships and the 'imagined community' intersect in everyday experience requires further comment and in order to do this a longer example of community formation will now be discussed. In Dawson's (2002) anthropology of the former mining communities of Ashington, northeast England, the community is ageing fast as the young are forced to seek employment elsewhere. As a result a number of social clubs for the elderly have sprung up around the town, for which membership is directly related to the 'activity' of the individual (A. Dawson 2002). So that other members do not become carers to those around them, funding of the clubs is contingent on the physical capability of the members. However, the definition of 'active elderly' remains undefined and the ability to manipulate this category allows groups to selectively include and exclude individuals for a wide range of reasons (A. Dawson 2002). The main activity of the clubs is described by A. Dawson (2002) as 'chatting' and the ability of an individual to entertain and tell stories often determines their desirability as a group member. Excuses can often be found to maintain their membership after their talents waned due to increasing age.

In the case of one individual, Hilda, her ability with sexual *double entendre* and bawdy stories of past goings-on in colliery rows ensured her continued membership as her Alzheimer's began to increase (A. Dawson 2002, 32). Her ability to perform became increasingly limited, but her previous talents and the memories of the stories ensured that she remained a valued part of the group. The stories of her, and her stories, continued to be told and remembered long after her death (A. Dawson 2002, 32). Hilda's significance to the group ensured the manipulation of the rules and the definition of 'active elderly' to guarantee her continued membership. The group continued Hilda's mental and physical abilities through performing the stories she had told in the past. In each retelling, Hilda's body was recaptured from the onset of the disease, even though this was not a performance by Hilda herself. The ability of the body to perform, therefore, may not be directly related to the physical body

itself. Even though Hilda was not telling the stories herself, the retelling by others was a way of continuing her 'active' body. For many of the influential social theorists of the body, it is the performance of the body which brings it into being (Butler 1993). Yet in this example attempts are made to move away from physical bodily dwelling; everyday life for these club members is about the uniting to transgress against their bodies and deny their physical state.

The community of the groups allows them to effectively achieve this. The identity of individuals, in this example, is often closely related to their ability to 'age well'; by which we should read the ability to leave their physical bodies behind when they are called on for performance. The juxtaposition between youthful activities (sexual and romantic for instance) and their limited physical abilities was a source of great humour. Humour focussing on sex, death and bodily decline was often manipulated to protect the community against the effects of an ageing group membership (A. Dawson 2002). By comparison to the recognised idea in the West of a separated body and mind (Shilling 1993), in this example the ideal appears to be the process of actively causing, through performative humour, this separation. The ability to do this then becomes an aspect of group membership and individuals can be more or less successful at this. Just as for the Kabyle, where women were not actually bendy, and men straight, instead the performance of these physical movements and the ability to perform these roles ensured 'good' living within the community. The desire for 'good living' in the social groups of Ashington's elderly was played out in the ability to 'age well', though this was perceived as difficult to achieve. Daily dwelling is riddled with concerns over 'living well' and daily tasks and routines ask bodies to be moved and manipulated in ways that satisfy these desires. However, it is important to recognise that the ability to live well requires the individual to acquire the skills to do so. Community relations are rarely regarded as easy and are open in different degrees to individuals depending on their ability to tactically use their skills at 'living well'.

Conclusion: thick description

Exploring daily life involves reconciling the narrative which people construct about their worlds and identities, with the unstructured forgetting and remembering, and the non-discursive elements of bodily movement. An archaeology of daily life is

thus a call for Geertz's (1973) 'thick description'. It has been argued here that following Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) notion of the *habitus* and Ingold's (2000) *dwelling perspective*, an approach that regards daily life as dramatic, tactical and open to manipulation can be productively developed. Regulatory ideals and the *habitus* have been forwarded as the means by which people bring a style to the actions they undertake in daily life. Exploring the different ways of living in the past cannot be achieved without considering daily life, as this is the scale at which community relationships and identities are made, and it is only at this scale that they are open to manipulation. By considering these factors an archaeology that considers what it was like to be there can be written rather than reproducing static and person-less identities (Whittle 2003). The metaphors of drama and dance for all social activities do not just replace previous linguistic descriptions of social life, but further the dwelling-based perspectives, by calling for daily life to be regarded as artful and tactical (de Certeau 1984). It is thus argued that social life is difficult and needs to be achieved rather than passively engaged in. Communities and people are actively made through skilful engagement of the body in performance (see also Amit 2000). These are not simplistic, but rather complexly formed in the ongoing nature of social life which is particular to a specific moment in history.

However, very little attention has been paid to the materiality of these experiences and how they are to be recaptured from the material remains of the past. The next chapter will begin to explore how these materialities are to be approached through architecture and will ask how these appreciations of daily life can be captured through the remains of past communities. To explore the archaeological evidence in this manner is to do more than simply describe the patterns of archaeology as if representative of routines. Following Geertz (1973, 15), it is an act of interpretation through engaging with how performances of community within the routines of everyday life came to produce particular conceptions of *dwelling*. The notions of performance and performativity allow the archaeologist to move beyond simplistic divisions of ritual and domestic by characterising how events are layered together in routine rather than directly opposed. Therefore, rather than regarding all life as in some way ritual, we can explore the qualities of life amongst a particular community in which specific histories were formed. Thick description does not therefore call for an all-encompassing theory for daily life, but rather attention to the modes

through which the archaeologist can explore the scales significant in the past. Whether through Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) notion of the *habitus* or Ingold's (2000, 195) *taskscape*, the aim is to 'bring us into touch with the lives of strangers' (Geertz 1973, 16), thus causing us to focus on how material things and specific understandings of the world were made to matter in the past.

[1] I will discuss Heidegger's (1993) essay in more detail in chapter three.
[2] For me this is the essential difference between Heidegger's (1962) concept of *being-in-the-world*, which is applicable to all humanity and Ingold's (1993) notion of *dwelling*, which is particular to a specific time and community.
[3] It should be noted however that this does not mean that situations of conflict are actively avoided. Conflict is often fuelled by and subject to rumour and gossip (P. Stewart and A. Strathern 2004).
[4] Wendy James (2003) takes her title, *The ceremonial animal*, from this quote of Wittgenstein (1979, 7). It is perhaps worth noting that Wittgenstein (1979, 7) goes on to say 'this is partly false, partly nonsensical, but there is something in it'.
[5] Carsten (2004) argues that the distinction between 'social' and 'biological' kinship has been over-emphasised in the West as kinship has to be made in law and can also be recognised even when no legal or biological ties are made.

3

The universal house: exploring material and architectural life

Introduction

Although the LBK longhouse is deeply rooted in the archaeological imagination of the European Neolithic, no building has actually ever been excavated. It is instead the subsoil remains of postholes and wall trenches from which the longhouse has been created.[1] We have no structures to analyse, only those that are created in the present through our own imaginations and narratives. The task of analysing and interpreting this architecture is, therefore, an act of construction (Figure 3.1). In spite of this, discussing longhouses is not considered difficult, if thought of at all. The presence of the longhouse is treated as self-explanatory and the concept of the house and household is so deeply ingrained in archaeology that the terms themselves appear to be neutral and a-historical (Souvatzi 2008a, 8). While other forms of architecture invoke powerful and challenging narratives of the past, current archaeological theory about the house has therefore largely stagnated. Souvatzi (2008a) is a rare example of more detailed consideration of the household. The different possible ways of living with and through houses and the different questions that can be posed of architecture have been covered at length elsewhere (Kent 1990a; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994a; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995a; Allison 1999b; Joyce and Gillespie 2000). So rather than presenting a survey of all the different ways of living with houses, this chapter will examine how we think about living in houses and architecture, pushing forward current theory and engaging with how to illuminate the variety of experiences possible in the past. The aim is not only to develop a model of how to approach the study and interpretation of buildings in the past, but to expose the assumptions that limit our study and to call for an appreciation of how we think about the connections and relationships between the materials we excavate and the narratives we construct.

Figure 3.1. This is a representation of a LBK settlement. Although so much is going on in this picture it is not a scandalous or debated image of LBK life and we readily accept it. After Hodder 1994, 81.

If houses have been neglected theoretically by archaeology, there has been growing sophistication in the study of human engagement with the material world (Hodder 1982a; 1989; Graves Brown 2000; DeMarrais *et al.* 2004a; Meskell 2005a; Tilley *et al.* 2005; Ingold 2007b; Oliveira Jorge and Thomas 2007). However, the nature of this engagement remains controversial, particularly the debate surrounding object agency (Gell 1998; Robb 2004; Gosden 2005; Russell 2007). Architecture, like material culture, is implicated in how archaeologists think about the physical world. Barrett (2001; 2006) argues that we excavate the material conditions of past lives not their remains and thus the houses we excavate are the conditions in which daily life was lived. Architecture is part of the 'inhabited conditions' which facilitate daily sociality (Barrett 2001, 156). The previous chapter argued that performance and performative action can be regarded as creative and as having a material dimension, activated by the ability of people to dwell within their worlds. This

chapter will develop these arguments by exploring a further aspect to the dwelling perspective: the material aspect to everyday life. I will argue that evoking the concepts of dwelling, agency and performance requires archaeologists to think again about how they relate to the materials of the past.

This chapter will thus start by exploring how archaeologists have theorised the relationship between people, material culture and architecture from the dwelling perspective. The first section will discuss two key debates that have influenced the theoretical perspective to architecture in archaeology: material engagement in the world and architectural theory. This part of the chapter will therefore broach the differences between material existence in the world and the nature of building. The second section of this chapter will then move on to explore the house and household as discussed in anthropology in order to characterise the key relationships between people and their domestic structures. The final part of the chapter will then discuss the house as developed through archaeological theory, arguing that variety between houses has been largely ignored and the everyday contexts of living with houses, neglected. The chapter will conclude by debating the facets of living with houses through the rhythms of daily life. Thus it will be argued that the archaeologist should focus attention on illuminating how houses were lived through and what forms of interaction they facilitated, rather than attempting to read whole-world views from a site-plan.

Material Worlds

Dwelling in the physical world

Materials are the life-blood of archaeology: they are the very means by which we study the past. Therefore theorising the relationship between people and their material worlds is essential for the archaeologist. Doing away with such divisions as mind and matter, as the dwelling perspective encourages us to do, by no means simplifies the relationships between people and material (DeMarrais *et al.* 2004b, 1). If anything, the dwelling perspective throws up innumerable questions about how people perceive their place in the landscapes and taskscapes in which they carry out their everyday lives (Ingold 2000). However, in asking such questions we are already moving on from the position laid out by the early structuralists in archaeology, which considered material objects as symbolic containers of human

action (Hodder 1982b). While the structuralist approach gave material objects a more active role in human life, it also sought to categorise the physical world as having meaning applied to it by human groups. This stands in stark contrast to the dwelling perspective, which envisions people coming to an understanding of the meaning and significance of materials through engagement with the world (Thomas 2007, 12–3). Thus the dwelling perspective encourages us not to regard material objects as an external mental map of social understanding, but rather to give it a far more fundamental role in the formation of daily life.

The question therefore remains—what to do with this seeming mass of undifferentiated people, landscapes, materials, environments, objects, technologies and architectures that forms the fabric of dwelling? Do objects and architectures operate in different ways? How influential are the qualities of materials, of the weather, of geographical processes, on human relations? One way these problems have been approached by archaeologists is to consider the materiality of the world. Materiality, as defined by Scarre (2004, 141), 'is the condition of material objects as encountered by humans'. The conditions in which humans meet and engage the material world are thus implicated in how they dwell, and hence can be particular to the time and space of that engagement. The recognition that materials play a potent role in the practices of dwelling has thus focussed attention on *how* objects are active, rather than *if* they are. Gell (1998) has been particularly influential in exploring the role which objects have in human lives. He takes the example of his car, a Toyota, to which he has not only given a name ('Toyolly' or 'Olly' for short) but has also attributed a personality, based on its reliability and the consideration it demonstrates by choosing the most convenient moments to break down (Gell 1998, 18). For Gell (1998), therefore, objects are not only active but are seen to possess a form of agency. Therefore, with this view of the material world, the world is imbued with agencies; objects create demands of their human creators (Gosden 2005).

This approach has been developed in different ways by archaeologists, favouring the 'agency' of objects to different extents. Most, like Robb (2004) and Gosden (2005), prefer to see objects as active, but in ways different from the agencies possessed by humans. Robb (2004, 133) thus supports Gell's (1998) 'primary' and 'secondary'

categories of agency, hence arguing that 'material culture intervenes to structure human life through genres, institutions [and] beliefs'. Gosden (2005, 209) follows a similar line, but places more emphasis on the material and substances of the physical world, arguing that 'substances, such as stone, bone, metal or clay, take on forms and qualities which transgress the boundaries between types'. These approaches therefore have much in common with Ingold's (2007b) recent call for archaeology to return to materials; though perhaps they do not go as far. Ingold (2007b, 9) argues that objects are a myriad of complex links that stretch out both in time and space, thus our starting point should not be the world of objects as 'cooked' (finished items or little nuggets of meaning) but the processes in which they come together and are made. Ingold's (2007b, 14) example is a stone; archaeologists need to attend not just to 'the stoniness of stone' but also to its 'endlessly variab[ility] in relation to light or shade, wetness or dryness, and the position, posture or movement of the observer'.

Although Ingold (*pers. comm.*) claims little sympathy with it, this approach shares its networked view of people and materials with Actor-Network-Theory (hereafter ANT) (Latour 1993; 2005).[2] ANT is a means of exploring social connections without prioritising humans or materials as 'actors' (Latour 2005, 16). In this respect, ANT views social life as 'flat' (Latour 2005, 16), where people and things are said to 'cooperate in the construction of meaning' (Watts 2007, 50). The fluidity of social life is captured by ANT, arguing that particular moments or events become only a 'partial appearance' of the social, but are nonetheless insights into dwelling (Latour 2005, 77–8). Ingold's reluctance to practise ANT perhaps stems from its generality. Latour's (2005) discussion on ANT focuses on the methodologies of the social, in other words how it works, rather than the ways in which particular liaisons are formed. Thus while Latour (1993) argues that '*We have never been modern*', demonstrating that nature and culture have never been truly divided or dividable, it is still beneficial to consider how the ability to hold such a point of view (such as the elderly in Ashington; A. Dawson 2002; see Chapter two) might come about. The key aspect of A. Dawson's (2002) anthropology was to demonstrate that overcoming their physical limitations was always being worked towards in the formation of social relationships rather than an achievable ideal. Therefore, while Latour's (2005) consideration of ANT provides many insights into social relations, ANT

itself does little, in my opinion, to further other sociological concepts such as the *habitus* or the dwelling perspective. The notion of partiality is, however, worth holding on to; that in brief moments of engagement in the world, far broader insights can be revealed.

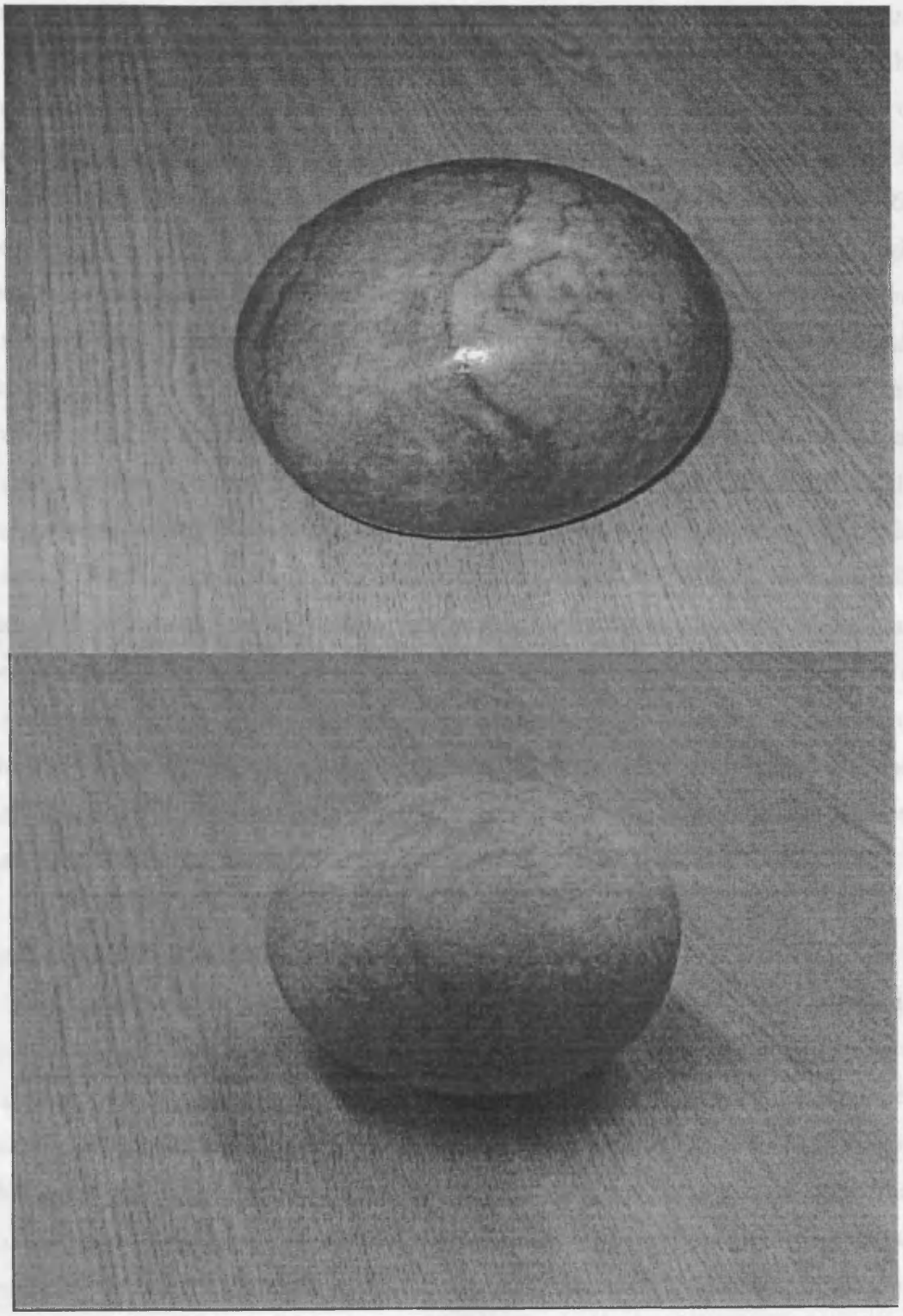


Figure 3.2. The engagement with stone offers numerous possibilities. When wet its colour is more visible, when dry the stone's rough texture becomes more apparent. Ingold 2007b, 2, 15.

So where does this leave materials? Following Ingold (2007b), the embedded nature of human relations in the physical world means that studying materials is a delicate balancing act of considering the properties of substances and the context of human engagement with them. These relationships are by no means simple; people make objects and then use them as tools. Similarly, the landscape and architecture are just as much created through the ways people dwell as they are defining of the possibilities of dwelling (Ingold 1993; 2000; Tilley 2004). The sensuous qualities of materials, emphasised by phenomenological or embodied archaeologies (such as Watson and Keating 1999; Boivin 2004; Tilley 2004; Lazzari 2005; Watson 2006), are clearly significant in the experiences of dwelling. Therefore, given the right context, stone can provide all manner of experiences, even appearing to be fluid, but this will be contingent on the way bodies encounter materials (Cochrane forthcoming). Therefore, to develop the idea around stone, the time of day, others present, colour of the flint, skill of the individual, season, location and so on all come together to form a performative experience, which constitutes both the knapped and the knapper (see Figure 3.2). As this event becomes routine, particular ways of dwelling come about, that when layered together form the elements of daily life. This will be as true for architecture as it is for individual objects such as stone tools, because the material world is not considered to be divided by categories of objects sitting in the ground waiting for the archaeologist to decipher their meaning. They are rather a world once inhabited, offering the archaeologist a partial way into interpretation. To emphasise the point; meaning is found in the liaisons between materials, rather than assembling their different meanings together.

Architecture in theory: what it means to build

So what of the role of building—can it be argued that architecture holds a particular place amongst the materials of the physical world? Architectural theory in archaeology has taken a slightly different trajectory to material culture studies, heavily influenced by Western attitudes to building and design. Following Ingold (2000), I call this 'the building perspective'. The character of modernist architectural thought has permeated the interpretation of past traditions of building, focussing on design as an added-on extra once the functional aspects of architecture have been accounted for. This is particularly relevant for domestic buildings. However, more active roles have been attributed to architectural structures, such as

forming power structures, representing ideologies or cosmologies and creating social groups such as the household (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994b). Recently, post-modern architectural theory has therefore challenged the role of the architect as the author of a building (Rudofsky 1977; Tschumi 1994; Hill 1998) and the role of the building process has been deconstructed as an aspect of dwelling rather than the imposition of mental structures on to the world (Heidegger 1993; Ingold 2000). This debate has much in common with the discussion of 'style' that took place in archaeology during the early 1980s (Wobst 1977; Hodder 1982c; Sackett 1985; Wiessner 1985; Boast 1997). However, this section of the chapter will discuss the history of the style debate in architectural theory, in order to explore the relationship between building and dwelling, and architecture.

Although architectural aesthetics have a long history in Western philosophy,[3] it was Marx (1976) who first considered architecture to have an active role in society. Marx (1976) argued that buildings have to be conceived of in the mind before they can be built. Architecture was thus defined by a design or plan, or rather, by that which could be held in the mind's eye and then reproduced externally. This changed the position of architecture in philosophy from part of the nature of art, to that of the mind, emphasising for the first time the material basis of buildings (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994b, 2; N. Leach 1997, 3). This focus of Marxism is still influential today in architectural theory; while it is natural to build, what we build is socially determined. The built environment for Marx, therefore, is actively constructed by how people think about their world and is separated from a perceived 'natural', or un-built, world. Ingold (2000, 178–9) describes this as the building perspective: 'that worlds are made before they are lived in'.

The 'building perspective' separates humans from other animals that build because they are capable of thinking about the construction of their environment, while the animal merely recreates a pre-determined design (Ingold 2000, 175).[4] The architecture that is built by human communities is thus imposing cultural design on the natural environment. From this perspective architecture is made only in the mind; when built externally its form has already been constructed by the architect (Ingold 2000, 175). A classic example of this approach to buildings is the search for the 'first hut', which became prevalent in archaeology at the beginning of the 20th

century (see Figure 3.3). It formed part of the endeavour to uncover the point at which humans became sufficiently modern to think and design before they built (Ingold 2000, 182).[5] This was seen as a crucial point in the history of civilisation as humankind was considered to have crossed the line from nature to culture and achieved true humanity.

Figure 3.3. The first hut as drawn by Viollet-le-Duc. Ingold 2000, 183.

The early 20th century also saw radical changes in both how buildings were constructed and how they were thought about. The modernist movement of the 1930s was driven by a functionalist aesthetic that derived design from technology (N. Leach 1997, 4–5; Paul 2003). This notion of the functionalism of architectural design does not differ greatly from Marx's (1976) assertion that 'we think before we build'. Le Corbusier's (1923, ix) argument that '*la maison est une machine à habiter*' (the house is a machine for living) stems from a belief that architecture does

more than follow the way people live. Modernist architects wanted to design buildings that helped people to live well, to successfully achieve their daily goals (N. Leach 1997, 5). This approach can still be described as the building perspective. The architect's job was to design the best possible space to assist people's daily lives. For many philosophers and writers at the time the project of architecture was even more fundamental than this; by building certain structures utopia was sought and placed within the reach of the designer (Adorno 1979).

Modernist architecture developed at a time when across Europe mass regeneration needed to be achieved. The First and Second World Wars had left many European governments with limited resources and the new prefabricated and mass-produced technologies in building design were an efficient solution (Paul 2003, 714). Ostentatious styles like Art Nouveau fell out of fashion and were replaced by minimalism (Paul 2003, 714). Smooth concrete surfaces, often white, adorned newly built houses, while those who occupied buildings from earlier styles, and had the means, chose to adorn their rooms with furniture in this style (Paul 2003, 715). The ability to change and adapt buildings to developing needs seemed to challenge the pure notion of architecture. Architects could design a building and determine its form but the textures of its surfaces were for the inhabitants alone. The 1940s and 1950s saw the development of increased disposable wealth and the development of magazines like *Good Housekeeping* during this period, particularly in the United States, saw increased focus on the domestic interior as a feminised space (Butler 1990).[6] Thus architecture could no longer be considered exclusively the domain of trained specialists. Furthermore, the role of the architect was expanding into urban design. Modernist writers such as Benjamin (1978) were beginning to reflect on the urban context and the spaces created between buildings. While modernist architects were not without their critiques at the time, their impact on the way philosophy thought about architecture was obvious; the use of architecture was implicated in its design and therefore open to be manipulated by the architect and, most significantly, space itself became a concept, equally designed by human action.

It was against this background that the phenomenological philosophers began to write and think about architecture. They too felt that architecture was one of the necessary lenses through which to approach being-in-the-world and the production

of space by humans came to be theorised like never before, particularly in the works of Bachelard (1969), Lefebvre (1991) and Heidegger (1993). It was Heidegger's (1993) seminal essay *Building, dwelling, thinking* that substantially influenced how Ingold (1993; 2000) developed the dwelling perspective. This essay asked how building relates to dwelling, challenging the notion that people make architecture before they build. Heidegger (1993, 348) argues that building is characterised by the ability to dwell; 'to build is in itself already to dwell'. Heidegger's (1993) thus characterises architecture not as the externalisation of how people think about their world, but as integral to their ability to think about it. This means that architecture and the process of building are part of the continuous nature of learning how to dwell (Ingold 1993; 2000). Building is therefore always going on, social interactions within space continue dwelling and architecture cannot be said to be the 'crystallisation' of human activity (Ingold 2000, 186). This offers somewhat of a contrast to 'the building perspective' of architecture offered by Marx (1976) and architects in the modernist tradition. The assertion that people dwell through architecture, rather than architecture showing us how culture is imprinted on to the natural environment, makes the role of the architect problematical. Dwelling seems to suggest an immediate relationship between the builder and what is built. By this, I mean to stress that it encourages us to think that the process through which we engage with architecture is dwelling, while regarding the architect's process of design as lacking these qualities. Ingold (2000, 180) argues this is the perspective of the architect: 'first plan and build the houses, then import the people to occupy them'.

While it was Ingold's (2000) intention to thus overcome the separation of occupier and architect, our perception of this divide has led to some interesting contradictions that I believe are necessary to expose as they have a political dimension. In architectural theory during the 20th century there was growing interest in vernacular architecture: the architecture of people who lived in the houses they built themselves. Indigenous buildings were considered to be 'architecture without architects' (Rudofsky 1977). Each building was a microcosm of the society or culture into which it was built. The house was a representation, in built form, of social beliefs and organisation. This led to the situation whereby archaeologists or anthropologists could uncover the social structures of a community by studying their

architecture (Waterson 1990). It was just a matter of looking in the right place. Yet, if architecture represented un-thought structures of social organisation in its layout and form, then what did modern Western architecture do? Did it follow these same patterns in representing social structure? In answering these questions, indigenous architecture was considered not to be of interest or of use to Western architects (Waterson 1990). Style in non-Western architectures was thus expressing cultural attributes and social organisation such as gender divisions, while style or design in the West was the architect facing up to the challenge to unite functionality with aesthetic pleasure (Waterson 1990). This approach takes agency away from indigenous builders, who in the manner of animals are seen to merely reproduce symbolic sequences without considering design. The realisation that this position was unsupportable led to a growing debate about authorship in buildings (Anstey *et al.* 2007, 6–7).

The architect, like the artist, has almost a revered place in Western society (Hill 1998). Similarly the relationship between building and user was thought of as something like that of text and reader (or art and viewer). Hill (1998, 3) argues this subject-object (user-building) debate, prevalent in literary and social theory, has been absent within the architectural profession. The end-user of architecture was treated as a 'stable, contained and passive subject' (Hill 1998, 3). This lends legitimacy to the authority of the architect (as the author of the design). Thus while the architect is in the position to contemplate the different facets of architecture, the Western user has architecture enforced upon them. This is not just the superiority of the knowledge or the position of the architect over user, but is the fundamental separation of design and use. Design is thus being distanced from everyday reality, while use is intimately part of daily life. I would like to counter this distinction by arguing (following Hill 1998) that design is as much a process of dwelling and using architecture as living with buildings. Architecture began to be thought of as the ongoing interaction between people and built structures (Rapoport 1982; 1990; Hill 1998). The architect cannot thus determine use and architecture evolves in the relationship between the architect and the client, and then develops further in its use. I suggest therefore that this is a more elongated process of dwelling.

To explain this, I turn to the post-modern focus on the disjunction between events and building structure in architectural theory. For Jacques Derrida (1986), architecture is a metaphor for reunification of theory and practice, which one artificially separates in discourse. While deconstruction was the attempt to free himself from the restrictions of Western philosophy's historic dichotomies, architecture permits construction, permits events in space (Wigley 1993). Foucault's (1969) reply to Roland Barthes' (1967[1977]) essay *The death of the author*, acknowledges the author as a social construction and as having a particular history. This has had a significant impact on how architects themselves have thought about their role in design. Foucault's (1969) question—what replaces the empty space left by the disappearance of the author?—forced architectural theory to turn to a more user-oriented approach. This was paralleled in part by geographical studies in to urban design, which examined how people moved in space (Rapoport 1990). Architecture was thus thought to be realised by human movement in space, rather than just controlling and limiting the possible actions of human groups. Post-modern architects, inspired by this approach, have attempted to deal with these ideas through their own work. Bernard Tschumi's (1987; 1994) design for *le Parc de la Villette*, Paris,[7] was directly inspired by Derrida's disjunction of theory and practice, of form and function.

Tschumi (1994) designed three systems for *le Parc de la Villette*: surfaces, lines and points. The surfaces can host activities and their use varies from rigidly prescribed to completely undefined. The lines within the park stem from the *folies*, which is an orthogonal system that guides movement and paths through a series of thematic gardens. The points are a grid system of *folies* placed at 120 metre intervals; they are 10x10x10 metre cubes that can be changed to people's specific needs (Figure 3.4). The park is thus organised around the possibility for change and future uses. This design for discontinuity is an attempt to capture the disjunction between function and form. The surfaces, lines and points break up the unity of architecture thus making form and function irrelevant, as the architecture becomes the event of people coming together and continuing to build (Tschumi 1994). Tschumi (1994) dwells with and through the park; the process of design is an ongoing engagement as he changes the plan for the park when he meets limits, problems and challenges. Architectural design thus becomes a *taskscape*; that is, *becomes* as a series of

engagements in which the architect 'acts back' on the design in the process of his/her own dwelling (Ingold 2000, 199).

Figure 3.4. These two pictures represent different surfaces, lines and points around *La Parc de le Villette*, Paris. It challenges traditional uses of parks and provides impetus for different movements and types of event. After Internet ref. 1.

The *Avant garde* movement in architecture attempted to realise the notion of 'disjunction' through the concept of 'folding', developed by Deleuze (1993). The folding and unfolding of space allows urban space to be both understood as singular (whole) and as disparate (multiple and contradictory) (Rajchman 1998, chapter 2). Thus the city can be both a type of architecture and the clash of different needs, users and buildings. By making different folds, new contexts arise in the juxtaposition of different urban landscapes (Rajchman 1998, 14–5). Thus the path I take when walking from home to work is a fold along which divergence and commonalities between the two spaces are revealed. Space is thus considered as a complex interplay of constructing actions or 'folds'; they are folded in on each other and become unfolded by movement (Deleuze 1993, 5). While this sounds particularly abstract, it has had a real impact on architectural design (Lynn 2004). Coinciding with the development of software technologies like CAD, the mathematical component of Deleuze's (1993) notion of the fold inspired more complex geometries to be attempted in design, perhaps most notably in the work of

the architect Paul Eisenman (Capro 2004, 16). Therefore the spaces people inhabit are not representations of their ideologies, cosmologies or attitudes to dwelling, but rather enable people to dwell in a world in particular ways, encountering the restrictions and possibilities placed before them by the material world.

While an 'event' of building can thus be recognised, this event will still be part of the quotidian experience. Therefore architectures are not distanced from everyday realities of living in space. Mcleod (1997, 27) argues the failure to see the daily reality of building 'denies the energy and creativity embodied in the humble, prosaic details of daily existence'. Buildings are not whole; they are not bound by the physical space they occupy, but by the user and their ability to dwell. Naa Norle Lokko (1998) argues that architecture is the synthesis of past, present and future. The dwelling perspective thus recognises that building is a continuous process occurring as an innate part of dwelling and hence it is also temporal, constructing not only a particular space but also a particular time. This means in order to discuss the architecture of the past we have to think about how building facilitated dwelling. Within events of architecture the practice of unfolding facilitates the negotiation of material or space through the creativity of everyday life, overturning the prescriptive limits of architecture (Dovey 2002, 273). Therefore, in answer to the question which this section started with, building is one aspect of dwelling and architecture or houses should not be treated as a unique category of the archaeological record, but as part of the means through which people come to understand their place in the world. This encourages a move away from principally considering the design of a building. In its place, both the processes of building and the building itself can be used to explore the contexts of dwelling.

The anthropology of the house: everyday architectures

In order to examine the relationships between dweller and architecture, the everyday contexts of living with buildings require further elaboration and we therefore turn to anthropology to discuss the variety of the possible ways of dwelling with houses. Anthropologists are seen as having the great benefit of being able to converse with and ask questions of the communities they engage with. However, anthropologists have, in the past, primarily asked about architecture in order to understand social structures. Lévi-Strauss' (1982) *The way of the masks* was seminal in forming this

approach. It discussed descent and inheritance through societies whose kinship patterns seemed to be usurped by group membership of households (for further discussion of households see below). Houses were thus thought of as the centre around which these societies oriented social identities and community relations (Gillespie 2000, 46). As anthropologists have moved away from such rigid conceptions of households, acknowledging that it was a Western notion of kinship that led to household membership being viewed as exclusive, the everyday and multiple understandings of the house and households have been explored (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995a; Joyce and Gillespie 2000). Three topics will form the structure for the following discussion: the materiality of the house, the living house and the household. These broad and connected themes have been developed recently in anthropology and material culture studies, influencing how we think about houses and everyday architectures.

Building materials

Many anthropological studies emphasise that it is the material of the house that is significant rather than the form or design. Helliwell (1996) focuses on how the construction of apartment partitions in the Dayak longhouse facilitates and conditions community relations within the house. Each longhouse consists of groups of families living in separate compartments, divided by partition walls which offer little in the way of privacy (Helliwell 1996, 137). The partitions are constructed with deliberate gaps, some of which are big enough to permit the passage of small children, dogs and cats (Helliwell 1996, 137). The partitions do not act as boundaries to separate apartments, but offer entrances, passage ways and importantly, the possibility of a neighbouring compartment (Helliwell 1996, 138). Without the partitions there would not be the potential for further compartments, for further relations between the house community. It is thus the materiality of the form of the longhouse, rather than just the form itself, that creates daily sociality. The permeability of the partitions, not just physically but acoustically as well, develops the ability of inhabitants to respond to each other through sound, even when people they are conversing with are not visible (Helliwell 1996). The inhabitants of the Dayak longhouse stress that they feel better when surrounded by the noise of other inhabitants and the lights from the separate apartments and therefore Helliwell (1996, 145) argues that this house is not a social structure to be described, but a

'place to be lived and used'. Helliwell (1996, 138) thus describes the longhouse as a 'community of voices' and argues that this is the central quality of residence within it. Mapping the form of the Dayak longhouse reveals very little unless one attempts to understand how people used both the form and the materials of the house itself. Helliwell (1996) criticises over-reliance on the visual-spatial range of data among Western anthropologists. The sounds and smells are the most evocative part of the Dayak longhouse and they are integral to socialities which seem to prevent rigid categorisation.

Thus the relationship between inhabitants may not be directly represented by the layout of the house but through its materials. The repairs to the Luo house, western Kenya, must be carried out by both men and women, but each gender carries out a different aspect of the repairs; only men are permitted to build and repair the thatched roof, while it is women who repair and smear fresh clay on the walls (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 259). The house is not built and then ignored, but rather needs constant attention and repair. In attending to these needs the ideals of the symbiotic relationship of the sexes are expressed through the body engaging with the material house. A recent change in materials used by the Luo people to build houses (from wattle and daub with a thatched roof to a cement construction, with a corrugated iron roof) has changed the temporality of household repairs (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 259). Within the pattern of repairing houses the power relations and status of men and women in the community were expressed. The change in building material has initiated changes with the social structure of the community (Dietler and Herbich 1998, 259).

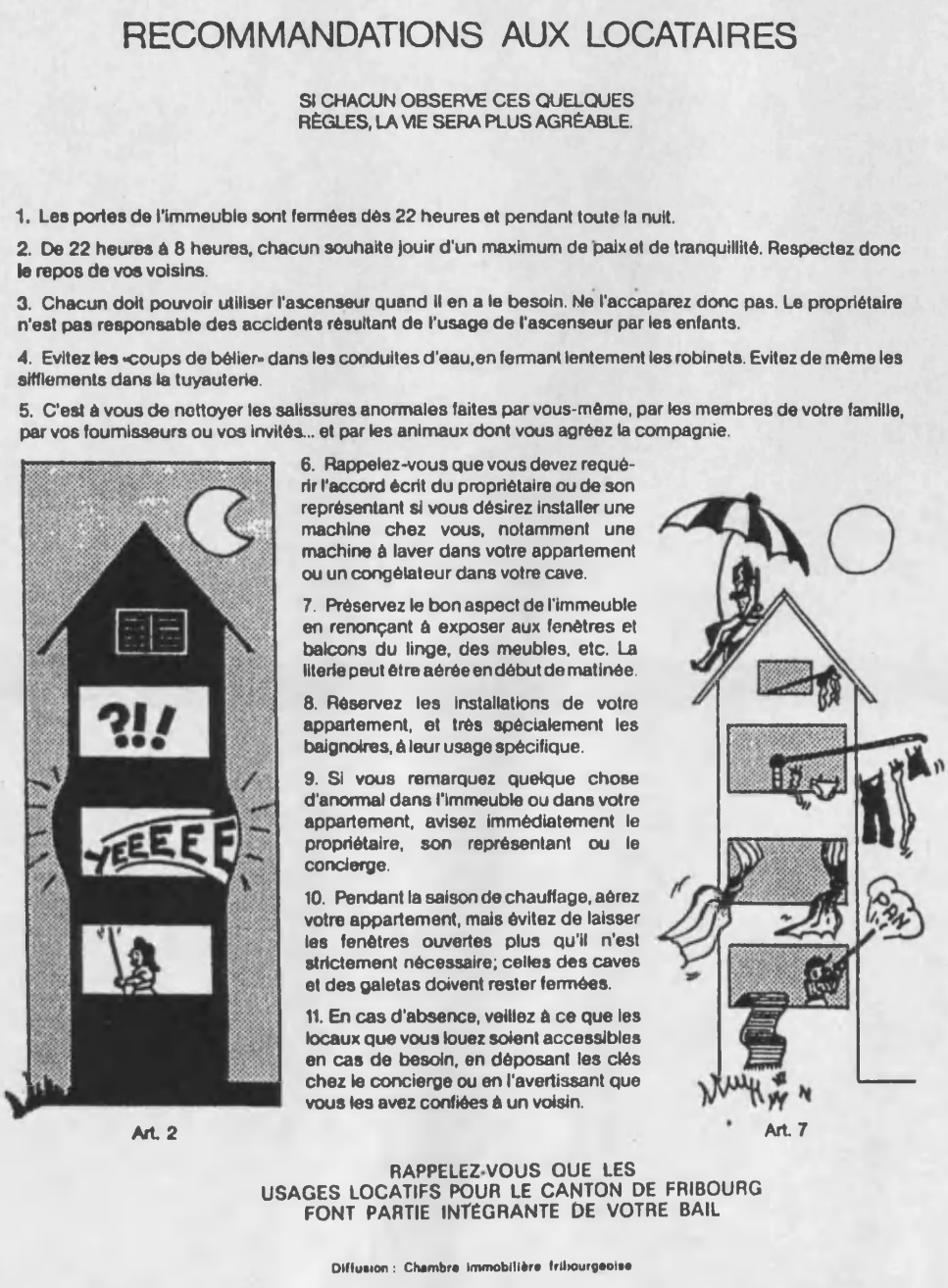
The fluidity of the household and permeability of the house walls, may also apply to the location. The cycles of re-plastering the house floor in Rajasthan, northern India, *move* the spaces that people live in between different states and stages in rites performed throughout the household's and individual's life (Boivin 2000, 374–7). That the house is said to move rather than change is highly significant. It is a process whereby the house remains locationally the same, but physically travels through a liminal stage and into the next cycle. Compare this with the Turkish law that states a building which is constructed in one day is allowed to remain. While these structures, called Gecekondu, create images of temporality they are actually

fairly permanent structures (Ray 1997). Thus these buildings manage to be both finished habitable structures *and* always changeable *and* always with the possibility for further building and expanding (Figure 3.5). Materials are not carefully chosen, the walls and the roof consist of anything that will do the job of offering shelter and the possibility of further construction (Ray 1997, 154). The inhabitants of these buildings are continuously building. It is part of the daily routine and it is the practice of building which takes precedence over the building itself.

Figure 3.5. Three generations of one family are involved in filling in a wall of a Gecekondu with flattened food tins. After Ray 1997, 154.

The tendency to view houses and households as permanent and bounded comes from a Western view of architecture that emphasises the stability of the house, rather than seeing a much more fluid dynamic membership of households (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1998). The Mehinaku, Amazonia, recognise that private moments between individuals, either for gossiping or sexual activities, need to take place outside the community village, well away from the houses (Gregor 1977). Secret liaisons, extra-marital affairs and the passing on of salacious gossip must therefore happen in the open, in secluded woodland clearings. The houses are not private spaces, but that does not mean that they are public spaces. Sociality is continuous throughout Mehinaku spaces and it is not that houses are not significant, but rather that without the importance of distinctions between private and public (as emphasised in Western houses), Mehinaku houses do not reveal their sociality

through form. Even in the West the autonomy of a house is not guaranteed and frequently legal agreements act to reinforce and extend walls and property boundaries (Figure 3.6) (Lawrence 1990, 86–7). Thus to make a 'house' in the Western sense requires more than the physical structure. A legal contract is required to legitimise and enforce the purpose of a building, be it commercial or domestic.



RECOMMANDATIONS AUX LOCATAIRES

SI CHACUN OBSERVE CES QUELQUES RÈGLES, LA VIE SERA PLUS AGRÉABLE.

1. Les portes de l'immeuble sont fermées dès 22 heures et pendant toute la nuit.

2. De 22 heures à 8 heures, chacun souhaite jouir d'un maximum de paix et de tranquillité. Respectez donc le repos de vos voisins.

3. Chacun doit pouvoir utiliser l'ascenseur quand il en a le besoin. Ne l'accaparez donc pas. Le propriétaire n'est pas responsable des accidents résultant de l'usage de l'ascenseur par les enfants.

4. Evitez les «coups de bélier» dans les conduites d'eau, en fermant lentement les robinets. Evitez de même les sifflements dans la tuyauterie.

5. C'est à vous de nettoyer les salissures anormales faites par vous-même, par les membres de votre famille, par vos fournisseurs ou vos invités... et par les animaux dont vous agréez la compagnie.

Art. 2

6. Rappelez-vous que vous devez requérir l'accord écrit du propriétaire ou de son représentant si vous désirez installer une machine chez vous, notamment une machine à laver dans votre appartement ou un congélateur dans votre cave.

7. Préservez le bon aspect de l'immeuble en renonçant à exposer aux fenêtres et balcons du linge, des meubles, etc. La literie peut être aérée en début de matinée.

8. Réservez les installations de votre appartement, et très spécialement les baignoires, à leur usage spécifique.

9. Si vous remarquez quelque chose d'anormal dans l'immeuble ou dans votre appartement, avisez immédiatement le propriétaire, son représentant ou le concierge.

10. Pendant la saison de chauffage, aérez votre appartement, mais évitez de laisser les fenêtres ouvertes plus qu'il n'est strictement nécessaire; celles des caves et des galetas doivent rester fermées.

11. En cas d'absence, veillez à ce que les locaux que vous louez soient accessibles en cas de besoin, en déposant les clés chez le concierge ou en l'avertissant que vous les avez confiées à un voisin.

Art. 7

RAPPELEZ-VOUS QUE LES USAGES LOCATIFS POUR LE CANTON DE FRIBOURG FONT PARTIE INTÉGRANTE DE VOTRE BAIL

Diffusion : Chambre immobilière fribourgeoise

Figure 3.6. Although inhabitants of apartment blocks have their individual spaces, the sharing of public spaces produces anomalies that require laws to ensure privacy. After Lawrence 1990, 87.

Living houses

The examples discussed above illustrate the relationship of the household to the materials of the house, its form and how the practice of the activities come together and define the house. The house may, however, be changed or expanded during its use and be said to have a biography or life-history of its own (Waterson 1990; 1995; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995b; Joyce and Gillespie 2000). Shove *et al.* (2007) illustrate how the rearranging and extending of houses in present day York flow with the changes in household and the addition of new technologies. Shove *et al.* (2007, chapter two) argue that while house layouts vary and the material and social circumstances of households differ there is increasing standardisation in visions of domestic order (though practice may fall somewhat short of this). It is possible that people extend their homes in order to accommodate additional appliances—and more importantly—in order to accommodate practices inscribed in technologies like those of the kitchen table, the freezer or the extra shower (Shove *et al.* 2007). The purchasing of a freezer creates different possibilities for shopping, cooking and eating (Shove *et al.* 2007, chapter two). The need for change comes not from the space that the new material culture takes up, but from the new practices it creates; thus the way it alters the taskscape.

For the Tana Toraja, Indonesia, the house is considered to be 'alive', with the life history of a house told in a narrative, similar to its human inhabitants (Waterson 1990; 1995). Even if an 'origin' house (considered to be the supernatural origins of a community) has been destroyed it can be rebuilt, and continued, even if it has not been standing for centuries (Waterson 1995, 184). Though the house may be not physically standing it can still be said to exist; it is thus a form of performance. The biography of the house, although it does function in creating a sense of place in space, also creates a sense of place within time. It gives individuals their familial relationships, and although the physical building may no longer stand, it still acts to give people an ideal on which the household may be based. The successive rebuilding of houses is part of the process by which a house becomes an 'origin' house (Waterson 1995, 183). Thus it is not just living in houses, but also the living of houses, that is significant for the Tana Toraja.

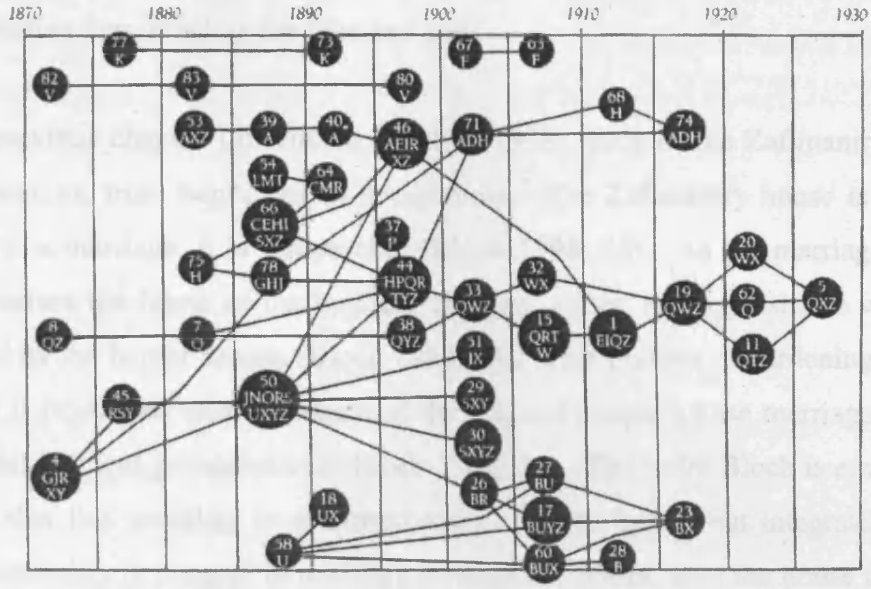


Figure 3.7. The distribution of the Maori meeting house through time. The connections between the meeting houses illustrate the passing-on of certain painting and carving techniques, demonstrating how the construction of one house influenced the building of subsequent houses. Gell (1998, 255).

The lives of people, households and houses are therefore closely intertwined, but not identical. This is further complicated by the addition of a temporal dimension, as over time styles of architecture and household groups change. This problem is explored by Gell (1998, 254–7) through consideration of the history of Maori meeting houses. Being able to map out the relationships as shown in Figure 3.7 misses the directional nature of what inspired people to keep building the Maori house; each house was oriented to the future and the anticipation of the outcome of the social relations invested in the construction of the house (Gell 1998, 256). Meeting houses were not homes, but rather structures erected as a form of competition, though they were considered to be the body of an ancestor (Gell 1998, 251). Newer houses became objectified memories of earlier ones and therefore contained an 'extended' temporal context (Gell 1998, 257). As they were erected in direct competition, Gell (1998, 257) argues that these houses were always built with a desire to construct the 'meeting house to beat all meeting houses'. Hence the temporal extension of the house stretched into the future as well as the past. However, it would be mistaken to argue that the meeting houses were symbols of the household's past and future. These houses orientated the community in the here and now, offering a 'body for the body' in Gell's (1998, 252) terms: a position

through which perception occurred. Therefore, the meeting house locates the past and ancestors very much in the here and now.

In the previous chapter I discussed Bloch's (1998) study of the Zafimaniry process of maturation: from bendiness to straightness. The Zafimaniry house is not only central to a marriage, it is inseparable (Bloch 1998, 33). As the marriage and the house mature the fabric of the building changes; softer, more perishable woods are replaced by the harder woods (Bloch 1998, 34). This process of hardening is drawn out and is continued after the death of the original couple whose marriage it is part of by children and grandchildren (Bloch 1998, 34). The point Bloch is emphasising here is that this sociality is not imprinted on to the house, but integrated with it. This materiality is integral to dwelling through the house; thus the house takes on a context for memory, a point around which history and daily life can be combined into a narrative that can then facilitate everyday life and the explanation of it (Bloch 1998). The household is therefore one of the ways in which people can tell the narrative of daily life. Significantly the Zafimaniry rarely distinguish between the recent past and the more distant past, and thus the 'past' does not exist as a separate narrative from the present (Bloch 1998, 105). Instead multiple narratives exist of the present and past, each appropriate to certain times and contexts. There is no single narrative which can represent the whole of the Zafimaniry house, but rather contextual ones (Bloch 1998). The house, therefore, is a way of making sense of the wider understandings of sociality and the progression of everyday life.

Households

Discussion has so far neglected the social groups formed by the creation of houses. The notion of the *household* is desperately under-theorised in archaeology (Souvatzi 2008a; 2008b), resulting in it becoming a very general term that both expresses the people who live together under one roof and implicitly implies ties of family and kinship. The other people we share space with in our daily lives have an important role in guiding our actions and responses to space. The notion of the *household* seems to emphasise locality and membership to a greater extent than notions of *family* or *kinship* (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1998, 3) and it is the very presence of a house-structure that appears to allow definition and discussion of the household in archaeology. This has resulted in archaeology treating the

household as a basic unit of social organisation (Tringham 1991; Souvatzi 2008a; 2008b). In anthropology there has been a far more rigorous theoretical consideration of the household. This debate has had only limited impact in archaeology, which has failed to appreciate the particular historical conditions that led to the development of the household (Souvatzi 2008a; 2008b).

The history and anthropology of the household: Family, kinship and the household are all concepts that have a particular history in Western Europe. The Industrial Revolution was thought to have had a huge impact on the organisation of the English household, but Laslett demonstrated as early as 1965 that growing urbanisation did little to change the composition of the average household (Verdon 1998, 1). The change in the economic activities of households had little effect on the classic nuclear family structure of the household group; revolution occurred instead in the relationship between the house and economic production (Verdon 1998). The movement of production away from the house forced the public world into contrast with the private home. This resulted in the house becoming a domain which could be singled out from the rest of life and the sole context of the household (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1998). Therefore the household became an object of study in a way it could never have been before (Souvatzi 2008a). Following on from this I would argue that the increasing perception of people as individuals in the 20th century impacts on how we think of households. The combination of having an individual body and a location or an address ironically ensures that a person can have an 'individual' identity (M. Strathern 1992). These two factors (name and place) intersect at the household level to legitimise the individual and thus demonstrate how fundamental the household is to our own understandings of self.

However, this view of the individual also requires that the household is seen as bounded and fixed so it can be regarded as a stable locus of identity. As a result the household has been regarded as a natural part of social organisation (Allison 1999a, 2). This history has influenced how households became an object of study in anthropology. Household studies grew up out of interest in kinship; the family was defined by Malinowski (1913) through co-residence and therefore, by extension, the household became the physical expression of kin relationships. Other

anthropologists, like Sahlins (1972), emphasised the salience of economic production in the household. Thus stressing production was a key element of the definition of a household. However, it was Lévi-Strauss' (1982) consideration of households in *The way of the masks* that led to them becoming an object of study in anthropology over more recent times. Lévi-Strauss (1982) first became interested in households when he could not find an explanation for Kwakiutl social organisation, which appeared to have both patrilineal and matrilineal descent patterns. The household appeared to structure descent and inheritance, allowing Lévi-Strauss (1982) to produce a clear narrative of how the community could be organised and reproduced through the household; Lévi-Strauss (1982, 173) thus states 'it is not the individuals or the families that act, it is the house'.

The household therefore became regarded as a uniform body, which acts to support and reproduce itself. The individual members of the house are of less interest, as both the inhabitants and their agencies are subsumed beneath the aims and desires of the group. However, it has to be stressed that the concept that Lévi-Strauss developed from this, *house societies*, was meant to be a tool for exploring a particular context of social reproduction, not houses or households themselves. As *house societies* were born out of Lévi-Strauss' structural consideration of the household, the conception of the household as a category of social organisation and a universal phenomenon was reinforced. Therefore wherever there are houses, there must be households. Although Lévi-Strauss (1982) recognises that there are contradictory forces at work in the Kwakiutl household (both patrilineal and matrilineal descent), he never explores or expands them. *House societies* thus appeared to be a general category for explaining many different ways of organising descent and inheritance that cannot be explained in terms of hierarchy or kinship. As a result the notion of *house societies* has been applied with limited success in anthropology (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1998, 7). Its main impact was, however, to legitimise the study of the household as a social group and to categorise it as a concern of kinship studies.

M. Strathern (1992) argues that the growing individuality of persons in the 20th century has led to relationships being understood as formed between bounded and self-determining persons. A household can therefore be dissected as it is a

composite of different and separate people. Fowler (2004, 17) argues that this conception of the person as a bounded entity (which he calls indivisibility) does not necessarily apply to all conceptions of the person or personhood. If different conceptions of persons are held then social relationships take on different qualities (M. Strathern 1992, 22). It can thus be recognised that Western notions of kinship come from particular historical conditions (Fowler 2004, chapter 1) and are therefore only one way of understanding kin relations and by extension households. Gender studies have been influential in recent anthropologies of the household, resulting in its 'natural' basis being questioned, revealing its social and political character (Souvatzi 2008a, 9). Prescriptive notions of kinship have therefore been challenged in anthropology through the acknowledgment that kin ties can be 'optative' (open to a certain degree of choice) and 'mutable' (Gillespie 2000, 1). Pine's (1996) study of the household and inheritance in Highland Poland illustrates how kinship and the household can take on optative qualities. If the house does not have a suitable heir a child will be fostered. While initially having a status within the house not dissimilar from a domestic servant, the child still remains the principal inheritor of the house and surrounding lands. This conception of the household is not primarily based on biological kinship but the sharing of space, tasks, food and the ability to reproduce the household (Pine 1996, 452).

The Malays, from the island of Langkawi, assert that kinship is *made* in houses through shared living and eating, and can thus be considered to be mutable (Carsten 2004, 35). While a child is formed from the mother's blood and father's semen, as the child grows its body is formed from the food cooked on the house hearth (Carsten 2004, 35). Food thus creates familial ties between fostered children and parents. This means that people are made into their relationships through sharing food from the same hearth (Carsten 2004, 40). This household is not a given, that is, it has to be achieved through people being *made* into it. This household cannot be an object of study, without an appreciation of the relationships between people; in this case the relationships between people are the relationships that *make* people rather than being given at birth. Therefore, as Souvatzi (2008a, 2, 11) argues, the household is a location with a 'great intensity' of social relations, which result in 'existing or changing boundaries, rather than homogeneity of households themselves'. Not only is the house the forum for the practice of households, but it is

the axis along which community comes together. Kinship can often intersect with the concept of the households, and therefore community, materials and kinship can all form constituent elements of the practice of houses: the practice of dwelling.

The archaeology of the household: In archaeology the household has received little explicit theoretical attention (Souvatzi 2008a; 2008b). In a rare example Wilk and Rathje (1982) set out a theory of household archaeology, arguing that it bridged the gap between grand theories of culture change and the material remains of the past. For them the household was a basic unit of study, an object which linked economic production to the archaeological evidence. Thus they argued that knowledge of a society's economy and subsistence could be used to produce models of household units, which could then be tested against the material evidence from dwellings (Wilk and Rathje 1982, 619). This is characteristic of an approach that is more concerned with broad scales of change, rather than the immediacy of the house and household. Allison (1999a, 2) argues that not only has this encouraged archaeologists to regard the relationships of the household as self-evident, but further to view them as trivial and insignificant. Post-processual archaeologists, writing around the agency debate, have said very little about households. While in *The domestication of Europe* Hodder (1990) was very interested in the house and notions around the house, he actually has very little to say about what households were like and how they differed from modern ones. Both the attention to the agency of individuals and the association of *household* (as a term) with more economically determinist archaeologies have meant recent appreciations of the house in prehistory have been reluctant to engage theoretically with the concept of the household.

This, however, does not mean that the household has been rejected as a means of understanding the past. It still remains implicit in nearly every study of the house. For example, Hachem's (2000) study of animal bones from the RRBP site of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes seeks out the activities of each individual household. The animal bones from the individual house-spaces are taken to represent the activities of that house. Thus where cattle bones dominate, the household is primarily engaged in cattle herding and the greater representation of wild pigs is thought to correspond to a household of hunters (Hachem 2000, 310–11). Thus while the household is never explicitly discussed it is implicit in the formation of the arguments presented, as it is

not possible that it is the actual house that hunts or cares for cattle. The people who live in these houses are characterised as an undifferentiated group that acted as one and had one identity. Without the actual remains of individuals, the households are thus reproduced as a Westernised indivisible individual.

The problem is that rather than considering the house as a means through which social or kin-based relationships could be understood, the house-space or the building thus becomes a direct representation of the household. Souvatzi (2008a; 2008b) tries to move away from this perspective through her work on Neolithic Greek households. Variability in households is at the forefront of Souvatzi's (2008a) work; she argues that complexity in social relationships does not always lead to hierarchy, questioning how informative household size is of social variation (Souvatzi 2008a, 156–7). Radically different conceptions of personhood result in different forms of relationships between people. We must be careful therefore not to prescribe certain ways of being and then go in search of them. This is exactly what Hodder (1990) does in *The domestication of Europe*. He 'knows' that households are important to houses and that households are made up of people, but his reading of this context endows the longhouse with the qualities of a bounded individual. Hodder (1990, 132) thus creates his own problems; the 'individual' household and 'communal socialised production' appear to be in direct contrast and create 'conflict'. However this is only because the household is regarded as a bounded entity and other possible social relations are not considered.

I do not wish to imply that this means we should not use the term household; rather we must be explicit that in its application we are making statements about how social relationships are formed. Once the particular historical conditions of the household have been acknowledged, it is difficult to reconcile its use indiscriminately across prehistoric Europe. As we have seen in the examples here, the terms 'family' and 'kinship' have particular histories of their own and it is unlikely they can be directly applied to the houses of the past. I would, therefore, like to suggest that the household is only of use when we consider it alongside how relations of community and persons were evoked. Though in some cases the household gives people a means through which to engage socially with others and provides a centre for identity (perhaps in modern Britain; M. Strathern 1992;

Carsten 2004), this must be recognised as a *specific*, rather than general, relationship between a community and its buildings.

Performing houses

Drawing on the previous discussion on the concept of households, I would now like to consider the impact of sharing spaces, developing the themes of performance and the practice of houses. As discussed in the last chapter, performance is not just a case of acting on the regulatory ideals provided by the wider community or society but about actively engaging in the skills of performance and developing the ability to respond in appropriate ways. This rejects the idea of modelling the house or the household on cause and effect; rather it sees performance as the re-iteration of sociality *through* the context of both the house and the household (Butler 1993). Different forms of sociality and ways of sharing space impact on how we think about the materiality of houses. To borrow a phrase from Judith Butler (1993), the *re-iterability* of actions in the house is made possible by the materiality of the house and also the presence of others. Thus architecture and houses allow for ways of being to be repeated; there is always the latent potential for actions. To further explain these ideas two very different examples will be explored. The first example will focus on how space is more than just a context for performance and the second will argue for the importance of community to performance.

The inhabitation of houses offers potentials which can be acted on in different ways. The construction of a longhouse for the pig-killing festival in Pangia, Papua New Guinea, illustrates how various different attitudes can be invested in one building. The leader of one village claimed he resurrected the construction of the house for this festival as a way of making peace between villages after a series of disputes between them (A. Strathern and Stewart 2000). However, the careful choice of wood for the building of the house, not only in type but in the location from which it was sourced, left hidden messages of the remaining tensions between the different villages (A. Strathern and Stewart 2000, 79). Although meant to be an offering of reconciliation by a senior member of one village, through his sponsorship of the event he was going to indebt people. The choice of wood was taken from locations that made subtle reminders of previous atrocities visited on this village and signalled continued hostilities (A. Strathern and Stewart 2000, 79). Therefore rather than

making and facilitating peaceful unity in community relations through building this architecture, the relations of power and hostility were expressed.

In order to maintain the position of his village the senior member of the village had to be careful in how open he was about the hostility (A. Strathern and Stewart 2000, 79). The covertly organised messages through wood, maintained the appearance of compatibility. The ability to unite positive and negative messages combined to force his enemies into a position in which they became indebted to him. However, this longhouse was also about renewal and this spirit of regeneration still remained alongside the hostilities. These experiences and emotional responses to this architecture remain. They are integral to the spirit in which the house was built and are found within the material, rather than the spatial layout, of the building. Rather than being a stable locus for identity, the temporal and material context of this longhouse is a compound of complex social emotions. It does not offer security or stability in the face of change but explores weakness and fuels disharmony. We are faced here with an example in which a successful performance leads to the manipulation of regulatory ideals, which threatens social relations rather than furthering them. This reinforces Shanks' (2004, 149–50) argument that 'people do not agree about the[ir] world'.

This example does not illustrate that inhabitation of structures makes them inherently meaningful. Rather, inhabitation occurs because the house already has composite meanings; the house is always encountered as meaningful space (Thomas 2004). This is an important point to stress in reference to community performance and houses because it changes how we think about the materiality of houses. Materials do not have meaning invested into them; for example, wood is not wood first, with the cultural or social ideas about wood and feeling for/against added on afterwards; wood could not be wood without these ideas and feelings. Below I will discuss the impact of this on archaeology, but now it is worth expanding this notion in relation to community and the potential of space for forming community relations.

In the 1920s Soviet theorists turned their attention to architecture. It was thought that through the careful designing of living quarters the ideal socialist man and

woman could be produced (Buchli 1998; 1999). Attempts were made to change how people behaved through the building of 'hostels' that enforced community living (Humphrey 2005). The community within these buildings was brought together as one large household, in which the individual was supposed to be subsumed by the larger community and collective labour. Shared dormitories, bathrooms and eating/cooking spaces, although intended to be homogenous, soon became distinguished by the inhabitants, for example, by marking out the attributes of certain rooms: the second floor bathrooms, which are cleaner (Humphrey 2005, 47). Though it seems perhaps rather obvious that such a project should fail, exploring the specific contexts of failure reveals certain qualities of people's interactions within both community and materiality.

This communal living led to an interesting situation where the most public of spaces such as corridors and stairwells became the most private spaces, facilitating private talk, late-night kisses, smoking and drinking (Humphrey 2005, 48). The socialist ideal was challenged through misuse of the structure and the need of inhabitants to manipulate the way the building's fabric was used (Humphrey 2005). The novels and oral stories told about communal hostels illustrate for Humphrey (2005) the inspiration which people drew from the buildings and the failure of the architecture to impart defined socialist behaviours to its inhabitants. By contrast I would argue that these stories illustrate the richness and creative aspects of everyday life that require continuous building. The use of imagination and creativity was not used to overcome the imposed structure, but as everyday performance necessitates creative social engagement, the hostel structure was manipulated in order to continue socialities and the building of social relationships. Buchli (1999, 187) thus argues that the material world is what 'enables' the community to be formed.

Following Oliver (2003), I would therefore argue the modern maxim of form following function is only part of the story; without adhering to the materiality of a building and the daily socialities within it, the daily creativity of use of space is ignored. Even though the walls remain the same or a space may have one intended function, action and daily use can still allow for creative practice and adaptation. Dwelling in buildings is both process and artefact; the house is not just a physical expression of living in a certain way. Whether it is an expression of long-lived

stability or ever-changing fluidity, architecture is a way of coming to terms with the socialities in which we live our daily lives. Buchli (1998; 1999) argues that these communal hostels were built at a time when contradictions between the domestic realm and the social legitimacy of the state were being negotiated. These circumstances were not static, and people came up against contradictions in their individual roles in these social projects. However, people were capable of drawing simultaneously on different ideas of material culture in their daily lives (Buchli 1999, 189). Thus, communities could maintain a commitment to pre-revolutionary ideas and materials of the hearth (*byt*) and accept the enforced domestic reforms (Buchli 1999). This was achieved through the very nature of meaning and materials; that material culture, whether houses, building or objects, is encountered through meaning.

A home from home: archaeological approaches to prehistoric domestic architecture

We have seen in the previous sections how architecture and anthropology have challenged Western notions of houses and households. I now want to turn to the numerous archaeological engagements with prehistoric architecture in more depth. The definition of an archaeological house is concerned with what constitutes a building during excavation. Thus a house is considered as a spatial organisation of recognisable features in the ground, which can be translated into a plan and reproduced as the structure of the building. Objects that are detachable from the physical layout of the building, those that constitute a material culture, are then imprinted on to the plan. Material cultures are objects like pots and stone tools, which can be seen to have an inherent usefulness in themselves, while buildings are the wall trenches and postholes which contain and structure the site. The house thus becomes representative of the context for action, and the associated materials become representative of what households did.

The classic child's drawing of a house with two windows and a door is interpreted as the projection of the self on to the house, with the windows representing eyes and the door, a mouth (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995b, 3). However, it is significant that 'drawing a house' in the West requires depicting several distinctive features; it is the *outside* of the house that is drawn, and while windows and doors are present

Figure 3.8. Two children's pictures of their mid-row terraced house. Pictures by Tom and Hannah Parry.

they are invariably closed (Figure 3.8). What is being represented in these pictures is the conception of privacy, where the child expresses its growing realisation of public and private faces. The action of drawing the house regularises the expression of an external 'public' identity, which contains the messiness of different features and activities. Like archaeologists, the child summarises these in a symbol capable of consumption by others. Archaeologists have taken a similar approach to discussing the houses of the past. The inside of houses contains too much messy information—floors, hearths, rubbish, internal walls, size, shape—to contain in one narrative (Tringham 1991). Bailey (2005) questions the success of our current methodologies in exploring multiple meanings of past buildings. The study of houses has thus tended to narrow their composite elements so they can be presented as one invariable facet of social organisation (Souvatzi 2008a). Buchli (1999, 1) argues that the sheer excess of contradicting meanings and metaphors has led to a vast range of issues tackled through the house. Social organisation, gender and cosmology are but few of the lenses through which archaeology has tackled the

houses of the past, but each time a new issue is raised it is tackled singularly and it does not penetrate the daily sociality of the house (Buchli 1999).

The house is thus frequently treated as a basic unit from which to start archaeological research. Even though Bailey (1990, 23) recognises that houses have a multitude of contextual meanings, his actual consideration of the house structures at the Ovčarovo Tell from the Bulgarian Chacolithic does not reveal them. The rebuilding of certain houses and the similarity of their subsequent house plans are interpreted as a need to stress continuity in the face of increased competition for resources (Bailey 1990, 31–2). This betrays how the agency of the period is invested in the house. The connection between Western ideals of social public identity and the house is thus played out in the past. Hodder (1994, 75) argues that 'tombs mean houses' without any attempt to define what he means by the term 'house'; he states 'we can *start* with the notion that the tombs represent houses' (Hodder 1994, 75, my emphasis). The concept of the house is a given, requiring no further elaboration. It is implicit in this argument that houses represent a 'home' for personal and community identity. The house not only acts as an 'objectification' of social and domestic relations (Hodder 1994, 84), it becomes those social and domestic relations.

The study of architecture in prehistoric western Europe thus falls into two categories. Either a structure is classed as 'ritual' or it is 'domestic'. Both of these terms communicate very particular ways of being and living. Whether the incarnations of these two terms were used in the early functional approaches supported in the 1930s and 1940s, or the more structural accounts of the 1970s and 1980s, their definitions seem to stand in direct opposition to one another (Bradley 2003, 6). In fact the domestic architecture of the western European Neolithic is often only seen in terms of opposition to the ritual or monumental structures. This is particularly pertinent to the LBK longhouse, where inhabitants and houses are often collapsed into a single concept. Thus it often appears as if the LBK is populated by houses, rather than people, who are merely left behind in cemeteries as the houses migrate further west. The confusion between houses and the Western ideal of the domestic sphere has led Tringham (1991) to argue that while as archaeologists we do not excavate relations between people directly, we have a tendency to favour this

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approach. Thus the house becomes 'a passive reflection of human behaviour' (Tringham 1991, 98).

Sahlins (1972) described the organisation of economic practice in non-industrialised societies as the 'domestic mode of production'. It is through the domestic sphere that people are seen to organise their daily tasks. The house is also associated with carrying out the everyday task of providing for itself successfully. Therefore archaeologists have tended to search for evidence for 'domestic' activities alongside houses. The finds associated with houses could offer a range of possible interpretations, for instance, animal bones in large quantities could be the build-up of everyday food or represent episodes of feasting. These interpretations will of course depend on whether the site is termed domestic or ritual in the first place (Bradley 2005). Thus the evidence itself is often presented as evidence for the use of the site, and circular arguments develop; if the site is ritual, then the bones represent feasting, the practice of feasting makes this site a ritual site, and so on. Hodder's (1990) *The domestication of Europe* pits the domestic sphere against another of its great rivals: the wild. The opposition between the *Domus* (the domestic) and the *Agrios* (the wild) in the house means that the domestic sphere is neither ritual nor natural. The longhouse is cultured in opposition to the natural landscape and it is domestic in opposition to the monumental ritual architectures of western Europe and it thus becomes the individual agent of the LBK. The divisions of sacred/profane and public/private are contained within Western homes and are encountered by us in our daily lives (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994b, 8) but here it appears as if it is the longhouses instead which have to contend with such divisions.

The orientation of the threshold in late Bronze and Iron Age houses in southern Britain has often been interpreted functionally, stressing the importance of letting light into the house. In a recent reinterpretation, however, Parker Pearson and Richards (1994c) have argued that it is the threshold itself that is important in structuring passage into and out of the house. The location of midden deposits and cooking areas are differentiated from other activities, leading Parker Pearson and Richards (1994c, 51) to argue that these were conceptually the 'back' or 'rear' areas, kept 'out of sight' during ritual times. Hence house space was differentiated, with

evidence for spatial distinctions between different activities (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994c, 52). A number of houses demonstrate axial symmetry and this directionality creates oppositions between left/right and front/back, expressing principles of social order (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994c, 40). Therefore they argue that there is a 'correct path of movement' into and out of the dwelling (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994c, 51). Bringing these different factors together offers an interpretation based on the spatial segregation of daily activities which are then directly translated into structural social divisions. In this case a 'dualistic' structure of the site becomes a conceptual scheme in which ritual actions and domestic activities are distinguished between, but are ultimately united in the structure of the house (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994c). The structure of the house is thus treated as both the social order in material form and the totality of differing socialities.

Structural accounts such as this borrow heavily from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. The most famous structural interpretation of the house is Bourdieu's (1973) account of *The Kabyle house or the world reversed.* Bourdieu (1973) stresses neither the structural divisions in the house, nor the house as symbolising these divisions, but the practice by which they come into play. Thus for men and women the very different experience of the house and its place in the world is configured through their relationship to the house. For women, whose world is in the house, moving into the house towards the hearth is a movement towards the light; for men it is the opposite as their domain exists outside the house (Bourdieu 1973). This structural opposition is related to others by Bourdieu. One of the more interesting oppositions he discusses is the opposition between that which is fertilising and that which is able to be fertilised. These too are movements, and stress the inherent potential for action within the structure. Thus divisions/oppositions between that which is inside and that which is outside, that which is male and that which is female, are actually slightly different from static oppositions that we use in archaeology (such as ritual and domestic); rather Bourdieu argues that things and structures cannot have objectified meaning and these opposing meanings can only be understood through bodily engagement.

Therefore it is at the threshold where the world is reversed and the outside world and inside world are passed between. Men and women do not make this distinction in

their practice, because they are always situated in their world as either inside or outside. It is Bourdieu alone as the anthropologist who has this understanding (as he can never be male or female in the Berber sense) because he can both go out to the light and come into it. This requires further qualification. Although Bourdieu recognises that it is the 'socially qualified body' that engages in practice, who experiences the world reversing at the threshold no matter which direction through it they are travelling, he alone experiences that the one is the reverse of the other beyond the moment of passing through the threshold. I would like therefore to suggest that Bourdieu (1973) is arguing that structure is not reproduced in buildings, but rather structure acts back upon practices, opening up potentials within buildings for meaning to become objectified. Bourdieu (1973, 273) states: "In fact, the meaning objectified in things or parts of space is fully yielded only through practices structured according to the same schemes that are organised in relation to them (and vice, versa)."

	Northern Europe	*Britain and Ireland*
Prevailing architectural style	Rectangular houses	Round houses
House offerings	Distinct deposits associated with the creation and abandonment of the houses	Uniform range of deposits associated with thresholds throughout the history of the house
Sequence over time	Successive houses in different locations	Successive houses often superimposed or overlapping
Prevailing conception of time	Linear, punctuated, generational?	Cyclical?

Figure 3.9. In this table Bradley (2005) compares what he considers to be the important differences between continental and British and Irish later prehistoric houses. It is based predominantly on spatial data. After Bradley 2005, 57.

This is rather different from Parker Pearson and Richard's (1994c) use of the evidence to stress the difference between domestic and ritual actions rather than context. Even a very recent example, Bradley (2005), still stresses the difference between ritual and domestic action. Bradley (2005, chapter 2) uses broader sequences over a far longer period to argue for a contrast between British and Irish prehistoric houses and those on the continent. The contrast between the continental

linear buildings and the round houses of Britain and Ireland represents for Bradley (2005, 57) two different conceptions of time (Figure 3.9). The problem is that ultimately these contrasts are built on the form the buildings took rather than the practice of using them. The narrative Bradley (2005) constructs is from the archaeological evidence as it is presented from plans, rather than as the conditions which facilitated daily socialities (Barrett 2001).

Houses are thus reconstructed from the spatial data alone, as this is considered what houses *are*. Hence, there is a difference between the material remains excavated and the practices that produced them that I wish to explore. In the previous chapter it was argued that no such division could be determined; skill in an activity and the activity itself could not be separated. By contrast with the archaeological study of houses it is form that produces function. Rather than the material or the process of building a house which is focussed on, it is the shape and design that is considered significant. Consider the round houses discussed above (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994c). Orientation and spatial placing are not just prioritised as being the most meaningful; they are the only meaningful aspects of the house. A whole aspect of living with buildings is being ignored, that of coming together and building the house, of maintaining the fabric of the building through performance.

Building architectures of the everyday: towards an archaeology of the house

Archaeology has therefore focussed on the form of space, rather than the practice of dwelling with buildings. These views have produced archaeologies which take a syntactic view of space, which regards architecture as being able to be 'read' like a text. Space syntax is a topological theory of space that has been used in both anthropology and archaeology to examine how the layout of buildings has influenced human behaviour (P. Dawson 2002). The desire here is to cut across such settlement pattern analysis and to engage with the performance of houses and their everyday characteristics (Coupland and Banning 1996). This section will explore how this aspect of architecture can be explored through considering the process of building and its attendant materialities. Here I would like to bring back in the idea of 'framing' and regulatory ideals discussed in Chapter two to argue that the built environment provides a frame and location through which regulatory norms can be re-iterated on an everyday scale. Following Barrett (2001), the range of

evidence we use in the present should be treated as the material conditions of past socialities. Shanks (2004, 150) notes the irony of archaeologists realising this notion of the material remains of the past as 'action' and 'experience', while still trying to turn them into 'representation' in their narratives. This section will explore how performance and everyday creativity are potential avenues for investigating past activities without treating their context, architecture, as directly representational.

Shanks' (2004) argument that archaeologists treat the material remains of the past as representation follows Barrett's (2001) criticism of the metaphor of the archaeological record. Barrett's (2001, 142) argument states that 'archaeological remains are treated as a present day representation of certain aspects of the past'. Thus the materials excavated by archaeologists are thought of as a direct record of individual actions in the past. Barrett (2001) argues that problems occur when you begin to see the actions of communities as more than merely prescribed by structural conditions, as this means they lack any notion of agency and there is no room for societal change or people acting in other ways. The remains of the past are treated as an 'objectified knowledge' which becomes the 'rules' by which people lived (Barrett 2001, 157). It is no surprise that Barrett (2001) therefore wants to completely reject the notion of the archaeological record and instead regard material residues as the conditions in which agency and community life were facilitated.

As I have argued in relation to the dwelling perspective (Chapter two and above) the material world is encountered as already meaningful and already inhabited. Barrett (2001, 156) thus argues that material culture should be regarded as the 'material condition[s] which necessarily and actively facilitated certain strategies of social practice'. The impact of this argument on the approach of archaeology to the materials of the past is wide ranging, but specifically for the built context it calls for a far more three-dimensional approach in archaeology. Like Buchli's (1999) call for an appreciation of the dynamics of living with buildings and their materials, Barrett (2001) wants archaeologists to consider the way agencies could be embodied and facilitated by the materials that are excavated. However, this can be seen as rather difficult to reconcile with studying buildings as they effectively constitute empty spaces. The notions of performance and performativity can help here, but only if we acknowledge that we are evoking the potentials for different actions in buildings.

This is because buildings do not act to limit performative actions; rather they offer a forum for their creation. Two themes need further exploration. Firstly, I believe this approach calls for a different consideration of how architectures are built and I will explore this through McFadyen's (2007) study of building at the Ascott-Under-Wychwood long barrow. Secondly, there is also an impact on how archaeologists study the life of buildings and their subsequent end or death. For this I will use two case studies, one archaeological from the famous site at Çatalhöyük (Hodder and Cessford 2004), and a further study from Harrison (2004) of the connection between memory and materiality.

The building of any architecture involves the connection of people, communities and materials. It is not usually considered, however, to be an everyday activity. McFadyen (2007, 348) argues that the practice of building was an integral activity in the daily sociality of the southern British Neolithic. Rather than considering the spaces and forms of excavated localities, she tries to engage with the architectural process that led to the construction of the long barrow (McFadyen 2007, 354). She argues that the process of building is part of the socialities that the communities which built this monument engaged with. Thus the hearths under the mound at Ascott-Under-Wychwood were caught up in these socialities. The open hearths and associated flint assemblages made connections between the hunting and butchery of animals and the preparation of food within this locality (McFadyen 2007, 355). The episode of cutting a pit into a hearth offered further configurations of material culture. The bringing together of burnt and unburnt constituted an act of construction, it 'created possibilities for future work' (McFadyen 2007, 354). Any material or episode which limits action is not carried forward; it is those structures that open up avenues of sociality which are built.

McFadyen (2007) thus makes connections between settlement occupation (specifically the activities associated with it) and the construction of the long barrow. Peoples' lives involved the practices of cutting turf and working with wood and stone and taking part in these actions necessitated further work (McFadyen 2007). Thus, she suggests that as these materials and actions came together they began to structure the site of the mound; they made other actions necessary such as the reworking of turf stacks or stone deposits. McFadyen (2007) argues that the connections between materials and activities were energetic as they provide impetus

for further engagements between people and their architectures. The edge of the limestone material within the tomb mound was framed by wooden or wicker panels. As these panels were not dug into the ground this perhaps indicates that they were propped and held in place while materials were dumped on either side; 'a halt in building would have resulted in the collapse of this propped up assemblage of things' (McFadyen 2007). This she terms *quick architecture.* What is most significant in this example is that it blurs the distinction between the everyday activities of digging pits and working with stone and wood and the activities of architectural construction. McFadyen (2007) expresses this best herself; 'it was not so much that people lived in these areas whilst constructing, but that construction work was an integral part of social life'.

I believe this notion of construction can be useful not only in thinking about the building of architecture, but also in exploring daily life around different forms of architecture. The possibility for the construction of social memories, for making creative socialities, is also explored by Hodder and Cessford (2004) at Çatalhöyük. They propose a 'practice theory' that attempts to interpret the pattern of activities in terms of commemorative behaviour and the construction of social memories in everyday life. The repetitive patterning of use of burials, obsidian hoards, ovens and ladder-entrances in houses did not just provide mnemonics for memory in the form of symbolic storage, but this materiality created the possibility for memory (Hodder 2005, 10). Thus when the distinctive bull motif at Çatalhöyük was abandoned and subsequently returned to later in the sequence, it is an example of a specific social memory that carried with it the possibility of uniting memories of socialities (communities within the house) with materialities (the fabric of the house) (Hodder and Cessford 2004, 35). The bull motif made certain links between place, time and community within the house.

In bringing together the materials of the houses of Çatalhöyük with the evidence from burials, they unite the practices that were repeated daily with the formation of social memories (Hodder and Cessford 2004, 31). Thus the burial of the dead within the floor of certain houses is thought of as a repetitive bodily practice. These burials cannot be distinguished as different between people (individual burials are not marked out in any way); rather it is the buildings that are differentiated (Hodder and Cessford 2004). Thus they argue that memory is located within the houses rather

than the person or individual. Hodder (2005, 10–11) also talks of the process of forgetting at Çatalhöyük where deposits of certain objects were filled in and not seen again, while others were kept in circulation (what Hodder (2005) calls the *living archive*). The stress on those activities that were repeated can be progressed further; by assessing the potential of each of these activities for sociality, for potential future construction (following McFadyen 2007), those practices that formed intimate daily life can be revealed.

Figure 3.10. Duncan Ferguson inspecting the remains of his first house at Dennawan. Harrison 2004, 210.

If the modern Western house is a response to insecurity, to the fear of change (Hill 1998, 11), the archaeological reply has been a reluctance to engage with all that social architecture can embody (Rapoport 1996, 416). Two ways of engaging with the materials of the past are forwarded here: following Buchli (1999), the potential of materials and, following McFadyen (2007), the potential of building. Harrison (2004, 213–4) illustrates how material and memory can combine in performance producing 'bodily memories'. His study focuses on the relationship between former Aboriginal inhabitants of the settlement of Dennawan and its archaeological remains (see Figure 3.10). Specifically Harrison (2004, 199) emphasises the importance of making physical contact with the site during visits. These contacts are not just a

matter of learning about the past in the way an archaeologist would examine such a site, but about making a 'direct and intimate' contact with the presence of the past: the presence of ancestors' spirits (Harrison 2004, 199). The action of visiting the site creates corporeal responses, including a sense of well being, that Harrison (2004) argues is creative. Thus the interaction between people, the material and the memories that they evoke is an involvement in creative performativity. The connection between body and materials starts a chain of remembering and story telling, whose iterative qualities (the performative qualities; see Chapter two) mean that they are evoked as the body moves around the site. Thus Harrison (2004, 214) states 'such memories materialise only with re-enactment'.

This approach, to what is effectively an archaeological site, is very different from both the approach of the archaeologist (discussed above) and a phenomenological approach. This is because the former inhabitants use bodily involvement in the site to start a creative chain of performances. Following Pearson and Shanks (2001), these traces provide creative opportunity for 'citation, quotation, bricolage and montage' (Harrison 2004, 215). It is these performances which archaeologists face when discussing the material past of a building. Tschumi (1994) perhaps hints at this in his work, but never expressly says it. This is the problem of the disjunction between design and use. He argues that architecture can only be meaningful through movement; things do not in their essence have meaning. Things can only be made to matter through movement in time and space (Tilley 2004). The building may allow for the possibility of a narrative being constructed around it, but it does not follow that this will then occur. Space thus becomes a social form rather than a central area; the walls do more than enclosing space. They open up the possibility for new narratives to be written and experienced. There is potential in each structure, potential to be thought and acted upon. The material of LBK longhouses, the wood, can be seen to be a locus on which different bodily memories converge; the material experience and process of alteration from forest to post to house are engaged with simultaneously, alongside the potential for decay.

Conclusion

This chapter was not intended as a survey of all possible ways of using, building and living with houses, as this has been covered at length elsewhere. Instead, the aim

here has been to find other ways of investigating daily life through architecture. The lack of consideration of how modern and Western perceptions of architecture have influenced archaeologists has led to prehistoric architecture being studied in two ways; either the house becomes the sole agent of past communities or it is a passive backdrop subsumed by other forms of architecture. Architectural theory has also had differing views of architecture, but none of these approaches get close to exploring the everyday realities which people construct around their houses and buildings. Exploring the daily and routine contexts of buildings, it has been argued, is most fruitful by considering how memories and everyday routine could be constructed out of the potential of buildings. Recognising that the house can operate on several levels, whether it is a locus for community identity, or an axis through which appropriate ideals of living well develop, allows us to expand the narratives we write. Acknowledging the potential in both the materials associated with buildings and the buildings themselves, therefore allows archaeologists to move forward in discussing daily life. The process of building does not stop when the building construction has been completed, but is continuous throughout the life of the building.

There is a great potential in the material of things; they hold numerous possibilities for future outcomes. By acknowledging this alongside the continuous process of building, we open up the possibility for engaging with architectures in new ways. We can acknowledge the patterns that follow Western ideals of houses and the domestic sphere and begin to engage with the practices of communities whose world views differ so completely from our own. Houses may not have a singular meaning that can presented in one tidy narrative, but multiple, fluid perceptions based on the individual and the context. In order to allow this view within the archaeological narrative the house has to be viewed as part of the material conditions of existence rather than representing them or people's beliefs about the world. Thus although people can construct narratives around the house these are always contextual and it is this variety that I wish to foreground. The architectural metaphor is more than just a moving of modern ideas on to the past; architecture is instead about possibility. Architectural theory shows us not only that people can think about the structures they build, but they are capable of producing different futures and possibilities. We need to think about how the architectures of the past enabled these

possibilities, the dramas and concerns of daily life and how they were played out. We need to examine the houses as a form of material with all the inherent possibilities that that entails. Rather than being a system of points, lines or surfaces contained in one form of data, how these materials interacted for the possibility of action and social life needs to be examined. As we move on to study the longhouse itself, we have to ask how the longhouse formed the possibility of the past, present and future in the context of the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin.

[1] However, a number of preserved floor plans have been found. The most notable example in the Paris Basin is the site of Jablines on the River Seine (Bostyn *et al.* 1991).

[2] Although first developed in *We have never been modern* (1993), Latour has recently elucidated his views on ANT further in *Reassembling the Social* (2005).

[3] Extensive discussion of architecture can be found in Ancient Greek philosophy, though it focuses primarily on mathematical approaches to the dimensions and the ratios of built structures, and how they relate to aesthetics (N. Leach 1997). Vitruvius (c. 25 BC), who wrote most extensively on the concept of architecture in classical times, outlined the principles for the architect, identifying architecture as a rational art that demonstrated the progress of man (Mallgrave 2006, 9–10).

[4] Ingold (2000, 175) uses the examples of the beaver's lodge and the mollusc's shell to argue the animal is 'merely the *executor* of a design that has evolved' (original emphasis).

[5] Ingold (2000, 182–183) refers to the *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* by the French architectural theorist Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1875). For Viollet-le-Duc a building becomes architectural when it was a rational and planned strategy to overcome the problem of the need for shelter. Ingold (2000) argues that this search for the first hut still continues today.

[6] Considering the domestic interior as the sole locus for female identity in 1950s America was, of course, what feminists, like Betty Friedan (1965), would later work against.

[7] Le Parc de la Villette is the first example of architects using the notion of deconstruction in design. The park is part of an urban renewal scheme of a former slaughter house in the northeast of Paris and was constructed during the 1980s (Tschumi 1994).

4

A house divided: contexts for research in the Paris Basin

Introduction

The history explored by this thesis has two points of origin. The first dates to the recognition of the LBK pottery type by the German art historian Friedrich Klopfleisch (Bogucki 1995; Lukes 2004, 17). The second commences some 7000 years earlier, around 5500 cal BC, with the first appearance of a unique combination of material culture across central Europe (Gronenborn 1999; Price 2000; Whittle 1996a). Despite being separated by many millennia, both these histories deal with one of the most disputed transitions in the archaeological literature: the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition. The archaeology of the Paris Basin is no exception to these debates and the early Neolithic sequence remains contested amongst scholars. The previous chapters have argued that archaeology has let the everyday contexts of people's lives and quotidian experiences become a bystander to the larger debates and concerns of current archaeological theory. This chapter will explore the landscape and Mesolithic communities into which the first Neolithic arrived and then examine the subsequent development of the Neolithic in the Paris Basin. It will argue that current debate around the chronological sequence of the different Neolithic communities of the Paris Basin has in some ways failed to move forward our understanding of this region and its history.

The early Neolithic sequence is characterised by settlements known as the *Rubané Récent du Bassin parisien* (RRBP), which is thought to be succeeded by the *Villeneuve-Saint-Germain* (VSG), the *Augy-Sainte-Pallaye* (ASP) and *Cerny* cultures. These cultures are related to the Linearbandkeramik (LBK) groups of central Europe,[1] but are thought to commence about 500 years after the initial appearance of the LBK, around 5000 cal BC (Dubouloz 2003; Gronenborn 1999; Whittle 1996a). The early Neolithic sequence in the Paris Basin was first defined by

Gérard Bailloud (1964). Claude Constantin (1985) refined this sequence two decades later, arguing that the cultural developments within the Paris Basin corresponded to changes in the wider LBK community. These different cultural groups are recognised in, and defined by, both the detailed typologies of ceramic assemblages and changes in the lithic record. The relative chronological distribution of these groups is contested (Dubouloz 2003) and a geographical explanation has also been put forward (Jeunesse 2000a; 2000b; 2001a).

As a result of these debates the RRBP, VSG and Cerny tend to be treated as very separate entities, while the communities in each period are viewed as homogenous. Therefore, the transition between cultures has been focussed on at the expense of daily life. There has been no attempt to understand interplay between the detailed artefactual record and the larger debates of transition and cultural change in everyday life. Similarly, variety and difference in the artefactual record has been sidelined in favour of producing general catch-all models of early Neolithic hierarchy and social structure. This chapter will explore the history of excavation and preservation in the Paris Basin, before moving on to consider the physical landscape of the Paris Basin, the Mesolithic evidence and finally, the debates around chronological succession in the early and middle Neolithic; the beginning and end of the longhouse tradition in northern France.

History of excavation

Over last 40 years some 300 Neolithic sites have been excavated in the Paris Basin (Dubouloz *et al.* 2005, 76). However, the first Danubian related settlement was found as early as 1956 in the Yonne valley (Carré 1999, 21). The Pleistocene gravel terraces of the Aisne valley have been the focus of quarrying since the 1960s and 1970s and it was during rescue excavations before gravel extraction that the first Neolithic settlements in this area were identified (Ilett *et al.* 1982, 45). The concentration of quarrying along the Aisne may have led in part to the dominance of this region in discussions of the early Neolithic in the Paris Basin. Under the direction of Bohumil Soudský, who had recently started teaching in Paris, a research project was set up to co-ordinate the excavation of sites along the Aisne valley (Ilett *et al.* 1982, 45). The excavations have received preliminary publication in the annually published *Les fouilles protohistoriques dans la vallée de l'Aisne* (from

1973 to 1995) but, excepting Berry-au-Bac *le Chemin de la Pêcherie* (Ilett and Plateaux 1995), they have yet to be fully published. These sites have received further study in a number of postgraduate dissertations and supplementary publication in journals, edited conference volumes and the *Bilan Scientifique*. The *Bilan Scientifique* (1991–2002) were annual publications funded by the *Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, that brought together short descriptions and brief interpretations of all the excavations carried out in one *département*.

Since 2002, rescue excavations have been carried out by *L'Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives* (INRAP), which was set up after French law pertaining to rescue excavations was changed in 2001. Since the 1960s three quarters of the excavations that have produced Neolithic finds around the Aisne and Oise have been rescue excavations (Dubouloz *et al.* 2005, 63). Naturally this has affected not only the detail recorded on site, but also the extent to which certain sites have been studied and published. Many sites have been recorded in the literature, but have received only interim or partial publication, particularly sites found on the Oise. However, gravel extraction and the construction of roads, such as the A16 *autoroute* along the Oise, have offered the opportunity to explore large areas (Dubouloz *et al.* 2005, 70). These excavations have been supplemented by a programme of fieldwalking along the Aisne valley, carried out by the University of Durham between 1989 and 1992 (Haselgrove *et al.* 1999). Thus a fairly reliable estimation of the relative frequency of sites by period can be attempted.

In their survey of the Neolithic evidence from the Picardie region, Dubouloz *et al.* (2005, 76–81) identified 57 Early Neolithic sites (28 RRBP and 27 VSG) (see also Constantin and Blanchet 1998), almost entirely situated on the Aisne and the Oise, and 76 Middle Neolithic sites (Cerny, late Rössen, Michelsberg, Chasséen). Along the Aisne and the Oise, five Cerny sites, six late Rössen, ten Michelsberg (limited to the Aisne) and six Chasséen sites (limited to the Oise) have been identified (Constantin and Blanchet 1998; Dubouloz *et al.* 2005, 73). The early Neolithic is estimated to date between 5100 and 4700 cal BC, while the middle Neolithic lasts nearly a millennium, from 4700 to 3700 cal BC (see below). Thus the early Neolithic appears to be far more densely occupied, though there may be a number of

factors influencing the relative preservation of the different periods and it is to site preservation that we now turn.

The preservation of the evidence

The preservation of archaeological evidence is influenced both by the environmental conditions and the practices of communities in the past. Different practices leave different material traces in the ground, which are then subjected to natural processes of decay and erosion. This is an important point to stress as the practices that developed around the longhouse left a great deal of evidence behind in comparison to Mesolithic sites. This may well influence how we develop our understanding of the different periods in this region. The archaeological evidence from both the Neolithic and the Mesolithic appears to be focussed on the river valleys of the Paris Basin (Ducrocq 2005, 42). This may result from the focus of excavation being concentrated on the valleys bottoms and occurring fairly rarely on the plateaux.

The plateaux around the river valleys of the Paris Basin are sparsely populated today and the area is mainly used for arable agriculture. Ducrocq (2005) suggests the lack of excavation twinned with erosion caused by the agricultural industry has biased the current site distribution pattern. The view from elsewhere in Europe suggests that the focus on the river valleys in the early Neolithic may not misrepresent the placing of settlement sites in the early Neolithic (Bogucki 1988; Whittle 1996a), though it must be noted that this may not be the case either before or after the RRBP and VSG. However, the construction of the A16 *autoroute* along the Oise valley created a transect through the landscape between the Oise and the Somme, which produced few finds on the plateau (Bostyn and Durand 1999; Dubouloz *et al.* 2005). This suggests that the concentration of sites along the valley is fairly representative. This does not mean that the plateaux were ignored by the Neolithic communities, but their reluctance to build there is certainly significant.

The sites along the valley bottoms have also suffered from erosion. As the settlements were placed above the flood plain (Ilett *et al.* 1982; Chartier 1995; 2005), agricultural practices have again influenced rates of preservation. Therefore only the lower parts of features have survived. Thus the assemblages from lateral

pits may not fully represent what had been originally deposited in them by the house occupants. The loess soils on which these sites were constructed preserved bone fairly well, resulting in some of the best understood animal bone assemblages coming from this region (Hachem 2000). Apart from erosion caused by agricultural activity, and the damage caused to sites during the First World War, different rates of preservation can be demonstrated between periods. The RRBP sites are often better preserved than VSG settlements, even though they occur on the same soils (Ilett *pers. comm.*). As this pattern is repeated along the Aisne and the Oise it is more likely that this is due to change in practices rather than differential preservation.

Middle Neolithic sites occupy a similar geographical zone to the early Neolithic settlement sites. Therefore, the relatively lower frequency suggests that practices of constructing houses and enclosures changed rather than these sites not being discovered or preserved. If different narratives about daily life are to be illuminated the conditions of the evidence must be viewed not as the necessary drawbacks of working as an archaeologist and therefore with materials, but rather as a partial insight into the contexts in which daily life was produced and acted upon. Though it is necessary to place several caveats in place before exploring the archaeology itself, this section should not be viewed pessimistically but rather as a way into considering the context of practice in the past.

The river valley landscape of the Paris Basin

Human communities do not live apart from the ecological landscapes they inhabit, but can both manipulate and be influenced by the environments they dwell within (Evans and O'Connor 1999; Ingold 2000). While I do not advocate seeing physical landscapes as distinct from past built or cultural environments, they do form a necessary part of the material conditions in which quotidian activities are performed. Following Ingold (1993), the landscape is *not* a passive backdrop to daily life; it is *not* inherently part of a separated natural world on to which ideas, symbols and performances are projected. The landscape settings of past peoples should not therefore be treated as less valuable to the archaeologist than their cultural remains. The Linearbandkeramik and related communities showed a preference for fertile river valleys, predominantly choosing to settle on loess soils, and thus were

obviously knowledgeable about their physical environments (Whittle 1996a; 2003). While Neolithic perceptions of the landscape may have differed widely from our own attitudes, reconstructing the physical geography of the Paris Basin can help us to understand the ecological contexts within which the Neolithic way of life was carried out.

The geology

The Paris Basin has a long history of geological and geographical research dating back to the 18th century, when some of the first explorations into geological stratigraphy took place (de Wever *et al.* 2002). The river valleys that form the Paris Basin provided exposed outcrops that were ideal for exploring the geology of the region (de Wever *et al.* 2002). Figure 4.1 illustrates the geology of northern France. The main river courses that are the focus for early Neolithic settlement create the dominant features of this landscape. The river valleys that are under discussion here are the Aisne, Oise, Seine and Yonne (Figure 1.2). The upper course of each of these rivers starts on Cretaceous chalk and then cuts through Tertiary limestones, clays and sands northwards from the Seine-Yonne confluence (Figure 4.1) (Pastre *et al.* 2003, 2178). The river valleys become more defined (narrower with steeper sides) as they cross this limestone bedrock and are much flatter across the chalk landscapes in their upper courses. The majority of early Neolithic settlements are found on the limestone where the valley landscape is more pronounced.

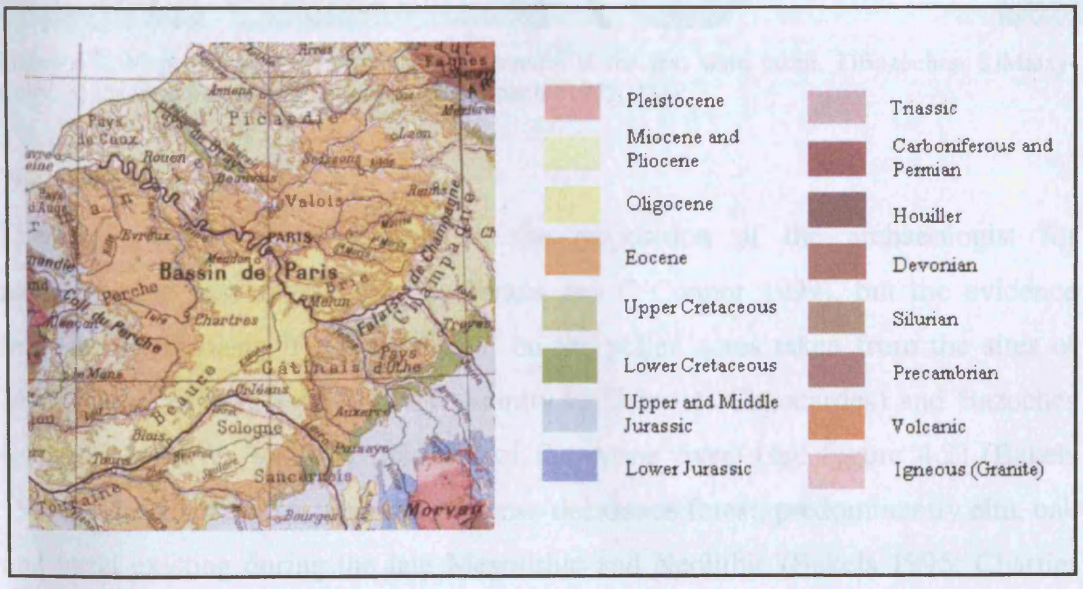


Figure 4.1. The geology of the Paris Basin. Internet ref. 2.

Weichselian Loess soils cover the terraces either side of the river floodplains on the limestone bedrock (Pastre *et al.* 2003, 2178). The loess was deposited on top of fluvial sands and gravels, which have come to be the focus of the gravel extraction industry over recent decades (Ilett *et al.* 1982; Chartier 1995, 16). Between each of the river valleys are a series of plateaux that provide a sharp contrast to the valley bottoms. This region thus consists of a series of different ecological zones, of which it appears as if only one was the focal point of Neolithic settlement (Ilett *et al.* 1982; Pernaud *et al.* 2004). The rivers and the floodplains would have provided a highly seasonal, dynamic landscape, with regular flooding (Brown 1997). The plateaux, in contrast, may have been wetter and more heavily wooded (Howell 1983; Bakels 1995). RRBP and VSG settlements were built on the gravel terraces adjacent to the floodplain (Chartier 1995; 2005). Therefore the settlement pattern from the early Neolithic was focussed on areas of fertile soil, placed near to the main water courses of the region and within the most pronounced valley landscapes.

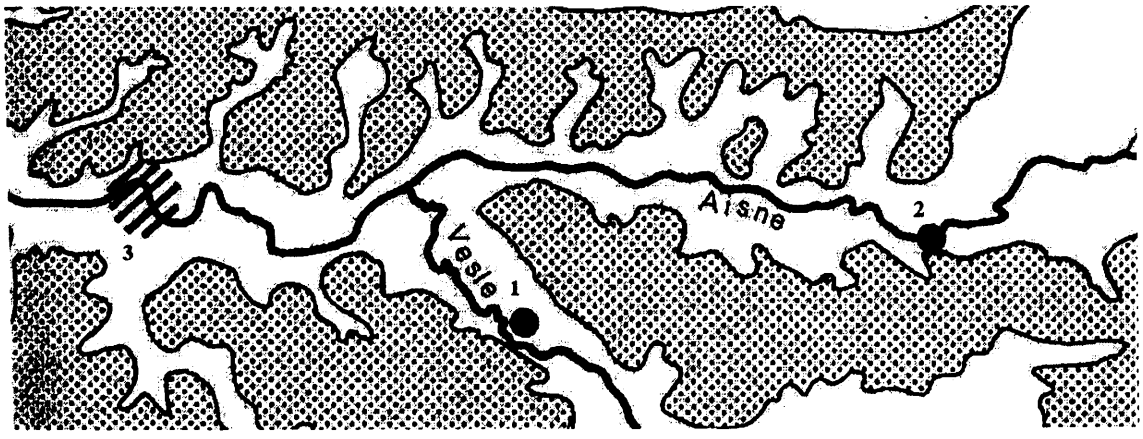


Figure 4.2. Map of where the pollen cores mention in the text were taken. 1)Bazoches, 2)Maizy-Cuiry, 3) the modern town of Soissons. After Bakels (1995, 224).

The prehistoric forest

There are many different tools at the disposition of the archaeologist for reconstructing past vegetation (see Evans and O'Connor 1999), but the evidence from the Paris Basin is mainly reliant on the pollen cores taken from the sites of Maizy-Cuiry (a peat deposit in the vicinity of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes) and Bazoches (close to the river Vesle, a tributary of the Aisne river) (see Figure 4.2) (Bakels 1995). The main evidence points to dense deciduous forest, predominantly elm, oak and hazel existing during the late Mesolithic and Neolithic (Bakels 1995; Chartier 1991; Leroyer 1997, 106; 2006). The cores show a variety of different episodes of

clearing, possibly relating to forest fires. These need not have had anthropogenic origins and many date to the Mesolithic period (Bakels 1995). The appearance of alder within the pollen record comes towards the end of the Neolithic and coincides with an increase in ash, which is a light-demanding tree (Bakels 1995; Chartier 1991; 2005; Leroyer 1997; 2006, 144). This leads Bakels (1995) to suggest that any major opening up of the landscape occurred after the period under discussion here. A view reinforced by Perrière and Leroyer (2006, 157) by their study of a pollen core from Armancourt (Oise), that showed the early Neolithic groups had a very localised impact on their environment. Bakels (1995) emphasises that these pollen cores show contrasts in timings in changes of vegetation and differences in the distribution of types and species of plant vary throughout the Paris Basin, arguing that these pollen diagrams can only really show local conditions.

However, recent work by Vera (2000, chapter 3) challenges this image of central European forests during the late glacial and postglacial phases. Vera (2000, 88–95) argues that large mammals, such as aurochs, red deer and wild boar, would have limited the flowering of wild grasses due to grazing and thus causing them to be under-represented in the pollen diagrams. Hence, our interpretations of these prehistoric landscapes would overtly favour woodland and may not represent the extent to which the Paris Basin had areas of open grassland or meadow. Sorrel is a particularly important indicator of open grassland (Vera 2000, 88) and is present in Bakels' (1995) pollen diagrams from the Paris Basin. Vera (2000) also argues that large mammals would have maintained any clearings occurring naturally in the landscape through grazing, and thus supports a view of prehistoric central European landscapes in which the amount of forest present is dramatically reduced. This argument is further supported by evidence that trees within a more open canopy, at the forest edge for instance, may have produced more pollen than a tree within a densely packed forest (Janssen 1973). Vera (2000, 101) thus concludes that this landscape would have been semi-open rather than densely forested. This argument has since been challenged by Mitchell (2005), who questions whether the large mammal populations would have been big enough to have a significant impact on the landscape.

However, Vera's (2000) view of the landscape may be backed up by recent work by French *et al.* (2003) on Cranborne Chase in Dorset. The interpretation of pollen diagrams alongside the study of soil development and snail assemblages in buried soils suggested that during the Mesolithic and Neolithic woodland cover was not uniform (French *et al.* 2003; French and Lewis 2005, 130). Their study is based on the form of soil that develops from woodland vegetation, in this case a thick, well-developed argillic brown soil (French *et al.* 2003; French and Lewis 2005, 130). Furthermore, French and Lewis (2005, 130) suggest that the woodland re-growth during the Holocene (after the last glacial period) was slow and that some patches of the downland were stable open grassland from the very beginning of the Holocene (from the 8th millennium cal BC). While such a detailed study of the soil histories of the Paris Basin river valleys has yet to be carried out to examine the prehistoric landscape, this suggests a way for future research to reveal a far more detailed and locally specific understanding of what the Mesolithic and Neolithic landscape may have been like. Substantial clearance of Cranborne Chase had taken place by the late 4th millennium cal BC (French *et al.* 2003), which interestingly is comparable to Bakels (1995) conclusions from the Aisne valley pollen samples.

River valley systems are continually in flux and are very sensitive to changes in climate (Brown 1997; Pastre *et al.* 2003, 2177), and therefore not all the changes we see throughout the Neolithic may have had anthropogenic origins. This leads Howell (1983) to argue that settlements were placed in naturally forming clearings along the edge of the floodplains of the major rivers in the Paris Basin. He argues that the soils above the floodplain would over time come to no longer support woodland flora leading to the development of meadows along the terraces (Howell 1983). It is clear that a variety of different forms of landscape made up the Paris Basin (Chartier 1991; Leroyer 1997; 2006, 144). I would argue that open parkland co-existed with more densely forested areas. Forests are not homogenous and can offer a great deal of variation in terms of canopy cover, undergrowth and different tree species (French *et al.* 2003). They are seasonal places and prone to great change, indeed a great deal of effort is required to maintain forests in a stable condition (Vera 2000). As the source of a number of important resources, such as wood for houses and fuel and plants for food and animal fodder, the Neolithic

forests of the Paris Basin must have had some degree of manipulation or management (I will return to this discussion in Chapter five).

This is supported by recent work into the form which early Neolithic agriculture took. Rather than large areas cleared for fields or the model of shifting cultivation (Barker 1985; Bakels 1988), Bogaard (2002; 2004; 2005; and Jones 2007) argues that small-scale plots were cultivated for extended periods of time. This is based on comparing the weed taxa from the Hambach experimental plot to LBK sites and grain densities from LBK sites (Lüning and Meurers-Balke 1980; Bogaard 2002; 2004).[2] The grain evidence frequently occurs in low densities and in pits found on settlement sites (Bogaard 2004). The evidence from the weeds suggests cultivation sites were continually open with annuals dominating the assemblages (Bogaard 2005; Bogaard and Jones 2007). Thus cereal cultivation would have involved keeping specific clearings open, rather than continually clearing woodland and felling trees, which may instead have been an irregular activity. With the evidence strongly supporting a model of the landscape in which these clearings already existed by the late Mesolithic (Vera 2000), it seems as if the early Neolithic communities were not changing or altering the landscape in *new* ways, but rather continued practices from the Mesolithic.

The Mesolithic of the Paris Basin: the hunt, the hearth and the community

There is a long history of research on the Mesolithic of the Paris Basin which stretches back to the 19th century (Thévenin 1996). Mesolithic sites are typically found on sandy soils and have more variation in location than early Neolithic sites (Verjux 2000). Mesolithic sites mainly consist of pits and flint debris but animal bone and human remains have been increasingly discovered over the last two decades. The late Mesolithic in the Paris Basin starts before 9000 cal BC (Whittle 1996a) and finishes with the first appearance of the LBK related settlements around 5000 cal BC (Dubouloz 2003). The late Mesolithic in the Paris Basin is known as the *Tardenoisian* period (J.-G. Rozoy 1978). Between 7200 cal BC and 6700 cal BC the Mesolithic lithic assemblage developed dramatically with the first appearance of regular blades and trapezoidal microliths (Gronenborn 1998, 189). Lithic evidence takes precedence in studies of the Mesolithic in the Paris Basin, due to the lack of preservation of organic remains.[3]

During the late Mesolithic different techniques of tool manufacture can be identified north and south of the Seine, suggesting that a series of different cultural groups existed in the late Mesolithic (Allard 2005; Hinout 1997; J.-G. Rozoy 1999). This regionalization continues into the early Neolithic lithic assemblage (see below). These different communities are regarded by J.-G. Rozoy (1978) as being independent as, although they were in contact with different groups around the Paris Basin, the lithic styles remain particular to each region. Hinout (1997) argues specifically for three spatially defined Mesolithic groups, defined by the left- or right-lateralization of trapezoidal arrowheads and principally separated by the Seine. However, alongside the differences in the practice of making stone tools, other material remains and burials hint at more complex communities and identities. J.-G. Rozoy (1999) thus argues that Mesolithic communities consisted of small nuclear groups that shared wider senses of community identity. There are wider similarities across northern France in burials (Jeunesse 2001b, 8). For example, Fère-en-Tardenois (Aisne) had structures of 'millstone' mounds that recall the arrangements of the graves at Téviec and Hoëdic in Brittany (Verjux 2003). Other similarities are found in the rare bone assemblages, with a similar range of animals being found throughout the Mesolithic (Bridault 1997).

Daily life in the Mesolithic

The Mesolithic is considerably less well represented than the Neolithic in the Paris Basin.[4] However, some conclusions about daily life in the Mesolithic can be drawn. The well known sites of Montbani (Aisne), Coincy (Aisne) and Sonchamp (Yvelines) each show successive phases of occupation in the form of flint scatters and hearths (Verjux 2003, 263). Montbani was used throughout the middle Mesolithic and consists of 22 hearths used over different phases of occupation (Parent 1967). The site of l'Allée Tortue (Aisne) lies on a narrow belt of Tertiary Bartonian sand, next to what would have been a marshy area during the Mesolithic (Verjux 2003). It is made up of less than ten dense concentrations of lithic debris (Thévenin 1996, 13). Each period of use is marked by a series of hearths that both Verjux (2003) and C. Rozoy and J.-G. Rozoy (2000) suggest were inside small huts or tent-like structures. When the marshy area dried up the site was abandoned, only to be reused nearly a thousand years later when the marsh returned (C. Rozoy and J.-

G. Rozoy 2000). The site is then used for a millennium, right up until the introduction of the LBK into the region after which it appears to be abandoned (C. Rozoy and J.-G. Rozoy 2000). The lithic assemblages show that people were making and using a range of tools on site (Parent 1967, 194). Sites such as l'Allée Tortue and Véron (Yonne) suggest that the Mesolithic hunter-gatherers were fairly mobile, with long lived sites having a number of discontinuous occupations rather than being permanently occupied throughout the year (Carré 1991a; C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992; Verjux 2003).

Lithic assemblages from the Mesolithic sites of the Aisne, Oise and Seine-Yonne confluence show similarities to groups living elsewhere in northern France. J.-G. Rozoy (1978) divides these communities into two (along the Seine), but discussion of how these groups interacted is complicated by the lack of detailed chronologies. Recent work by Ducrocq (1991; 2005) may have refined how we understand the chronology of lithics in the late Mesolithic, but this has yet to be translated into a better understanding of the separate Mesolithic groups in the Paris Basin. Within this region there has been a rare discovery of a riverside Mesolithic site, Noyen-sur-Seine, which proved to have exceptional preservation. The excavators, C. Mordant and D. Mordant (1992), suggested that the final Mesolithic occupation of this site was contemporary with the first Rubané communities on the Seine. The site of Noyen demonstrates significant differences from the subsequent Neolithic periods. At the end of the Mesolithic, it is occupied for shorter and shorter periods, probably at the end of summer and beginning of autumn (D. Mordant and C. Mordant 1977; C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992). The rich preservation also led to the discovery of wooden and organic remains, including a dug-out canoe, fish-traps and basketry (D. Mordant and C. Mordant 1977; C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992).

Fishing traps as well as the faunal remains provide evidence at this site for fishing, predominantly for eel and pike, and for the hunting of large mammals (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992). The large mammals included roe deer, wild boar, aurochs and red deer and from the faunal remains it seems likely that they were butchered at the kill site and then brought back to the Noyen site (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992, 59). The large mammal remains were found alongside a five meters long dug-out canoe made from a pine log (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992, 61). C. Mordant

and D. Mordant (1992) argue that towards the end of the Mesolithic the site became occupied for shorter periods with wild boar becoming the most represented animal in the faunal assemblage. The flint remains from the site are undiagnostic, which means it is difficult to compare the site to the other sites of the Paris Basin (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992, 61). However, the date from the canoe is 7960 ± 100 uncal BP or 7040–6750 cal BC (see Appendix 1, 340), placing the site some 2000 years before the introduction of the Neolithic.

The recently excavated middle Mesolithic site of Auneau (Eure-et-Loire) consists of nearly three millennia of occupation evidenced through a series of pits (Verjux 2003, 267). While Verjux (2003) suggests that the collections of hearths and rubbish pits, with possible huts, may well be evidence for a sedentary lifestyle, the evidence for hunting points towards these sites being occupied for short episodes rather than longer periods. I would argue that these sites were created during times when the larger community came together. The pits mostly contain large animals such as aurochs, roebuck, red deer and wild boar (Verjux 2003). One large aurochs would represent a substantial amount of meat and it is thus likely that this site represents numerous single hunting trips rather than the total diet. Three pits at Auneau show evidence of placed deposits; each contained a skull of an aurochs[5] and in one case a deer antler had been placed on top of the skull (Verjux 2003). Either the animals were consumed on site and the skulls preserved through interment or they were brought to the site specifically.[6] These depositions may hint at relations between Mesolithic communities and animals, with emphasis on larger mammals, their importance over several millennia and specific events of consumption or feasting.

A series of human inhumations were also found alongside these pits (Verjux and Dubois 1997). Two of the seven burials date towards the end of the Mesolithic, and both of these skeletons are male. One is buried with his chest on a stone paving at the base of the pit, in a crouched position, and dates to between 5900 and 5300 cal BC (Verjux and Dubois 1997, 268). Other sites within this area also have pit burials, as for example at Val de Reuil (Eure), where two or three people were identified covered with many burned faunal remains, especially the skulls of deer and aurochs (Verjux 2003, 265). This pit was found alongside another that

contained no human remains at all, but mandibles from aurochs, young wild boar and deer (Billard *et al.* 2001, 49). Like the aurochs skulls at Auneau, particular parts of animal skeletons were being selected for deposition with a particular emphasis on the head of the animal. Jeunesse (2001b, 13) points out that little alteration is made when other parts of the animal are found in association with burial, such as at Téviec where teeth and shells were perforated but their original morphology was preserved.

Jeunesse (2001b) includes these burials, with those at Téviec and Hoëdic, as part of a western European group of funerary practices that represented a community of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers. A further example of connections through northern France may be seen in a bone stick discovered at Noyen-sur-Seine which had oblique scores reminiscent of a pattern discovered at Téviec (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992). Jeunesse (2001b, 21) argues that there is a symbolic system which is represented in these burials, associated with the relationships between humans and animals, which do not continue into the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin. Isotopic studies of human bones dating to the final Mesolithic from Noyen-sur-Seine (Seine-et-Marne) suggest that diet was primarily based on deer, wild boar and fresh water fish with bovines representing an insignificant percentage of the diet (Tresset 2005, 278). Although wild bovines (or aurochs) had a significant symbolic role in the middle and final Mesolithic, they were not frequently part of the diet. Thus sites such as Auneau and Noyen-sur-Seine not only represent the seasonal round of the Mesolithic hunting-gathering lifestyle but also the places where feasting, hunting and burial became symbolically tied together. The Mesolithic communities therefore seemed to place a great deal of significance on hunting, and skill in this activity may have been tied up in the symbolism of the male burials found at Auneau. Different scales of community existed within the late Mesolithic; certain symbolic associations with animals spread further across northern France while the detailed lithic remains point towards smaller communities of hunter-gatherers (Hinout 1997, 230).

The Mesolithic-Neolithic transition

Thus the early Neolithic arrived into a knowledgeable and skilled community, which utilised the water ways throughout the Paris Basin and was thus probably aware of the Rubané communities to their east, but the mechanisms by which the LBK

arrived in this region remain far from clear. While the Paris Basin is no exception to the debates that have surrounded the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, colonisation has long been the favoured explanation (Bailloud 1964; Constantin 1985). The RRBP does appear to arrive as a mature culture, with all the constituent aspects of a Neolithic society: longhouse, ceramics, domesticated animals and evidence for cereal cultivation (Jeunesse 2000a; Constantin 1985). At the time of transition in the Paris Basin, around 5000 cal BC (Dubouloz 2003), the LBK as a whole was seeing increased regionalisation and expansion into areas around the central core of the earliest phases (Figure 1.1). Around this time settlements could be found from the Paris Basin across central and southern Germany, further north into Poland and further east into Moldova (Gronenborn 1998, 198). However, LBK groups from the early central areas were not themselves 'uniform' (Modderman 1988), and therefore transition may have happened not only at different rates and different times, but may have involved very different experiences for the communities in each region. The 'T' decoration on pots and some unique styles in the layout of the longhouse point to the Paris Basin having some sort of regional uniformity (Ilett *et al.* 1982), but these communities were by no means isolated from the rest of the LBK or beyond. Raw material in the form of limestone finds its way into RRBP contexts from Cardial areas but few stylistic aspects of the culture is copied by LBK groups (Constantin and Vachard 2004, 79). The RRBP groups north of the Seine shared a similar trajectory of development with the groups in the Hainaut (Belgium) (Jeunesse 2001a; Allard 2005) while those to south of the Seine seem to have been influenced by groups in the Alsace and Meuse-Rhine regions (Jeunesse 2001a).

The earliest LBK probably begins around 5600 cal BC or soon after in Transdanubia (Great Hungarian Plain) and during the first two or three centuries the LBK expands, reaching the Rhine about 5400 cal BC (Lüning 1988; Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a; Gronenborn 1999; Stäuble 2005). Though none of these dates are established precisely yet, this chronology may be revised in the near future (Gronenborn 2007a). Within the earliest phases of the LBK there are a number of significant regional differences to the archaeological material, such as ceramic decoration and shape (Modderman 1988, 69). These phases are then succeeded by the Flomborn LBK, beginning around 5300 (Gronenborn 1999, 153). During this phase the LBK expands into the Alsace regions (Jeunesse 2003a) and sites in the

central areas continue (Price *et al.* 2003). However, the character of the Flomborn expansion is increasingly debated, with a suggested overlap with earliest LBK trends (Lüning 2005). About this time, the ceramic styles develop distinctive differences in the western (Flomborn style) and eastern (Notenkopf style) areas of the LBK (Modderman 1988, 69; Gronenborn 1999, 185). This leads Gronenborn (1999) to suggest that very different forms of expansion happened to the east and west of the central distribution area. However, the dominant model favoured for explanation of the expansion of the LBK continues to be a mixture of diffusion and colonisation, with writers tending to favour the former or the latter to different extents (Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a; 2003; Kind 1997; 1998; Gronenborn 1999; Jeunesse 2000a; 2000b; 2003a).

If the colonisation model of the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition is favoured, then these connections are rather unproblematic. Similarities in material culture style are considered to simply denote the different alliances which early Rubané groups had and the degree of difference in style is used to judge dominant affiliations. However, numerous scholars (Gronenborn 1998; 1999; Jeunesse 2000a; 2000b; 2001a; 2002; Whittle 1996a; 2003; Zvelebil 1998; 2000; Zvelebil and Dolukhanov 1991) now argue that a significant indigenous contribution was present in the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin. The presence of the distinct Limburg and La Hoguette ceramic traditions in the Paris and Rhine basins, respectively, offer a challenge to a straight-forward model of colonisation (Gronenborn 1999; 2002; 2000a; 2000b; Allard 2007). There are also subtle continuities in the lithic evidence between the late Mesolithic and early Neolithic that may further suggest that in the Paris Basin the transition cannot be easily explained by one model alone (Allard 2007).

Jeunesse (2000b; 2002) makes an important contribution to this debate, when he discusses the *composante autochtone*, or 'indigenous element', in the RRBP and LBK in the centuries around 5000 cal BC. He points to the two ceramic styles, La Hoguette and Limburg, that have been traditionally viewed as representing indigenous Mesolithic communities (Jeunesse 2000b, 364). Traditionally these ceramic styles have been thought to have been representative of non-LBK populations (van Berg 1990; Jeunesse 1987; Lüning *et al.* 1989). The La Hoguette ceramic was first found in 1969 under the cairn of the same name at Fontenay-le-

Marmion, Calvados (Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 603). Although its name is taken from the place it was first discovered in Normandy, La Hoguette ceramics are found predominantly on LBK sites in the Alsace and Rhine valley regions (Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 603). Limburg ceramics were identified somewhat earlier, in 1936 on an LBK site near Köln, Germany (Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 603). Limburg ceramics have since been found on sites from the RRBP and Hainaut (Belgium) (Gronenborn 1998, 191).

Jeunesse (2003a, 100) argues that cereals were available in the Paris Basin as early as the late 7th millennium cal BC, thus pushing the beginning of the Neolithic back over 1000 years and regarding the terminal Mesolithic as some sort of an agricultural society. La Hoguette ceramics develop before 5700 cal BC, over a century before the LBK becomes adopted in the Rhineland, suggesting the presence of 'transitional' hunter-gatherers in central Europe (Jeunesse 2003a, 103). Jeunesse (2003a, 102) argues that as foraging and farming rarely co-exist, with farming only being of marginal contribution to the foraging economy, the cereal pollen recognised in pollen diagrams before the arrival of the LBK suggests the final Mesolithic was agricultural. However, there are ethnographic examples of small-scale and infrequent agriculture existing as a small contribution to diet alongside a more dominant hunting and gathering economy. Bird-David (1992, 37) shows in her study of the Nayaka of southern India that the introduction of work on nearby plantations and subsequent access to the possibility of planting coffee bushes, and uptake of this practice, did not change Nayaka attitudes to the plants. The bushes were planted and then left to fend for themselves, with the harvest being collected as if they were a wild crop (Bird-David 1992). There is no reason therefore not to assume that Mesolithic hunter-gatherers could have known about cereals and occasionally even planted a few, without full-scale adoption of agriculture.

Jeunesse (2003a) therefore argues that these ceramics represent a ceramic terminal Mesolithic during which the LBK way of life was known about, but not yet adopted. Stylistically, La Hoguette and Limburg can be linked to early Neolithic Cardial cultures in the south of France (Jeunesse 1987; 2003a; Lüning *et al.* 1989; van Berg 1990; Gronenborn 1998; 1999; 2007). La Hoguette ware is decorated with bands of incised lines and chevron motifs, while Limburg vessels are bowl-shaped and their

surfaces are far more decorated than either RRBP or La Hoguette ceramics, being almost completely covered in linear incised designs with occasional dots (Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 603). La Hoguette is found in non-LBK contexts, such as at the Flomborn phase of Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, where it is associated with domesticated sheep/goat, game animals and charred cereals (Gronenborn 1998, 191). Limburg ceramics are never found on Tardenois sites or Mesolithic sites of the Somme (Allard 2005; 2007), but there are some connections between the Mesolithic lithic assemblage and these ceramic styles. Limburg and right-lateralisation of arrowheads seem to share a similar distribution around the Seine and Meuse valleys, while La Hoguette and the left-lateralisation of arrowheads are both found in the Alsace and Rhine valley regions (Gronenborn 1998, 191; Jeunesse 2001a).

It could be possible that Limburg ceramics represent a local pre-LBK development (Modderman 1970; Baillourd 1983), but this remains heavily contested as it has yet to be found on non-LBK or Rubané contexts (Allard 2007). Whatever the role of the Limburg pottery style, it is never found in large quantities on RRBP sites and at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, for example, is concentrated in only a few early houses (Ilett *et al.* 1986). However, as Jeunesse (2001a, 154) rightly points out, the last years of the Mesolithic in the Paris Basin are not well known; the insufficient radiocarbon dating combined with the length of time over which the Mesolithic stretches makes defining the exact contribution of these communities to the Neolithic extremely difficult. This situation is countered by the west of France, where the situation in Brittany and western Normandy seems very different to and indeed several centuries later than the Paris Basin (Scarre 1992; 2007). However, with the recent discoveries of VSG sites further west of the Paris Basin (Marchand 2007), there may yet be other answers in future about the *composante autochtone* in the early Neolithic. Jeunesse (2000b) argues for a series of farmer-forager interactions, occurring once farmers have colonised the region, which result in the acculturation of final Mesolithic populations into Neolithic communities. However, this model is complicated by the lithic assemblages, which suggest a certain degree of continuity from the Mesolithic of the Paris Basin (Allard 2005). For example, the lateralization that developed during the Mesolithic continues into the RRBP (Thévenin 1996, 5).[7]

Principally, in the Aisne and Oise valley region, raw material procurement patterns are different; while in the Mesolithic groups used locally procured flint, the Neolithic saw good quality flint, sourced from a range of 15 km to 30 km, selected in preference to local material (Allard 2005). These differences can be regarded as aspects of production rather than use. The range of tools used in the Neolithic, while showing differences in production techniques, remains similar to that of the Mesolithic (Hinout 1997) and it is not until the end of the RRBP that tools such as burins, which are absent further east in the LBK distribution, are found (Plateaux 1990). Concern with the stylistic chronologies of lithic and ceramic assemblages betrays the technological definitions assumed for both the Mesolithic and the Neolithic. The considerations are therefore more focussed on how such implements or elements of material culture were made rather than how they are used. This is an important distinction to stress because it illustrates how these explanations of the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition blur the distinction between chronology and technological, or stylistic, development.

With this approach communities are treated as homogenous entities, with objects such as the lateralised asymmetrical arrowhead coming to stand as a metonym for the Mesolithic. The identity of people and their stone tools are synonymous; the tool is treated as an un-thought production of identity, an innate expression of group identity. Thus the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition is used as an explanation for the changes in technology, while in turn the changes in technology are used to describe how this change is effected. Dobres (2000) has previously argued against this, pointing out the complex relationships which people have with their tools. Furthermore, as Robb and Miracle (2007) argue, Mesolithic and Neolithic communities may not have based group identities on their most frequent economic activities. The basic assumptions made about the Neolithic as a general concept have therefore been applied as the fundamental concern of the LBK way of life. This may in part lead to the controversies that surround the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition. On balance then, a mixture of adoption, incoming communities and innovation characterise this period in the Paris Basin. Some Mesolithic practices were continued within the LBK way of life rather than the wholesale abandonment of one worldview for another.

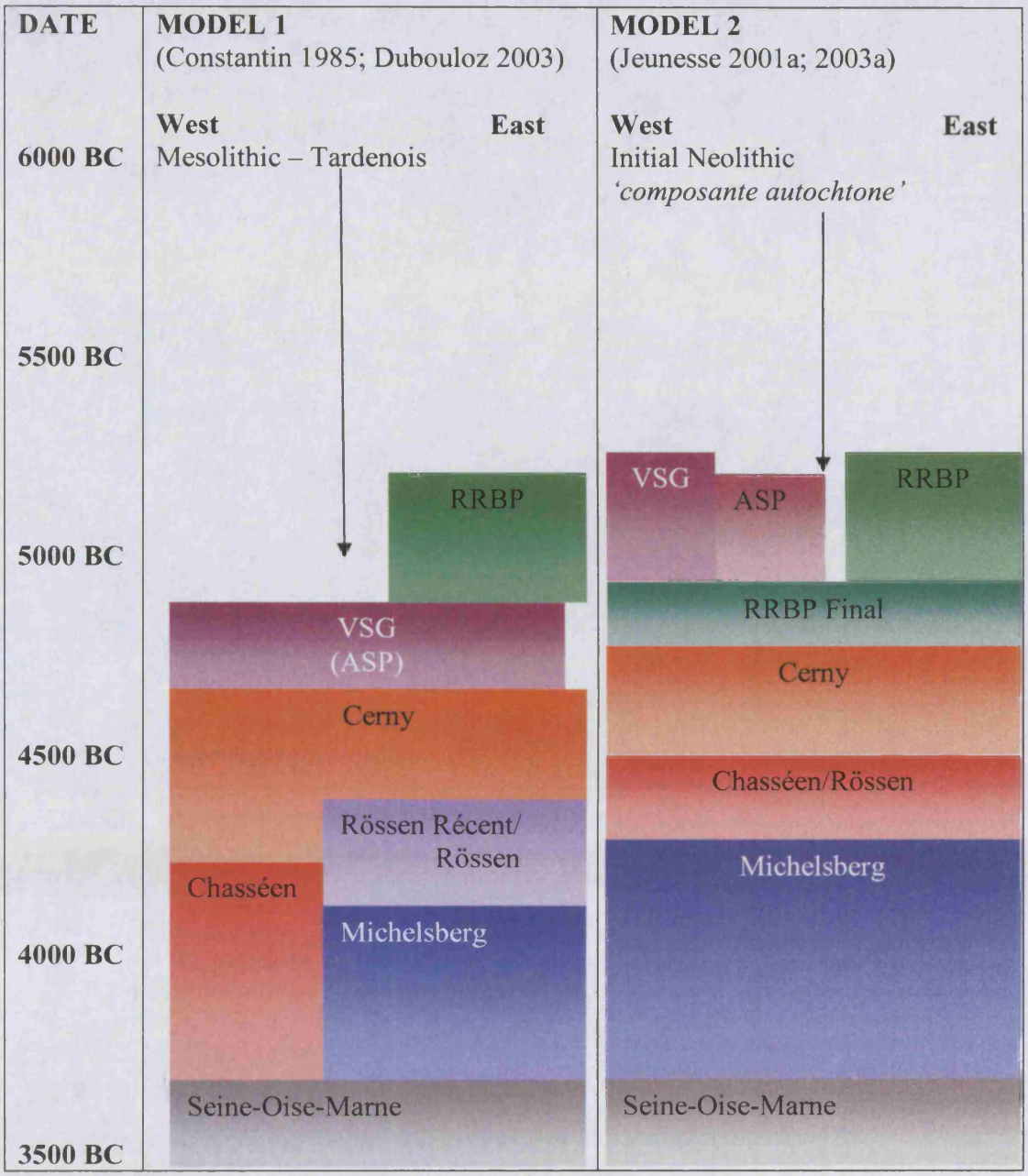


Figure 4.3. A comparison of the two main models of cultural succession in the Paris Basin.

Cultural succession in the Neolithic of the Paris Basin

The Neolithic of the Paris Basin has been divided into a series of chronologically differentiated cultures: RRBP, VSG (and ASP), Cerny, Rössen, Chasséen, Michelsberg and Seine-Oise-Marne (Figure 4.3). Each of these groups has been defined by changes in ceramic styles and fabric, though other major differences can be seen in changes of settlement location and organisation, changes in house design and developments in lithic technology. Table 4.1 summarises how these cultures are defined and the differences between them. The sequence has been generally accepted over the last two decades; however, there remain some points on which

different researchers have disagreed. The major point of contention is whether the VSG is contemporary with or later than the RRBP. Amongst the other groups, Cerny and Rössen, and Chasséen and Michelsberg, may also represent geographically rather than chronologically separate groups.

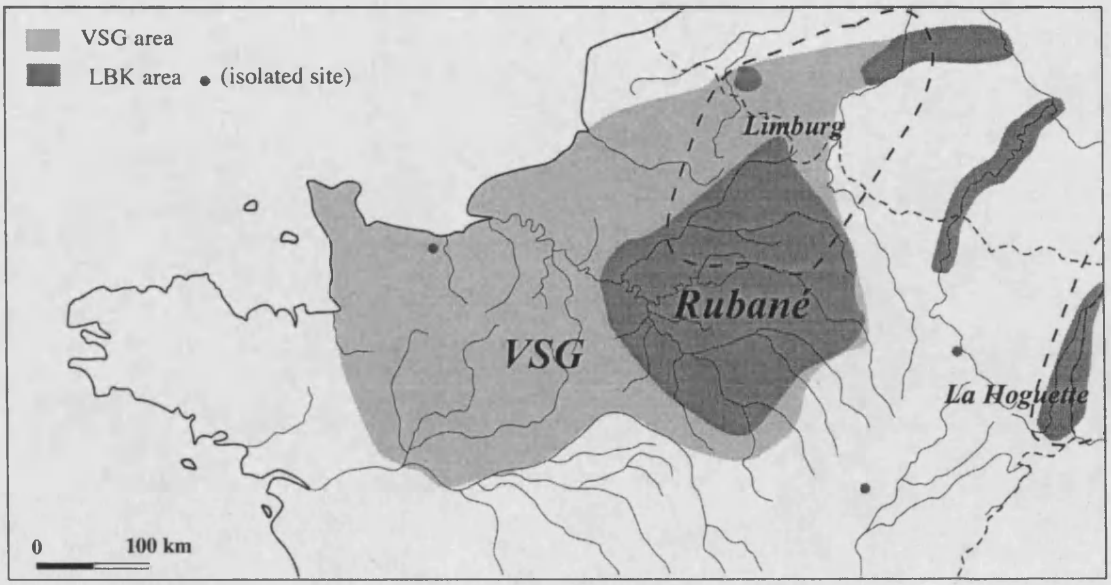


Figure 4.4. The distribution of Rubané and VSG settlements in the Paris Basin. Allard 2007, 212.

The RRBP/VSG succession

In the case of RRBP-VSG succession either continuity or difference are emphasised (Sidéra 2008, 209). The VSG appears to be an evolution of styles and techniques from the RRBP (Allard 2005; Constantin 1985); however, it also appears to occupy a separate geographical area of the Paris Basin (Jeunesse 2003a). While, the Aisne, Oise and Yonne valleys have settlements from both the RRBP and VSG, there is a significant concentration of VSG sites in the west of the Paris Basin (see Figure 4.4). Jeunesse (2002, 122) argues there are three cultural groups occupying separate areas (RRBP, VSG and ASP) which live side-by-side during the centuries around 5000 cal BC, followed by an 'RRBP final' which can be found throughout the Paris Basin. The RRBP final is a mixture of both RRBP and VSG cultural traits and shows some elements of Cerny culture (Jeunesse 2002). Jeunesse's (2002) geographical interpretation of the archaeology is a radical departure from the traditional chronological interpretation, in which no RRBP final is identified (see Constantin 1985; Ilett and Plateaux 1995b). The development of the Cerny ceramic demonstrates greater influences from the southern French Neolithic, but also shows

strong ties to the VSG modes of decoration (Constantin 1997, 65). The existence of an 'RRBP final' thus remains problematic, though comparing dates from RRBP and VSG sites may go some way to revealing the relationship between the two communities.

C^{14} Dating: Dubouloz (2003) surveyed 89 C^{14} measurements across the Paris Basin from both the RRBP and the VSG. By selecting dates that were of certain context, Dubouloz (2003) could shorten the period of the Rubané to cover the period 5100/5050–4900 cal BC. Using this method the VSG is thought to last 250 years, from 4950 cal BC down to 4700 cal BC, with the peak distribution of dates falling between 4850 cal BC and 4800 cal BC (Dubouloz 2003). The last 50–75 years of the RRBP (4950–4900 cal BC, 'RRBP final') therefore appears to be a transitional phase between the Rubané and VSG (Dubouloz 2003). This seems to support the Constantin (1985) model of RRBP and VSG succession. However, there are considerable complications with the approach taken by Dubouloz (2003). Dates on charcoal may also produce older dates through the 'old wood effect'; as the wood from the trunk of a tree is older than its younger branches (Whittle 1996a). This may be of particular relevance in this context if timbers from old houses around the settlement were reused, as it is not only likely that the tree would have been felled decades earlier, but also more probable that the older parts of trees were selected for the posts of the houses.

However, the vast majority of dates used by Dubouloz (2003) come from animal bone, which is also not without its difficulties. The relationship between the material dated and the context to which it is ascribed must be carefully considered. With articulated bone it is extremely likely that the bone was deposited when still fleshed and thus shortly after the death of the animal (Bayliss and Bronk Ramsey 2004). However, disarticulated bone could be curated for an indeterminate length of time before finding its way into the ground (Bayliss *et al.* 2007). This may indeed be a significant problem for RRBP contexts as animal bone assemblages, from the longitudinal pits, are found in varying degrees of preservation. It is further worth stressing that the radiocarbon date is thus for the animal bone, rather than the context in which it is deposited and the relationship between the two needs to be taken into consideration (Bayliss *et al.* 2007).[8] There are also problems with the

dates selected. Although Dubouloz (2003) compares a roughly equal number of dates (41 RRBP compared with 48 VSG) the RRBP dates come from only ten sites, concentrated in the Aisne valley, while the VSG dates come from almost double the number of sites. Of these 19 sites there is a much wider geographical distribution throughout the Paris Basin. Nearly half of the RRBP dates come from one site, Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, which may not be representative of the RRBP sequence and is an unusually large site for this region.

Dubouloz also does not adequately take into account the analytical uncertainty in the radiocarbon dates. Each sample submitted for radiocarbon testing will produce a $^{14}C/^{12}C$ ratio together with an estimate in the uncertainty of this ratio. The calendrical date is then calculated from this ratio using an accepted calibration curve (Bayliss *et al.* 1997; Bayliss and Bronk Ramsey 2004). What is produced from this is a *Gaussian* probability distribution that takes into account both the analytical and calibration uncertainties (Bowman 1990). This distribution describes the uncertainty in the estimated time at which the carbon in the sample tested stopped being part of the carbon-cycle (Bowman 1990). Thus a piece of animal bone in feature 230 at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, gives a distribution between 5610 cal BC – 5262 cal BC (at 1 standard deviation or 68 % probability) or between 5705 cal BC – 5005 cal BC (at 2 standard deviations or 95% probability) (Dubouloz 2003; see also Appendix 1, 325). Taking into account the 'scatter' thus produced from the errors on these ranges, these spreads will include times which are outside (either earlier or later than) the actual event dated (Bayliss and Bronk Ramsey 2004; Bayliss *et al.* 2007). The possibility of systematic errors (e.g. contamination with younger carbon) in addition to analytical and calibration uncertainties should also be considered.

One way of improving the archaeological interpretation of site chronologies is through the use of Bayesian modelling. The Bayesian approach allows the combining of radiocarbon dating with archaeological interpretations of known stratigraphic relationships, which help to model possible chronologies for a site (Bayliss *et al.* 1997; Bayliss and Bronk Ramsey 2004; Bayliss *et al.* 2007). A Bayesian model of the early Neolithic in the Paris Basin may support Dubouloz's (2003) and therefore Constantin's (1985) model of the cultural succession, but it is a necessary approach that should be adopted in the future. While there is not the

scope to attempt such an approach here some remarks about the sequence in the Paris Basin can be made. It is worth using Dubouloz's (2003) study as a model in which the VSG is initially contemporary with the end of the RRBP, with the VSG then continuing after the RRBP way of life altered. The suggested 50–year overlap between the RRBP and VSG ways of life is significant as the RRBP is only thought to last 150 years (Dubouloz 2003). This also means, accounting for errors, that at least two generations of RRBP and VSG communities lived side-by-side. Considering these times in generations, rather than in calendrical dates, is a valuable exercise as the data can be considered on a human scale (Whittle and Bayliss 2007).

The material remains: The radiocarbon dating does not exist outside the evidence from the material record and like the dating discussed above, it is open to a certain degree of interpretation. The site of Bucy-Le-Long 'La Fosselle' in the Aisne valley illustrates this point. In a later phase of this RRBP settlement, one house (house 20) demonstrates some VSG features (Hachem *et al.* 1998a; Jeunesse 2000a). These include features typical of the VSG, such as an isolated central post in the house and VSG-related ceramics (Hachem *et al.* 1998a). Thus Hachem *et al.* (1998a) interpret this house as the 'missing link' which demonstrates the transition between the RRBP and VSG. Jeunesse (*pers. comm.*), however, disagrees and argues that Bucy-Le-Long sits on the boundary between the geographical distributions of the RRBP and VSG. Thus house 20 demonstrates divided loyalties, expressing a sense of both RRBP and VSG identity. Both of these arguments are problematic as a direct relationship between the material record and community identity is assumed. As Sidéra (2008, 217) argues, similarities and differences in style innovation may be better interpreted as evidence for the mobility of individuals rather than chronological affiliations. A more careful consideration of community identities in the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin is required.

An interesting difference between RRBP and VSG is in the relative state of preservation. At Bucy-le-Long *La Fosse Tounise*, the VSG houses are less well preserved than the RRBP houses, despite having been constructed on the same soils (Chartier 1995; 2005). This phenomenon is not limited to the Aisne Valley but is found across the Paris Basin, suggesting it is a matter of differences in construction rather than preservation (Mike Ilett *pers. comm.*). Figure 4.5 compares the two

RRBP and two VSG houses at Bucy-le-Long *La Fosse Tounise*. As well as a relative lack of preservation of the houses, these VSG houses appear to have less well defined internal post structures. The external walls are equally irregular. Throughout the VSG different practices are also taking place across ceramic design and stone tool production within the VSG. Cahen and Otte (1990, 463) suggest that ceramic styles in the post-RRBP period (VSG-Blicquy) have elements that can be seen in Cardial contexts, possibly echoed in both group' use of schist bracelets. Jeunesse (2001a) also argues that Cardial groups were far more influential on VSG rather than RRBP development. This leads to a model whereby RRBP groups arrive in the Paris Basin from the east, while indigenous hunter-gatherers, influenced by southern Cardial groups, form the VSG (Jeunesse 2000a; 2001a). Jeunesse (2000a; 2000b) envisions this to be a very complicated sequence of change and, as Allard (2007) argues, one type of material evidence is unlikely to provide all the answers.

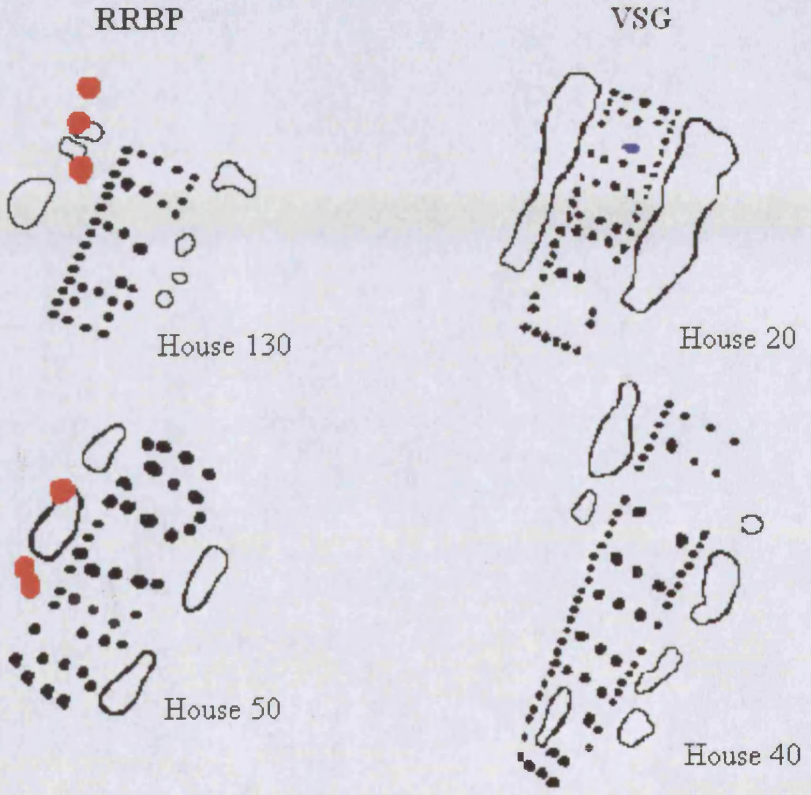


Figure 4.5. A comparison between two 'RRBP' type and two 'VSG' type houses at Bucy-le-Long, Aisne. The red circles indicate burials and the central posthole of house 20 is marked in blue. After Hachem *et al.* (1998a).

The VSG has much in common with the post-LBK groups (Blicquy) from the Hainaut region of Belgium (Constantin and Blanchet 1998), suggesting that numerous influences were at play in its formation. Furthermore, it may hint that the

development of the Aisne and Oise valleys and the Seine-Yonne confluence had different trajectories of development as the communities were tied into varying networks. However, the Yonne and Seine have played a rather muted role in these debates, with many of the better known sites, such as Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, being the focus of chronological models (see Dubouloz 2003). There have been considerations of the local sequence in the Seine and Yonne valleys, but these have either been subsumed within the whole of the Paris Basin, or, where regional attempts have been made, their aim has been to identify the wider chronology (as defined elsewhere in the Paris Basin, France or northwestern Europe) in this region (see Carré 1991b). This, as we shall see below, has led to a number of problems, in particular the desire amongst some archaeologists to identify the presence of some cultures within this region on the basis of negligible evidence.

Dubouloz (2003) essentially includes the Seine-Yonne confluence with the rest of the Rubané dates for the central Paris Basin, and so it is difficult to assess from his model whether the timing of the Neolithic sequence at the Seine and Yonne is different to that of the Aisne and Oise. From the radiocarbon dates alone it is extremely difficult to determine as there are few dates and none with the stratigraphy required for rigorous application of Bayesian modelling (Bickle and Hofmann 2007; Whittle and Bayliss 2007). The ceramics from RRBP sites on the Yonne and Seine demonstrate influences from the Danubian communities in Alsace (Prestreau and Duhamel 1991, 100). Thus it seems that if the RRBP did start with people or a community moving into the region, they came from the Alsace region, rather than the intermediary settlements from the Champagne region (Prestreau 1992). However, there are some differences in the architecture. Most houses from settlements attributed to the Rubané demonstrate characteristics that have been argued elsewhere to demonstrate some transitional characteristics, particularly the trapezoidal form (see Chapter six). Does this then place the first Neolithic communities on the Yonne and Seine later than those of the Aisne and Oise? For the moment any conclusion will remain speculation, but I prefer to suggest that the Rubané or a Danubian-related Neolithic does indeed arrive later at the Seine-Yonne confluence.

This sequence is further complicated as many of the excavations of Danubian-style sites were carried out before Constantin (1985; Constantin and Demoule 1982) identified the VSG culture throughout the Paris Basin. Thus some sites were initially identified as Danubian and their cultural context may not have been considered since. However, Prestreau (1992) has suggested a chronology for the early Neolithic of the Yonne valley as follows; the Rubané arrives along the Yonne, with an initial settlement at the site of Champlay and develops specific decorative ceramic themes. This is then followed by the development of the VSG, which is thought to evolve out of the RRBP, with sites such as Charmoy and Villeneuve-la-Guyard *Prépoux* (Prestreau 1992). Prestreau (1992) identifies this sequence on the basis of ceramic typology. Therefore the dates are not absolute and the relative duration of these sites remains highly problematic. Jeunesse (2003a) does not identify the RRBP in this region at all and, if the ceramic evidence is left aside, the architectural styles certainly suggest more homogeneity between the RRBP and VSG. Indeed, many researchers argue that the Seine-Yonne confluence is on the extreme edge of the LBK (Rubané) world and, therefore, that the longhouse settlements of the Yonne belong to the VSG (Allard 2007; Demoule *et al.* 2007; cf. Constantin and Blanchet 1998).

The Augy-Sainte-Pallaye (ASP) is also identified in this region, but is now thought to be a final phase of the VSG rather than a separate culture (Constantin 1985). Jeunesse (*pers. comm.*), however, continues to argue that the ASP can be viewed as a geographically defined culture occupying the southern part of the Paris Basin. Without a more refined dating programme both suggestions remain plausible, but for now I will follow Constantin's (1985) chronology, thus considering the ASP to be a final phase of the VSG. However, a chronological framework is essential to comprehending the relative changes in this region. I support the notion of some form of transition between the RRBP and VSG and therefore place the early Neolithic at the Seine-Yonne confluence at 4900–4800 cal BC, the time at which the VSG in the Aisne and Oise valleys was developing. The second case study of the Seine-Yonne confluence will therefore discuss the RRBP and VSG together, recognising that these communities were constantly changing and manipulating their approach to the world rather than being two separate cultural entities.

The Cerny period

Beyond the RRBP and VSG, changes continue to occur within the construction of houses, ceramics and stone tool assemblages. The Cerny period starts about 4700 cal BC and represents the first truly post-LBK way of life in the Paris Basin (Anderson 1997; Midgley 2005). However, during the Cerny period a number of continuities and differences from the preceding VSG period can be demonstrated. The expansion on the plateaux continues (Prodeo *et al.* 1997) and more homogeneity is found in ceramic production techniques (Constantin 1997) but burial practices seem to diversify (Jeunesse 1997a) and the longhouse falls out of use (Constantin and Blanchet 1998). The site of Molinons appears to have a built structure which suggests both features of the Danubian tradition and the newly developed Cerny communities (Prestreau 2003). This structure also appears to tie into a particular regional development of architecture during the Cerny period: the Passy monument (see Figure 6.14). These linear enclosures are associated with the burial of the dead and in some cases, such as Balloy *les Réaudins*, constructed close to and on top of earlier Danubian-style longhouses (D. Mordant 1991). These monuments remain particularly enigmatic amongst the more visually spectacular stone-built constructions found along the Atlantic sea-board and their construction appears to have started only after the practice of building longhouses had diminished.

The chronology of the Cerny period, however, is not without controversy. The Paris Basin is not isolated from changes in the wider European context and whether the successive changes in the Paris Basin correspond to changes further east has been a matter of some debate (Dubouloz 1994; Jeunesse 1995; Constantin *et al.* 1997; Dubouloz and Lanchon 1997; Jeunesse 1997b; Prodeo *et al.* 1997; Constantin and Blanchet 1998; Midgley 2005). Many researchers choose to emphasise contacts with the former LBK world over the influence of the communities to the south but the relative timings of the Cerny period in respect to changes on the Rhine remain far from clear (Dubouloz 1994; Constantin and Blanchet 1998). This is particularly interesting as the river valleys in the Paris Basin appear to form ideal geographical routes between the Paris Basin and the Rhine (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991). Connections to the Cardial culture are also evident. Naked wheat was first exploited by the

Cardial groups, and also becomes the dominant species cultivated during the Cerny period (Bakels 1997; 2008).

Unfortunately, much of this debate relies on chronological assertions made on the basis of ceramic typologies. While these may be more successful for understanding local sequences in the earlier Neolithic, where consistently more data are present (see for example Constantin 1985), for the Middle Neolithic periods the evidence is somewhat more confused. For example, the debate about the relative timings of the transition between the 'Grossgartach' period and Rössen on the Rhine, and the VSG and Cerny periods in the Paris Basin, largely hangs on one pot found at the site of Passy-sur-Yonne (Dubouloz 1994; Jeunesse 1995). Dubouloz (1994; Dubouloz and Lanchon 1997) argues that this pot can actually be attributed to a final Rössen phase and thus proposes the presence of a Rössen culture in the Paris Basin between the Cerny and Chasséen/Michelsberg period, in accordance with the site at Berry-au-Bac *La Croix-Maigret*. Jeunesse (1995) rightly points out that while the particular pot may indeed show elements of Rössen design, the correspondence between the cultural chronology and the absolute chronology remains hazy at best. There is little evidence for the existence of a Rössen culture beyond the occasional ceramic find and many of the sites attributed to this period have been identified from aerial photography rather than full-scale excavation (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991). The only possible exception is Berry-au-Bac *La Croix-Maigret* (Dubouloz 1991; Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 601). As a result I prefer to follow the middle Neolithic model proposed by Jeunesse *et al.* (2003, 143–6) with no Rössen or post-Rössen culture and continuous occupation of the valleys between the VSG, Cerny and Michelsberg periods.

The enclosure phenomenon

In contrast to the practice of building houses, the construction of interrupted ditched enclosures only seems to become more frequent throughout the early and middle Neolithic. Early enclosures, such as the RRBP enclosure at Menneville (Aisne), surrounded settlements of longhouses, while later examples, such as Noyen (Seine), see occupation within the enclosed area but without substantial post-built buildings. The defensive nature of these structures has previously been criticised and they seem to have developed for reasons other than growing violence in the region (Whittle

1996a). The ditches forming these enclosures are the focus of numerous episodes of deposition, including human burials. These practices, however, echo practices of deposition in pits around earlier longhouse settlements and thus also may demonstrate some continuity in practice (Whittle 1996a). At Balloy, a Cerny enclosure was placed directly over a small VSG settlement, with the eastern edge of the enclosure ditch bisecting two VSG longhouses (Augereau and D. Mordant 1993). Continuity in site location between the VSG and Cerny can be demonstrated (Prodeo *et al.* 1997). Enclosures seem to continue to express a close relation to settlements and may show both continuity with former community identities and a change in the context in which they were expressed.

Around 4300 cal BC Chasséen communities can be found in the Paris Basin (though Jeunesse (2003a) would argue for an earlier start date; Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 646–7). At this time Chasséen sites can be found throughout France as far south as the Midi, though regional differences remain (Boujot *et al.* 1991, 413). During this period the Paris Basin is considered to have three different groups: Chasséen from the Oise west into Normandy, the Noyen group south from the Yonne-Seine confluence and the Michelsberg found in the Aisne Valley and further east (Arbogast *et al.* 1991, 351). This period is thought to last until around 3600 cal BC (Andersen 1997). All three of these groups show similarities in ceramic styles, use of domestic and wild animals and the practice of constructing ditched enclosures (Arbogast *et al.* 1991). To what extent these groups thought of themselves as different communities has yet to be explored, but these three areas of the Paris Basin seem to show differences throughout the early and middle Neolithic. In many ways there is little to separate the communities of the Michelsberg, Chasséen and Noyen cultures other than their geographical location and the specifics of their material styles. The radiocarbon dates from the site which gave its name to the culture, Noyen-sur-Seine, suggest that it is contemporary with the Michelsberg and, indeed, Constantin and Blanchet (1998) include the Noyen culture in their discussion of the Michelsberg. Jeunesse (1998, 162) envisages that it is the Noyen group which instigates the development of the Michelsberg or Chasséen period across northern France and Belgium. This is because the chronological gap between the Cerny and the Noyen group seems to be much shorter in this region than elsewhere (Jeunesse 1998).

If the Noyen group is the beginning of the Michelsberg culture across a far larger area, then its conception in this region is particularly interesting. The presence of longhouses, long mounds in monumental cemeteries and enclosures suggests that the association of these forms of architecture and their accompanying practices was part of the catalyst for a new way of life in the middle Neolithic of northern France, which also spreads across southern and western France (Constantin and Blanchet 1998; Demoule *et al.* 2007). For reasons of clarity the 'Noyen' period will be called the Chasséen/Michelsberg, but this will denote the time period rather than an explicit cultural framework. As there is much variability between enclosure sites within the same region, I see little reason to separate these communities into rigidly defined social groups. Therefore, although ceramic styles show distinct differences, this does not necessarily indicate that communities were divided by exclusive cultural identities; rather they were tied into broader networks that now spread across a far larger geographical area

Conclusion

The first LBK house appears in the Paris Basin around 5050 cal BC and the last is built sometime after 4700 cal BC; during this time notions of everyday life and community dwelling are thought to have changed dramatically. In this chapter I have explored the geographical landscape of the Paris Basin during the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, the Mesolithic way of life before it was interrupted by the arrival of the Neolithic and the academic debates surrounding the development of the Neolithic in the Paris Basin. It is within these debates that the dominant narratives of the early and middle Neolithic of the Paris Basin have been written. The aim of the next two chapters therefore will be to explore these changes and the intersections between daily life and community, and the broader changes that occur during the fifth millennium cal BC in the Paris Basin. However, as this chapter has argued, the environmental and chronological contexts within which these changes occurred are as important as the social contexts in which the architecture was encountered and form an essential part of an archaeological study of daily life. It is hope that in the future the currently hazy chronologies can be refined to offer more precise understandings of the temporalities over which change occurred.

[1] The LBK is known as *Rubané* in France. For simplicity and to avoid confusion I will refer to the LBK when talking about this early Neolithic tradition in general and the RRBP when referring to the culture in the Paris Basin specifically.

[2] The Hambach experiment consisted of a series of plots in woodland clearances, and on the loess soil, which were surveyed just before the crops were harvested. The experiment showed that weed floras differ between shifting and permanent cultivation regimes. Long lived plots show high concentrations of perennial weeds (Bogaard 2004, 87–8).

[3] The Mesolithic sites are primarily situated on sandy soils which do not preserve bone to the same extent as the loess (Verjux 2003).

[4] However, this may be the result of bias in where excavation has been carried out. The intensive development of river valleys and the growth of the gravel extraction industry over the last three decades have resulted in the discovery of many Neolithic settlements through rescue excavations. The plateaux, where many of the Mesolithic sites are found, is mainly agricultural land and therefore has seen far fewer rescue excavations.

[5] The skulls are the only part of each animal that is represented at the site (Verjux 2003).

[6] Verjux (2003) suggests the pits were used for storage, but he does not state whether there are any phases of recutting. Perhaps if this was the case, these deposits were placed within the pits after what had been stored had been removed.

[7] Lateralization of projectile points is to the right north of the Seine and to the left south of the Seine (Allard 2005; Augereau 1993; 1996; 2008). There are examples of right-lateralized points south of the Seine, but very few of the reverse (Augereau 1993).

[8] The material which is used for radiocarbon dating comes from the longitudinal pits which are found either side of the longhouses. This presents an uncertain relationship between the house and the pit. While it is unlikely that there is no relation between the two, due to the lack of stratigraphic relationships we simply cannot say whether the pit and its finds are associated with the beginning, use-life or end of the house.

Rubané Récent du Bassin Parisien (RRBP) Location: The river valleys of the Aisne, Oise, Marne, Yonne and upper Seine	Ceramics: 3 groups of ceramics (contemporary) 1) Decorated fine ware – bowl shaped, decorations include chevrons and 'T' shape (which is only found in the RRBP). Rarer decorations include chequerboard, triangles and hatching. 2) Non-decorated fine ware – bowls. 3) Larger vessels made from coarser fabric.	Lithics: Mainly made on regionally sourced flint from 15–30 km away. Principal tools: scrapers made from blades, flake tools, asymmetric arrowheads and burins.	Economy: Animals: 80 – 90 % of animal remains are domestic. Cattle dominate, followed by sheep/goat and then pig. Wild animals are principally red deer, wild boar and auroch, but wild cat, wolf, beaver and stone martin are also found. Cereals: Emmer wheat and naked barley are frequent, with rare occurrences of einkorn wheat, pea and lentil. Hazelnuts are also represented.	Settlements: Can be small groups of 2 or 3 longhouses, but the largest settlement of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne) has more than 30 longhouses. The houses are orientated east-west, and are in parallel rows. They are slightly trapezoidal and narrowest in the west, with internal rows of posts or 'corridors'. House dimensions: 6-8 m wide/10-47 m long.
Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (VSG) Location: Aisne, Oise, Yonne, Seine, Loire and further west into Normandy. Exploitation of the plateaux as well as the river valleys.	Ceramics: 3 chronological phases of ceramics 1) Elements of RRBP decoration are found alongside incised herringbone patterns, finger impressions and dots, made by awls or burins. 2) The RRBP decoration disappears, other elements continue. 3) Herringbone incisions disappear and the 'V-cord' design appears below the handles. This last phase is also known as the ASP.	Lithics: Again mainly known from locally sourced tertiary flint and stone. Principal tools: scrapers, asymmetric arrowheads, Stone rings, made mainly from schist but from other minerals as well.	Economy: Animals: Most animal remains found are domestic, with cattle predominating. Pig, however, is more common than in the RRBP. Aurochs, wild pig, red deer and small carnivores make up about 10 % of the faunal record. Cereals: Emmer and einkorn wheat both cultivated.	Settlements: The longhouses are similar to the RRBP, with less regular internal post lay-outs. Houses are usually found in groups up to 10. Orientated east-west and parallel. House dimensions: 5-6.5 m wide/15-35 m long.

Cerny Location: Around the Seine, and its tributaries, up to the Pas de Calais region and further into the Loire region.	Ceramics: Hemispherical shapes dominate, but ¾ of a sphere bowls and larger vessels are also found. Generally there is a greater variety of vessel forms than in the RRBP and VSG. The fabric is red and fairly tough, contrasting with the previous products of the region. Decoration appears to be similar to VSG, with horizontal bands under the rim and around the level of the handles, with connecting bands between the two.	Lithics: To the north of the Paris Basin, blade technology persists, while flake technology takes precedence in other areas. A wide range of tools are produced.	Economy: Cereals are cultivated, but the evidence comes more from quern stones and polishing on flint blades, rather than directly from cereal remains. Animal exploitation is much like in the VSG, with cattle dominating, then pigs, then sheep/goat. Red deer, wild boar, aurochs and roe deer are also represented in the faunal remains	Settlements: The longhouse village settlements seem to be replaced by causewayed enclosures, some of which are palisaded. These continue to be set into river valleys, but increasingly the plateaux become exploited. A handful of 'LBK' style houses are found, but they tend to be isolated and poorly conserved. Examples include Marolles-sur-Seine. Passy grave type developed.
Rössen Récent/ Epi-Rössen Location: North Paris Basin, from the Seine-Yonne confluence up to the Manche. Parallel to the succession in the Rhineland.	Ceramics: Rössen Recent: grey-pink appearance, but the forms of vessels are poorly known. Decoration is on the top and the body of the vessel. Tempered with crushed limestone. Epi-Rössen: The surface of the ceramic is dark beige and the fabric is tempered with vegetable material.	Lithics: Epi-Rössen: 80% of flint is secondary, sourced from local alluvium. Scrapers made from flakes are most common, but ranger of other tools as well.	Economy: Little to no evidence for cereal cultivation. 80% of animal remains are domestic. Hunted animals are mostly red deer, but aurochs, roe deer, wild boar and numerous other smaller carnivores are also represented.	Settlements: The most important site is Berry-au-Bac (Aisne valley). The houses are more rectangular than RRBP and VSG and only slightly trapezoidal. The internal arrangement of postholes breaks with the LBK tradition, conforming to the more rectangular spacing of the Michelsberg.

Chasséen Location: The west of the Paris Basin, with the Oise-Aisne confluence as the eastern limit, stretches to the south of France. Chronologically contemporary with the Michelsberg.	Ceramics: This period is divided chronologically on the basis of ceramics into three separate phases. Characterised by funnel-necked vessels, with round bases, influenced by Cerny and southern France. In the final phase Michelsberg influences can be seen.	Lithics: At the beginning of the Chasséen the lithics are much like those of the Cerny. The Cerny type tools reduce in number during the period. Axes are found that originated in the Massif Amorican. As the period progresses axes from the North Alps and Massif Central are also found.	Economy: Animals: Again domestic cattle dominate the assemblage, with pig and sheep less well represented in the faunal record. Wild animals continue to be found: red deer, auroch, roe deer, and wild boar. Cereal processing is represented through the presence of quern stones.	Settlement: Large enclosure sites are found. Thought often to be defensive structures, enclosing houses similar to the Michelsberg type.
Michelsberg Location: Found in the eastern part of the Paris Basin from the Aisne valley to the western edge of the Alsace region.	Ceramics: Regional differences in ceramics are found across the distribution area. Three groups have been defined: the Aisne valley (where vessels are never decorated, and elements of Chasséen styles can be seen), Seine-et-Marne and Mairy (Ardennes).	Lithics : Mostly on secondary flint of alluvial origin, found locally. Occasionally on tertiary flints. In contrast to the Chasséen preference for flakes, most tools made from blades.	Economy: Absence of wild fauna, but cattle remains dominant in the faunal record.	Settlement: Rectangular buildings, with internal divisions. Settlements are frequently enclosed, with multiple ditches. Such as the site of Noyen that made use of a bend in the Seine and interrupted ditches to surround the site.

Table 4.1. This table lists the key features of the each of the major cultural groups discussed in the text. Information mainly collated from Constantin and Blanchet 1998.

5

Rhythms on the Aisne and the Oise: case study one

Introduction

In his opening to *'In small things forgotten'*, James Deetz (1977, 2–4) explores six fictional moments of making, using and depositing items of material culture from the last 300 years of New England history. For example, Mary Andrews is sad as she throws out the broken pieces of her fine queens-ware coffeepot, which then becomes mixed up with the other refuse from the day (Deetz 1977, 3); Ebenezer Soule puts down his hammer and chisel to admire his carving of a cherub on a gravestone (Deetz 1977, 2); Wade Wars practises a new banjo playing technique he had learnt on his trip to Tennessee (Deetz 1977, 3). Within each of these short scenarios a particular person is connected to the material of their daily lives, through physical, emotional and skilful engagement. Materials are bound-up in people's daily routines; they form a part of the tasks and agencies of dwelling, whether in the present or during the early centuries of the 5th millennium cal BC. Chapters two and three argued that daily life is an entanglement of people, materials and architectures, and this chapter, the first of the two case studies, utilises that discussion to illuminate the particular daily routines experienced by the communities of the Neolithic in the Aisne and Oise valleys.

The first houses to be built on the Aisne and the Oise were in the Danubian style, with rectangular post-built structures, loam pits and shared orientation. Amongst these broad styles regional differences can be identified and, indeed, the typologies of houses appear to break down on closer inspection, with styles being what things tend towards, rather than firmly defined rules of behaviour. Ceramics and lithics similarly offer a picture of underlying and unifying practices, intermixed with the subtle exploration of difference and variation. This case study will take two different approaches to the evidence. The first part will look thematically at the

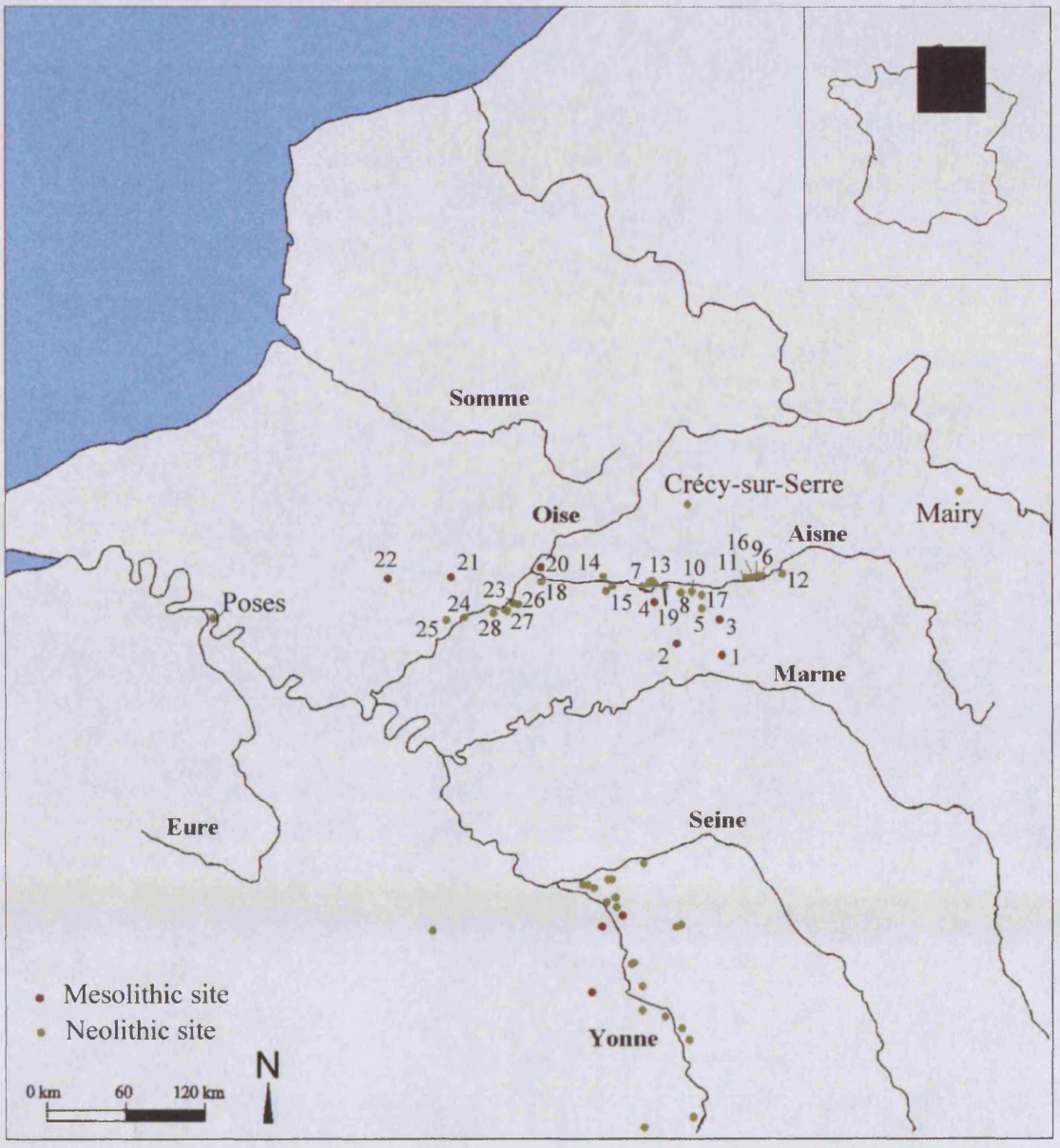


Figure 5.1. Map of the sites forming the case study and those discussed in the chapter: 1) Allée Tortue *Fère-en-Tardenois*; 2) Coincy *Le Sablonnière*; 3) Montbani; 4) Noyant-et-Aconin *Derrière le Colombier*; 5) Bazoches-sur-Vesle *Le Bois de Muisemont*; 6) Berry-au-Bac; 7) Bucy-le-Long; 8) Chassemy *Le Grand Horle*; 9) Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes *Les Fontinettes*; 10) Cys-la-Commune; 11) Maizy-sur-Aisne; 12) Menneville *Derrière le Village* ; 13) Missy-sur-Aisne *Le Culot*; 14) Osly-Courtil *La Terre-Saint-Mard*; 15) Pernant *Le Culfroy*; 16) Pontavert *Le Port-aux-Marbres*; 17) Presles-et-Boves *Les Bois Plantés*; 18) Trosly-Breuil *Les Obeaux*; 19) Villeneuve-Saint-Germain *Le Grèves*; 20) Choisy-au-Bac; 21) Cirès-les-Mello *Le Tillet*; 22) Longueuil-Sainte-Marie *Le Parc aux Beoufs*; 23) Warluis *Le Marais de Merlemont*; 24) Chambly; 25) Champagne-sur-Oise *Le Grand Marais*; 26) La Croix-Saint-Ouen *Le Pré des Isles*; 27) Pontpoint; 28) Pont-Saint-Maxence. For the Seine-Yonne sites see Figure 6.1. Mesolithic sites are depicted red and Neolithic sites in green. After Pernaud *et al.* (2004).

house, the landscape and then the burial practices of the Aisne and Oise valleys, exploring the daily routines of the early Neolithic through the notions of performance, routine and community. The second then examines the chronological changes in architecture. The intention of the first section is to move from particular

moments and practices to general trends or routines of living with longhouses; that of the second is to explore the evidence at a more general level, examining the changes in architecture and community throughout the Rubané and periods that followed along the Aisne and Oise river valleys.

Rhythms of daily life

Houses

Danubian longhouses were constructed along the Aisne and the Oise from c. 5100 cal BC down till around 4700 BC[1] and to date more than 90 probable house foundations have been excavated (Figure 5.1). The longhouses of the Aisne and Oise seem to have much in common with longhouses found across the LBK distribution. However, as Coudart (1998) has shown in striking detail, within this broad similarity there are a number of regional variations which allowed the idea or practice of building longhouses to be developed in different directions.[2] The first longhouses in these river valleys were built at a time when increased regionalisation is demonstrable across the LBK's distribution (Gronenborn 1999, 187). The comparative uniformity of longhouses is a prominent feature of the LBK within the Paris Basin, alongside the tendency towards trapezoidal house plans and possible porches at the eastern end (Ilett *et al.* 1982; Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 594; Coudart 1998, 55–6, 101; see Appendix 2, 420). However, rather than discussing the RRBP and VSG houses of this region exclusively through typology, this section will focus on the experience of living with three key aspects of house design: linearity, ground plan and internal post alignments.

Linearity. One of the most striking features of the early Neolithic longhouse is its length, and the houses of the Aisne and Oise valleys are no exception. Houses vary from seven to 40 metres long[3] and must have offered a significant contrast to the hunting camps of the late Mesolithic (Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a; 2003; Coudart 1998; Gronenborn 1999; see Chapter four). The significance of architectural features is created in contexts through which attention to the feature or practice is facilitated (see Chapter three). The challenge here, then, is to recognise the contexts which 'framed' the Neolithic communities' attention to certain aspects of style or structure. For example, when asking if linearity is a feature which helped

inform the progression of daily life, we must examine contexts in which linearity could be attended to, that is became a feature of dwelling with houses.

Linearity does seem to remain significant throughout the early and middle Neolithic, with the possible Michelsberg houses in the Aisne valley thought to be about 20 m long (Cottiaux and Robert 1987; Dubouloz *et al.* 1991).[4] One of the ways in which such significance could have been revealed is through orientation. This is because the linear nature of houses allows for an orientation. Of course, orientation can exist within circular and square buildings, with the choice of the door location for instance (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994c). However, the linearity of these structures creates the possibility for different orientations to be compared and for it to become a discursive aspect of longhouse life. Coudart's (1998) study of the orientation of longhouses from across the LBK distribution demonstrated that it had little to do with practical or technical concerns. The suggestion by Marshall (1979; 1981) that orientation helped buildings withstand local winds, was shown to be unlikely as orientation rarely followed prevailing wind directions (Coudart 1998, 90 Figure 102). Furthermore, it is unlikely that wind speeds were ever so violent that they threatened the structural integrity of the buildings (Bradley 2001, 53). Bradley's (2001) own suggestion is that orientation appears to reflect the direction in which the LBK spread across Europe, thereby tying the longhouse into notions of ancestry and origins. The linear nature of the house thus serves to emphasise the 'directional' quality to peoples' lives. The orientation of the longhouse, therefore, symbolised notions of a community's origins and its future intention to move northwards or westwards across Europe (I will return to this suggestion below).

Orientation, however, may have had a far more local significance. Not all the houses at one settlement share exactly the same orientation (Bickle 2004), but there does seem to be a tendency towards certain alignments. Rarely are differences in alignments perceptible at settlements. At Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, during the RRBP, orientation varies between 270° and 286°, with the biggest variation during a single phase being only 14° during phase four (Coudart 1998, 136; see Appendix 2, 376–86). When orientation is compared between different settlements along the Aisne, there are variations *between* the settlements, but these are no larger than the actual variations *within* each settlement (Bickle 2004). Thus the different alignments

were probably barely perceptible to the inhabitants and do not follow a particular trend through time.

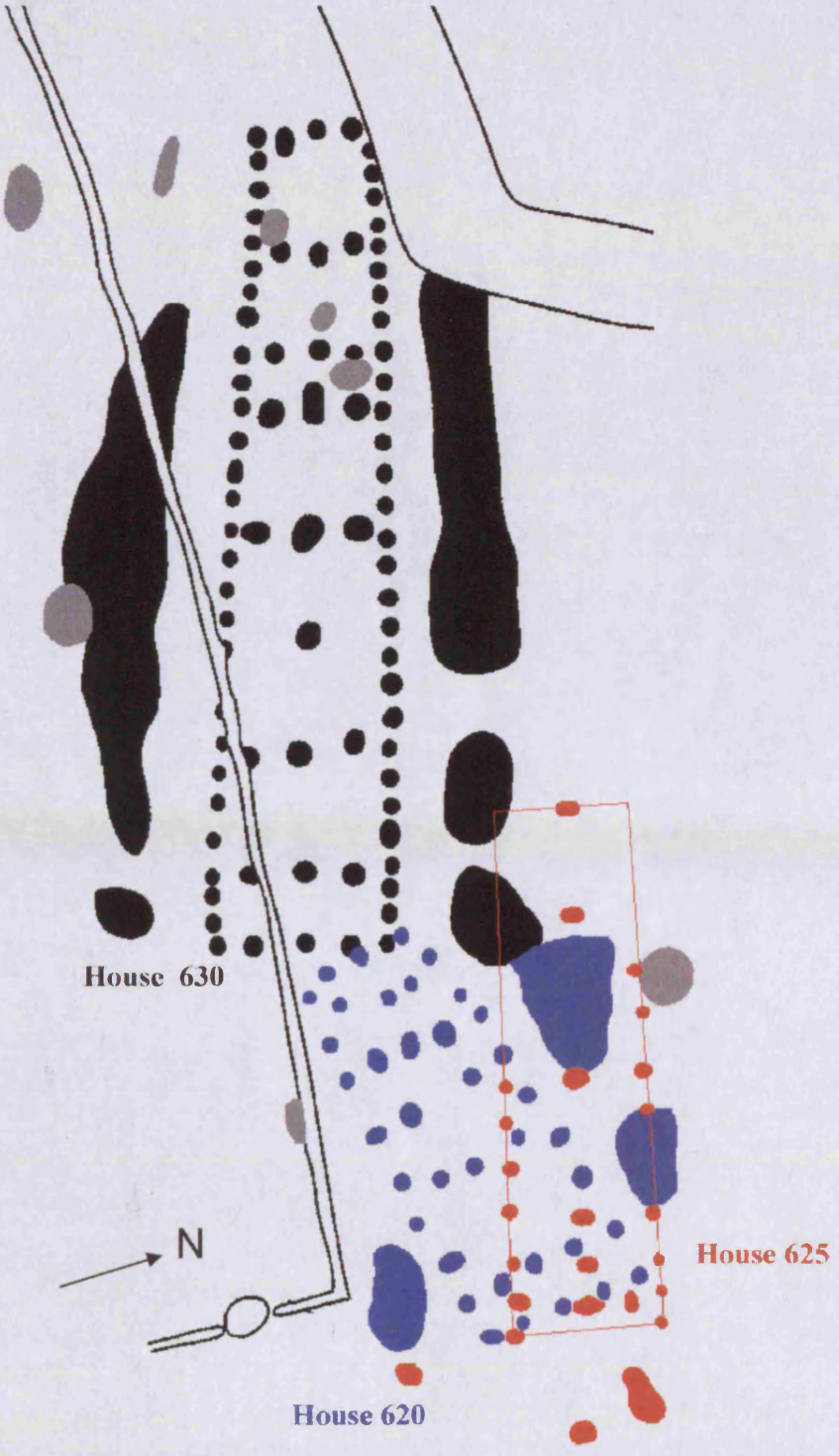


Figure 5.2. The three overlapping houses at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Aisne). Houses 630 and 620 date to the RRBP, while house 625 was built during the Cerny period. The larger blocks of colour represent the loam pits and the site is cut by a First World War trench and ditch (represented by parallel lines). After Dubouloz *et al.* (1996, 18).

This can be contrasted with one particular instance, where deviating orientation does seem to be emphasised. At Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* there is an instance of three house plans (two belonging to the end of the Rubané and one to the Cerny period) overlapping (Figure 5.2). The inter-cutting of houses along the Aisne and the Oise is rare; out of more than 90 possible house plans uncovered to date, there are only four instances of houses cutting each other,[5] yet in these cases the houses deliberately seem to be placed at an angle to the earlier houses. With the lack of a rigorous dating model it is simply not possible to determine the length of time between the construction of house 630 and house 620, but both appear to be later Rubané styles (they are trapezoidal, without wall trenches and the central sections of the houses have fewer postholes; Modderman 1988; Allard *et al.* 1995; Coudart 1998) and with the Rubané estimated to last some 150 years (Dubouloz 2003; see Chapter four), house 620 was probably built not long after house 630. Thus even if 630 had been abandoned it was probably still visible on the ground. This could mean that the inhabitants and events that took place in the house were remembered by those constructing house 620, and possibly some individuals could even remember living there.

This history must have been drawn on in the construction of the newer house, while the contrasting orientation seems to suggest some differences were being emphasised or explored. House 620 is some 14 m shorter than house 630, exaggerating the differences between the two houses. The orientation of the third house (625) built in this location recalls the orientation of house 630. This house dates to the Cerny period, thought to be a couple of centuries later than the end of the Rubané (Dubouloz 2003; see Chapter four, Figure 4.3). Not only do the entrances of houses 620 and 625 both overlap, but the material objects from the loam pits of late RRBP houses 620 and 630 must have been encountered during its construction. Rather than this preventing the house being sited in this location, it seems conversely to have encouraged it. If low mounds of both houses were still visible, using this location for a further house could have been an attempt to make sense of or reference these houses, which were exceptionally close together.

Thus instances such as at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* suggest that shared orientation rather than the actual direction of the orientation itself could be argued to

be more significant to our understanding of daily life in the longhouse. Thus at times orientation became a local consideration and subject to an individual household or community's concerns. Whether this orientation followed something as specific as the direction of migration is difficult to assess. What *is* significant is that shared orientation provided a forum for a performance of unity within the settlement, as no one house was moved towards or entered in a different direction to another. These common directions of movement influenced the specific choreography of the village. This could well have been played out alongside a sense of origins in Bradley's (2001) terms (see below), but this too would have fed into moments and routines at which the community's shared practices were revealed or critiqued.

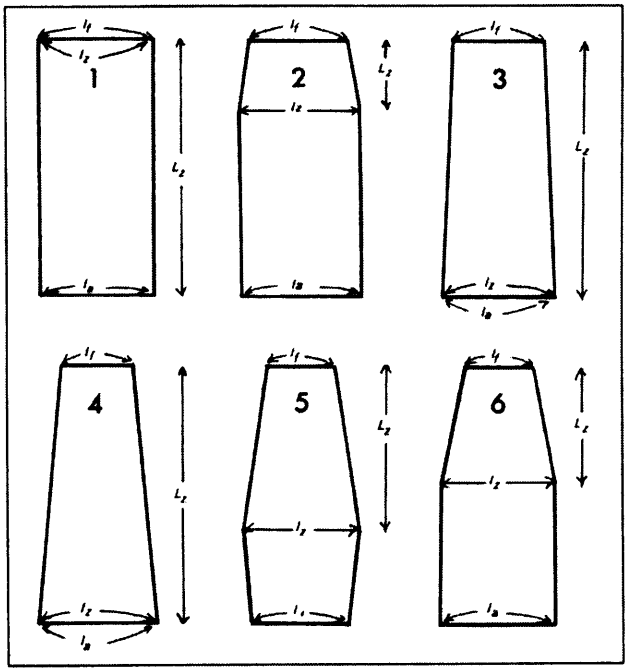


Figure 5.3. Coudart's (1998) scheme for determining the style of longhouse plan. 1) rectangular, 2) pseudo-rectangular, 3) slightly trapezoidal, 4) trapezoidal, 5) naviform, 6) pseudo-trapezoidal (see also Appendix 2, 360). From Coudart (1998, 27).

House plan. A feature closely related to linearity is the shape of the house plan and this too appears to differ throughout the LBK sequence. Coudart (1998, 27) identifies six different plans: rectangular, pseudo-rectangular, slightly trapezoidal, trapezoidal, naviform and pseudo-trapezoidal (see Figure 5.3 and Appendix 2, 360, 420). Using Coudart's (1998) scheme, the majority of houses along the Aisne and the Oise fall somewhere between the 'rectangular' and 'trapezoidal' categories. There are a number of chronological trends that can be identified, with an early

tendency to build rectangular houses replaced by trapezoidal houses towards the end of the LBK and beginning of the VSG (see Appendix 2, 420), followed by a return to rectangular houses in Cerny and Michelsberg contexts. In this section, I want to explore the influence that the house plan had on the way in which the house space was experienced.

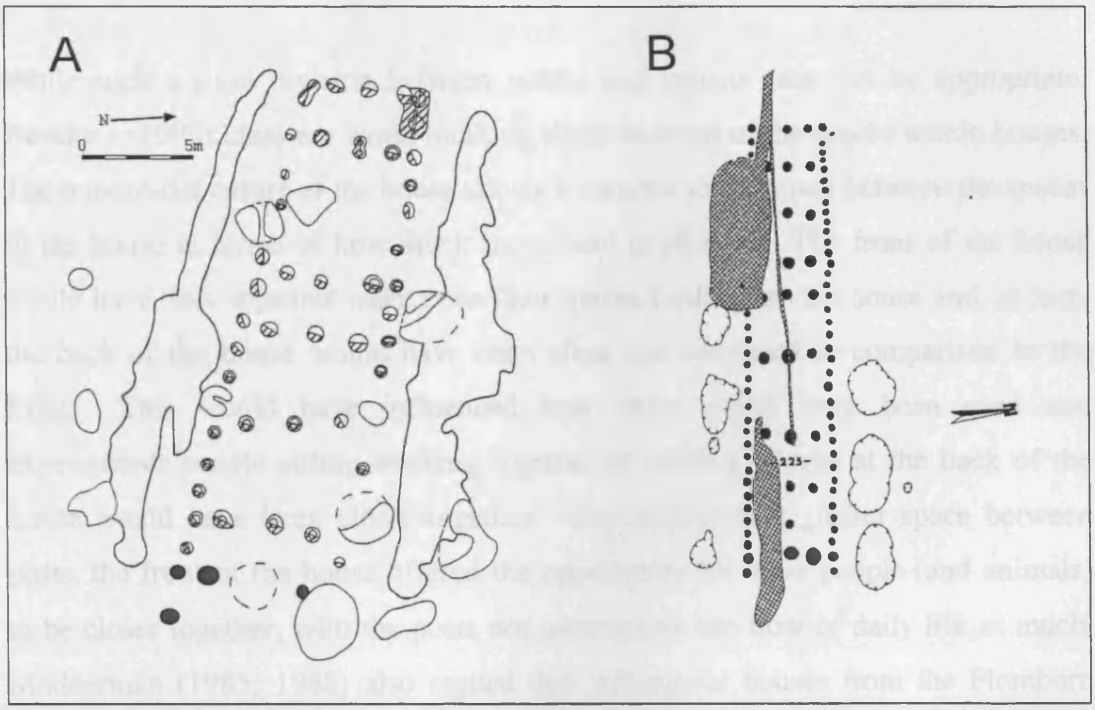


Figure 5.4. Two examples of the 'porch', highlighted in red. A) House 55 from Presles-et-Boves *Les Bois Plantés* (Oise, RRBP) after Colas *et al.* (2001, 43), B) House 225 from Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne, RRBP) after Soudský *et al.* (1982, 117).

The entrance was thought to be sited at the southeastern end of the house (Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a; Coudart 1998).[6] A trapezoidal house is narrower at the northwestern end; thus the larger end is the entrance way. Furthermore, the trapezoidal nature of houses seems to work to emphasise the entrance and the front the house. Entrances seem to receive some form of elaboration with the construction of the so-called porches (Modderman 1988). These are identified by the presence of posts in line with the external house walls, but beyond the southeastern-most post row (Figure 5.4). While Modderman (1988) identified these features as possible rain shelters, such porches would have had an impact on the both the look and practical experience of entering the house. Another effect of the trapezoidal plan would have been to bring the posts in the northwestern end of the house closer together. For Hodder (1990, 138) the entrance at one end of the house emphasised its linear nature and the graded space inside demonstrated increasingly

controlled and private spaces at the back of the house. Hodder (1990, 130) renders the division of public and private spaces in terms of the *Domus* (inside) and *Foris* (outside). If such a conceptual division did exist then the trapezoidal house plan would minimise what was private space, while maximising the entrance and hence the transition between inside (private) and outside (public).

While such a rigid division between public and private may not be appropriate, Hodder's (1990) ideas are worth thinking about in terms of the spaces within houses. The trapezoidal nature of the house allows a contrast to be drawn between the spaces in the house in terms of how much movement is allowed. The front of the house would have thus appeared more open than spaces further into the house and, in turn, the back of the house would have been close and restricted in comparison to the front. This would have influenced how space could have been used and experienced: people sitting working together or moving around at the back of the house would have been closer together. Conversely, with greater space between posts, the front of the house offered the opportunity for *more* people (and animals) to be closer together, with the posts not interrupting the flow of daily life as much. Modderman (1985; 1988) also argued that rectangular houses from the Flomborn phase of the LBK (pre-RRBP) have similarly closer spaced post-rows, but in his typology the spaces at the front of the house are similar, occasionally with double rows of posts possibly to support an upper floor (frequently thought to be used as a granary). This is not the case with trapezoidal houses from the Paris Basin as the posts are more widely spread at the front of a trapezoidal house.

In the rectangular building plan, therefore, the different sections provided varying experiences, while in a trapezoidal house the space would have been perceived as becoming gradually more restricted towards the back of the house. It may be that the ability to manipulate space within the house in this way led to the trapezoidal house plan becoming increasingly favoured. The naviform design would have made the central section appear more spacious than those to the northwest or the southeast, but no more than two 'naviform' buildings have been found in the Aisne and Oise valleys (see Appendix 2, 420, table 2.1). They date to the VSG period and are all found at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Allard *et al.* 1995; Dubouloz *et al.* 1996). The trapezoidal house plan may also have led to the elaboration of the front of the

house as the shape lends itself to emphasising the width at the house entrance (see Figure 5.5). The eastern façade could have become a significant aspect of display and certainly provided the potential for this to take place. It may also have emphasised the linearity of the house, manipulating the perspective inside the house and making it appear longer. The house plan, therefore, did not remain the same and continued to be manipulated throughout the RRBP and VSG.

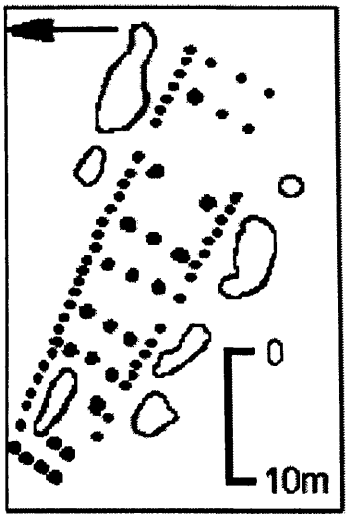


Figure 5.5. House 40 from Bucy-le-Long *La Fosselle* (Aisne). The trapezoidal nature of the house makes the northwestern end of the house more crowded, while the front of the house is more open. After Hachem *et al.* (1998a, 23).

Post alignments. Thus the physical structure of houses may have been experienced through how the interior post layout created different spaces. As Coudart (1998) notes, the overall length of the house does not determine the number of internal posts used and, in turn, the internal spaces within the house. At Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie*, house 200 has 24 internal posts over 125m^2, while house 300 has c. 26 over 227.5m^2 (Coudart 1995, 52). The rhythm of movement within the two houses would thus be very different, with house 300 offering a central section which is 6.2 m in length, a place where a larger number of people and animals could gather than in the 3.8 m central section in house 200 (Coudart 1995, 52). This means that in building a house, certain choices were made about what the rhythm of posts should be and thus the choreography of internal movement. The agency involved in these decisions when constructing a longhouse may, however, have been very specific and the sizes of the spaces created in the house were thus probably not accidental by-products of certain post layouts.

One of the firmer patterns of longhouse building is a row (across the house) consisting of three internal posts during the RRBP (Figure 5.6). Thus the post rows seem to form a necessary condition for building, which did not vary, while their spacing and the spaces inside the house were decided and created by the individual or group of builders (Coudart 1998; see Appendix 2, parts 2 and 3). Unlike other aspects of the longhouse architecture, it was not manipulated. Therefore, while patterns in the layout of posts, such as the 'Y' formation of posts and the location of corridors (see Appendix 2, 361–2), may have been repeated throughout the Aisne and Oise, overemphasis on the plan and typological category of the house would miss this significant and varied aspect of experience in the house.

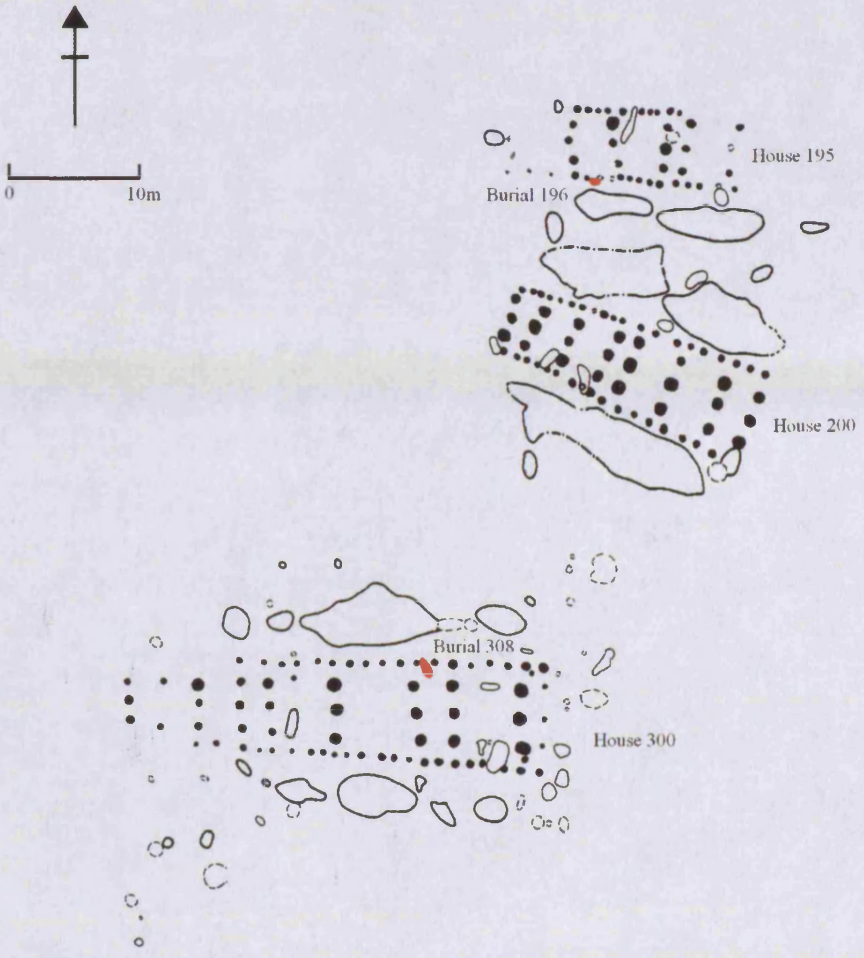


Figure 5.6. 'Three-posts-in-a-row' ideal demonstrated by the houses found at Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* (Aisne). After Dubouloz *et al.* (1995, 29).

The choreography of movement in the house can further be explored in the tripartite division of the house. The compartmentalisation of longhouses into three different sections is an enduring feature throughout the LBK (Coudart 1998); however, this

does not appear to continue after the VSG into Cerny and Michelsberg contexts. The tripartite division has often been commented on, though not all researchers have agreed on precise definitions of what constitutes each part of the tripartite house. Here I follow Coudart's (1998, 27) scheme because it has been applied most consistently to the Paris Basin.[7] Furthermore, the roles of the three sections remain far from clear. Modderman (1970; 1988) has argued that the central section was for daily life, while the northwestern and southeastern sections were animal stalls and a granary respectively. Bradley (2001) has suggested that the northern planked section may have been a mortuary shrine, added sometime after the initial construction of the house. Coudart (1998, 38, my translation) regards the overwhelming number of houses using the tripartite division in the Paris Basin (92%) as evidence that the 'conception of the domestic world appeared to be very standardised, but flexible enough' to allow the tripartite division to occasionally be manipulated, suggesting that the sections may not have been associated with specific functions or tasks.

Phosphate analysis has suggested a possible location of a hearth, towards the back of the central section of the house (Stäuble and Lüning 1999), but otherwise has done little to illuminate possible uses of the different sections. It is, therefore, not helpful to debate in depth whether the suggestions above are accurate. Rather, we can explore the contexts in which the tripartite nature of longhouses influenced space usage. Whittle (2003, 138) regards tripartism as a 'union of differences', allowing the house to encompass and demonstrate unity by bringing together difference. This 'difference' could be thought of in terms of practice or tasks, or it could be an elaboration of the different parts or constituent elements of a LBK household. Jones (2005) expands this along the lines of Coudart's (1998) arguments, suggesting that the tripartite nature of houses demonstrates the flexibility of the household over time.

This is also developed by Bradley (2001), who suggest that houses were added to piecemeal over time as the household grew, ending with the construction of the northwestern section as a mortuary. There is evidence from house 200 at Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* that the northwest section could have been added later as it has a slightly different alignment to the rest of the house (Figure 5.7).

However, with a few exceptions, LBK houses are tripartite along the Aisne and the Oise (according to Coudart's (1998) scheme), suggesting that rather than sections being added at a later date the house was built as a totality. Thus from its construction a house was marked by different areas. Daily routine in the longhouse was thus carried out in spaces that not only differed between houses, but within houses as well. Hence the sizes and shapes of the 'rooms' differed not only between houses, but within individual buildings as well (Figure 5.8; Modderman 1988; Coudart 1998; Hofmann 2006a; 2006b). This would have given each house a unique choreography of movement, with the length of the house, number of post-rows and house plan manipulated to provide specific spaces and these decisions as argued above had to be taken during the initial construction of a longhouse.

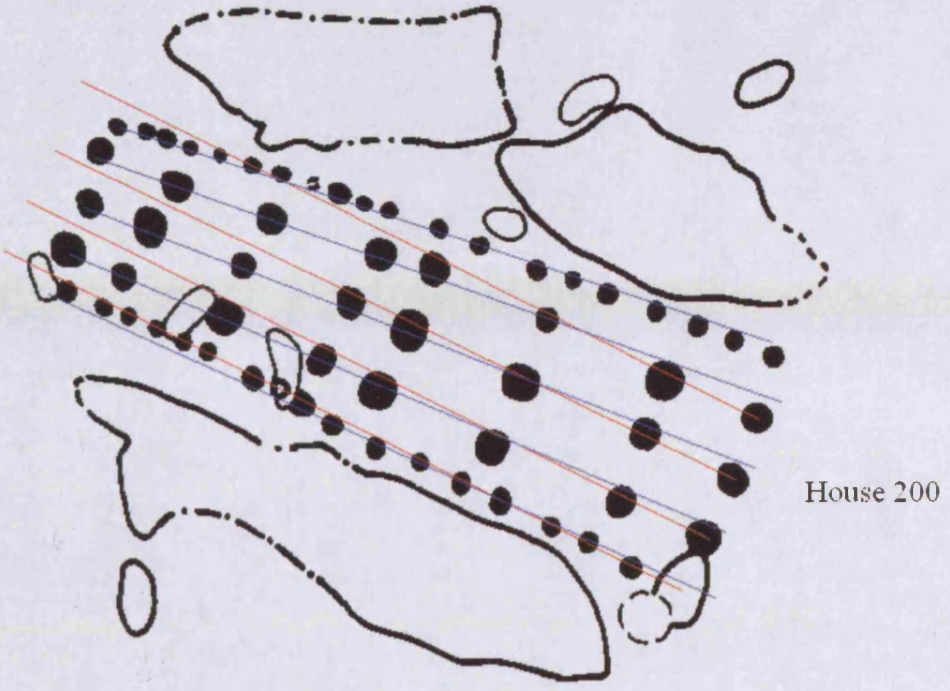


Figure 5.7. A demonstration of the mis-alignment of house 200 at Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* (Aisne). After Dubouloz *et al.* (1995, 29).

Such subtle differences in choreography may have been drawn on an intra-house level. Interestingly, two houses (440 and 425) which demonstrate a bipartite layout are found at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes and form a row of three houses with a central tripartite house (Figure 5.9). The central house (420) was built in phase four (Hachem 1997, 247), in the space between house 440 (phase 2) and house 425 (phase 3). The houses are so close together that their loam pits touch and, indeed,

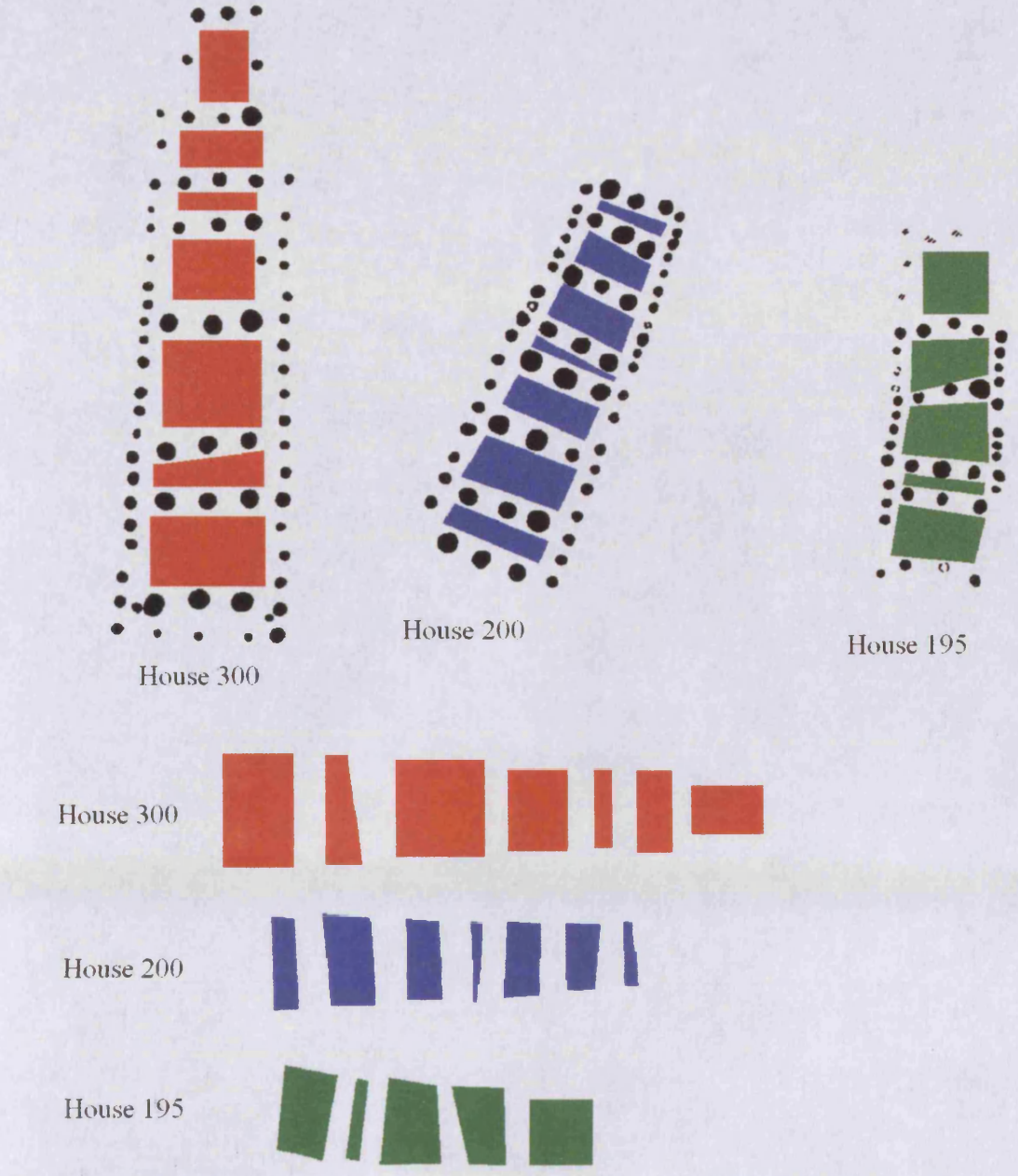


Figure 5.8. A demonstration of the different 'room' shapes in houses at Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* (Aisne). After Dubouloz *et al.* (1995, 29).

house 420 does not have a northern loam pit, suggesting that the pit between house 420 and 425 was still open when house 420 was constructed. With their abutting loam pits, this group of houses is situated closer to each other than any other houses at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes. This recalls the different orientations of houses at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir*, where difference was accompanied by closeness. Broad

issues or trends identified across the LBK sequence in the Paris Basin thus have moments when they become local, varied and challenged.

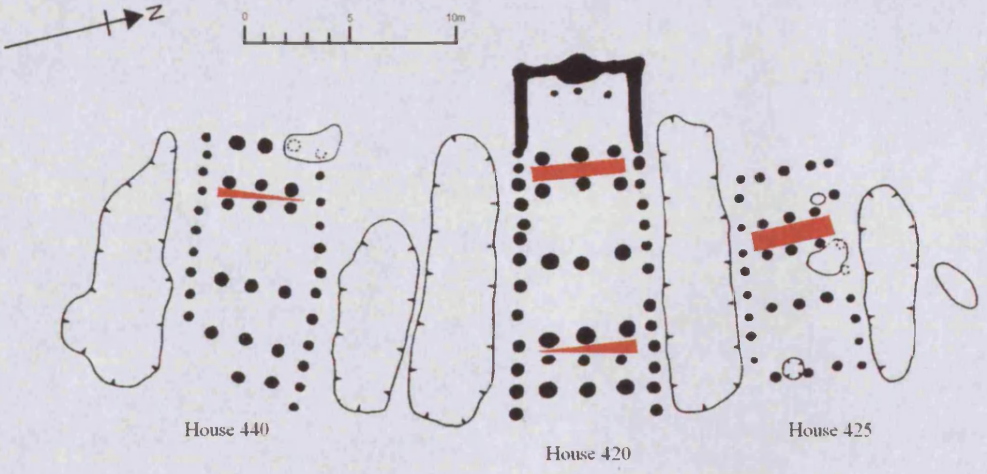


Figure 5.9. Houses 440, 420 and 425 at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). House 420 is tripartite, while houses 440 and 425 are bi-partite, with the red markers indicating the corridors that separate the different sections of the house. After Ilett and Coudart (1982, 30).

In conclusion to this section, the salient differences in house structures can be summed up as: length, house shape and internal spaces. The general similarities are: orientation, number of posts in a row and tripartism. The aspects of the architecture that varied do not, in general, form repeated patterns or strict rules that everybody follows; they are more piecemeal than this, best viewed as creative plays with the form of the longhouse. Similarly, changes in architectural style over time are general tendencies towards certain forms of longhouse (such as the trapezoidal house plan). We now turn to examine the material worlds in which these changes took place and what may have provided the impetus for building and manipulating house form.

Material Routines

The archaeological visibility of early Neolithic (RRBP and VSG) sites in the Aisne and Oise valleys is due in part to the remains which collected in the loam pits found either side of the longhouse (Figure 5.10). Elsewhere in the LBK distribution, material remains are also found in other pits across the settlement (Boelicke 1982, 20–3; Modderman 1988; see Chapter six). In contrast, on the Aisne and Oise, nearly all the material remains are found in the pits beside houses (Ilett *et al.* 1986, 137). The materials found in the loam pits represent almost the entire range of material

culture of the RRBP and VSG communities: pots and other ceramics, flint, fragments of stone bracelets, animal bones, worked bone and shell (Ilett *et al.* 1986; Constantin 1995; Coudart 1998). These are occasionally accompanied by burials which are almost exclusively either children (see Table 5.2 below) or fragments of human bone (Pariat 2007).

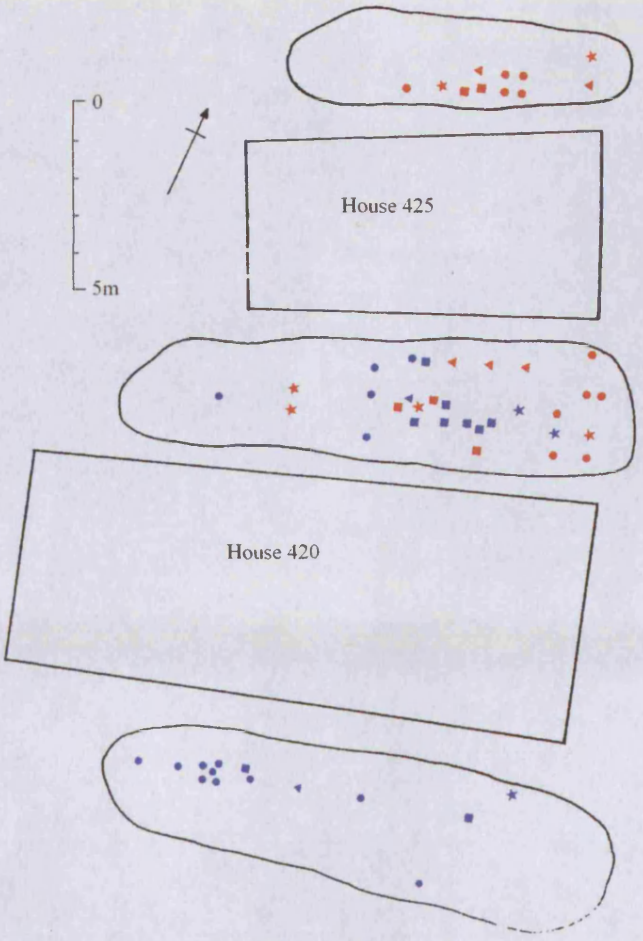


Figure 5.10. The figure shows some of the ceramic finds in the loam pits of houses 425 and 420 at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). The same colour and shape indicate that the sherds came from a single vessel. After Ilett and Coudart (1982, 31).

The general assumption has been that the material found within these pits represents the 'rubbish' of daily life: the sweepings from the house floors and remains from routine tasks deposited in a convenient location close to the house. However, attitudes that regard these materials as merely rubbish, or symbolically inert, reproduce western and modern ideals of cleanliness and the discard of waste (Douglas 1966). It is very likely that the material in LBK loam pits were potent and active in creating differing experiences of the settlement and the areas in between

and around the houses. It is widely thought that these pits were created during the construction of the house when clay was sought to create the house walls (Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a; Coudart 1998; Last 1998). However, the practices and routines which subsequently brought the material to the pits have rarely been considered in the Paris Basin, with researchers preferring to focus on what the assemblages may indicate about the daily tasks and the composition of the household (see Dubouloz 1995, 65–6).

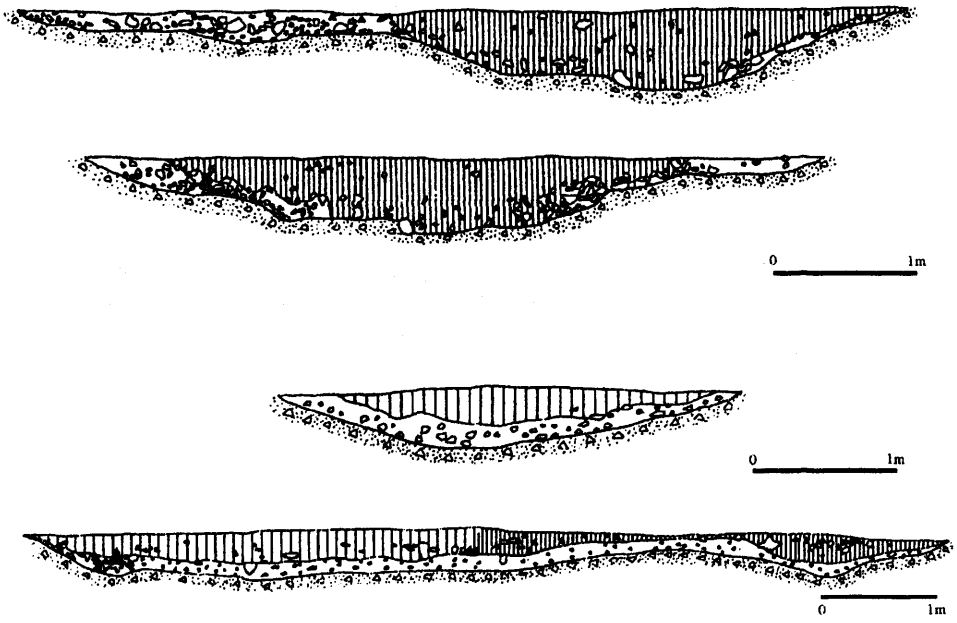


Figure 5.11. Loam pit sections from the VSG site of Poses (Seine, see Figure 5.1). Each pit shows evidence for two phases of deposition: an initial layer of more gradual silting followed by the deposition of a darker layer containing larger fragments of material remains. After Bostyn (2003, 51–3).

Closer attention to the sequence of deposition is revealing. Pits often have an initial layer of loess with small flecks of charcoal, little pieces of flint chippings and small fragments of ceramic, and bone (Ilett *et al.* 1980; Soudský *et al.* 1982; Ilett and Coudart 1983; Ilett *et al.* 1986). This suggests that the pit is open for a period, when general silting occurred, before more substantial deposits took place. These secondary and larger deposits (see Figure 5.11) are often blacker, representative of more organic deposits, along with larger pieces of pot, flint tools and animal bones (with the presence of some articulated pieces), indicating that they had formed much quicker, but possibly as a series of temporally differentiated and unstructured events.

This is echoed in Hamon's (2008) study of quern stones. At Berry-au-Bac three querns were found in a loam pit placed in an arc over their corresponding grinders (Hamon 2008, 204). Constantin *et al.* (1978) originally suggested they were a terminal deposit, but Hamon (2008, 206) argues that they could easily have been retrieved from the pit. Therefore there is no reason to suppose that material found within the pit had finished its active use-life.

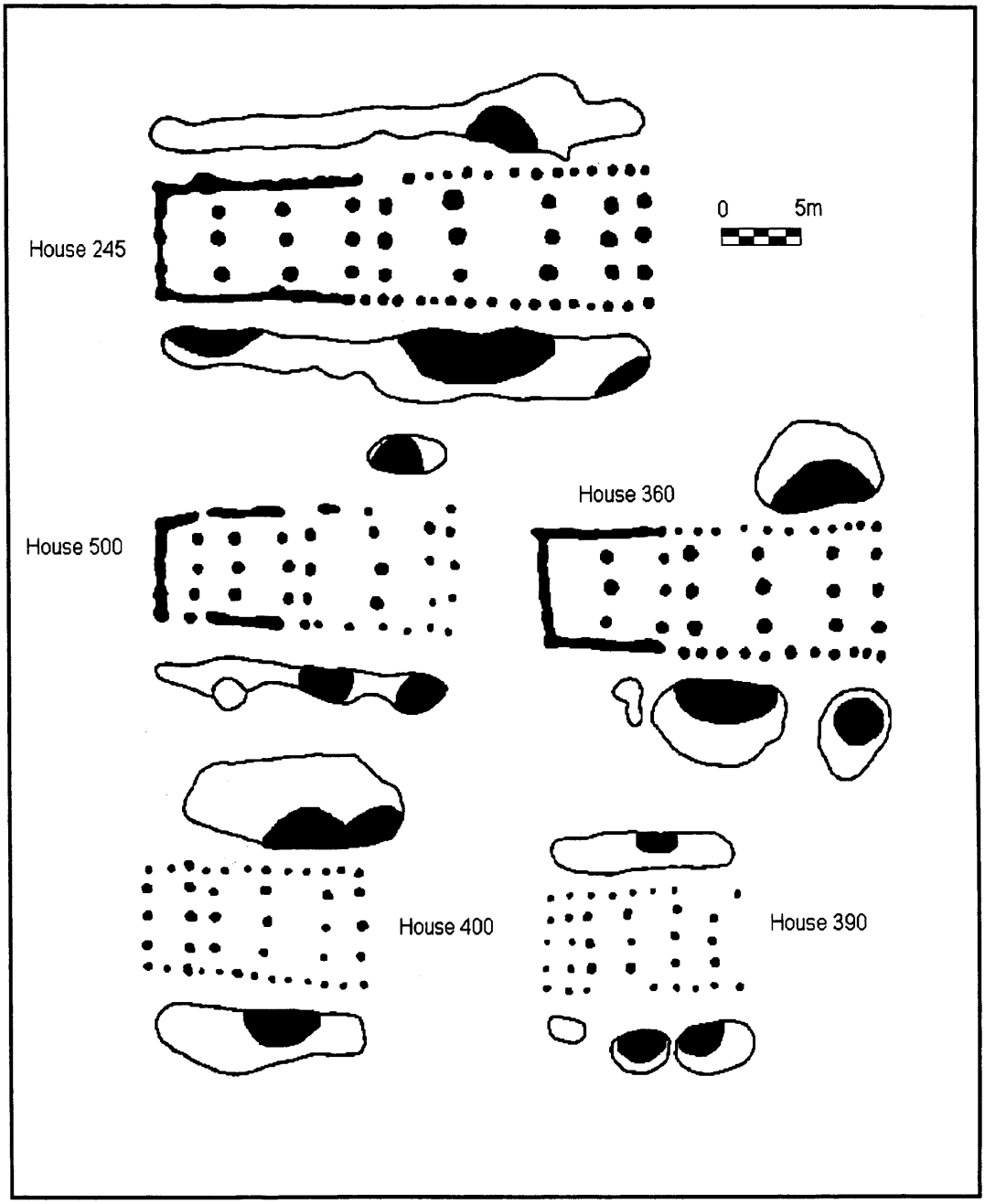


Figure 5.12. The areas of finds concentration in the loam pits of five houses at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). After Chataigner and Plateaux (1986, 322).

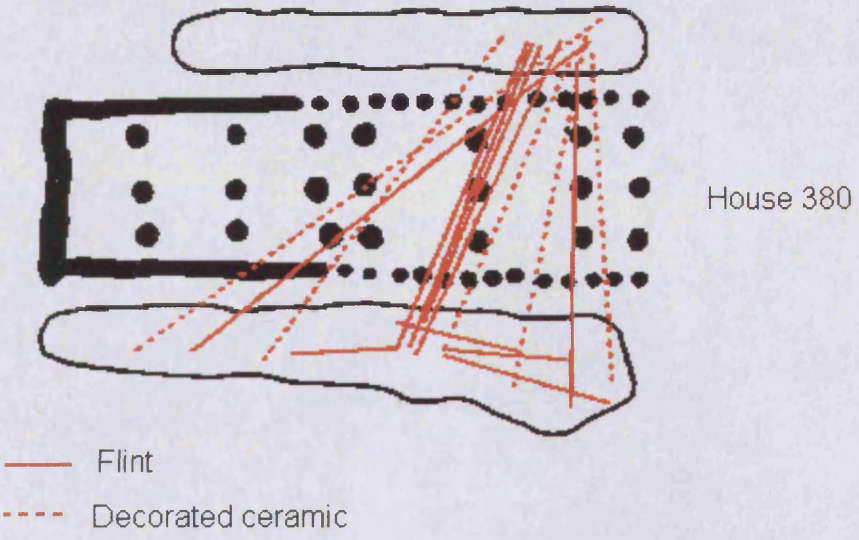


Figure 5.13. This figure demonstrates how different categories of material did become mixed. The lines indicate refitting pieces of ceramic or flint. House 380 from Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). After Ilett *et al.* (1980, 39).

The patterning found within loam pits suggests that routine activities were creating particular concentrations of material (Figure 5.12). There are certain areas in the pits where concentrations can be identified and these tend not to vary between different material categories (Figure 5.13). Last's (1998) consideration of the material remains from Bylany and Miskovice explored the possible quotidian activities that may have led to certain concentrations of material around the house. Sweepings from inside the house could have been deposited in the southwest near the entrance, while activities carried out at the northeastern end of the house would have created agglomerations of material along the eastern side of the house (see Figure 5.14; Last 1998, 26–7). This exact pattern is not reproduced along the Aisne and the Oise, though the practice of sweeping may account for the concentrations noted at the eastern end of the house (Figures 5.12 and 5.13). Figure 5.13 shows the distribution of lithic and ceramic material found in the loam pits of house 380 (Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes) and demonstrates that re-fitting fragments of decorated ceramic and flint ended up on both sides of the house, further suggesting that sweepings from activities carried out inside the house were placed in the pits. Hence, these concentrations could either represent a mixture of activities that were carried out in certain locations along the sides of the longhouse or material that was

gathered or middened together before being deposited in the pits in certain preferred locations.

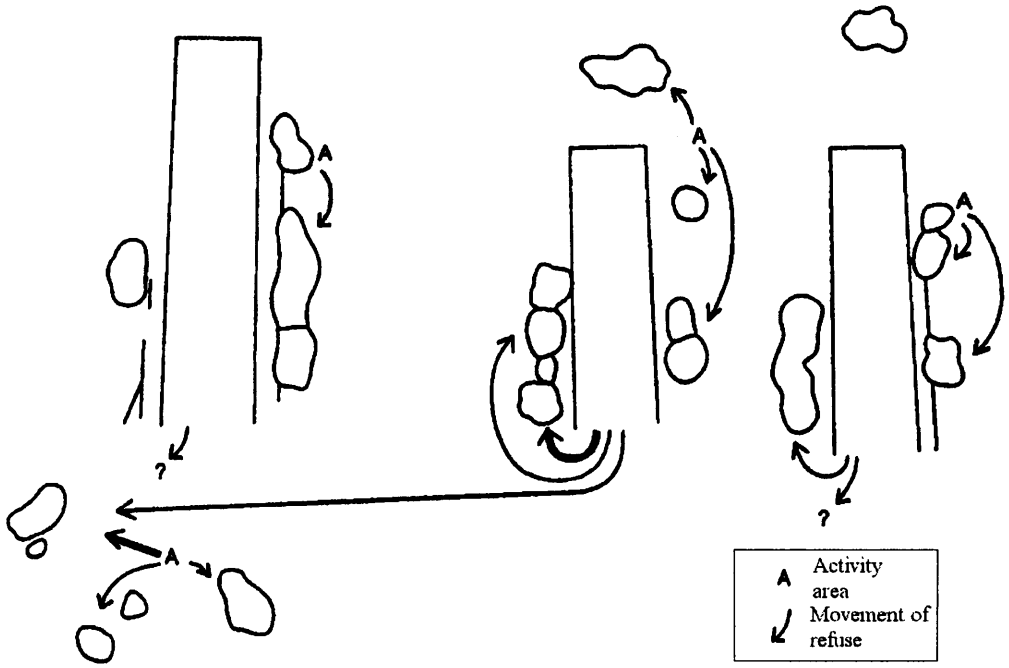


Figure 5.14. Possible patterns of discard at Miskovice (central Bohemia). After Last (1998, 27).

The favoured explanation for the central location of the concentrations is the presence of windows (or possibly doors) in the centre of the house (Ilett *et al.* 1986, 138; Modderman 1988; Whittle 1996a; Coudart 1998; Last 1998). It is difficult to assess the presence of doors or windows from the posthole structure of houses and their existence remains a possible explanation. However, given the sequence of deposition suggested by the pits themselves, it seems there may have been more complicated practices and routines carried out. Of the 23 houses at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes whose loam pits have been studied, a tendency for material to be placed on the southern side of the house has been identified at 15 (Ilett *et al.* 1986; Constantin 1995, 151). It is worth stressing that this pattern is a *tendency* to have *higher* concentrations of material, rather than exclusively placing remains on one side. This demonstrates that routine practices of deposition occurred in certain preferred choreographies that were by no means exclusive. In contrast, at Bucy-le-Long, Boiron (2007) found that the places of deposition were not regularised nor

repeated between households. She concludes that each household arranged the spatial location of its own tasks (Boiron 2007, 305).

The tendency to southern deposition is also found at Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* (Constantin 1995, 151)[8] and this may demonstrate that, like the 'three posts in a row' ideal of the house (see above), certain routines can be identified. There are a number of possible explanations for the preference for southern deposition over the north. It could be that households preferred to carry out daily tasks to the south, possibly where they were not shaded by the house, while at other times shade was desired leading to northern deposition. The notion of different 'activity zones' around the house could be seen in the grouping of lithic tools by task. At house 200 Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes the southern pit had two spatially separate groups of tools; scrapers and burins in one area and sickles and other flints in another (Chataigner and Plateaux 1986, 322). This is also supported by Hachem and Auxiette (1995), who suggest that the pattern of animal bone deposition at the three houses of Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* may represent individual butchery episodes carried out at their place of deposition. Studies carried out on other sites in the LBK have shown that there may be particular areas where certain activities took place. Last's (1998, 42) analysis from Bylany demonstrates that there were differences in which sides of the houses certain types of lithics were deposited (e.g. polished stone was deposited on the west of house 620 at Bylany, while flints were found in the east) and quern stones and grinders tend to be found towards the back of the house.

Studies from Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes suggest that patterns of deposition may have also been tied into individual relationships between different houses or households. Certain houses seem to be linked through opposing depositional practices. This pattern is particularly visible during the second phase, when the occupants of houses which are opposite each other (along the east-west axis) prefer to deposit material on opposing sides of the house (see Figure 5.15). This 'pairing' of longhouses suggests that different houses had varying relationships, rather than being tied into a rigid hierarchical social structure. It can therefore be expected that there are a number of explanations as to why certain depositional practices developed.

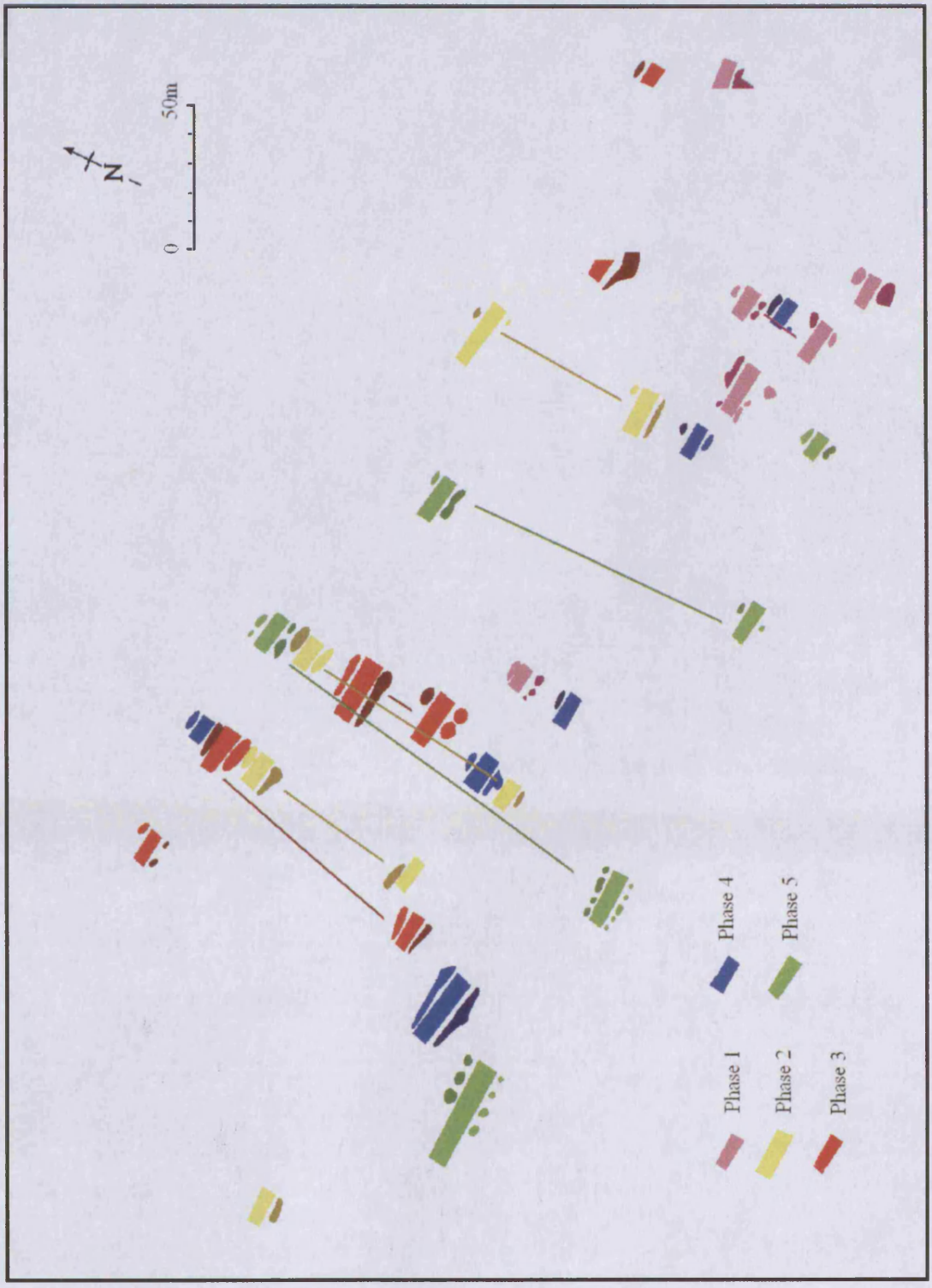


Figure 5.15. This figure demonstrates the development of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne) by phase. The darker shading of the loam pits indicates the side of the house where more finds were retrieved. The 'paired' houses are indicated by the lines. After Hachem (1997, 246–7).

We can envisage a situation where slightly more convivial relations led to households preferentially sitting on the same external side of the house, opposite one another talking and sharing jokes, with people moving backwards and forwards

across the intervening space. Where the other sides of the houses were favoured for deposition, perhaps relations were a little cooler and people took to working on the other side of the house or perhaps the hiding of certain tasks was desired. It is equally possible that material placed in the loam pits was on display to other members of the settlement and, therefore, perhaps where deposition on the same side was favoured, households were engaged in some form of competition. Whatever the preferred explanation, these patterns strongly suggest that a network of different relationships operated between households around the settlement.

In contrast to communities sharing depositional patterns, the material remains of the house seem to emphasise each house as separate. There are only rare examples of intrusive pot sherds found in a pit of a neighbouring house and when this does occur it is only a single sherd that is found (Ilett *et al.* 1986, 36).[9] Thus each house or household seems to uniquely deposit materials they used in their loam pits. Alongside the shared practices which operated around the settlement, partially influencing how deposition was carried out, each house dealt with material remains separately. Tensions may have therefore existed between and within the community, as enacted through the physical space surrounding the house and associated activities. Within this contrast between wider community and the individual household, differences between houses were obvious, whether in size or the type of material deposited alongside houses. We can thus begin to discern the different scales of concern within social relations: the household, between different households and the village.

These relations would have stretched over time as well as across the settlement. LBK houses are thought to have been left to decay *in situ*, producing the low mounds by which the later long mounds were thought to be inspired (see below and chapter seven). This proposition is difficult to assess because post-pipes are not always preserved. When they are (see Figure 5.16), it appears that both external wall posts and internal posts were left to rot *in situ*, but we cannot rule out the possibility that some were removed and reused or removed above ground level. Settlements such as Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes will thus have had a number of decaying houses after their initial phases. I will deal with the temporality of these practices in more detail in chapters six and seven, but for now I want to turn to the experience of

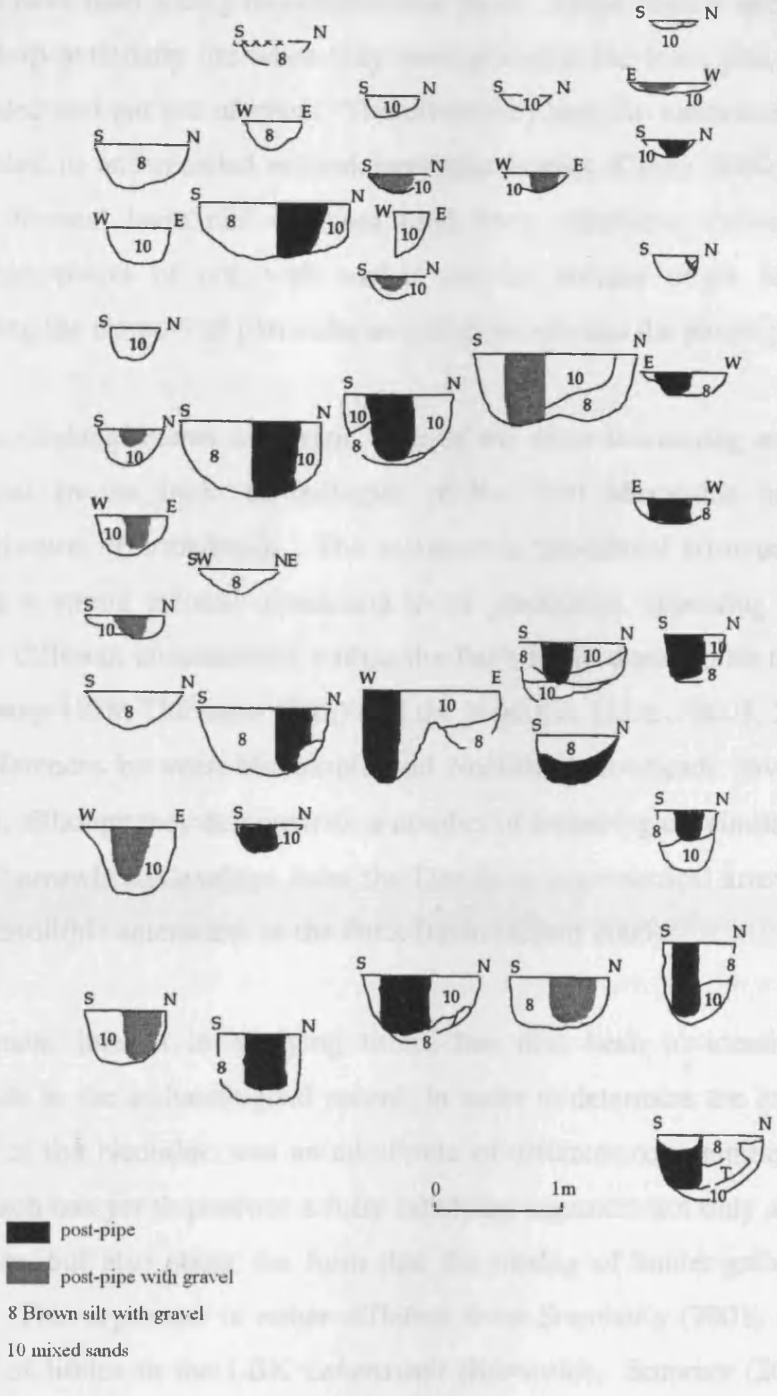


Figure 5.16. This figure shows the surviving post-pipes of house 590, Barry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Aisne). After Allard *et al.* (1995, 60).

living amongst these dying structures. The material excavated today is fairly hard and clean. During the RRBP and VSG, however, communities would have lived with the decaying mass of material either side of their houses and the disintegration of older houses on a daily basis. The remnants of tool making would have mixed

with broken pieces of (someone's favourite) pot, but also organic matter, which would have been losing its recognisable form. These objects necessarily remained bound up with daily life when they were placed in the loam pits, rather than being discarded and put out of view. Therefore, very specific memories could have been attributed to and recalled around particular houses (Casey 2000; DeSilvey 2006). Older houses' loam pits may not have been completely covered over and, for example, pieces of pot, with earlier ceramic designs might have been visible, inspiring the memory of particular events or people and the passing on of stories.

Lithics: entanglements in action. One of the most fascinating examples of social practices in the lithic technologies of the final Mesolithic and RRBP is the lateralisation of arrowheads. The asymmetric trapezoidal arrowhead is regarded as having a strong cultural dimension to its production, appearing to geographically define different communities within the Paris Basin during both the Mesolithic (J.-G. Rozoy 1978; Thévenin 1995) and the Neolithic (Allard 2005; 2007). A number of differences between Mesolithic and Neolithic arrowheads have been identified, which, although they demonstrate a number of technological similarities, suggest the RRBP arrowhead develops from the Danubian asymmetrical arrowhead rather than the Mesolithic antecedent in the Paris Basin (Allard 2005).

The main interest in studying lithics has thus been to identify forager-farmer contacts in the archaeological record, in order to determine the extent to which the onset of the Neolithic was an admixture of different communities. However, this approach has yet to produce a fully satisfying argument not only about the extent of mixture, but also about the form that the mixing of hunter-gatherers and farmers took. This argument is rather different from Sommer's (2001) assessment of the place of lithics in the LBK *Lebenswelt* (lifeworld). Sommer (2001) suggests that lithics were 'neutral' aspects of LBK identity, that is, she argues that lateralisation is an unconscious, habitual action and points out that once an arrowhead was hafted, lateralisation would not be visible. This is significant as arrowheads will have been used during hunting trips, perhaps an opportunity when knappers with different techniques could meet and be witness to the different styles of making arrowheads, or indeed other lithics.

Wiessner's (1983) study of the Kalahari San showed that their arrowheads stored a great deal of information in the differences in style, which was recognised by the hunters themselves. The San hunters had difficulty distinguishing their own arrowheads from those made by others in their immediate groups, but when asked to look at arrowheads made by the wider community differences were easily recognised (Wiessner 1983, 269). While the different styles contained information about group identities and alliances, what the differences in lithic style did not indicate was either degree of contact or exchange (Wiessner 1983, 269). Therefore, it may be that it was the subtleties in different styles of arrowhead rather than the major differences in the types of lithics used that mattered. This could have carried through to ceramics, where preferences for certain styles or methods of decorating pots may have identified certain potters within the settlement (Sommer *pers. comm.*).

Once we begin to see how arrowheads were used in everyday life, this begins to problematise our understanding of the contexts in which they are discovered. Mesolithic sites were created through a series of short-lived but repeated occupations and may represent small groups in the process of hunting; RRBP sites were built in the valley bottom and away from where hunting may have taken place. What is significant, however, is not whether the arrowhead is lateralised to the right or to the left, but what the action of producing a difference facilitated. Thus, the lateralisation of the arrowhead produced a forum in which the knapper could, on a regular basis, express an identity. This knowledge may not have been 'present-at-hand' (Heidegger 1962; Thomas 1996b, 86) to the knapper, and hence not a conscious choice but rather a habitual style or 'ready-at-hand' (Heidegger 1962; Thomas 1996b, 86). When placed in contrast, two knappers from different regions could have acknowledged this (I knap right and you knap left) but the significance of this for us here is that such a technique not only allows the possibility for the communities of the Paris Basin to acknowledge a regional identity, but to express connections that went beyond the immediate settlement. Sommer (2001) has suggested that hafting may have hidden such differences, implying perhaps that stylistic variations in technique were downplayed.

Yet *difference* becomes increasingly explored during the early Neolithic on the Aisne and Oise. In the RRBP a greater variety of blank forms were used to produce arrowheads than in the Mesolithic (Allard 2005); the percentage of arrowheads receiving right-lateralisation drops from 100% in the Mesolithic to 71% in the Neolithic (Allard 2005). The potential to act in different ways becomes acknowledged. This idea can be further elaborated by considering procurement patterns. Mesolithic communities utilised local flint, while in the RRBP good quality flint was sourced from 15 km–30 km away from settlements (Augereau 1993; Allard 2005; 2007; Allard and Bonnardin 2007). Thus, for the Mesolithic communities of the Somme and Tardenois, lithics were part of the daily 'round', and thus in the flow of life lithics were picked up while '*en train de*' other activities. From the beginning of the Neolithic on the Aisne and Oise, flint was sourced during movements away from the settlement. Thus finding and choosing flint may have become 'a task' in itself, rather than forming part of other activities, engaged in as life was going on.

The changes we can thus see from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic are not simply the importation of new identities into the area of the Aisne and Oise valleys, but rather an opening up of lithics as a means by which difference could be explored. Procuring flint became an 'event' in daily life, thus suggesting that it too became a discursive activity. At suitable times of production, methods of knapping and choices of material converged to produce the patterns of flints tools we study today. The change from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic may be an admixture of Mesolithic and Neolithic techniques, but this does not mean that each technique represented an individual with exclusively 'Mesolithic' or 'Neolithic' identity; rather, we see the ongoing negotiation between two different ways of life.

Bone: hunters and herders at Cuiry. Further differences can be seen in the deposition of animal bones at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes. The animal bone assemblage from this site offers one of the best preserved records from across the LBK distribution and has been studied in detail by Lamys Hachem (1995a; 1997; 2000). In general wild animals decrease through time, while herding increases (Hachem 1995a). This trend becomes even stronger when cattle and sheep/goat are compared with only the larger game animals of wild boar and deer (Hachem 1997). These

trends also have a spatial dimension, with certain areas of the settlement tending to favour certain animals. Hachem (1995a; 1997; 2000) argues that the settlement can be divided along two axes (north-south and east-west) (Figure 5.17), with wild animals concentrated in the northwestern section, cattle in the east extension, with sheep in the southwest. Furthermore, higher cattle assemblages are associated with longer houses (that is houses with more 'rooms' in the northeastern section, having 2 or 3 rather than 1) (see Table 5.1) (Hachem 1995a; 1997; 2000). Two interpretations are offered by Hachem; first, that distinctions were made between houses on the basis of the tasks carried out, and secondly herding tended to be connected with higher status or larger households (Hachem 1995a; 1997; in particular 2000).

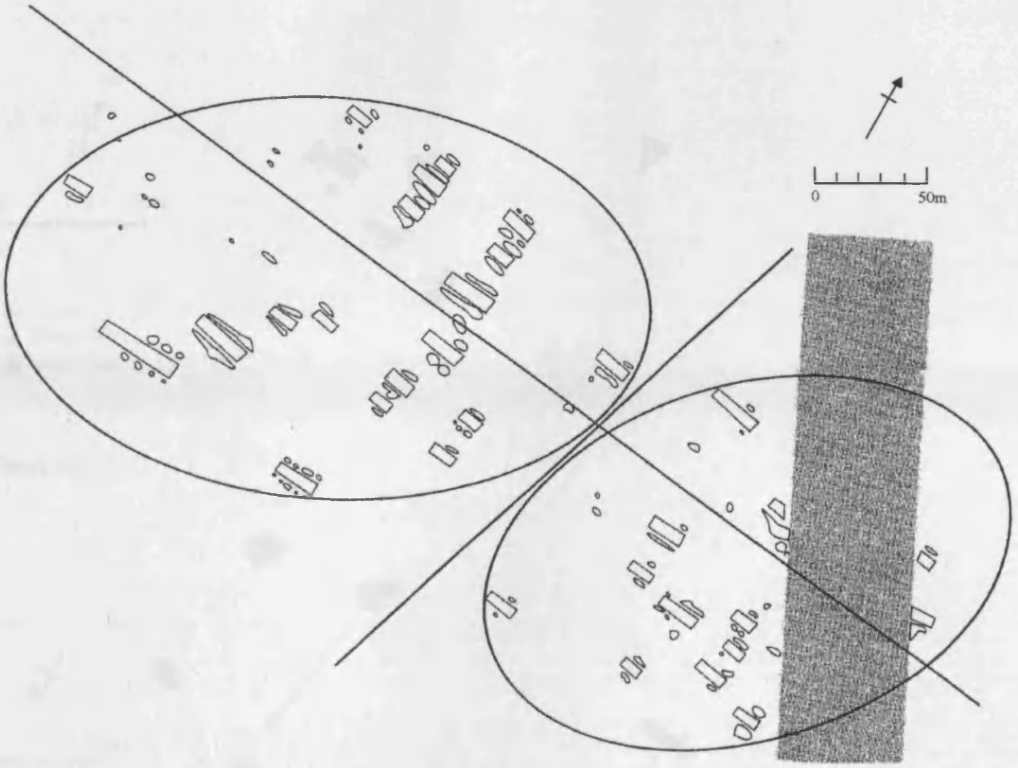


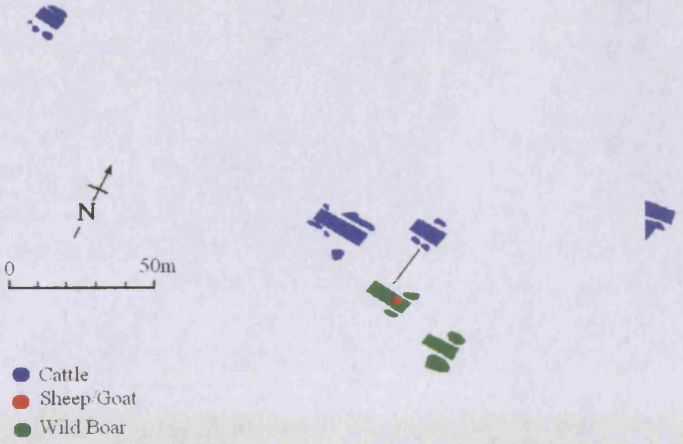
Figure 5.17. This figure demonstrates the two axes Hachem (1997) identified dividing Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). The NW/SE axis marks the line across which houses were 'paired'. The grey hatching indicates an area of erosion. After Hachem (1997, 246).

The spatial differences can be explored over the five settlement phases (Figures 5.18a–5.18e). It seems that over time houses in the northwestern quarter tend to be hunters over herders. However, looking at the spatial arrangements phase by phase, it seems that hunters tended to build houses on the edges of the settlement. As houses which hunt, or have more emphasis on hunting, also have cattle and sheep, they therefore represent a higher variety of activities rather than the exclusive

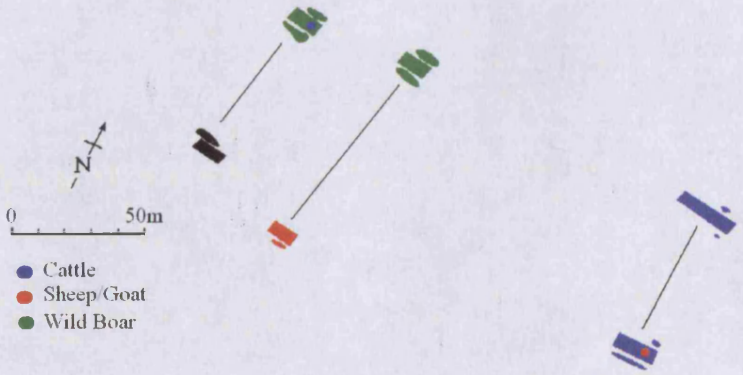
practice of hunting. Hachem (1995a) therefore suggests the grouping of household identities by different animal species, forming a totemistic system based on hunting, cattle and sheep. I shall return to hunting and herding below, when the experiences with the wider landscape are discussed, but for the moment I want to continue the theme of difference and independence between households.

Figure 5.18a-e: The following diagrams depict the five phases at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne) and show which houses had high concentrations of cattle, sheep/goat or wild boar. The houses with a second colour have higher than usual concentrations of a secondary resource. The houses in black indicate that there was no particular concentration of any animal species. After Hachem (1997, 246–7).

A) Phase one



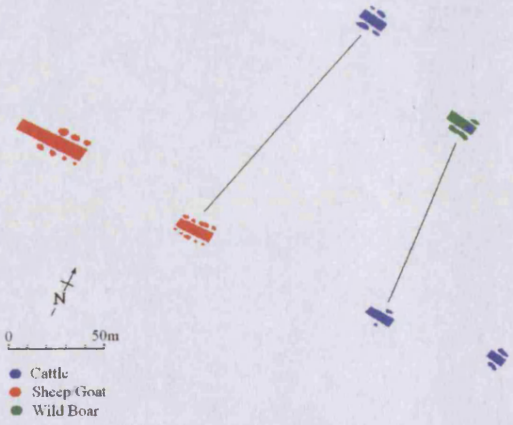
B) Phase two



C) Phase three

D) Phase four

E) Phase five



Cuiry Phase	house no.	Animal			Trench	Rooms (in western section)		
		Cattle	Sheep	Boar		1	2	3
1	45	X			X			X
	90	X				X		
	112			X		X		
	126			X		X		
	390	X				X		
2	320					X		
	400			X		X		
	440			X		X		
	500	X	X		X			X
	520	X						
	560						X	
3	11	X	X		X		X	
	360		X		X		X	
	380	X			X			X
	420			X	X		X	
	570		X					
	580			X		X		
4	85	X				X		
	89			X		X		
	245		X		X			X
	320		X			X		
	425			X		X		
	460	X				X		
5	80	X				X		
	225		X					X
	280		X				X	
	410	X				X		
	450	X					X	
	530			X			X	

Table 5.1. The pattern of animal bone and architectural features at the houses of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). Information collated from Hachem (1997) and Coudart (1998).

The preference for depositing, and therefore we assume eating, certain forms of meat may not necessarily be rendered through terms of social differentiation or stratification but does create a forum for difference to be explored and, crucially, acknowledged. Each phase at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes has one house with three rooms in the western section of the longhouse; this house is also always the longest house in that particular phase (see Table 5.1). These 'long' houses are always associated with some form of herding (whether cattle or sheep). Considering the suggestion that herding may have necessarily involved more people to be achieved successfully

(Lüning 1988), does this mean that the practice of hunting, associated with the smaller shorter houses, indicates that occupants of shorter houses were actually more independent from the rest of the settlement than the longer houses? Hence, those involved with larger herds of cattle would have required more people, for milking and herding, and would have had to ensure that relationships across the settlement were continued or have had the ability to form new ones. Those households with more reliance on hunting were possibly not able to, or willing to, put the effort into ensuring these ties. If this is the case then house size could have been directly related to the number of inhabitants forming the household, but certainly also to daily practice. Clearly, caring for animals and architectural form were overlapping spheres of influence in the early Neolithic.

Where the 'pairing' of depositional practices at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes is recognised (where houses deposit remains preferentially on the same or opposite sides of the house), the two houses have different species dominant in their assemblages. Thus to some extent what practices were dominant for a household in daily life came to influence how the household engaged with other houses. Relations between houses were influenced by the different concerns encountered by preferentially hunting or herding and these practices may have garnered relations into the physical structure of the settlement. Thus certain houses may have had closer relations than others. This is not represented by similarity or degree of difference; rather, the closer physical relations between two houses, the more likely difference is to be stressed and explored. Thus the independence of the 'house' as a singular entity appears to be stressed. However, I think it is unlikely that some form of totemism existed; rather, certain practices became associated with certain people or households. Identity need not have been applied to houses and households in such a direct way. Being a 'hunter' or a 'herder' was just one of a network of relations that tied people into their community.

Forests

The previous section has focussed on the material worlds of the house and the settlement. Yet, people also lived in a world beyond the house and household and the wider landscape must have been a significant aspect of daily life in the early Neolithic of the Aisne and Oise valleys. That people moved around the landscapes

of central Europe during the early Neolithic is undeniable. The movement of stone (both as tools and raw material) and *Spondylus* shells (amongst other types), coupled with the evidence for the hunting of wild animals and herding of cattle, certainly builds a picture in which movement in the landscape was a significant aspect of people's lives. In contrast, the wider landscape has been of little interest to those exploring wider LBK worlds, with the spaces in between particular sites neglected. This section will focus on the tasks that took people into the wider landscape and how this may have impacted on the contexts of performances of community. Human movement includes a broad spectrum of actions; it covers everything from the expansive and public, long-distance moves, to the small and private twitch or blink (Mills 2006, 41). It therefore does not require any more space than the body itself inhabits and it is through movement that the material world and landscapes become available to us (see discussion of Bourdieu in Chapter two). By thinking through choreographies of different activities we may be able to explore how the settlement fitted in the landscape and examine in more depth the network of alliances people were tied into beyond those of the village.

The notion of 'forest' is often taken to describe a homogenous and undifferentiated landscape. In fact, many groups around the world, both hunters and farmers, distinguish between different types and areas of forest within their landscape (Morris 1995; Rival 1998). The immediate area around the village is a place of the everyday; a place for gathering fire wood, playing, hiding, secret liaisons, sexual encounters, gossiping, defecating, visiting fields and gathering foods. It is a familiar landscape of well worn paths, daily tasks and activities. The relationship between the immediate surroundings of the village and the wider landscape may not be so clear cut. Morris (1995) argues that although the people of Malawi regard the forest as crucially important in the supply of animal meat (through wild animals), medicine, fuel, food, building materials and human fertility, their attitude to the forest is ambiguous. It is not only associated with women, through the daily tasks which take them into the forest, but also with men, or rather male affines, due to its fertilizing power (Morris 1995, 308). For the Mbendjele Yaka, Democratic Republic of Congo, the forest is considered to be both life giving and full of spirits, which can be compassionate as well as malicious (Lewis 2002).

Chapter four discussed the physical environment into which the RRBP and VSG sites were set and noted that rather than inhabiting small clearings amongst a dense forest, the early Neolithic landscape was probably a mosaic of naturally formed clearings and woodland of different densities. The social lives of the RRBP and VSG communities were enmeshed into this landscape, by which I mean it was not separate from the social performances which were carried out within and between settlements. It is not the intention here to draw a distinct line between settlement and the wider landscape, but rather to explore how performances outside the immediate context of the house and wider settlement were part of the everyday lives of these groups. This section will, therefore, discuss the potential performances within the landscape; namely hunting, herding and cereal growing.

Hunting and herding. The difference between hunting and herding has normally been rendered as the opposition between domesticated and wild resources, continuing the division between the Mesolithic and Neolithic as dramatic and absolute. Furthermore, as Whittle (2003, 82) has recognised, there has been a tendency for archaeologists to be far more concerned with the economic aspects of the animal bone assemblage, despite the rich anthropological literature, which has emphasised not only the sheer variety of human societies' attitudes to animals but also their effective ability to shape how landscape, daily life and agency are experienced (Ingold 2000; Morris 1998). It has long been recognised in the anthropological literature that humans tend to have different relationships with wild animals to those they have with domesticated animals, (Ingold 1994; 1996; 2000). The difference between wild/hunted animals and domesticated/herded animals is often regarded as a shift between relationships of trust to domination (Ingold 1996; 2000). This, however, does not mean that these relationships have to be opposing and are, in fact, frequently complex and limitlessly varied (Morris 1998; Ingold 2000; Whittle 2003).

Thus to directly interpret a perceived division between hunted and herded animals in the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin may over-simplify the complex relationships between humans and animals. Particular domestic animals may have unique traits and be well known and even named by the human carers (Kent 1989, 16; Lorimer 2006, 499). Thus movement in the landscape would not be formed from the

environment in isolation, but in the network arising out of task, human, animal and the temporality of the event (Ingold 2000; see Chapter two). As Lorimer (2006, 504) argues, 'calving, tending, milking, leading, selling, slaughtering and skinning are treated as practical matters to be taken in hand, but also as emotional entanglements in animal lives'.

That both hunting and herding were practised is well evidenced by the animal bone found the loam pits of longhouses. However, it must be noted that this is not a direct representation of the hunting and herding practices, but the assemblages we have are subjected to certain processes of decay and, of course, they have to find their way into the loam pit in the first place. As it was argued above, it is suggested here that these loam pit deposits came together piecemeal over a period of time rather than one-off deposits. Thus the animal bone assemblages are probably a reliable indication only of what was brought to the settlement and then became part of the routines of deposition. This is significant as hunted animals may have been more likely to be consumed close to the kill-site (Whittle 2003, 90), particularly those hunted during longer-distance movements. We must, therefore, be careful not to take the animal bone assemblages in the loam pits as the direct representation of the diet, herding methods or social responses to animals. This does not mean, however, that we cannot build up a picture of what people's relationships with animals was like or explore their role in everyday tasks.

As the practice of hunting seems to have stronger connections to the smaller houses at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes and herding with the larger, Hachem (2000) tentatively suggests that herders had higher status. When average house lengths are compared it is the houses that herd that are longer, though it is the houses predominantly herding sheep/goats that are the longest (wild boar: average length 13 m; cattle: average length 15.7 m; sheep: average length 20.4 m). This is surprising as it is usually cattle which are the focus of discussions around high status and social differentiation (Hachem 2000; cf. Bentley *et al.* 2003) and cattle, overall, is the most represented animal at the settlement (Hachem 1995a; 1997; Arbogast 2001). There may be a simple explanation, other than status, for this phenomenon. The required number of people to care for domestic animals may have been higher than the number needed to hunt, thus resulting in longer houses (Lüning 1988; Stehli 1994).

Following Marciniak (2005), sheep may have been the animal used most routinely to provide meat. Therefore, the longer houses would represent the biggest routine assembly of people. Recently, Bedault and Hachem (2008, 238–9) have estimated that each house at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes would have cared for 4–6 cows, similar numbers of pig and 4 sheep. These numbers are not sufficient to keep a breeding herd and therefore close co-operation between households when it came to caring for livestock probably took place. What this stresses is that herding required greater co-operation between larger groups than hunting and thus hunters may have been able to operate more independently from the rest of the community.

However, the houses considered to be herders or hunters actually show a greater percentage of a specific animal, rather than hunting or herding exclusively, and therefore, people both hunted and herded. Even at houses with a higher percentage of hunting, the wild animal bone is at most 30% of the total assemblage (Arbogast 2001; Hachem 1997). The reverse is not true for houses associated with herding, with up to 90% of the assemblage coming from herded animals (Hachem 1997, 255). While some households may have had a significant commitment to practising hunting, herding was also being practised by those who hunted and vice versa. Thus individuals who herded and individuals who hunted may also have had experience of what it was like to carry out the other task and there is no need to see these patterns as representative of exclusive identities. Thinking about how the different practices of hunting and herding may have influenced how people moved through and experienced the landscape may, therefore, be more productive.

At this point it is worth noting the variety of different hunting experiences offered by the range of species found represented at settlements. Arbogast (2001) shows that the animal bone assemblage from the Aisne and Oise demonstrates great variability in the practice of hunting; while wild boar represent 30% of the assemblage at Pont-Sainte-Maxence, they make up no more than 2% at Berry-au-Bac and about 6% at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes. Similar patterns can also been seen throughout the Paris Basin with red deer and aurochs, with the percentage of wild animals varying between 5 and 40% of the total assemblage (Arbogast 2001, 89). Some 16 different wild species are represented at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes and 7 at Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie*. A particularly interesting contrast to note

is the prevalence of wild boar at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, where it is the most frequently hunted wild animal, while at Berry-au-Bac it comes third to red deer and aurochs (Hachem 1995a; 1997; Hachem and Auxiette 1995, 128). Wild boar is a nocturnal animal, most active around sunset when they feed (Runo *et al.* 1997), thus setting this species apart from other hunted animals. Hunting wild boar may have required a very different skill-set. They are more aggressive than red deer, though significantly smaller than aurochs. Today, in Europe, wild boars are hunted at sunset, while there is still some light and the animals give their location away through sound (Runo *et al.* 1997).

The patch-work landscape of grassland and woodland may have been an important part of hunting, as clearing edges would have attracted mammals for feeding (Vera 2000; Mátrai 2004). Wild boars are also opportunistic omnivores and have proved fond of cereal crops across modern Europe (Gearier and Reyer 2004). Though Europe is much more heavily populated today than in the Neolithic, and the natural habitat of wild boars is correspondingly reduced, it could be suggested that wild boar may have been similarly attracted to crops in the Neolithic. Conflict may have thus arisen between cereal growers and the wild boar, perhaps evidenced in the possible fenced gardens found at LBK sites such as at Geleen-Janskamperveld (Louwe-Kooijmans *et al.* 2003). However, the excavators of the site argue that the fenced enclosures were part of a palisade around the site and dividing individual wards (this will be discussed further in Chapter seven; Louwe Kooijmans *et al.* 2003).

The hunting of different animals may have offered contrasting experiences of moving through the landscape. It has been suggested that red deer and aurochs preferred different types of woodland (Whittle 2003, 90). Aurochs were thought to prefer light deciduous forests and open areas (Hüster-Plogman *et al.* 1999, 158), while red deer probably spread through various different types of woodland (Hüster-Plogman *et al.* 1999; Steppan 1999, 169). Some of the hunting which took place may have been from specific trips into the forest and wider landscape and other incidents may have been from opportune moments while carrying out other tasks. Thus the skills required in hunting different animals varied, leading to certain hunters or groups becoming particularly skilled in tracking specific animals.

Aurochs and wild boar may have indicated movement along the river valley, while red deer could indicate trips on to the plateaux.

By no means were all hunted animals treated the same, nor was each settlement's, or household's, involvement with hunting consistent. The pattern at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes is by no means the norm, with some smaller sites seeing greater homogeneity of wild animal species between the different houses (e.g. Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* (Hachem and Auxiette 1995) and Pont-Sainte-Maxence (Arbogast 2001)). Throughout the RRBP and VSG the amount of hunted animals represented varies between settlements, sometimes between close and neighbouring sites, such as Longueil-Sainte-Marie II and III (Oise) where the difference in percentage of hunted animals is about 10% (of the total assemblage; Arbogast 1995, 325).

Contrastingly, there may have been greater similarity in the relative amounts which domesticated species contributed individually to the animal bone assemblage; however, even this varies over a range of 10% (Hachem and Auxiette 1995; Hachem 1995a; 2000; Arbogast 2001). Herding may have offered a more consistent or more common range of experiences in the landscape, by which I mean more people within the valleys would have shared similar experiences through tending and moving with cattle, sheep/goat and pigs, than with hunted animals. However, even amongst these 'domestic' animals the experiences may have varied. Evidence for herding cattle over considerable distances is beginning to emerge from the site of Vaihingen in southwest Germany, while pigs appear to have stayed more local to the village (Bentley and Knipper 2005). The molars from three different cattle were subjected to isotope analysis and each animal appeared to have experienced a different pattern and degree of movement during its life, compared to the relatively narrow range for pigs (Bentley and Knipper 2005).

Moving with animals would have been a seasonal practice, with animals generally being pastured on higher ground during the summer months (Kienlin and Valde-Nowak 2003; Halstead 2005, 45). It has been suggested that such a practice took place throughout the summer months during the later Neolithic in the Black Forest Mountains (Kienlin and Valde-Nowak 2003). Perhaps herding took people away

from the settlement at particular times of the year and perhaps to meet up with other groups. Animals may have recognised as caught up in these ties and movements around the landscape (Whittle 2003). This could have been in a very immediate way (this cow came from that particular person or group) but also in a more performative way; it gave the impetus and potential for relationships to be established and a daily way of being enmeshed into a world that lay beyond the settlement. Therefore the biological or breeding herd may have differed from the 'social' herd, with households caring for a relatively small number of animals but moving to breed or exchange them with a larger group (Robb 2004, 135).

Cattle would have contributed by far the largest amount of meat and may have brought people together in feasting activities (Parker Pearson 2000; 2003). This would have resulted in cattle playing a role in the communal life beyond the household, perhaps in ways sheep/goats and pigs did not. Conversely, the summer months away from the village with the herd may have been a time of relative freedom and isolation. In her ethnographical history of the Hebridean islands, Parman (1990) argues that until the 1950s the yearly cycle was formed by the movement of cattle from the coast to further inland on the islands and back again. The summer months were times when the young of the community would follow the herd away from the village, and at weekends older children in their late teens and early twenties would go up and join them, taking advantage of the opportunity to be away from elders and gossip (Parman 1990, 44–9). As one of her informants put it 'if you were out at the sheiling [small stone huts on the high ground], you didn't need to go to church' (Parman 1990, 49). Cattle and sheep may also have provided different experiences of herding. In Parman's (1990) example, men were associated with the sheep, while women, because of their dominance in milking activities, were associated with cattle.

This need not be the case in the Paris Basin in the early Neolithic, but Parman's (1990, 50) ethnography does argue that sheep require less co-operation with others and smaller breeding herds. Halstead (2005, 45) has argued that in Neolithic Greece, the interplay of crops and transhumance with sheep lead to different sites having individual patterns of mobility through the year. Therefore, he considers it unlikely that the whole population would move (Halstead 2005, 45). Furthermore,

sheep could have played a role in maintaining intensive garden cultivation through manuring, while grazing fallow fields (Halstead 2006, 49–50). Bogaard (2004) identifies a possible connection between differences in the level of soil disturbances and the practice of varying forms of animal husbandry;[10] pig husbandry may relate to high soil disturbance as pigs break up the soil effectively and clear weeds. However, in the Paris Basin, pig is relatively low in animal bone assemblages (Hachem 1995a; Arbogast 2001; I will return to cereal growing below).

The socialities experienced during hunting and herding may therefore have had similarities. Transhumance may not have involved the whole population, but a mixture of young and more experienced individuals. It could have been a time when the younger members of a community learnt specific tasks from their elders (Evans 2003, 173), though perhaps it was also time of sexual experimentation and a chance to escape the tighter controls of others in the community. Hunting may have offered similar experiences, a chance to escape rivalries in the village or perhaps contrastingly, the possibility to demonstrate acts of bravado which may have inflamed new disagreements or won respect. However, within each activity there would have been different movements in the landscape. Herding would have been far more seasonal, taking people further and for longer periods of time (Evans 2003). Hunting trips may have only lasted a few days.

While the hunters and herders in this scenario were not made up of different people, that is, people both hunted and herded, they would have involved different perceptions of the landscape. The hunter requires a skilled knowledge of where to look for animals and therefore an intimate knowledge of the landscape (Ingold 2000, 24). The hunter must attend to the way the animal is in the landscape (Ingold 2000, 24); therefore the landscape becomes a place of interpretation. By this, I mean that the hunter must move through the landscape attending to its every clue; he or she must learn to see the landscape from the animal's perspective. With herding, the landscape is no less active, but the engagement with it is somewhat different. The herder, too, has to attend to how the animal sees the landscape and its requirements (Ingold 2000, 73–5). However, the herder must find a way through the landscape for their herds or flocks, rather than a way to an animal (Lorimer 2006, 498). Herding can therefore take place at a rather slower place, as animals forage and stop

to eat, while hunting could take hours of patient tracking and waiting, followed by a few minutes of pace-raising chase (Ingold 2000, 73–5; Lorimer 2006, 498). The denser woodland on the plateau may therefore have been a place of hunting; an intimate place, with small groups of people situated in the immediacy of their surroundings.

In contrast, the landscape of herding was more expansive; it brought people into their wider worlds and in this respect it was larger and more open. I do not mean that herders would have necessarily favoured more open areas. Rather, through wider-ranging movements, herding brought people into a landscape of connections and a network of exchanges, while hunting remained a local activity carried out with intimately connected people and those engaged with locally and on a daily basis. This is significant because these experiences would have constructed senses of place and social scale. Thus the landscape may at times have been conceptually open and larger, while at others more intimate, small-scale and close. The implication of this is that social lives were lived at different scales. The variety of performances in the landscape presented the possibility for different engagements not only with landscape, but with different forms of social exchanges.

There is little evidence from the plateaux around the Aisne and Oise for substantial human use during the early Neolithic. Sites are not found outside the valleys until well after RRBP and VSG practices are abandoned. However, as beaver was the only small hunted animal to be found in the bone assemblage of every house (Hachem 1997, 252), the river may have been very significant in the Rubané world, a previously unexplored aspect of movement in the valley. Indeed movement along the valley, by means of the water or along the banks of the river, would have taken people between the various settlements. Perhaps the river provided a route to the higher ground, as indeed it does in the case of the Aisne and Oise to the south and east of the modern city of Reims. The river, like moving with animals, would have changed seasonally and the receding of the spring floods may have been followed by movement along the valley with cattle or sheep/goats at the beginning of summer. This would tie in with the recent evidence from Longueil-Sainte-Marie (Oise), which suggests that fishing predominantly took place in the spring (Maréchal *et al.*

2007, 63). Therefore, I would argue that the spring was a time of confinement to the local valley with people staying closer to the settlement on a daily basis.

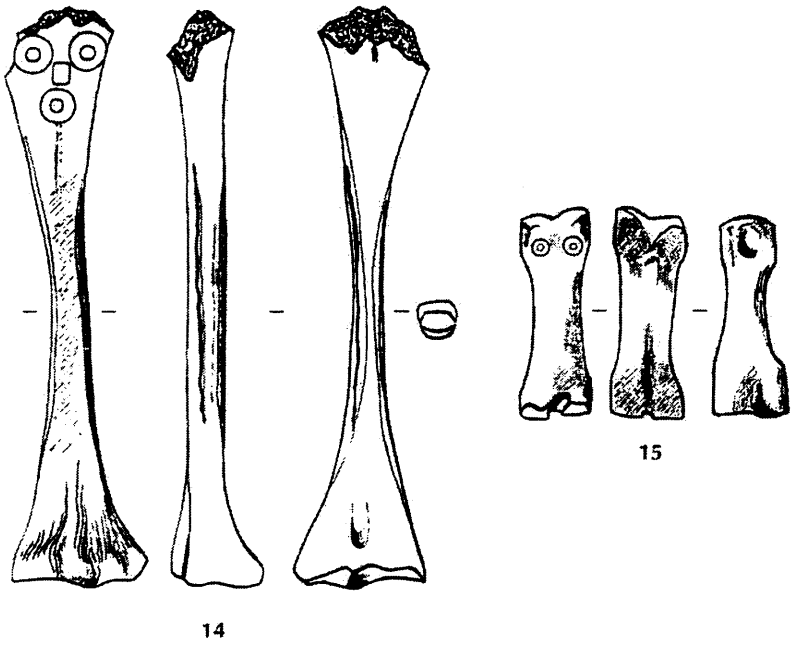


Figure 5.19. The two figurines from animal bones found at grave 607 Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir*. From Sidéra (2000, 144).

How these experiences were tied into specific identities of groups or individuals, however, remains problematic. Despite Hachem's (2000) interesting proposition that Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes is organised around perceived associations with different animals, this fails to be continued within the burial record. Despite the frequency of disarticulated animal remains from the loam pits, few animal bones are found associated with graves. The main forms of animal bone found in grave assemblages in the Paris Basin are worked bone points (Jeunesse 1997b). This contrasts with Mesolithic burials where the animal bone accompanying burials is rarely worked (Jeunesse 2001b, 13). There is a particular instance of two bone figurines that were found in a child's grave at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir*, which the excavators say recall those found at Ensisheim (Haut-Rhine) (see Figure 5.19; Allard *et al.* 1995), though this remains debated (Jeunesse 1997b, 87). The two figures appear to have 'faces' or possibly eyes made from shell (Allard *et al.* 1995). This seems to blend animal bone and shell as material resources and the role of the animal in people's everyday lives. The only other notable animal bone associated with an individual grave is the crane bone found in a particularly rich grave at Cys-la-Commune

(Jeunesse 1997b, 87). This seems to suggest that despite animals being very much part of people's daily routines, they were rarely connected to people in death and when they are, this happened only in very stylised ways.

However, this ignores two other important contexts in which animal bones are found with human bones. Firstly, they have been found mixed up with human remains in the loam pits of houses (Pariat 2007) and in the enclosure burials at Menneville (Farruggia *et al.* 1996; Hachem *et al.* 1998b). Worked antler, cattle bone, sheep's teeth and other worked bone points were found associated with child and adult burials in a number of ditch segments at Menneville (Farruggia *et al.* 1996; Hachem *et al.* 1998b). These assemblages vary significantly from those found by houses; the remains in the ditch segments are much less fragmented, they are exclusively cattle or sheep/goat, and some of the sheep or goat bones appear to be articulated (Hachem *et al.* 1998b, 136). It seems as if these burials are deliberately placed associations of animal bone, human burials and other materials. In the upper fills, some of the ditch segments also contain similar associations of animal bones and isolated human bone (Hachem *et al.* 1998b, 136). Of particular interest are the two cattle crania found in the upper fills of segment 188, directly above a group of burials (see below and Figure 5.23; Farruggia *et al.* 1996). The excavators believe the crania relate to the burials and may have represented a single episode of feasting and burial; the cattle and sheep could represent some eight animals and the soil appeared to be fairly homogeneous (Hachem *et al.* 1998b, 136).

Clearly animals did hold a significant place in people's lives. Cattle and sheep could have had their own histories which were carried with them as they moved from place to place, running parallel to those of individuals, households and wider communities. Animals could thus have been associated with *specific* notions of how people were tied into and across the landscape and went beyond individual houses or households, into the wider scales of community and region. Burial in the settlement and burial in enclosures could thus be tied up with the different networks into which people were enmeshed. However, their remains are also an important part of the settlement. The animal bone from the loam pits are highly fragmented with about 40% of the bone being unidentifiable (Hachem *et al.* 1998a). Hofmann (2006a; forthcoming) has argued, following Evans (2003), that these material remains would

come to texture experiences of the settlement. Thus encountering them provoked responses and memories, sometimes involuntarily (Hofmann 2006a; Lorimer 2006). Particular material was drawn upon that tied people into networks beyond the immediate setting (animal bone, shell, stone) and placed together in this specific place. Furthermore, animals may well have been housed in the longhouses (Modderman 1988; Bradley 2001; Lorimer 2006). Therefore, in the performance of bringing this material together in deposition, ideas other than the house or household seem to have been explored but necessarily tied into the architectural space occupied by the longhouse.

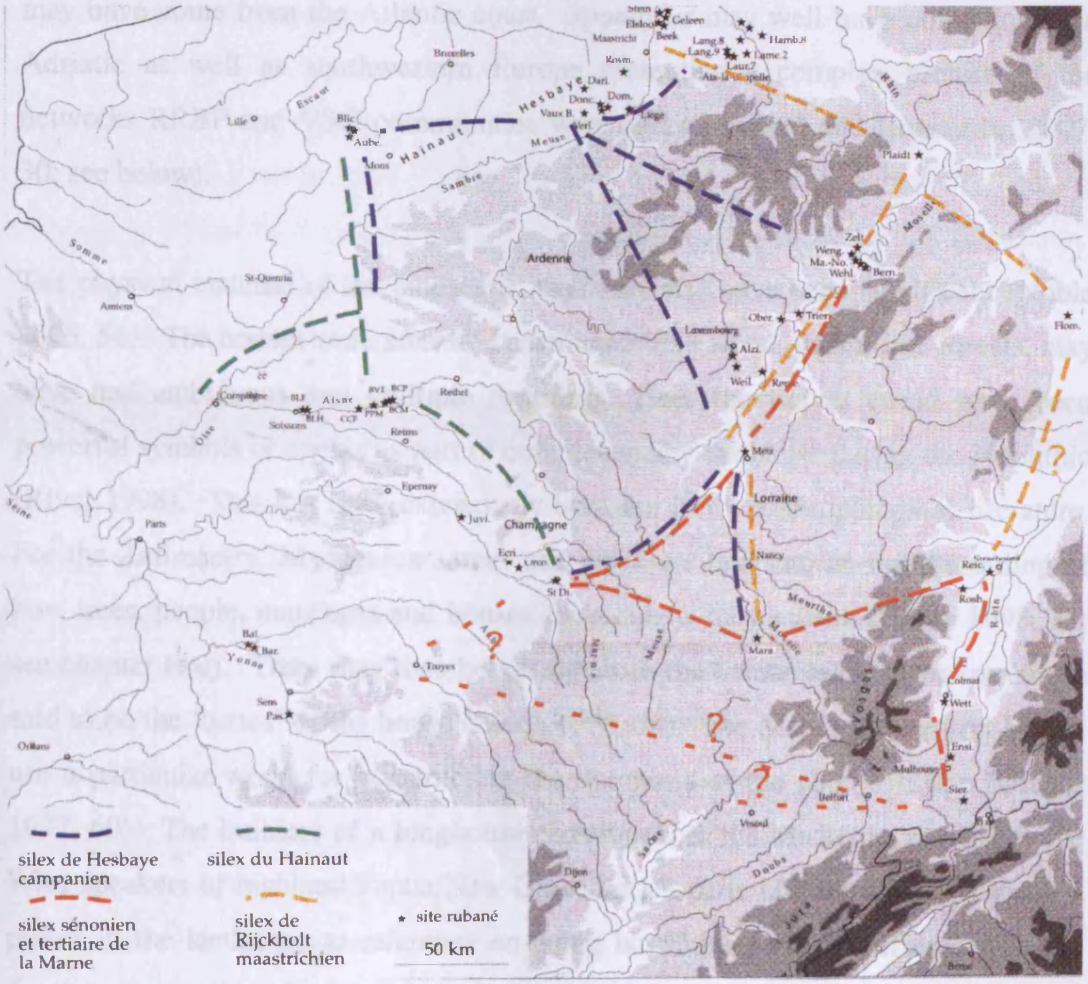


Figure 5.20. This map demonstrates possible networks of flint exchange during the Rubané period. From Demoule *et al.* (2007, 55).

Material landscapes. The experience of the landscape would also have been framed by the raw materials that were sought from it and the exchanges that took place across it. Flint in the Aisne and Oise seem to have been sourced up to 30 km away

from the settlements and tied the communities of the Aisne and Oise into a north-south network along which Hainaut flint (from Belgium) moved (see Figure 5.20; Allard 2005; 2007). The exchange of lithics across central Europe during the early Neolithic is wide-scale, but these movements or exchanges appear to happen in specific directions with particular groups rather than generalised patterns of movement (Allard 2005; Ramminger 2007). Allard and Bonnardin (2007, 28) support a multi-scale approach, arguing that the different intensities of exchange supports the presence of specific relationships rather than generalised circulation of material. To the movement of Hainaut, Hesbaye and other flints in the Paris Basin we can add the rare instances of *Spondylus* and the greater numbers of shells that may have come from the Atlantic coast. *Spondylus* may well have come from the Adriatic as well as southwestern Europe presenting a complex picture of the networks RRBP and VSG communities were part of (Allard and Bonnardin 2007, 30; see below).

The physical material of the landscape itself may also have been significant (Noble 2006, 54). The houses were after all constructed from wood, which like forests, may have had ambiguous and multiple meanings. Trees themselves could have been powerful symbols or agents as part of comprehending the house during the Neolithic (Rival 1998). This has been extensively born out in the anthropological literature. For the Zafimaniry, Madagascar, trees and wood are tied into an understanding of how trees, people, marriages and houses are and how they mature (Bloch 1998, 33; see chapter two). Trees may thus be analogous to the human body: tree trunks are said to be the 'bones' of the house (Bloch 1998, 34). The Mehinaku, central Brazil, use a particular wood for constructing the doorposts of the chief's house (Gregor 1977, 60). The builders of a longhouse constructed in the Mamuane parish, by the Wiru speakers of highland Papua New Guinea, used particular woods from specific places in the landscape to reference on-going hostilities between different groups, despite stating that the house was intended to bring the groups together under peaceful conditions (A. Strathern and P. Stewart 2000; see Chapter three).

Everyday activities on the settlement involved material brought from the forest, brought from the immediate surroundings or from further away, and, therefore, the carrying out of tasks would have necessarily entangled people and the settlement

into these scales beyond the house. Conversely, this would have also brought the landscape beyond the settlement into the context of the house. Trees would have been cut down and then re-erected in the process of building the house. Significantly, in the process of building houses, trees would have been 'replanted', crafting spaces within the longhouse. The act of transforming tree to house post would have been negotiated as much socially as it was practically. Particular knowledge of tree felling would be required and it had the potential to be a fairly risky or dangerous activity. Alongside the very real potential for death, the right tools, ritual offerings or gifts may been required in return for the sacrifice of the tree (Rival 1998; Noble 2006, 61). The movement between posts and internal house spaces could be analogous to wider movements in the landscape, but rather than being understood as the creation of the wider landscape inside the house, this could have been understood as 'how things are', rendered by Bloch (1998; see chapters two and three) as 'what goes without saying'. Thus rather than clearing edges, posts, house walls (and so on) being boundaries between different landscapes (or social worlds), they may have been 'folds' (see Chapter 3) along which the impetus for social life and daily activities occurred.

There is some evidence at Langweiler 8 to suggest that longer houses were not only associated predominantly with herding, but with cereal growing as well, with Lüning (1982) suggesting that the presence of macro vegetable remains relates to the post-harvest treatment of cereals. This pattern has not been repeated in the Paris Basin (Bakels 1995). However, Bakels (1995) suggests that the cereal assemblages from the Paris Basin have much in common with those from the Neckar valley (particularly seen in the presence of barley, which is absent in the Lower Rhine-Meuse region). From this, perhaps, we can suggest a similar model of crop husbandry with low productivity (Bogaard 2004, 149). However, the faunal remains and ceramics assemblages have more in common with the Rhine-Meuse area (with higher emphasis on cattle and less on pig and wild animals) than the Neckar valley (with its emphasis on pig and wild animals; Bogaard 2004, 150).

Bakels' (1984) studies of carbonised grain from the Aisne produced evidence of einkorn, emmer and naked barley being grown, alongside pea and lentil. However, the remains were fairly limited and led Bakels (1984, 25) to suggest that cereal crops

were actually of minimum importance in daily life. The limited number of remains is not due to preservation issues as Michelsberg sites on the same soils do contain significantly higher percentages of carbonised grains (Bakels 1984, 3). This could be explained by different methods of harvesting and producing between the RRBP and Michelsberg periods. It could also suggest that rather than individual houses processing cereals around the house, cereal growing occupied groups of people other than the household during the early Neolithic (Bogaard and Jones 2007; see also Chapter six). The evidence from preserved house floors at Jablines (Paris) demonstrated activity areas well away from the areas immediately surrounding the house, including flint-working areas beyond the western and back-end of houses (Hachem 2000, 308).

Tending and caring for plants does not necessarily have to be a time-consuming activity, nor does it necessarily tie people to one location (Bird-David 1992; Ingold 2000). Bogaard's (2004, 165) study of the weed taxa from central European LBK sites suggests field sites were long-lived rather than shifting (as thought in the previously favoured slash and burn model), which she suggests builds up long-term commitment to certain places, possibly passed down between the generations. She also argues that cereal growth in the LBK was intensively managed, though the intensity of production varied between different LBK regions and we should therefore be careful when trying to draw specific conclusions for the Paris Basin (Bogaard 2004, 148–50). The long lived plots may have meant that different members of the community experienced different patterns or temporalities of movement, with spring or autumn sowing possible (Bogaard 2004). This may not have meant that certain individuals were tied permanently to settlements, but rather that patterns of movements may have varied over an individual's lifetime. Isotopic studies have suggested that movement was fairly common amongst LBK communities (Bentley *et al.* 2002). Therefore, the permanence of the 'gardens' may have contrasted with the more fluid and variable movement of people and, given the varying length settlements were inhabited for, possibly even with the varied duration of houses.

Ancestors, origins and architecture

Clearly, people and households were tied into worlds that went beyond the immediate house and settlement. This would have been influenced by the yearly cycle of growing crops, moving with animals in the wider (social) landscapes and the changes in the environment brought on by the seasons and chopping down of trees. The question yet remains in what ways these different relationships and temporalities meshed together with the conception of the longhouse. However, another relationship between the house and daily life needs to be explored first. One of the most powerful and persuasive appreciations of the longhouse has tied it into notions of ancestry, origins and the dead. A close connection between the dead and the house during the LBK originated neither from the child burials found alongside houses in the Paris Basin, nor from the clusters of settlement burials. Rather, the idea had its origins outside the LBK evidence and within the suggestion that longhouses and long barrows respectively symbolised houses for the living and houses of the dead throughout the Atlantic seaboard during the early Neolithic.

This theory was first proposed by Childe (1949) and later elaborated by Hodder (1984) and Bradley (1998), amongst others. Thus the LBK longhouse became associated with notions of ancestry almost by proxy. When Coudart (1998) demonstrated that the orientations of the longhouses did not follow the direction of the prevailing winds (as did Mattheuser 1991), and therefore countered the environmental explanation for their shared orientations, recourse to cosmological explanations that may have involved ideas about the location of the communities' origins seemed particularly appealing. The notions of ancestry and origins became tied together, though it should be noted these two concepts need not be the same, and ultimately they came to be regarded as invested in through the construction of longhouses. This connection found its most coherent and articulate expression in Bradley's (2001, 53) *Orientations and origins* paper which suggested that longhouse orientations appeared 'to reflect the sequence and direction of Linear Pottery Culture colonisation'.

Two further pieces of evidence appeared to confirm this picture; the orientation of burials followed that of houses and the *Spondylus* shells brought from southeastern Europe were predominantly found in the graves of older (but not the oldest)

individuals (Jeunesse 1997b; Bradley 2001; Hofmann 2006a). Thus both houses and the graves of the deceased appeared to reflect an appreciation of origins. *Spondylus* shells have therefore become items reminiscent of the 'ancestral homelands' to the southeast, beyond the distribution of LBK settlements (Bradley 2001, 55) and this is played out in the orientation of the longhouses with the front of the house facing towards the ancestors. The presence of child burials by longhouses is seen as further evidence for ancestry being tied into the longhouse. Jones (2005, 208) takes this point further, arguing that the living and the ancestors occupied the same settlements. Yet, if ancestors were thought to have lived to the east, then surely houses would be recognised not as ancestral houses, but as houses built within a tradition that their ancestors had carried out elsewhere (this brings up notions of temporality which I will return to in Chapter six).

Indeed, focus on connections to the east may be over-emphasised. The shells found in the burials along the Aisne and Oise include rare instances of *Spondylus*, which are usually found in ones or twos, but are mainly molluscs and seem to point to connections to the west and the Atlantic coast rather than the Mediterranean (Jeunesse 1997b). Thus while the rest of the grave good assemblage (pots, stone tools and beads) points towards a traditionally LBK practice, there are hints that the communities of the Aisne and Oise were practising local variations, that tied them into networks beyond the LBK. Of these local practices, the association between houses and child burials is particularly noticeable, with 22 of the 45 identified child burials along the Aisne and the Oise associated with houses, but is by no means exclusive. At Bucy-le-Long *La Fosselle*, two unsexed adults were found by house 130 (at the eastern end of House) (Hachem *et al.* 1998b, 23; see Appendix 3, 433) and at Menneville, a young adult male, 18–20 years old, was found by house 90 (Farruggia *et al.* 1996, 121; see Appendix 3, 439). In the VSG period, four older females and one young adult male are found associated with houses at Bucy-le-Long *Le Fond du Petit Marais* (Constantin *et al.* 1992).

On the surface, therefore, a connection between the longhouse and the dead can be identified. However, the precise location of these burials is frequently neglected. The child burials are often considered to be associated with loam pits (for example, see Jones 2005, 209), but this is in fact rare with only four child burials actually

Site	No. of complete child inhumations	Single grave pit South of house	Loam pit South of house	Inside the house	Away from Houses
BaB – C.P.	2	1		1	
BaB – C.M.	1		1		
BaB – V.T.	2				2 (including double burial of neonatal infant with adult)
Cha	4				4 Multiple inhumation
ClC	4	2	1	1	
MAA	1				1
Men	14	7	2		5
MIA	2	1			1
Pon	1	1			
Total	31	12	4	2	13

Table 5.2. The number and location of child burials on settlements in the Aisne Valley, RRBP. Site cades: BaB – C.P.: Berry-au-Bac *La Chemin de la Pêcherie*; BaB – C.M.: Berry-au-Bac *Le Croix-Maigret*; BaB – V. T.: Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir*; CHA: Chassemy; ClC: Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes; MAA: Maizy-sur-Aisne; Men: Menneville; MIA: Missy-sur-Aisne; Pon: Pontavert.

being part of the loam pit (Table 5.2) and two of these appear to be in specially extended areas of the pits, such as burial 271 at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (see Figure 5.21). This means we must think more carefully about the place of the dead amongst the architecture of the longhouse. The chronology of the relationship between burials associated with houses and the life-course of the house may be revealing, but unfortunately the state of dating at present does not even allow us to estimate at which point in the house's life the burials took place. The two burials that took place within the house may be revealing. Both the burials are children. Though the burial at Berry-au-Bac is very disturbed, the excavators believed it to be a 2–3 year old and the grave pit contained no grave goods (Dubouloz *et al.* 1995; Farruggia and Guichard 1995, 162). This burial is at an opposing orientation to the house and is very close to the north wall of the house, at the division between the central and eastern end of the house (see Figure 5.6). The other inhumation, found inside house 330 at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, was not aged, but contained one bone point and unusually a number of animal bones, emphasising its difference (Ilett *et al.* 1980, 32). This burial is situated in a larger pit at the eastern end of the house, near

the southern wall of the house (Ilett *et al.* 1980, 32). Therefore these burials are far from identical and seem to very localised and specific events.

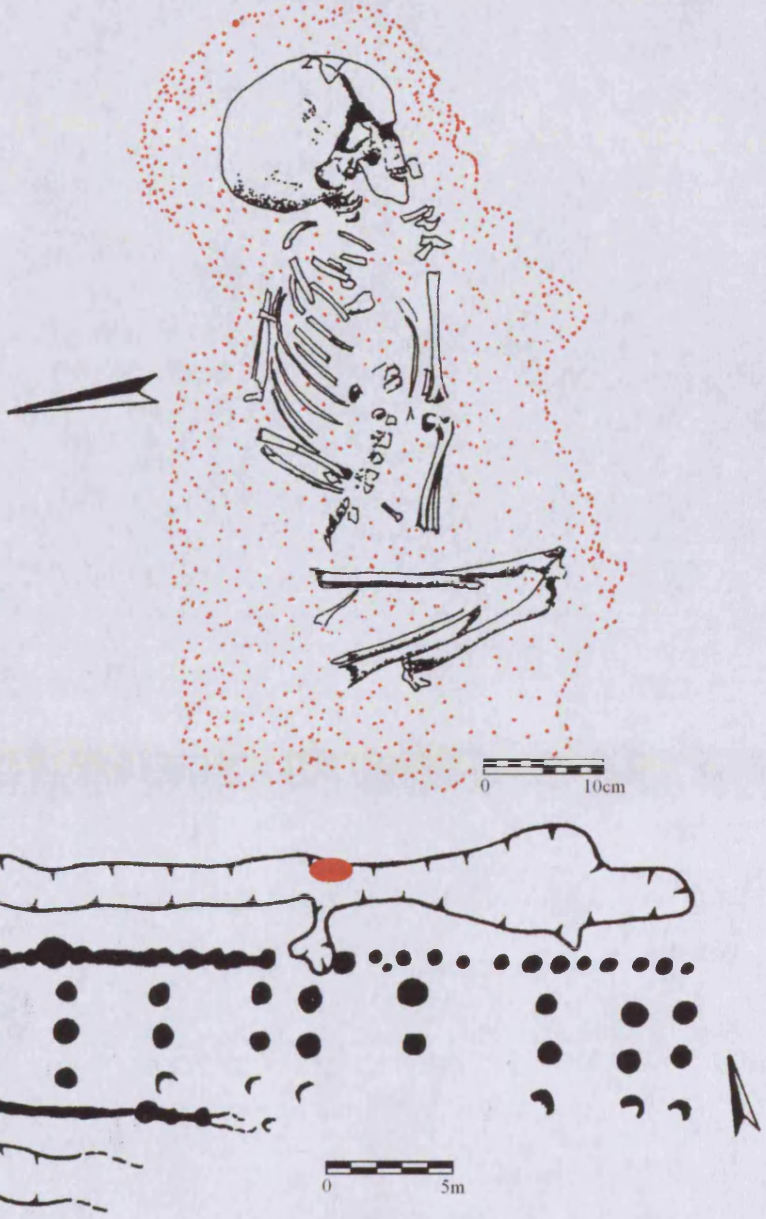


Figure 5.21. Burial 271 from Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne). The red circle indicates the position of the burial and the red dots represent the spread of ochre beneath the skeleton. After Soudský *et al.* (1982, 75).

Of the 82 early Neolithic burials (RRBP and VSG) found along the Aisne and the Oise, only 43 have been reliably aged to a short age-range rather than generically classed as either an 'adult' or a 'child'. In these 43 burials, an interesting pattern can

be seen in the distribution of ages. These burials fall into four significant categories: 21 are seven or under, six fall between the ages eight to 16, seven are young adults (classed as 16–20) and nine are 45 or over. The age range between 20 and 45 is completely missing. They may be accounted for amongst the 39 remaining individuals, as many of these are generically classed as 'adults'. However, this pattern could suggest that burial was appropriate only for certain members of the community. Those buried at settlements may have been the individuals particularly associated with the settlement. As suggested above, the very young and older members of the community may have moved around the landscape less and therefore been more closely associated with the settlement or a particular longhouse.

There appears to be no link between particular grave goods and specific age-related identities. There is a tendency for adult burials to have higher numbers of grave goods; with 30% of child burials having ceramics and 56% of adult burials containing ceramics (see Appendix 3, 445–6); 11% of children have lithics compared with 33% of adults (see Appendix 3, 447–8); and 32% of children have some form of beads compared with 48% of adults (see Appendix 3, 448–9). Jeunesse (1997b, 112) notes that across the LBK *Spondylus* is usually found in the richest graves (that is, those with the largest numbers of grave goods), though along the Aisne and the Oise *Spondylus* is usually found in graves that have large numbers of beads, but not necessarily well furnished with other goods such as pottery. Grave goods do not appear to be limited to a particular sex, though the richest graves (in terms of quantity of grave goods) tend to be the oldest women, though there are more reliably aged women than men (see Appendix 3, 444–5). This may, in part, be due to the lack of reliably sexed burials in the published literature. However, even in the VSG the general trend of limestone bracelets with women is undermined by one VSG male burial, found at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir*, with two limestone bracelets on his right arm (see Appendix 3, 429; Allard *et al.* 1995).

There are no significant differences between burials associated with houses, those found in small cemetery groups on the edge of settlements and those found in individual pits across the settlement. It therefore seems that there was no simple correlation between age and sex of the individual and the burial rite and grave goods which they received. Thus rather than grave goods being a direct representation of a

person's identity, they seem to be part of the rite associated with the practice of burial. A number of features stand out; the definite presence of ochre at 57% of graves is particularly interesting. It was sprinkled in various locations around the body, with particular focus on the bowl of the grave cut and on the head and neck. The red colour of the ochre would have contrasted well with the white colour of the beads and the colour of the soil. Roughly a third of burials are accompanied by beads, which are found mostly around the head and neck and which appear to be some form of headdress, necklace or other adornment of the body (see Figure 5.22). The beads are made almost exclusively from white materials (limestone, shell and bone), but are found in a range of different sizes and shapes (Jeunesse 1997b; Constantin *et al.* 2003; Bonnardin 2003).

The natural soil into which the burials were placed is alluvial silt and frequently creamy white or yellow in colour (Ilett *et al.* 1982; Chartier 1991). Therefore, the presence of reddy orange ochre would have stood out particularly well, distinguishing the space of the burial from the rest of the soil. These colours may have metaphorically stood for bodily fluids (such as blood or semen) or, through the associations of particular colours, drawn on complex relations between material substances and the body of the deceased (Borič 2002, 39; Jones and MacGregor 2002, 11), thus playing a significant part in the range of possible performances at the grave side. The body was prepared for burial and then placed in a crouched position in a specially prepared pit, generally on its left hand-side (though this switches to the right side in the VSG, see Appendix 3, 450), ochre was sprinkled and finally appropriate grave goods were chosen and placed with the deceased. Further evidence for the significance of display or performance during the burial rite has recently come to light at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Thévenet 2004). Allard *et al.* (1995) noted the presence of a raised platform or step within the burial pit on which pottery was placed. Thévenet (2004, 825) suggests a number of possibilities to explain why this feature was constructed; arguing that it either marks a chronological change in burial rite or two rites co-existing side by side. However, what is most interesting about Thévenet's (2004) study is the suggestion that the presence of this feature may have meant the grave remained accessible after the burial had taken place.

Certainly burial was by no means a singular rite, but had many different aspects. It could, therefore, be suggested that each death created a range of different possible

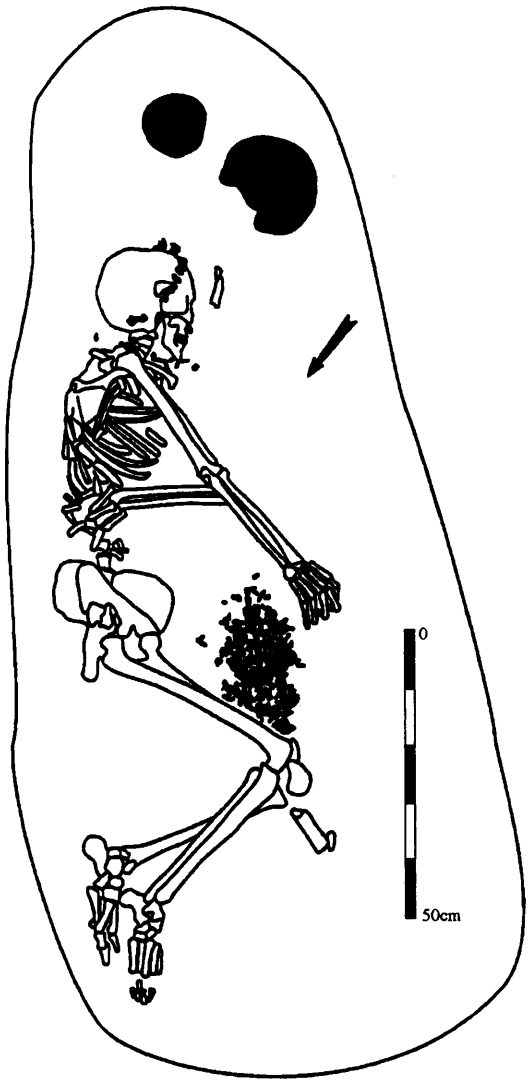


Figure 5.22. Burial 70 from Bucy-le-long *La Fosselle* (Aisne). Note the shells around the head and by the knees. After Hachem *et al.* (1998b, 27).

performances, during which references were made to areas both east and west and the relationships which the individual had to others, the community or possibly even specific houses. This was carried out through certain traditions which choreographed how these different concepts and associations came together. Thus while associations with the east and the west were present in the grave assemblage, they formed part of the physical adornment of the body. While the grave goods selected may have been occasionally guided by the age and sex of the deceased, they also formed part of the ceremony or burial and may have contained items or

foodstuffs. While the orientations of the body and grave may have recalled wider understandings of origins, they may also have had specific understandings, either following or deviating from local house orientations. While certain individuals may have been buried close to houses because of general associations between the house and the ancestral history of the community, they may have also had specific relations to the house or the household. While others were buried in small cemetery groups on the edge of settlements, they were tied by the practices, rites, grave goods and body positions into wider traditions of burial.

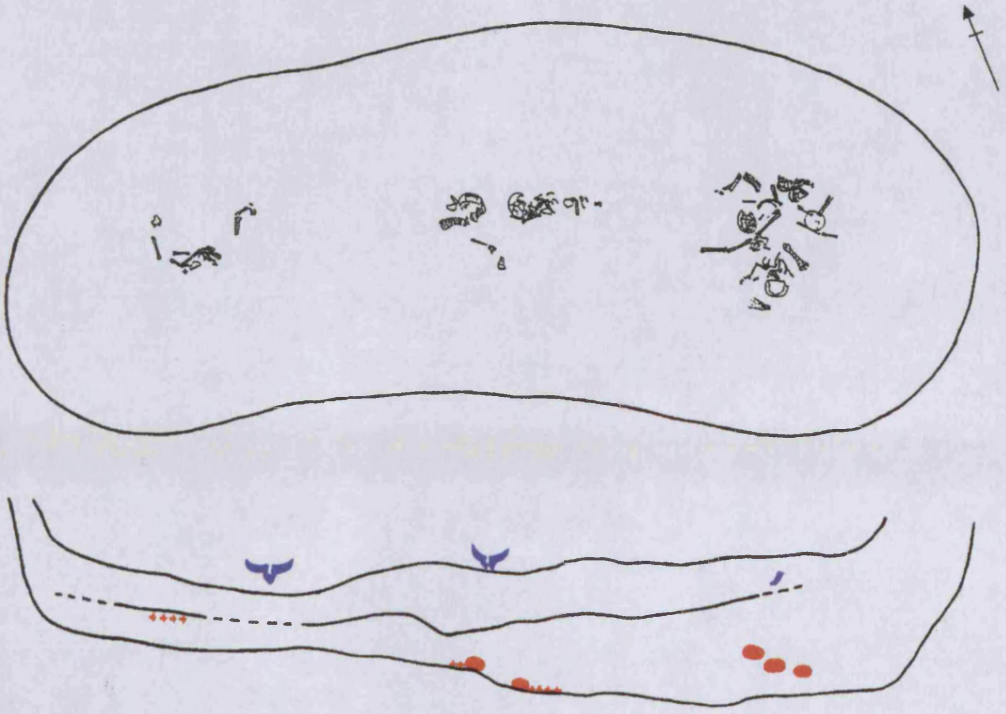


Figure 5.23. Ditch segment 188 from the RRBP enclosure Menneville. The section demonstrates the relative positioning of the human remains (in red) in the lowest context and the cattle crania (in blue) in the subsequent fills. After Farruggia *et al.* (1996, 140).

Thus, again, we begin to see the network of different scales on which people lived, in which the location of burial may have been a further expression of the different ties people had. Yet other burial traditions were also practised and secondary rites are suggested by the discovery of fragmented human remains, which have been increasingly recognised at settlement sites in the early Neolithic (Orschiedt 1998; cf. Jeunesse 1997b). Pariat's (2007) study of the human bone found in the loam pits at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes concluded that the pieces ended up in the pits by accident by

being middened with other detritus before finding its way into the loam pits. This seems a particularly unsatisfactory interpretation in light of the discoveries of disarticulated bone in other contexts, particularly at the enclosure at Menneville (Farruggia *et al.* 1996). To these remains can also be added the cranium and right arm included with the fill in the burial of a child placed near house 90 at Menneville (Farruggia *et al.* 1996).

At Menneville, burials are found alongside houses, in a small cemetery group on the edge of the settlement, roughly in-line with the enclosure ditch and as complete inhumations and disarticulated remains in the enclosure ditch (see Figure 23; Farruggia *et al.* 1996, Figure 22). Unfortunately the relationship between the settlement and the enclosure is unknown, but as the houses tend towards being trapezoidal, it seems that Menneville may be later rather than earlier in the RRBP sequence (see Appendix 1, 327–8, figure on 328). The enclosure ditch 13–7 appears to cut the end of house 90 (though there are no features which directly cut each other), which perhaps tentatively suggests that the enclosure either dates to during or after the settlement, with the cemetery earlier than the enclosure as the ditches respect it. It appears, therefore, that the practice of burying the dead in the enclosure is a later development. At Chassemy *Le Grand Horle* a multiple burial is found of an adult male and four children between the ages of ten and 16 (Auxiette *et al.* 1987). This appears to be a unique example of a multiple burial along the Aisne and Oise found at a settlement. However, it could have much in common with the multiple burial at Menneville. Figure 5.23 shows the plan and section of one of the ditch segments (188) at Menneville. Burials were made in the lower layers of the ditches in more or less close proximity. The multiple burial at Chassemy included two undecorated pots and beads from limestone, seven found on the skull of one individual and others between the burials. Five tubular shell beads were found by the left wrist of one of the skeletons (Auxiette *et al.* 1987). At Menneville the grave goods echoed those found in other graves both within the settlement and in the small cemetery. By no means are we dealing with separate burial traditions; rather it seems to be much more fluid with aspects of one practice found in another.

At Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, eight fragmented pieces of disarticulated human bone were found, distributed between houses 280, 360, 380 (phase 3) and 570 (phase 5)

(Pariat 2007). Therefore the majority of the fragmented bone came from phase 3, a phase which also sees some interesting architectural changes. This phase stands out as the western end of the house seems to become the focus of a number of changes, which last only for this phase. Firstly, this phase sees the most houses with a trench-built west end (four out of a possible seven); this contrasts with only one each belonging to phases one, two and four. And secondly, rather than the majority of houses having one room in the western extension of the house, five houses have two or more (see Tables 5.1 and 5.3). This phase is also marked by the first appearance of a trapezoidal house (*légèrement trapéziforme* or 'slightly trapezoidal' in Coudart's (1998, 27, 135) scheme). The following fourth phase then appears to hark back to the earlier first and second phases, rather than developing the house styles used in phase three.

Phase	Number of identified houses	Rectangular	Pseudo-rectangular	Slightly trapezoidal	Trapezoidal	Not Discernible
1	6	2	3			1
2	7		6			1
3	7		3	2		2
4	6	4	2			
5	6		5		1	

Table 5.3. The different types of house plans as defined by Coudart (1998) at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Aisne), organised by phase (information taken from Coudart 1998).

Phase five, the other phase during which disarticulated human remains are found, then appears to be more similar to phase three (see Tables 5.1 and 5.3). Thus the addition of human bone to the loam pits of three houses seems to coincide with a number of changes in the way houses were constructed. From the form the architectural changes took, we can perhaps infer that the third and fifth phases were periods when the relative relationships between houses significantly altered from the preceding phase. Can we envisage a situation where the digging of a trench, and the construction of more rooms in the northwestern end of the longhouse, required closer co-operation between different households? The impact of this would have been that a certain closeness between different groups would have been made apparent. Perhaps this led to tensions which caused the houses in the fourth phase to be on the whole shorter and more spread out. Perhaps at this time people moved away down the valley and set up new villages and communities.

The deposition of disarticulated remains was clearly tied up in these architectural changes. The remains were fragmented and the pieces found in the loam pit of house 570 were so heavily fragmented they did not survive excavation, and thus they may have been of some age by the time they reached the loam pits (Pariat 2007). These remains may well have been in circulation or used in other ways for some time before they reached their final place in the ground. Thus their deposition in phase three may be involved in the end of the circulation of these remains or the end of their journey from elsewhere. This is the clearest example of how social relations in the LBK were framed by forms of longhouse style. Changes and tensions in community relationships were negotiated through building and creating different spaces in the house, with this history having a significant impact on the ways the dead were tied into the sphere of the household.

Ideas of how bodies and persons might have been thought about during the LBK have been explored by Jones (2005). He argued that origins were stressed, alongside tensions between homogeneity and heterogeneity at the settlement level (Jones 2005, 210). Thus the LBK person 'was grounded in distant and mythical places of origin, while the person was also situated in fluid networks of alliance which focused them towards present and future exchange partners' (Jones 2005, 211). However, the prominence given to notions of origins and ancestors may have been over-emphasised to the detriment of the different networks into which people were tied. Resultantly, assumptions made about the frequency of certain trends, such as child burials by the northwest/west parts of houses (Bradley 2001), have led to the over-estimation of how significant notions of ancestry or origins were in daily life along the Aisne and Oise. The closeness of the burials to the house, often against the wall of the house or between the loam pit and the wall of the house, suggests that when burial occurred, particularly in the case of children, it was a matter which had significance for the physical location of the house and the household. Burial may be an emotionally charged and contested event (Hofmann 2006a; forthcoming), but it also helped the mourners to locate the place of the community within the world. It seems thus in the Paris Basin as if in death, the deceased were brought close to the house or household and the ties they had to other places were simultaneously referenced, but more than this the rite of burial was tied

to the places of everyday life and routine. Thus these burials took place in specific locations, in amongst the spaces people walked on a daily basis and carried out tasks. They were local events, tied to specific histories and evoked specific ties across the settlement and wider landscape.

Conclusion: the potential of building

This section has drawn on a wide range of evidence in order to explore the daily lives and tasks of early Neolithic communities in the Aisne and Oise valleys. By way of a conclusion, I want to bring these routines together through discussing the place of the longhouse architecture in creating a particular perspective on the world. In constructing a longhouse a number of different physical spaces were built into existence. Each of these spaces, framed by the walls and internal posts, allowed for certain choreographies of social life to take place and thus become habitual, repetitive and familiar. Certain elements of the house form remained constant along the Aisne and Oise, while other aspects changed. Those aspects of house architecture which were open to change were concluded above to be length, house shape and internal spaces. These aspects all vary how movement inside the house could have been choreographed. The general similarities were seen to be orientation, number of posts in a row and tripartism. These aspects, rather than influencing movement in the house, are part of knowing how to build. Thus three internal posts 'made' a row, three different sections 'made' a house, and a certain orientation allowed for the arrangement of posts to take place. Along with the creation of loam pits, the coming together of these actions created the longhouse—they had to take place in order for a longhouse to exist. It must be stressed that this 'knowledge' of building was local to the Paris Basin and is not found elsewhere in the LBK, where different arrangements of posts were used (Modderman 1988; Coudart 1998).

There is, thus, a general suite of practices which constituted LBK architecture in the Aisne and the Oise and moments at which these practices were played with and manipulated. In her own study of the houses of the LBK, Coudart (1998, 55–6) identifies 14 factors which she thinks are significant for building a typology of the longhouse. By considering how these factors change (or do not change) Coudart (1998, 56) argues that the RRBP house form remains a relatively stable unit over its

duration. However, as discussed above, there are a number of changes that occur in the layout and practices associated with houses that were specific moments when form was manipulated. Within a number of general trends (such as the linear form of the LBK longhouse and the tendency towards a trapezoidal form), there were creative plays with the form of the house.

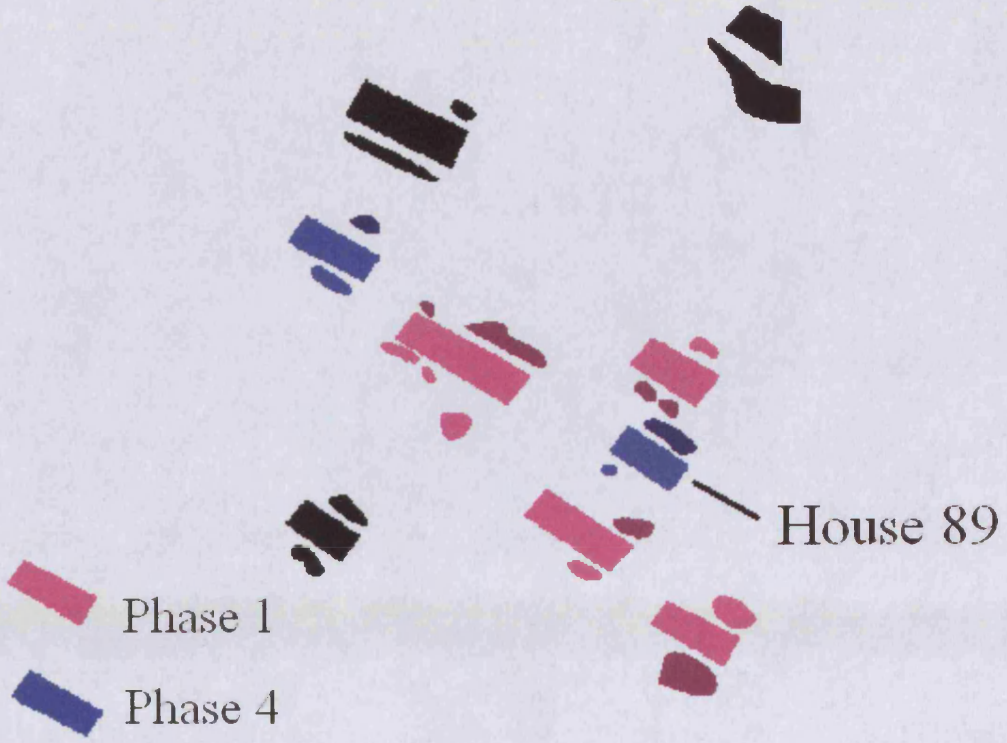


Figure 5.24. A section of Figure 5.15 showing house 89 placed amongst the first phase houses. After Hachem (1997, 246).

Small-scale and intimate, these moments of variation occur at the moment of building the house. The post layout had to be set into the ground as the house was being built and thus was part of the numerous decisions that had to be made before and during house construction (e.g. size, location, collecting the wood, gathering enough people together to build the structure). The internal layouts may have communicated certain things to the inhabitants once the house was built, but in the moment of building the household was making a particular commitment to making these decisions, to continuing the performances associated with the house. Drawn into this would be the memory of when other houses had been built and perhaps

future expectations for the inhabitants, creating an obligation to the group or household. Building a house was not only significant to the household, but by choosing to build at a settlement, a commitment to a wider sense of community was thus reinforced.

On the everyday level, subtle changes in the size and dimensions of the internal 'rooms' would change how people moved, how people were brought into contact with the house and possibly even the activities that could be carried out in the house. However, an appreciation of these changes might have died out in subsequent phases, as the house decayed and movement inside the house was no longer possible. It is clear that once no longer used, the area in which the houses were built was to some extent respected, but by no means abandoned. During the fourth phase at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, a house is placed amongst the houses from the first phase. Though respecting the spaces taken up by the first phase houses and their loam pits, house 89 is placed amongst them (see Figure 5.24). The different decisions taken in building fourth phase houses included this referencing of the earliest phase of the settlement. Memories of previous inhabitants, relatives, friends, the events that had happened while the house was standing, children born and particular skills and stories which the inhabitants had were all built around the house and the remains of houses may have become a particularly powerful metonym for the generations that came before. I think that this association with past community members operated on an immediate level. We are not dealing with general senses of ancestry, but with specific relations between households and people, which were kept alive through the physical location of the house close to those that had been abandoned.

It is interesting that this placing of house 89 occurs after phase three, when the number of houses with more than one 'room' in the northwestern end of the house increases. We cannot know for sure what activities took place in these rooms, but we can recognise that more complicated spaces opened up new possible choreographies of how people and households interacted with their architecture. These statements are not made again in the subsequent phases and clearly relate to the specific conditions in the settlement at that time. These statements, made within the house architecture, were concerned with the relationships and differentiation between different households, and demonstrate the possibility of distinguishing

between them. Similarly the end of the RRBP settlement marks the end of building houses and suggests that the communities at this time chose to turn their backs not only on the practice of building at this site but the history and drama that had taken place there. This is not the case at any other settlement along the Aisne and Oise; it was specific to the households at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes at that moment in time and born out of the relationships and concerns of that particular place.

Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes is the longest-lived site along both the Aisne and Oise from the RRBP, but it is the area around Berry-au-Bac which continues without apparent hiatus till the end of the Michelsberg. Houses are generally not trapezoidal, nor are there significant changes in the internal layout of the houses (see Figure 5.25; see Appendix 2, 420, figure 2.2). Thus, different settlements along the Aisne and Oise had different histories. The number of houses at a settlement varies from two up to 40 during the RRBP. The scale of different communities along these valleys during the early Neolithic varied enormously, both in terms of duration and in the number of people that were engaged with on a daily basis. To this picture of relative fluidity we can bring in the creation of identities through animals. Recently, for the late LBK mass burial site of Talheim, Bentley (2007, 129–32) has argued that strontium isotopes show different patterns of movement across the whole community. This is also played out at Vaihingen, where it was suggested that herders received different burial practices to other members of the community (Bentley *et al.* 2003, 484; Bentley 2007). In this case Bentley *et al.* (2003) conclude that mobile pastoralists were of lower status and considered to be ethnically different. This picture has not been born out by the discussion above. The different size in houses and grave goods that accompany burials suggest a certain degree of independence rather than hierarchical structure or competitive practice. While difference was part of people's everyday lives, it was negotiated and manipulated rather than strategically reproduced. The strong evidence for movement with animals and across the landscape demonstrates that the size of communities and the degree of difference experienced at them varied. The sheer variety in settlement form shows to us that these senses of community were in no way fixed, but rather fluid and particular. Individuals, households and wider communities were by no means rooted to one location, nor experiences around the wider community permanent and fixed.

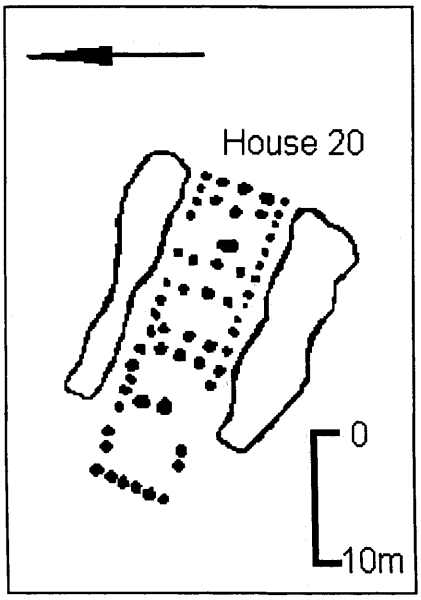


Figure 5.25. The transitional house from Bucy-le-Long *la Fosselle* (Aisne). Note the large central posthole. After Hachem *et al.* (1998b, 23).

Unity and diversity in the Aisne and Oise: architecture and community

The first part of this chapter explored the daily routines practised by the RRBP and VSG communities along the Aisne and Oise. It sought to illuminate how these rhythms of performances constructed the contexts in which architecture and community were negotiated and this discussion will be returned to in chapters six and seven, when comparison with the Seine and Yonne houses will allows a more detailed appreciation to be made. This section will now move on to explore the notions of architecture and community on a broader scale, examining chronological changes in architecture and how these may have played out alongside quotidian experience. It will thus engage more fully with the broader architectural changes, from building houses to creating enclosures, and explore the limited evidence for houses in the Middle Neolithic.

The RRBP-VSG transition

Chapter four explored the chronological changes during the early Neolithic in the Paris Basin and it was concluded that some form of overlap between the RRBP and the VSG seemed likely, though further dating evidence was required. A number of stylistic elements have been argued to represent transitional phases between RRBP and VSG (Constantin 1985), while others have argued that the geographical situation of these changes represents the border between geographically defined

areas of RRBP and VSG communities. These debates centre on the site of Bucy-le-Long *La Fosselle* (Figure 5.25). House 20 is identified as a transitional house because its trapezoidal shape and isolated central post are found alongside fine ceramics which show stylistic elements related to the VSG (the herringbone or *arêtes de poisson* style) (Hachem *et al.* 1998b, 19). Jeunesse (*pers. comm.*) believes that this shows the position of Bucy-le-Long *La Fosselle* on the border between Rubané and VSG groups. However, the houses found at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* seem to echo the same isolated central post classically thought of as a VSG characteristic. By no means can a hard line be drawn between the RRBP and VSG architectures and many of the depositional practices that occurred around the house also continue.

However, some differences can be discerned. VSG houses tend to have wider spaces in the centre of the house (for example at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir*); while the growing tendency towards trapezoidal houses means that the western ends of house become far more crowed with posts. This change has been understood in terms of increasing technological ability, but given that there does not appear to be an overall reduction in the number of postholes in the VSG and what actually appears to occur is the break-down in regularity of postholes, this seems unlikely. Overall VSG houses are less well preserved than RRBP ones, though as they have been constructed on similar soils, it seems unlikely that this is due to issues of preservation (see Appendix 2, 416–9, particularly 418 and 419). One explanation could be that posts during the VSG were not set as deeply into the soil. This seems to coincide with an overall decrease in the difference in size between the central (internal) posts and the posts that formed the walls of the house. Resultantly, the spaces within the houses become even less regular. These changes occur while deposition by houses and the east-west orientation continue.

The separation of the two groups is also based on different ceramic and lithic technologies. Elements of the VSG (and the very closely related Blicquy group) lithic assemblage are apparent in the later phases of the RRBP (Constantin and Ilett 1997; Allard 2005; 2007). Further study of the lithic assemblage shows that it is the innovations of the RRBP that continue into the VSG, with the features that the RRBP shared with the Mesolithic falling out of favour (Allard 2007, 221). The right

lateralisation of arrowheads dies out and, in fact, the overall proportion of arrowheads drops to only 3% (Allard 2007). Allard (2007) sees this as evidence that the Mesolithic communities of the Aisne valley had been totally assimilated by the end of the RRBP, with the VSG representing communities that no longer expressed their connection to the Mesolithic way of life. This is also seen in the ceramics, with the 'T' style (a local Paris Basin innovation) elaborated during the VSG (Constantin 1985, 242).

Therefore, while house form demonstrates different layouts during the VSG, the extent to which innovations (such as the porches or trapezoidal nature of the house which both started in the late RRBP) signalled changes in performances may have been minimal. The manipulation of space within the house continues to be effective. By this I mean it retains its significance—it continues to be practised—because it is one of the means by which the house achieves its efficacy as a setting for daily life. We could argue endlessly about what the house layout might have symbolised to the inhabitants or visitors to the house, but the continued manipulation of post-spaces would have meant each house was a slightly different engagement between people and architecture. If house form had remained truly stable and not open to manipulation it would not have continued for so long as it would not have been able to play a role in the ongoing negotiation of the different possible ways of being in the community during the early Neolithic of the Aisne and the Oise. Significantly, the changes that begin the RRBP continue throughout the VSG; that is, trends that were started by RRBP communities are also maintained and negotiated by the subsequent VSG practices of building and living with longhouses.

Abandoning the house? Cerny houses

In stark contrast to the preceding period, only four Cerny structures are known from the Aisne and Oise: three from Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Dubouloz *et al.* 2000) and one from Pont-Sainte-Maxence *Le Poirier* (Prodeo *et al.* 1997). Many Cerny sites are only known from a limited number of pits, which never exceed a diameter of two metres and are rarely deeper than 0.5 m (Prodeo *et al.* 1997, 171). These sites are also accompanied by a number of scattered finds, which demonstrate continued focus on the river valleys (Dubouloz *et al.* 2005, 73). However, this period also coincides with the first appearance of Neolithic sites and material

beyond the valley terraces and on the flood plains themselves (Prodeo *et al.* 1997, 171).

The lithic evidence from the Aisne does not appear to mark an abrupt rupture with the VSG, with 80% of tools still made on the Tertiary Bartonian flint and a tendency to use blade technology that began in the RRBP (Augereau and Bostyn 1997, 31; Plateaux 1990), noted for the end of the RRBP and the VSG (Allard 2005). In contrast the lithic assemblage from the Oise is mainly made from river flint, probably collected from the river, and appears to demonstrate the beginnings of the competition between use of Tertiary flint and river flint in the early-middle Neolithic transition (Prodeo *et al.* 1997, 173). Prodeo *et al.* (1997) also argue that this difference between the Aisne and Oise valleys demonstrates that the Oise communities no longer had access to the sources they had had in the VSG period. These are thought to originate from the plateau to the west of the Oise (Prodeo *et al.* 1997, 173), suggesting that the communities along the Aisne and the Oise may have sourced material from different locations.

The continuation of blade technology along the Aisne is particular only to this valley during the Cerny period (Augereau and Bostyn 1997, 35), and may hint that lithics were subject to increasingly local concerns and practices. The ceramic assemblages also demonstrate a contrast between the Oise and Aisne valleys, as preferences for different techniques used to decorate the pots have been illustrated (Prodeo *et al.* 1997, 176). The early phase of the Cerny period as represented by the *Éponyme* style is a development of the 'V' style seen in the VSG (Prodeo *et al.* 1997, 177). The second ceramic phase of the Cerny period, *Barbuise*, echoes certain antecedents to the Chasséen styles and suggests that connections to the east and the Rhine region continued (Constantin 1985; 1997). Thus, while the communities of the Aisne and Oise seem to have different raw material procurement practices and different focuses in lithic technology, alongside different preferred methods of decoration, they actually demonstrate a fair amount of homogeneity in ceramic styles, decorations and production techniques.

The Cerny period is also characterised by better control over temperature while firing ceramics (Constantin 1997; 2003; Prodeo *et al.* 1997). Constantin (2003, 15)

has demonstrated that this practice coincides with the ceramic assemblage becoming more standardised, with only one *chaîne opératoire* required for the whole corpus of pot styles. Constantin (2003) thus suggests that specialists in ceramics develop in the Cerny period, in comparison to the individual house-based production during the RRBP and VSG. These continuities and changes in how material procurement and production occurred were bound up within a world that was also building in new ways.

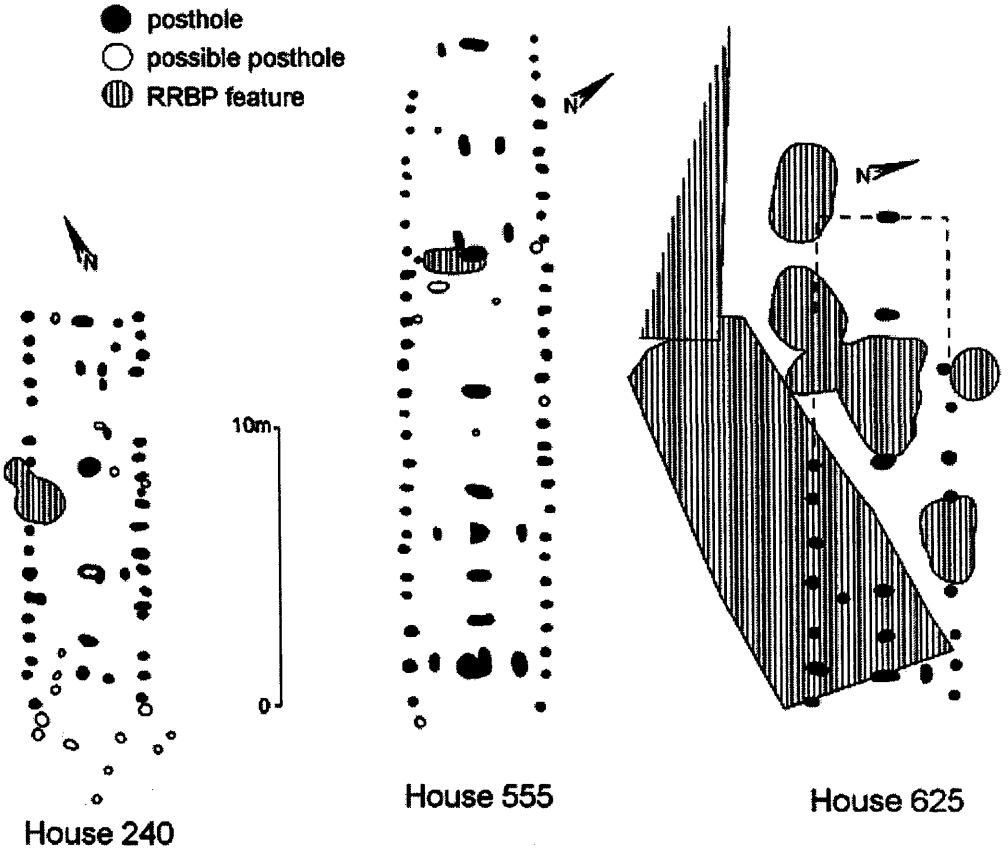


Figure 5.26. The three Cerny houses from Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Aisne). After Dubouloz *et al.* (2000, 65).

The three buildings at Berry-au-Bac (see Figure 5.26) all echo characteristics of the RRBP and VSG longhouse: the linearity, possible 'porch' structures at the front of the house and internal divisions, marked by posts. However, the interior of the houses is far more open, the houses are rectangular in shape and their orientations are not aligned (Dubouloz *et al.* 2000; see map of Berry-au-Bac in Appendix 1, 319). Of particular interest are the house entrances, which alongside continuing the VSG 'porch' posts at the front of the house, also appear to have a more complex

division of space. It is interesting to note, therefore, that these houses are rectangular, not trapezoidal. The trapezoidal house had a very different internal division of space, with smaller spaces at the back of the house, while the Cerny house no longer recalls the tripartite nature of houses and successive gradation of space. These houses demonstrate a number of differences from post-LBK houses found further east (see Figure 5.27). The crowded entrance way contrasts with the 'opening' of the front of the house through the use of the trapezoidal form. There is thus a more complex choreography to entering these houses.

With the three houses well spaced and not sharing alignments, we can infer that these structures were built in considerably different circumstances to RRBP and VSG longhouses. The lack of dating evidence will not allow us to distinguish whether the three houses at Berry-au-Bac are contemporary or representative of successive phases. However, the relationships between house 625 and the earlier RRBP houses are particularly interesting in this respect (see Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.26). It was discussed above how the overlapping of houses at Berry-au-Bac may have referenced particular relationships (convivial or otherwise) between households during the RRBP. This third overlapping house could have been built some two or more centuries later and it is the only Cerny house to recall the RRBP and VSG alignments. As the house was constructed the materials from the loam pits of the RRBP houses would have been discovered. It thus seems that this act of building a house was involved with relationships to a more distant past. It directly recalls and involves itself not only physically, but also materially, with past architectures.

The other two Cerny houses have completely different orientations, are much further apart and, like house 625, have no loam pits. Several of the important characteristics of RRBP and VSG houses are, therefore, *not* repeated in the construction of these buildings, namely shared orientation, the presence of deposition linked to individual houses and tripartism (see Figure 5.26). The potential performances involving these houses are considerably different; because of how spaced out the houses are, shared orientation becomes a less powerful choreography around the settlement and the inter-relationships between households do not lead to certain patterns of deposition building up around the house. The tradition of depositing materials around the house seems to have moved context to

the individual pits from which the Cerny period is most substantially known. Deposition thus becomes a community-wide activity, rather than the focus of individual households (Sommer *pers. comm.*).

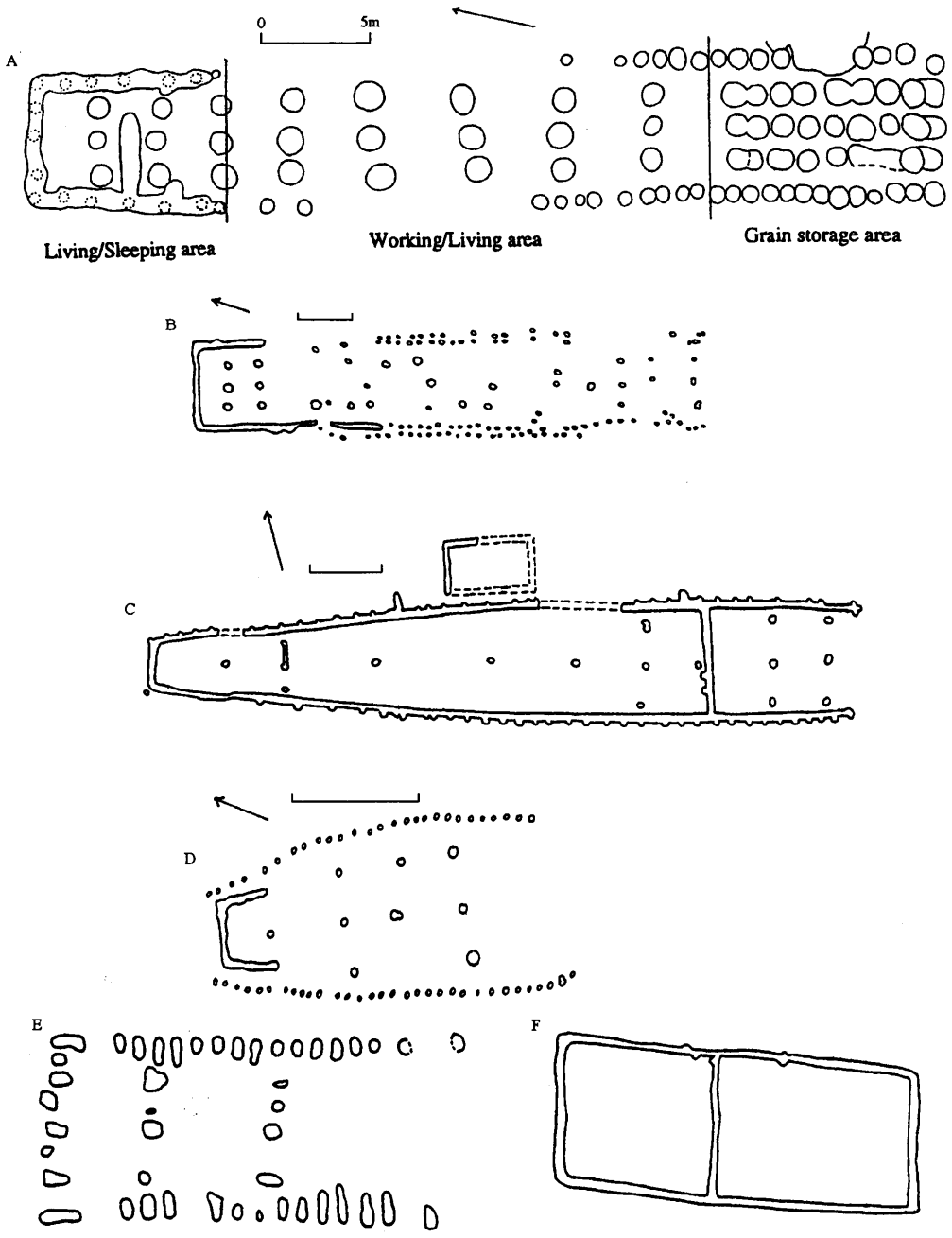


Figure 5.27. House plans from LBK and Middle Neolithic houses. LBK: A) Bylany; Middle Neolithic: B) Hrdlovka: Stichbandkeramik (SBK); C) Inden: Rössen; D) Hienheim: Oberlauterbach (OLB); E) and F) Svodín: Moravian Painted Ware (MBK). After Last (1996, 33).

Alongside the decrease in the number of houses found, the animal bone assemblages that have been discovered for the Cerny period show an increase in cattle from around 50% in the RRBP and VSG to some 73% during the Cerny (Sidéra 2000). Red deer becomes the most hunted wild animal (Sidéra 2000, 113). Again, however, this does not apply to every settlement, with Pont-Saint-Maxence showing a greater variety of domestic animals (cattle, pig and sheep/goat in that order) and wider range of wild animals (Arbogast 2001), thus recalling VSG patterns more closely. It is interesting to note therefore that at Pont-Saint-Maxence, the animal bone assemblage may have come from a pit recalling the loam pits found at early longhouses. The rest of the Cerny assemblages from the Aisne come from pits as described above at Berry-au-Bac, and may therefore suggest a change in the context of deposition, perhaps leading to some species in the Cerny becoming preferentially preserved in the 'silo' pits.

Enclosures are also known from this period, such as the site of Choisy-au-Bac *Le Confluent* situated at the confluence of the Aisne and Oise. More than 19 enclosures are known from the Aisne valley (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 209) and a further three from the Oise (Dubouloz *et al.* 2005, 75). As the majority of these enclosures are known from aerial photography and field walking, not all of them have been excavated and resultantly, the dating evidence is patchy at best. Of the enclosures that have been excavated, the majority date to later than the Cerny (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 213). Choisy-au-Bac *Le Confluent* is thought by the excavators to be fairly long-lived and continue down till the Chasséen period (Alix and Prodeo 1995). This suggests that the combination of limited excavation and limited dating may well mean we miss enclosures that started during the Cerny and continued down until the end of the middle Neolithic. However, if we look slightly further afield to the site of Crécy-sur-Serre (which is situated on a tributary of the Oise, north of the Aisne valley), there is the suggestion that Cerny material (ceramics mainly) may actually predate the construction of the enclosure (Naze 2003, 244). Dubouloz *et al.* (1991) suggest that the origins of Cerny enclosures may occur further south in the Yonne-Seine area (we will return to this idea in the following case study). Enclosures were not a new phenomenon along the Aisne and Oise, and their association with houses can be seen at the RRBP site of Menneville, but it is during this period that they are

constructed with renewed vigour. It is to the enclosures and their possible relationship to other architectures that we finally turn.

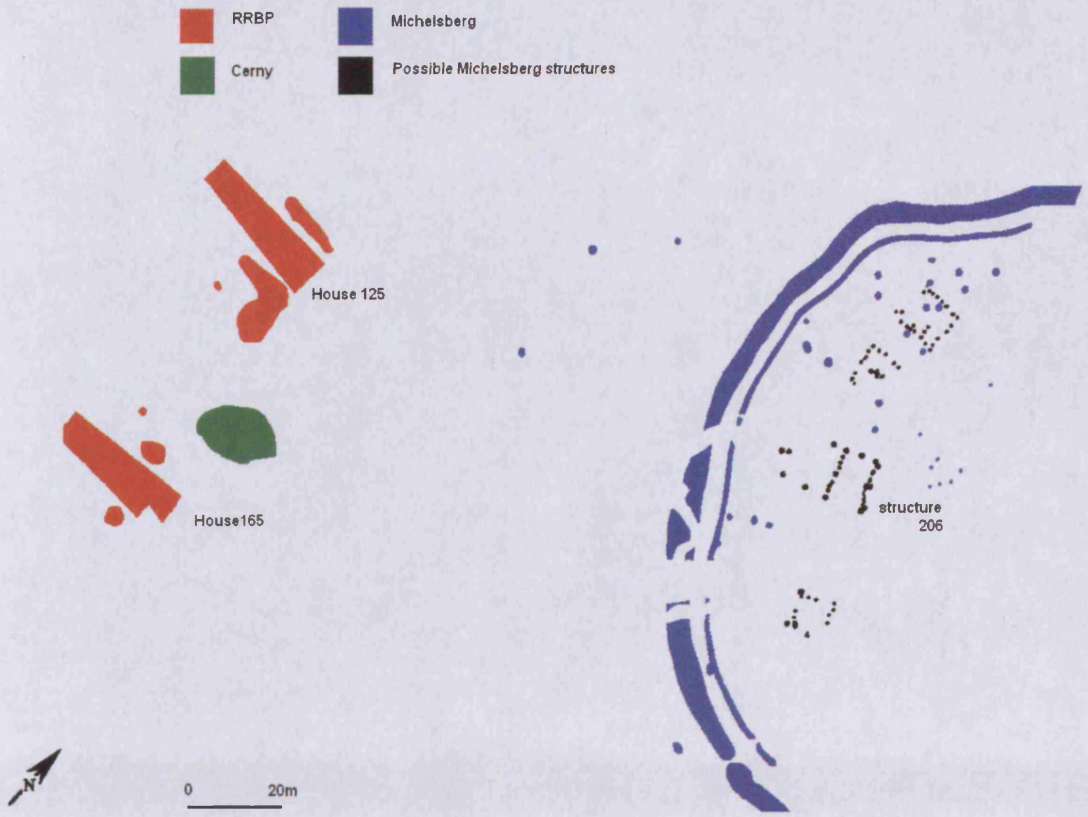


Figure 5.28. The Michelsberg structures from Berry-au-Bac *La Croix Maigret*. After Dubouloz *et al.* (1991, 422).

Enclosures and houses: post-Cerny architectures

Architectural changes beyond the Cerny period are also characterised by decreasing numbers of buildings. The structures represented along the Aisne and Oise are the buildings inside the enclosure at Berry-au-Bac, attributed to the Michelsberg period (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991), thus making Berry-au-Bac one of the most long lived sites along the Aisne. To these we can also add the structures found at Choisy-au-Bac *Le Confluent* (Prodeo *et al.* 1997) and the six 'fours' and the longer 20 m house at Osly-Courtil *La Terre-Saint-Mard* (Dubouloz 1998a). In contrast to the scant evidence for houses, the Michelsberg and Chasséen occupations are overwhelmingly known from enclosure sites, with some 19 enclosures known from the Aisne and Oise (Dubouloz 1998a; Dubouloz *et al.* 2005). At this time, the Michelsberg is found along the Aisne and the Chasséen along the Oise. These two separate

'cultures' have been divided on the basis of ceramic styles (Constantin and Blanchet 1998). This may point to the fact that communities along the Aisne felt themselves to have more similarities with communities to the east of the Paris Basin, as the Michelsberg spread east into western Germany. Thus, although they practise very similar ways of living, during this period the communities along the Aisne and Oise felt themselves tied into different wider networks.

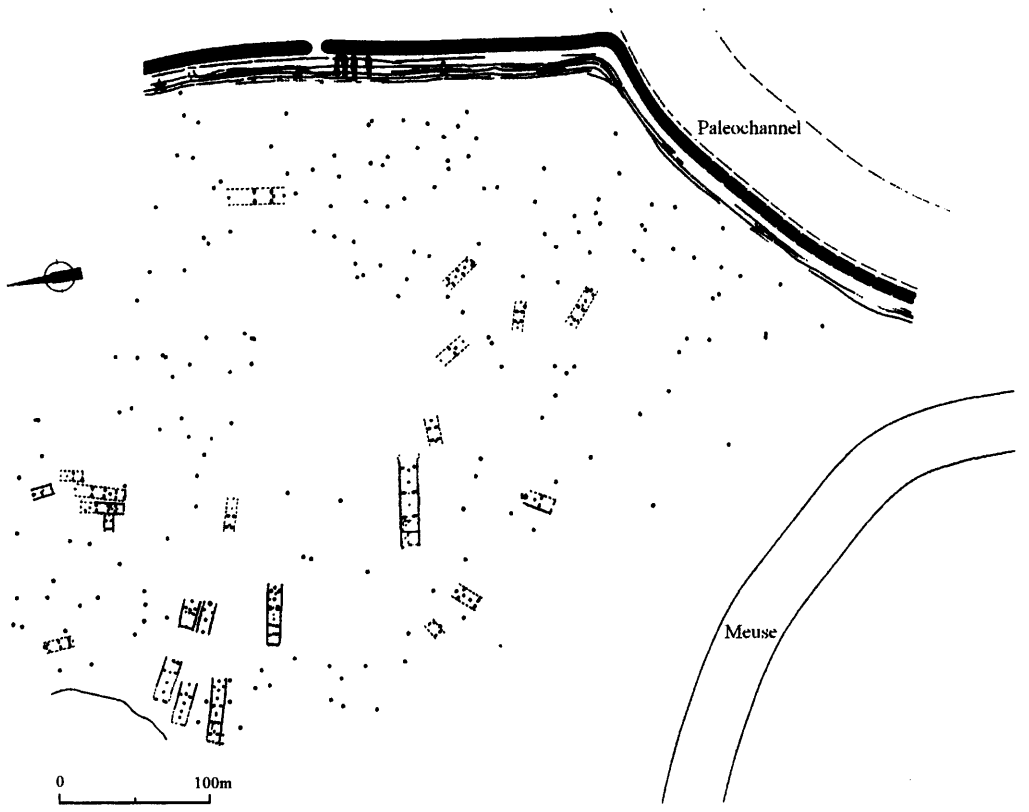


Figure 5.29. Plan of the enclosure at Mairy, Ardennes, indicating the position of the Michelsberg houses. House 1 is marked in blue. After Marolle (1998, 21).

The structures found at Berry-au-Bac demonstrate significant differences to the Cerny houses found in the same area. They are still post-built structures and may have been linear (see Figure 5.28) (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 422), but unlike the houses at the enclosure of Mairy (Ardennes), they do not recall the internal central post structure. In comparison to the distinct lack of houses found to date along the Aisne and the Oise, some 23 houses have been found at Mairy (see Figure 5.29) (Marolle 1998, 22). These houses are trench-built, but still have the internal division echoing the Danubian tradition. The trenches show evidence for a series of closely spaced

posts within them (see Figure 5.30) and in this respect recall another feature of the enclosures, that is the palisades. The buildings at Mairy are huge, even in comparison to RRBP and VSG houses—house 1 is 60 m long and 13 m wide (Marolle 1998, 23). None of these structures have loam pits and shared orientation is not continued. These buildings may recall earlier ideas about houses in their linearity but it difficult to see them as constructed within the same tradition. Significantly, they do not offer the same range of practices as the Danubian houses (see Chapter seven).

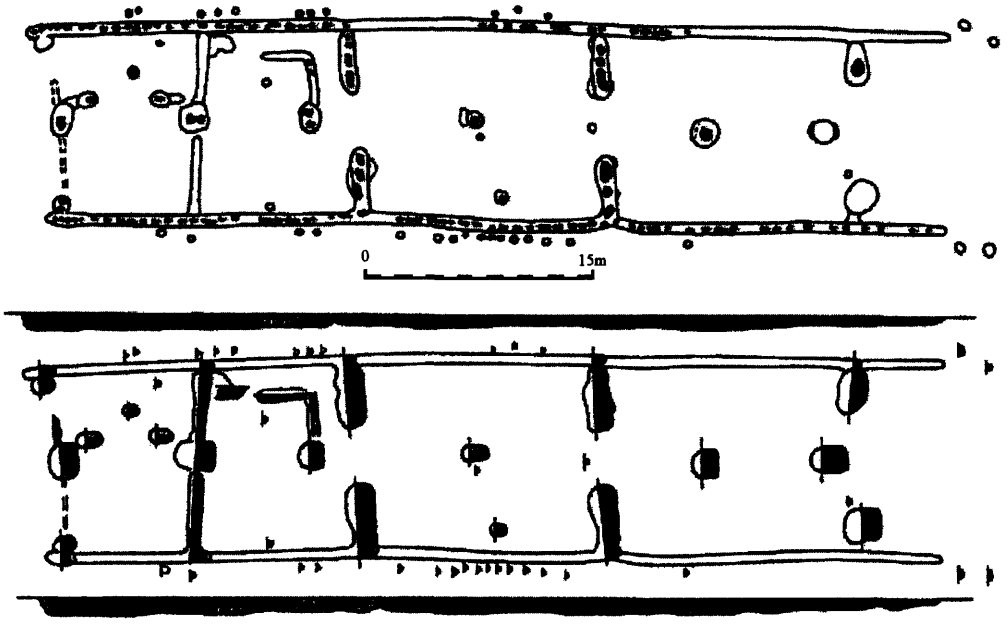


Figure 5.30. House 1 from the enclosure at Mairy, Ardennes. After Marolle (1998, 23).

Working with wood and the erection of post-lines or palisades does, however, appear to continue, or even increase. Palisades and post-lines are found frequently at enclosures and are also known from a number of Michelsberg sites, including those like Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Ilett and Coudart 1985) and Pontavert *Le Port-aux-Marbres* (Allard *et al.* 1994; Hachem 1995b), where they are found without an enclosure. The lithic assemblage demonstrates increasing evidence for working with wood from the VSG period onwards (Sidéra 2000). Construction of the palisades would have involved large amounts of trees being felled at one time, rather than the smaller numbers required for individual houses. At the enclosure of Bazoches-sur-Vesle, it is estimated that some 600 tree trunks were required to

construct the two palisades (Demoule *et al.* 2007, 68) though the temporal relationships between them far from clear.

The removal of some 600 trees from the landscape would have cleared a fairly large area of land. Enclosures would thus not only change the area in which they were constructed, but may have also altered other areas of landscape. At the Chasséen site of Longueil-Sainte-Marie *Les Gros Grés* artefacts are found deposited in natural pits created by tree throws (Bernard 1998, 86). Bernard (1998, 87) suggests that these deposits may have taken place after the trees had been blown over. It may, therefore, be premature to assume greater management of the woodland during the middle Neolithic (Bernard 1998, 89). The depositions in the tree throws may recall or echo the practices which took place at enclosure sites. We can thus link the raising of posts, felling of trees (by human and other means) and the practice of deposition as a suite of practices which led to the construction of enclosures.

Eight incidences of disarticulated human bone have been found at Bazoches-sur-Vesle (exclusively from the enclosure), six of which probably come from one individual, which Pariat (2005, 111) argues reached their final place of deposition by accident, or at least in an unstructured way. This is contrasted with more intentional deposits; some areas of deposition seem to have experienced more fragmentation before being put in the ditch; others seem to have more articulations and connections (Pariat 2005, 111). The group of six bones is thought to have come from a child, though they were more fragmented than the other remains and had heavily eroded *in situ* (Pariat 2005, 112). Human bone found at Maizy-sur-Aisne was accompanied by animal bones (Pariat 2007, 26–7). The differing rates of preservation and conditions in which material remains are deposited at enclosures demonstrate a wide variety of practices and temporalities of deposition, in which human remains were enmeshed. At times the deliberate inclusion of human remains with animal bones, deliberately broken pots and lithics can be noted. At others, human remains may well have been caught up with material that had been left exposed for some time or middened before deposition.

The variety found in the practices represented at different enclosures suggests that these sites were forums for certain practices and performances; they provided the

impetus for certain depositions and activities to take place but these were by no means guided by strict formulas or social rules. At the site of Bazoches-sur-Vesle, placed and deliberate deposits appear to mark route-ways into and out of the enclosure and a particular sequence and pattern of movement around the enclosure (Dubouloz 1998a). This site may be in stark contrast to the near-by enclosure of Berry-au-Bac, where very few interruptions are found and the site appears to be more domestic in its character (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 214). While linear structures may still have been built at this site, material was found in the enclosure ditches rather than in pits by the sides of houses. The most significant difference between these two contexts is perhaps the time and scale used to form the deposits themselves. Deposition at enclosures could draw on a wider variety of different scales and temporalities of material than the longhouse had provided (and I will return to this in more detail in Chapter six).

Conclusions

This chapter has considered daily life in and around the longhouses of the RRBP and VSG and the subsequent changes to architectural design in the Aisne and Oise valleys. Life with longhouses existed in the Paris Basin between just before 5000 cal BC down towards and possibly after 4000 cal BC, but, not only did the numbers of buildings built decrease, but also the practices of building and living with houses changed. The early Neolithic longhouse formed a context through which individuals, households and communities interacted with each other. The process of building and living in and around these buildings involved different alliances between individual settlements and wider communities within the valley. The practice of depositing material by houses built up due to routine activities inside and around the house and provides a picture of networked relationships. These practices were integral to the Danubian house and are one of the first practices to change during the Cerny period.

The post-layout in the interior of the longhouse was also an important part of the house structure and the posts themselves may have held particular significances drawing on ambiguous and varied relations with the landscape around the settlement. The changing layouts first emphasise a difference between the front and back of the house, with the front becoming more open and the back becoming more

densely furnished with posts. This change may have been an attempt to keep certain ideas about the past and the 'ideal' house, while also wanting to create open spaces within the house. This contrast seems to change in the Cerny period when the front of the house becomes crowded with posts. Spatial layouts were obviously significant. It may be simplistic to see these as merely meaning one thing and the ability of posts to frame and create different spaces within the house may be significant in the creation of palisades around enclosures and lines of post within enclosures. Difference remains something that was debated through certain performances, whether through lithics, ceramics, or animals (and possibly burials). This may have been part of the different scales on which people lived: intimate and immediate relationships formed around the settlement and in the landscape, and those ties that crossed different settlements and regions. As the next case study develops these ideas around temporality, the impetus for change and the scales on which the community was formed will be explored in more depth.

The linear design of houses continues through the early and middle Neolithic, and so does the post-built structure, but this is against a backdrop of other significant changes in practice which would have dramatically changed how people experienced architecture and the construction of post-built structures. The number of settlements and their variation in temporal depth suggest significant differences in how people chose to live their lives. The development of enclosures, which include deposition, may represent a change in the way in which community relationships were negotiated. The placing and gathering of material together in enclosure sites may represent changing understanding of the performance of community. It was argued that rather than closer community relationships being experienced through the wider construction of enclosures as community-wide events, this was actually a period when certain relationships needed to be debated more specifically and ties more elaborately expressed.

[1] These dates are, of course, rough estimates for the periods during which we find post-built longhouses and do not include the subsequent constructions of linear post-built buildings in the Cerny and Michelsberg-Chasséen. See chapter 4 for further debate of the chronological changes in the Aisne and Oise and the problems surrounding how subsequent periods have been dated.

[2] The notion of regional variability has also been demonstrated and discussed by Gronenborn (1998; 1999), Last (1998), Modderman (1988), Whittle (1996a; 2003) and Veit (1996).

[3] The longest house (215) of c. 40 metres dates to the VSG and was found at Bucy-le-Long *La Fosse Tounise* (Constantin *et al.* 1995).

[4] In comparison the Michelsberg houses found at the enclosure at Mairy (Ardennes) can be anywhere up to 60m long (Marolle 1998). These houses will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

[5] These houses are identified as different from longhouses sited close to each other because some part of their ground plan overlaps. Therefore they can be assumed not to be contemporary and are the only rare instances of stratigraphy during this period. In this respect the Aisne and Oise differ from settlements elsewhere in the LBK (e.g. Bylany and Vaihingen) where houses from successive phases do overlap.

[6] This does not, however, mean that there were not side entrances to houses. Veit (1996, 62) suggests that the 'Y' formation of posts may represent doors in the long sides of houses. This particular style of internal post lay-out falls out of favour in later the stages of the LBK (Whittle 2003, 138). It is rarely found in its complete form along the Aisne and the Oise; instead certain variations in which the idea of 'Y' posts in the centre of the house had been manipulated can be occasionally seen (Coudart 1998, 29). Whittle (2003, 138) suggest that the 'Y' post formation may recall earlier designs of structures which pre-dated the LBK.

[7] Modderman (1988) and Coudart (1998) actually differ in their definitions of what constitutes a 'tripartite' house depending on whether certain 'corridors' can be considered to represent a northwestern section. To some extent this shows that such ideas have largely been imposed on the architecture by archaeologists, rather than the conditions in which the LBK longhouse was constructed. For our purposes here trapezoidal designs in houses are significant because it means that the alignment and layout of posts vary along the length of the house, rather than the inside of the house being undifferentiated.

[8] It is, therefore, interesting to note that at the VSG site of Aubevoye, in Normandy, the reverse is found, where the northern loam pits contained the majority of the finds (Riché *pers. comm.*).

[9] This does not, however, include houses 420 and 425 at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes which appear to share a loam pit.

[10] Soil disturbance can be described as the extent to which the soil is manipulated, for example low disturbance will come about through leaving it fallow and allowing animals to graze it, while high disturbance will come about through regular ploughing or hand weeding (Bogaard 2004, 148).

6

Everyday and performance at the Seine-Yonne confluence: case study two

Introduction

'It wasn't you, it was your brother' (Pearson 2006, 22). On the 25th April 2000, Mike Pearson (2006) created a performance work inspired by his childhood in the village of Hibaldstow, entitled *Bubbling Tom*, which took the form of a guided tour. The piece involved the performer (Mike) and the audience (his family, neighbours, a former teacher and those from further afield) taking an excursion around the village, stopping to listen as he performed different memories from his childhood. Through 'mimicry, impersonation, embodiment and enactment', Pearson presented a monologue, but, of course, these places were a dense bricolage of personal and shared memories (2006, 27). Thus throughout the performance interjections, or rather corrections, were made by others to whom Hibaldstow and Mike Pearson's childhood were familiar. As Pearson's performance shows, these memories were local, personal and intimate as well as regional, shared and historical. During the performance of *Bubbling Tom* such memories were reproduced and negotiated through material intervention in the landscape by bodies and their movement.

It is in the particular entangled network of material, bodies, landscapes and movement that specific understandings of life-ways are created, manipulated and abandoned. Just as Pearson's memories were at once personal and shared, the histories of the longhouses from the Seine-Yonne area are also local and simultaneously part of the geographically broader development and end of this architectural style. The Seine-Yonne confluence, like the Aisne and Oise valleys, was densely occupied during the early and middle Neolithic (see Figure 6.1; Pernaud *et al.* 2004; Prestreau and Duhamel 1991), yet when the early Neolithic of

the Paris Basin is discussed it is overwhelmingly the sites and evidence from the Aisne valley that are referred to.

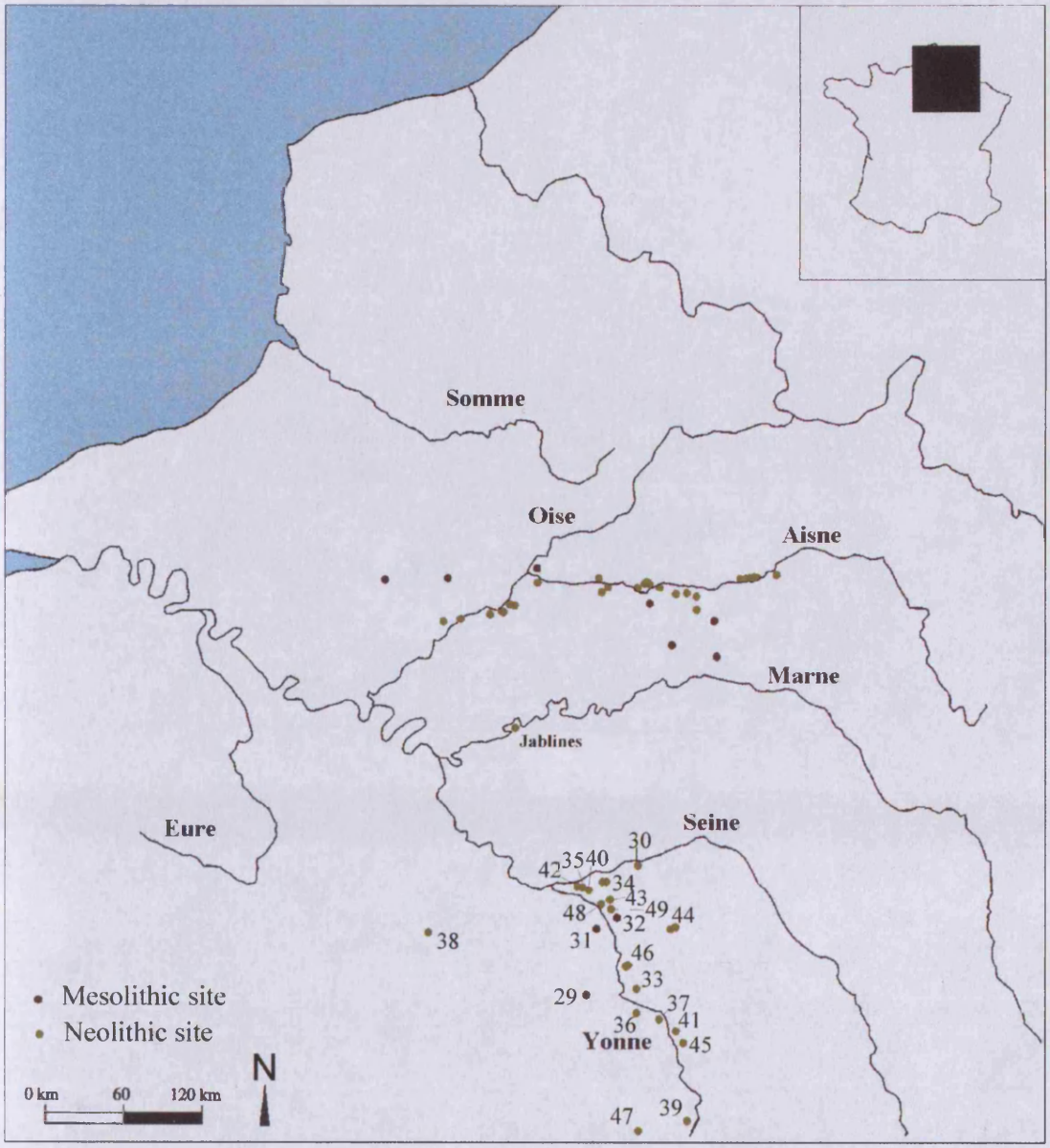


Figure 6.1. Map of the sites discussed in the test and forming the case study. 29) Charbuy; 30) Noyen-sur-Seine; 31) Saint-Julien-du-Sault; 32) Véron; 33) Armeau; 34) Balloy Les Réaudins; 35) Barbey Le Chemin de Monteneau; 36) Champlay; 37) Charmoy Sous Les Ormes; 38) Échilleuses Les Dépendances de Digny; 39) Escolives-Sainte-Camille; 40) Gravon; 41) Gurgy Les Plantes du Mont; 42) Marolles-sur-Seine; 43) Misy-sur-Yonne; 44) Molinons; 45) Monéteau Le rue de Bonn; 46) Passy-sur-Yonne; 47) Sainte-Pallaye; 48) Villeneuve-la-Guyard Prépoux; 49) Vinneuf. Mesolithic sites are depicted in red and Neolithic sites in green. After Pernaud (2004, 410).

As a challenge to this situation and to offer a contrast to the previous case study, I focus this chapter on the Upper Seine and Yonne river valleys, which make up the southern part of the Paris Basin (Figure 6.1). This region has been chosen for a number of reasons; the Neolithic appears to start slightly later, suggesting there may have been different relationships between hunter-gatherers and farmers, and a range

of post-Danubian architectures develop. Community, routine and performance will again be the lenses through which the early and middle Neolithic houses in these river valleys are discussed. This case study will try to work between the levels of the local and the wider region, exploring not only the immediate settlement contexts and wider networks, but also, through comparing the Yonne and Seine valleys to those of the Aisne and Oise, debate the significance of the local level to the RRBP and VSG communities, and how this may relate to the subsequent architectural changes.

Rhythms of daily life at the Seine-Yonne confluence

Similarly to the Aisne and Oise, the early Neolithic communities at the Seine-Yonne confluence spent their lives around post-built longhouses constructed in the Danubian style. In contrast to the approximately 90 house plans found along the Aisne and Oise, the possible number of houses from this region numbers 40 with more probably houses known only from their loam pits, with the postholes entirely eroded (Appendix 2, part 3; Bedault forthcoming). While there are many similarities between the house styles of the Seine-Yonne and Aisne-Oise regions and it would be extremely difficult to define any sub-regional 'styles' beyond similarities that are found across the whole of the Paris Basin (Coudart 1998), there are a number of practices particular to the Seine-Yonne that suggest some differences in the performances associated with longhouses. This section will discuss some of these variations, which take the form both of styles which are missing and specific new or alternative practices. This will lead to a discussion of the general notions of what constituted a longhouse, and the moments when this was challenged or negotiated.

Performance in the longhouse

The specific and local performances that took place at the Seine-Yonne confluence took the form of absences from architectural design as well as innovative practice. However, before these aspects are considered, it is worth noting that we must be careful to distinguish between the features which the archaeologist identifies as 'regional' through her ability to map in two dimensions the spread of certain practices and the conception of whether a feature is local, regional or general amongst the communities of longhouse builders. In order to attend to the experience

of Neolithic communities, rather than our own perception of the patterns, the means by which such regional differences could have been conceived of as local must be considered. Thus it is necessary to explore the performance of these differences and how they influenced people's engagement with architecture, not just their geographical distribution.

One of the practices specific to this region is the presence of deposits within the house architecture. While along the Aisne and Oise there were two instances of pits within the house, this is found far more frequently in this region, particularly at the VSG site of Gurgy (Delor 1991; 1996).[1] In what appears to be a two-phase settlement, the houses at Gurgy have evidence of pits placed into the northwestern part of four or five of the seven houses (see Figure 6.2). Some of these pits were interpreted as silos by the excavator, as one (in house five) appeared to contain pieces of quern stone (Delor 1996, 299). This practice throws up a number of questions about the impact these pits had on the experience of living with longhouse architecture and, leading on from this, at what point during the house-life they were created; could the pits have formed foundation or closing deposits?

A pit found inside house three at Villeneuve-la-Guyard contained a large pot and three hammer stones and, as Prestreau (1992, 177) suggests, there is no need to consider this episode of deposition to be the only use for the pit. This could well be interpreted as a closing deposit at the end of use of that particular pit or indeed the house, perhaps materially signalling that the household had come to a close. Alternatively, it could equally be equated with the initial construction of the house and could therefore be some form of foundational deposit, creating or ensuring future success for the household. Furthermore, it could have also been associated with changes in the household at a specific point during the house's life-history. Some of the longhouses, such as houses one and five at Gurgy, have more than one pit within the longhouse architecture (Delor 1991; 1996), favouring the suggestion of successive interventions rather than one-off constructions at the beginning or end of the house. Therefore, what may be most significant about these pits and their associated deposits is that they allow us to appreciate how the longhouse was altered during its lifetime. Hence, rather than being built and then left to decay unrepaired,

the longhouse's fabric could have been continually engaged with, focussing the attention of the household on to the architectural space created by the structure.

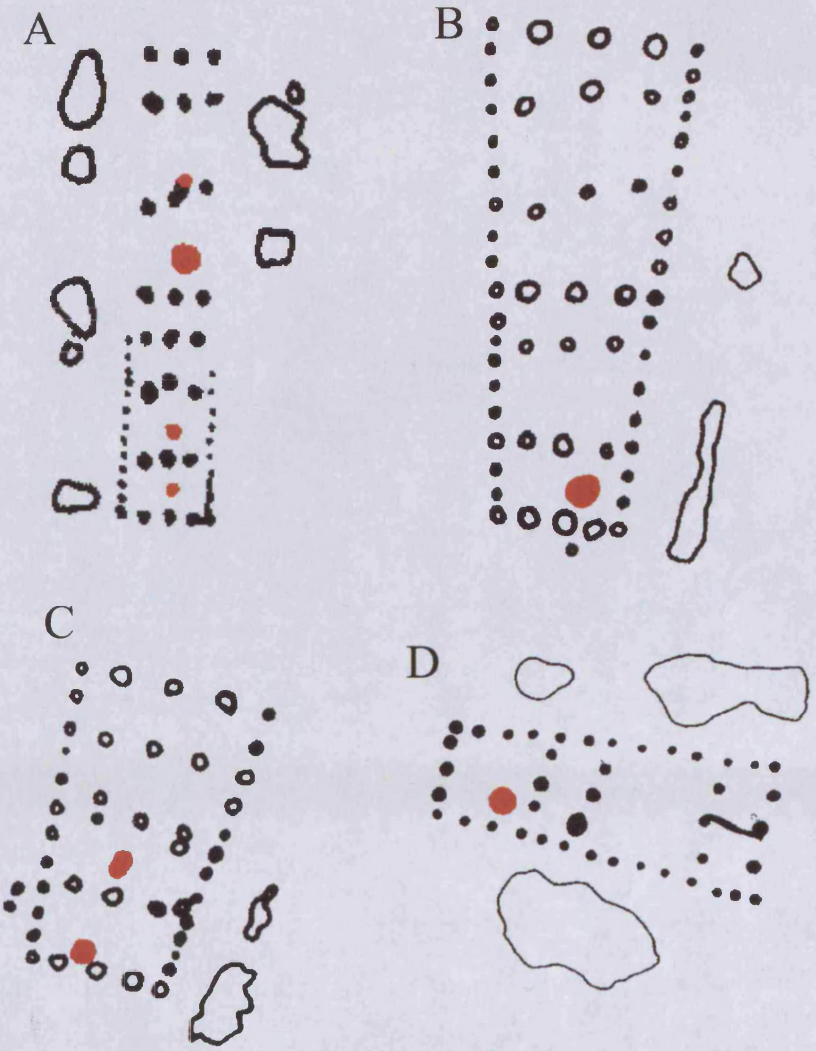


Figure 6.2. The position of pits (depicted in red) inside longhouses along the Seine and Yonne. A: House 1, Gurgy. After Delor (1996, 296). B: House 3, Gurgy. After Delor (1996, 299). C: House 4, Gurgy. After Delor (1996, 299). D: House 4, Villeneuve-la-Guyard. After Prestreau (1992, 176).

Overwhelmingly these pits are placed at the northwestern end of the longhouse (see Figure 6.2). Constructing pits in this part of the house may have changed bodily movement inside the building. If it was darker due to being further from the door or fire place, such deposits might have been particularly hidden from the rest of the community or indeed anyone entering the house from other households. Hence, these pits must have been very intimate to the particular history of the house in which they were found. This could explain why the categories of items placed within the pits are so varied; from decorated and undecorated ceramics to lithic

tools, broken quern stones and animal remains (Prestreau 1992; Delor 1996). Each deposit brought together a different selection of materials, each specific to that particular moment of deposition. Set within the most interiorized part of the house and in a direct contrast to the surrounding loam pits, these deposits seem to have been specific household events rather than general performances experienced in and around longhouses.

The contrasting temporalities between materials deposited outside the longhouse and the materials selected and then placed in the internal pits are also marked. As argued in chapter five, material remains around the outside of the houses built up over time and the condition in which these remains were found suggests that they were left to decay for some time before being deposited. A sense of time or age of the household could therefore be judged both through the decay, of the house and in the accumulation of material in the loam pits. Such patterns, of decay and of accumulation, may have fed into understandings of how time passed at these settlements. The placing of items in pits within the longhouses, therefore, contrasts to the build up of material in loam pits and seems, rather, to have involved the deliberate selection of particular material over a shorter time-span. The screened nature of these actions could have been particularly accentuated as they were frequently situated in the northwestern end of the house. Thus not only does the temporal aspect of these deposits contrast with the loam pits, their visual impact does so as well; the hidden nature of the internal pits contrasts with the general display of materials in a loam pit.

At Gurgy, the pits are found in a number of houses, and in multiple numbers, suggesting that this was a practice that was certainly known about by more than one household at the settlement. The items placed in these pits had been well used (for example, the worn and broken quern stone found at Gurgy) and the hazelnuts, carbonised grains and peas in the pit fill had possibly been artificially exposed to fire suggesting the mixing of material from one-off events with materials that had been caught up in repeated and habitual routines (Delor 1996, 299). The intentional burning of cereal remains and the potentially deliberately broken material in the pits hints at the performances associated with these deposits; fires and the smashing apart of objects. Although these pits are therefore part of a suite of practices that

tied material remains into architectural spaces, the materials used and their location in the house suggest that this practice originated in specific conditions of the local

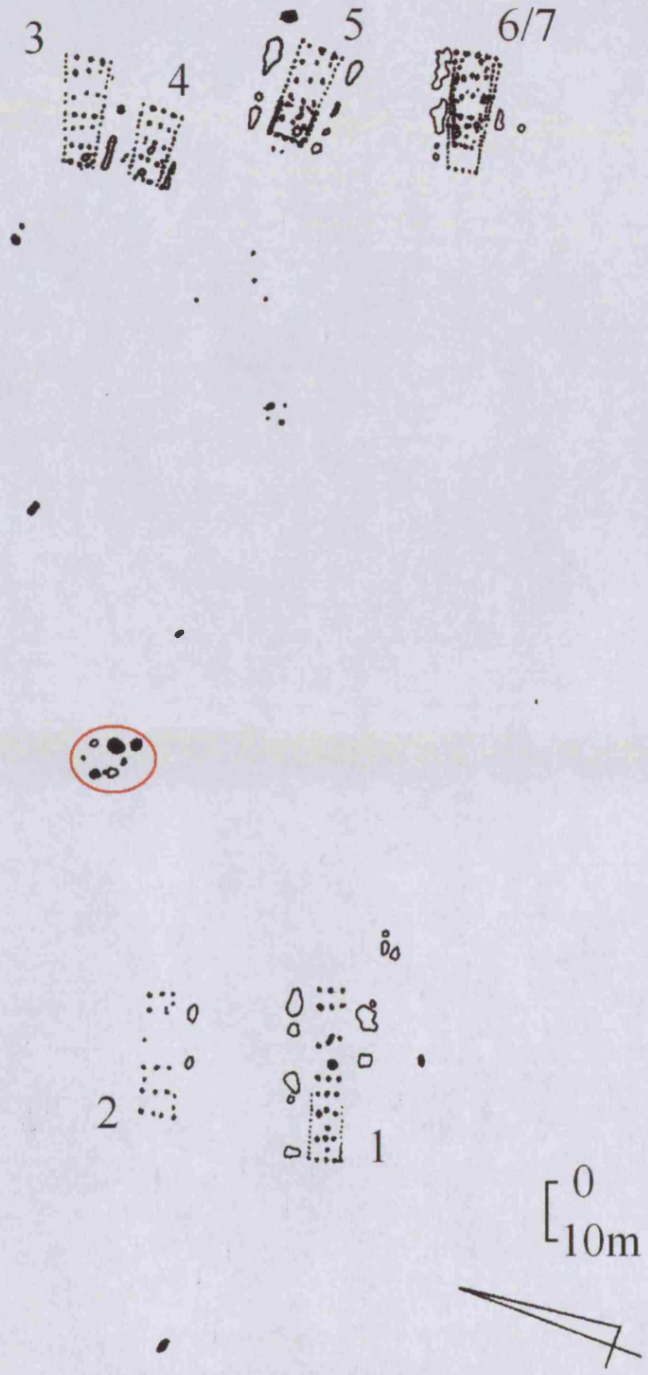


Figure 6.3. Map of the settlement at Gurgy. The group of pits apparently not associated with either of the two groups of houses is circled in red. After Delor (1996, 296).

region. Thus longhouse architecture at the Seine-Yonne confluence apparently proffered different potential routines, opening up the possibility of dealing with materials in more varied ways; materials were not just deposited outside houses in loam pits, but could also be used to make more direct statements.

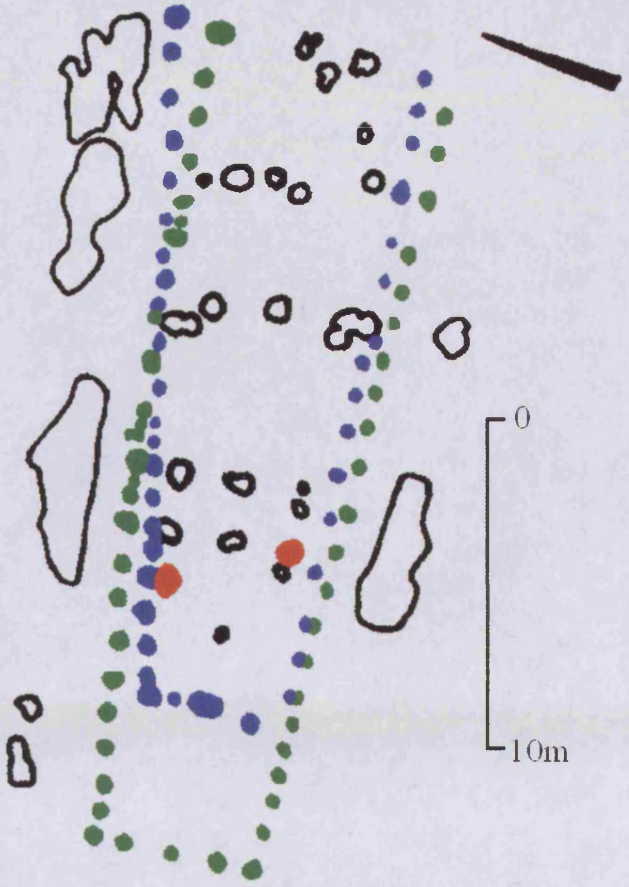


Figure 6.4. Houses 6 and 7 at the site of Gurgy. House 6 is represented in blue, house 7 in green. The red dots indicate internal pits. The internal postholes have not been coloured as it is more difficult to determine whether they belong to house 6 or 7. After Delor (1996, 301).

At Gurgy, these notions of temporality and degree of display seem to be interestingly played out in other ways associated with the form and placing of the longhouse. There appear to be at least two separate phases to this settlement. An initial phase of two houses set to the northwest of the site (see Figure 6.3),[2] is then followed by a second phase, in which four houses were constructed, and at some point during this phase house six was removed and replaced by house seven (see Figure 6.4). The sequence of houses six and seven is particularly interesting as it is one of the very few places in the Paris Basin where one house appears to have been built entirely on the space previously occupied by another. House seven is thought

to be the later house, though it is difficult to attribute postholes securely to one or other of the houses (Delor 1996, 301). While house seven respects the entrance of the previous house and possibly reuses some of the postholes from house six, its orientation is 5° different and the subsequent house is some 4 m longer (see Figure 6.4). However, the internal post-rows were replaced, but in nearly the same location suggesting that rather than a re-working of the space occupied by the house, attention was focused on the replacing of the physical structure of the house. Therefore, house seven is not a complete eradication of the history of house six, its internal spatial framework is reused, but rather the external appearance and the actual material of the building were altered.

The spaces or 'rooms' created by houses six and seven remain the same, and therefore, the movement and performances throughout the front and middle of the house could have continued in (conceptually) the same space, while the movement at the back of the house was altered and extra 'rooms' were added. As discussed in chapter five and above, this section might have been the darker, quieter and more intimate part of the house. However, I doubt that longhouse seven was considered a completely new house; rather it was a re-imagining of the same building, possibly as a way of lengthening it. The extension to the northwest allowed a room to be created, increasing the possible performances within the house and this was signalled by a slight change in alignment and new external wall posts. However, these were specific to that particular household, rather than the relationship the household had with other households and the wider community. The history of movement and the presence of the house were both continued, with the reuse of the internal post rows. Therefore, although the house was changed, continuity with the earlier layout would be obvious to anyone familiar with it, while its external appearance would more strongly suggest that such a connection could not be made.

This re-imagining of the internal spaces inside the house may have been tied into both changes in the household and changes in the relationships between this house and other contemporary ones in the settlement. However, what is perhaps most significant about this re-building of a longhouse is that it destabilises the permanence of the longhouse architecture. From this we can infer that it was occasionally subject to possible reconsiderations and to changing ideas during its

use-life. Sometimes this was played out in the structure (as in this case with the rebuilding of house six on the same location at Gurgy) and at others it may have been less materially visible (as is the case with the pits constructed within the house). We saw in chapter three how Mehinaku houses, Amazonia, allow sociality and social liaisons to continue throughout the different spaces inside and around houses and to operate on a continuum as opposed to across a public-private opposition (Gregor 1977). In a similar way, instead of trying to read the history of house seven as merely expanding the earlier building or changing the public face of house six, it is best understood as changing the flow of sociality both within and around the house, breaking old relationships and creating new ones. By which I mean one history was interrupted, while others became possible.

This re-build also prevented the earlier house carrying through the usual trajectory for a longhouse by interrupting its decay. Thus, not only was the re-building of this house a chance to open up new possible movements and socialities but also a chance to disrupt and possibly prevent the material process of decay. Clearly this was not a regular activity and an event of (re-)building was probably a highly emotional or socially charged moment. The infrequency of this event must have meant that its occurrence emphasised and simultaneously challenged previous and anticipated house histories. By reworking the structure of the building, the biography of house six was changed and closed, but new possible social relationships were also created. These need not have been harmonious, and perhaps this event led to a de-stabilising of relationships within the community, leading to the end of the settlement.[3] Members from different households were most likely required to effect this change in the house and so the wider community had to agree to assist in its rebuilding. Thus, in this way, an event of rebuilding would have been a community-wide experience, presenting the opportunity for display and performance alongside the re-negotiation of relationships. Therefore, the longhouse and the household remained a significant forum for the intervention into broader and more distant associations, formed beyond the immediate household.

One of the other ways longhouses constructed at the Seine-Yonne confluence differed from houses from the Aisne-Oise region of the Paris Basin is the lack of wall trenches at the northwestern end of the house (see Figure 6.5). This practice

seems to be associated with the beginning rather than the end of the RRBP and hence there may be a chronological explanation, with houses built along the Seine-Yonne reflecting their later construction date and the trend towards emphasising the front of the house. This can also be illustrated with the Charmoy-style 'entrances', found at the Seine-Yonne confluence, particularly at the site of Charmoy *Sous les Ormes* (Joly 1970; Coudart 1998) (see Figure 6.6). The entrance ways of these houses were apparently trenched to some degree, suggesting that they were part of more elaborated house façades. This site dates to the VSG period and such an embellishment of the house front ties into the increased emphasis on the trapezoidal house-plan (which also may have been part of the same focussing attention on to the front of the house), possibly monumentalising the entrance way to the house and changing the experience of entering or exiting the house.

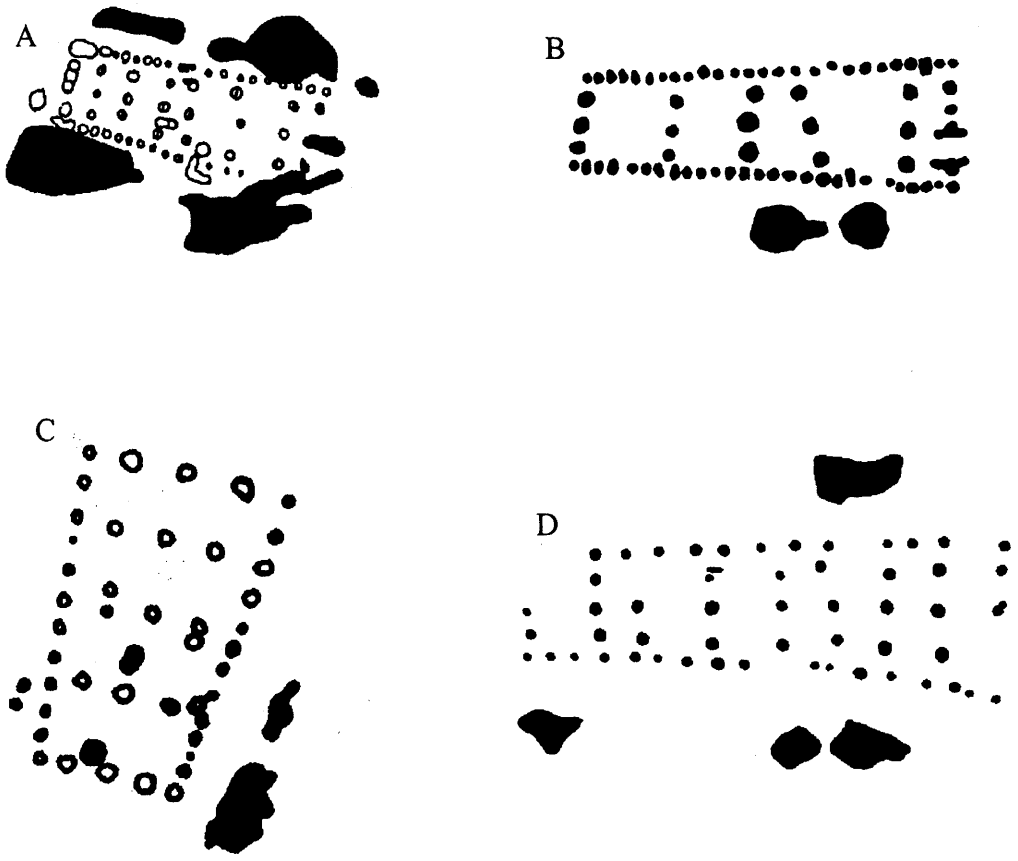


Figure 6.5. This figure demonstrates the trapezoidal nature of longhouses from the Seine and Yonne valleys. A: House 3, Balloy. After D. Mordant (1991, 34). B: House 1, Charmoy. After Delor (1996, 298). C: House 4, Gurgy. After Delor (1996, 299). D: House 4, Villeneuve-la-Guyard. After Prestreau (1992, 176).

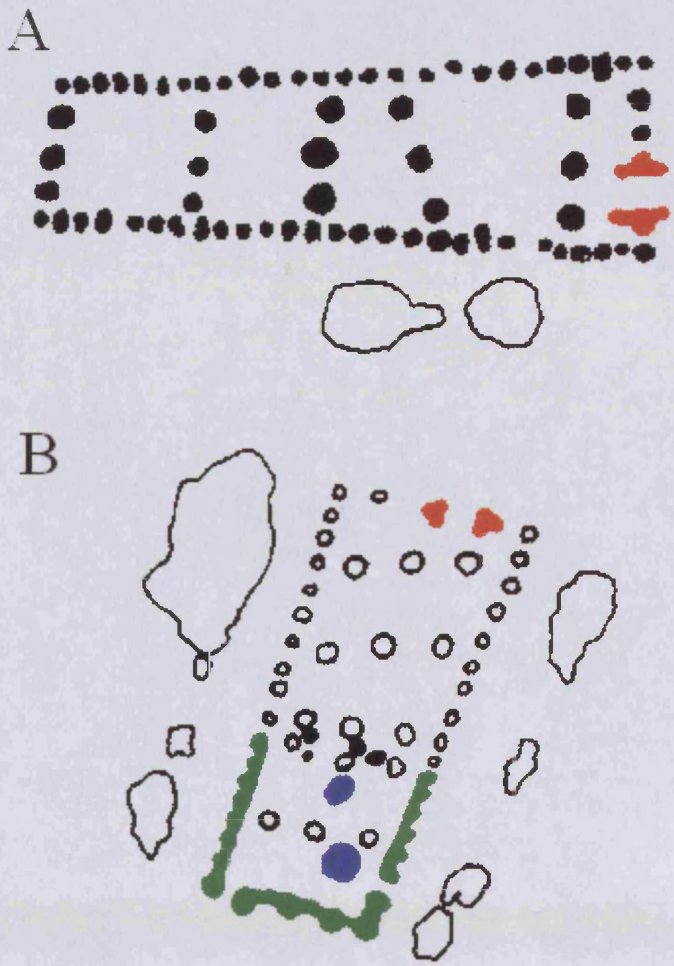


Figure 6.6. Two examples of the 'Charmoy-style' entrances to longhouses emphasised in red. A: House 1, Charmoy *Sous les Ormes*. After Delor (1996, 298). B: House 5, Gurgy. The blue pits show the position of the two internal pits and the green highlights the wall trench. After Delor (1996, 297).

The Charmoy-style house entrance thus demonstrates a wider or more general concern throughout the VSG played out in a local way; this was argued in chapter five to be the increased manipulation of different experiences within the house through the preference for the trapezoidal form, resulting in increased differences in the spaces at the front and at the back of the house. Hence, from the end of the RRBP and throughout the VSG house form is used to manipulate the experience of moving around inside the longhouse and emphasise the moment when you move from outside to inside and vice versa. This difference is recognised by linear movement through the house. The internal spaces become increasingly narrower as the body moves from the front to the back of the house and, of course, the opposite is true of the movement out of the house. This is a general experience of living with later longhouses in the Paris Basin, which was deliberately created by attention to

the layout of the posts, as well as increasing the length of the house (Constantin and Ilett 1982; Coudart 1998). However, it seems to have been elaborated in particular ways in this region. The attention on the front of the house is thus exaggerated in this region with Charmoy-style entrances, while the more intimate experiences at the back of the house lead to particular material interventions demonstrated by the digging of pits in this part of the longhouse.

Chapter five stressed the local, small-scale and immediate context of RRBP and VSG settlements. It argued that the communities were first and foremost concerned with the relationships local to the settlement. The drama of moving inside longhouses on a daily basis was framed by the posts themselves, alongside the tasks and activities which took place inside the house. Such moments could be viewed as events or performances of architecture, moments which through their repetition made certain post-layouts possible and communicable. However, there are significant moments which cut through this habitual repetition of daily routine, which led to the rebuilding of the longhouse in one occasion and more subtle re-workings, such as the construction of pits within the house, at other times. The regionally specific practices recognised by Neolithic communities can be characterised more broadly, however, as the individual site histories and the ways in which material culture was connected to the physical space of the architecture.

Deposition and activity spaces

It has already been discussed above how the practice of creating pits inside houses may have been a tradition specific to an understanding of architecture present at the Seine-Yonne confluence during the early Neolithic. In contrast, the evidence coming from the loam pits demonstrates a great deal of similarity of practice between households, and to the communities along the Aisne and the Oise. Unfortunately without the presence of a settlement the size of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (and one that has received as much detailed study), there is less scope for discussing the relationships between different houses through their material remains. However, as we will see, there are a few hints that will allow us to consider how longhouse architecture and its attendant external spaces became constructive of community relationships and significant in the mediation of the everyday engagements with the longhouse in this region.

The areas between the houses at Gurgy contained a few shallow pits which showed evidence for burning. Two are found between the longhouses three, four and five, while the remaining seven are found in a small group between the two halves of the village. These pits contained fragments of burned quern stone, alongside other stones and pebbles (Delor 1996). Figure 6.3 shows their position in the settlement. On the basis of flint and ceramic remains these two groups of pits were certainly contemporary with the VSG settlement of the village. Delor (1996, 303, my translation) argues that these structures were reused for different activities, but their situation away from the longhouses was 'not convenient for daily domestic use'. Thus, Delor (1996) argues that the pits were part of particular one-off feasting occasions, rather than regular activities. The placing of the pit groups away from the individual houses may indicate that they were not part of the quotidian experiences associated with houses. Although pits of this form may be sporadically found elsewhere in the south of the Paris Basin (at Noyen (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992), Charmoy (Joly 1970; Coudart 1998) and Sainte-Pallaye (Carré 1999; Carré *et al.* 1958)), such structures are absent from the early Neolithic along the Aisne and Oise. Therefore, at the Seine-Yonne confluence different practices emphasising activities away from the longhouse developed.

These pits provided a separate forum for activities which were perhaps not considered to be appropriate for or between individual houses. Thus rather than stressing particular relationships between certain households, these pits could have been community-wide activities. This is significant, because rather than negotiating community relationships through the more fixed architectures of the longhouse, new performances became appropriate. These performances involved digging pits away from houses and the activities which took place at them, such as the burning of objects and possibly the preparation of food (as Delor (1996) suggests). Burning is a transformative event and its situation away from the houses need not simply mean that the activities were associated with the whole community; rather the creation of the pits and the tasks which took place at them created a forum in which ideas separate from the longhouse could be negotiated. However, two pits placed near the group of houses to the east of the settlement were discovered at Gurgy (Delor 1996), suggesting that such a rigid opposition between household relationships and the

village community may not be appropriate. Rather, the community was composed simultaneously of the relationships between and within households.

In the particular context of Gurgy, these pits could therefore have become a forum for creating relationships without the necessity of having household membership as frame for their negotiation. While I would argue that households were broadly equal in their status and commitment to community during this period, their very presence made certain statements of belonging to particular groups or households possible. Therefore, the existence of households necessarily involves recognition of difference. Significantly, the pits perhaps offer a forum where materials from different households or groups are brought together. However, in contrast to the loam pits by houses, these pits are 'events' and thus, rather than coming together piecemeal over the life of the house, are temporally much shorter. The practices of deposition around the settlement of Gurgy seem to offer two different ways of dealing with material remains: longer-term build up by houses and short-term deposition inside of and away from the house. The location of these events both away from and inside the house suggests that the short-term deposits should not be considered in opposition to those that accumulated over time in the loam pits. Rather, it seems, following Lucas (2005), to be the layering together of the flows of daily routine with episodic moments in the history of the household and the community.

Thus, while architectural practices may have played a more general role in people's everyday lives, structuring understandings of temporality over the longer term, it is the materials of their daily lives which framed specific relationships with others and other households or settlements. It is interesting therefore to note the possible presence of an early Neolithic habitation layer at Misy-sur-Yonne. This layer consisted of about 20m² of thinly spread ceramic sherds (of which a significant proportion was fine decorated ware) found in small groups and a concentration of worked flint (C. Mordant *et al.* 1977, 423). Though there is no direct evidence for houses at this site, there are two round pits (named A and C) some 40 m apart (C. Mordant *et al.* 1977). Though it is highly possible that any nearby houses were eroded, as the site itself is situated close to the site of Berby which produced some

evidence for longhouses (C. Mordant *et al.* 1977), like the pits at Gurgy this could also represent a form of activity apart from the longhouse tradition.[4]

The two pits found alongside the habitation layer contained two different assemblages but both appeared to be distinct from the kind of deposits found in loam pits. Pit A contained coarse ceramics possibly from large storage vessels, worked flints, three fragments of bracelets (two of a hard stone and a third made from clay, which was incised) and a perforated piece of antler, while pit C contained sherds of fine ware (C. Mordant *et al.* 1977, 423). These deposits were not structured, but rather seem to have some element of deliberate selection with coarse ware ceramics deposited in pit A, while fine ware was chosen for pit C (C. Mordant *et al.* 1977, 423). Unfortunately, Poulain (1977) who studied the animal remains does not say how the 61 fragments of bone discovered were distributed between the occupation layer and the two pits. However, the antler from red deer all showed signs of use and shaping (Poulain 1977, 464). The rest of the animal remains were fairly fragmentary and it seems as if the smaller bones of the animal are best represented (Poulain 1977). The presence of small bones may indicate hunting, but domesticated animals were the dominant species (Poulain 1977). Thus, I would argue that the assemblages from these pits were not one-off feasting episodes or hunting camps but rather the deposition of material remains collected from a short period of habitation close by. Significantly, this occupation took place outside the context of the longhouse architecture.

At the VSG site of Jablines, on the Marne (see Figure 6.1), material remains from the houses are seemingly thoroughly mixed with refitting sherds found throughout the loam pits from different houses (see Figure 6.7; Bostyn *et al.* 1991; Hachem 2000). The Neolithic occupation levels were also well preserved at this site, indicating that there were activity zones well outside houses, around the back and sides of the house (Bostyn *et al.* 1991). This may hint at the kind of evidence which is not preserved at sites along the Seine and Yonne and the Aisne and Oise, resulting in the importance of the longhouse as a forum for daily activity becoming exaggerated. However, the discovery of the pits at settlements along the Seine and Yonne does suggest that significantly more emphasis was placed on the deposition of material together, not just the carrying out of tasks together. Material was

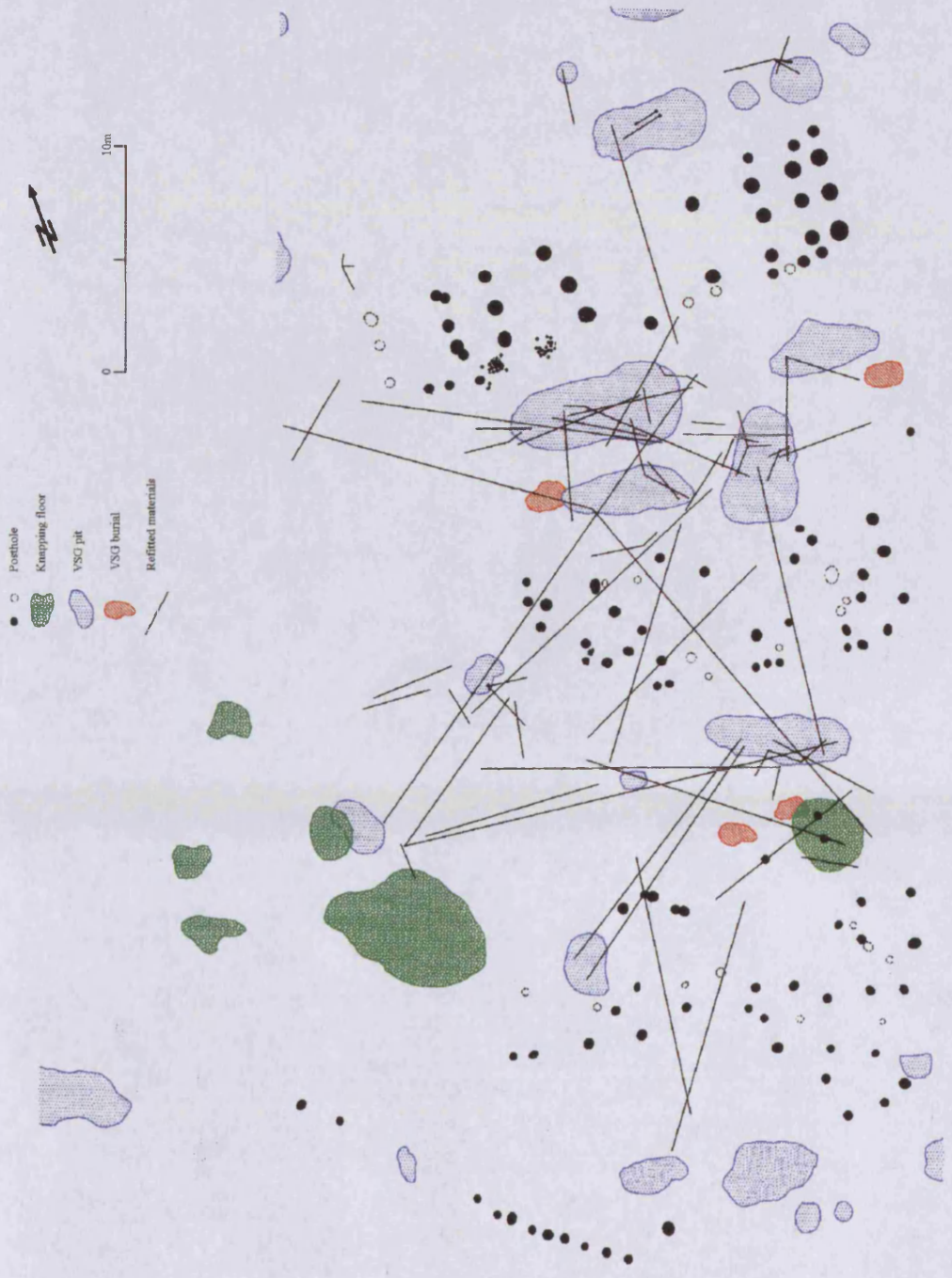


Figure 6.7. Occupation floors, areas of knapping and refitting materials at Jablines *La Pente de Croupeton*. After Lanchon *et al.* (1997, 328).

embedded in the flow of life and constitutive of relations through routine movements and activities. The deposition of the material, which enmeshed different substances and human bodies together (for example, through possible feasting events at Gurgy or the varied remains deposited at Misy-sur-Yonne), provided the opportunity to make statements that both made sense in terms of the daily practice at longhouses but also challenged the pervasive nature of the longhouse or the household group in daily life at early Neolithic settlements.

The loam pits of house one at Marolles-sur-Seine provide a particularly interesting contrast to this situation because the concentration of rough-out limestone beads and other tools in the loam pits of house one suggests that a certain amount of independence in daily activities existed between households (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998, 25). Alongside flint and bone tools thought to be used for preparing the limestone beads, a small group of beads contained within a pot (or base of a pot) (see Figure 6.8) and probably once wrapped in some form of perishable material was discovered in the northern pit of house one (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998, 25). The limestone most likely came from the local area and was fashioned into beads like those found in VSG burials (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998, 33). None of the other houses or loam pits at this site has evidence for bead working; it seems particular to this household or life-time of this house. There was a great deal of variability in the size and shape of the beads being made at Marolles-sur-Seine. Augereau and Bonnardin (1998, 37) regard the evidence from the loam pits of house one as a record of the work in progress, with specialist artisans living in the house and making beads for a wider distribution, but also separating their work from the rest of the community.

Although the postholes at Marolles-sur-Seine appear to be fairly poorly preserved or heavily truncated by later features, the loam pits are fairly well preserved with abundant material remains within them, including up to 70 possible pots discovered in the loam pits associated with house one (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998, 28). However, the beads are far more carefully deposited than other materials and, if the beads were being made to be exchanged, or these were specialists producing beads for burial, wrapping the beads and then burying them in amongst the rest of the household refuse does not really compare with how they are treated elsewhere.

Rather this event seems to be the deliberate removal of rough-outs, hence preventing the beads from becoming the finished object and then going on to be part of exchanges and hence to form relationships. This may well fit with the interpretation proposed by Augereau and Bonnardin (1998), who argue that we are probably detecting restricted access to the limestone resources.

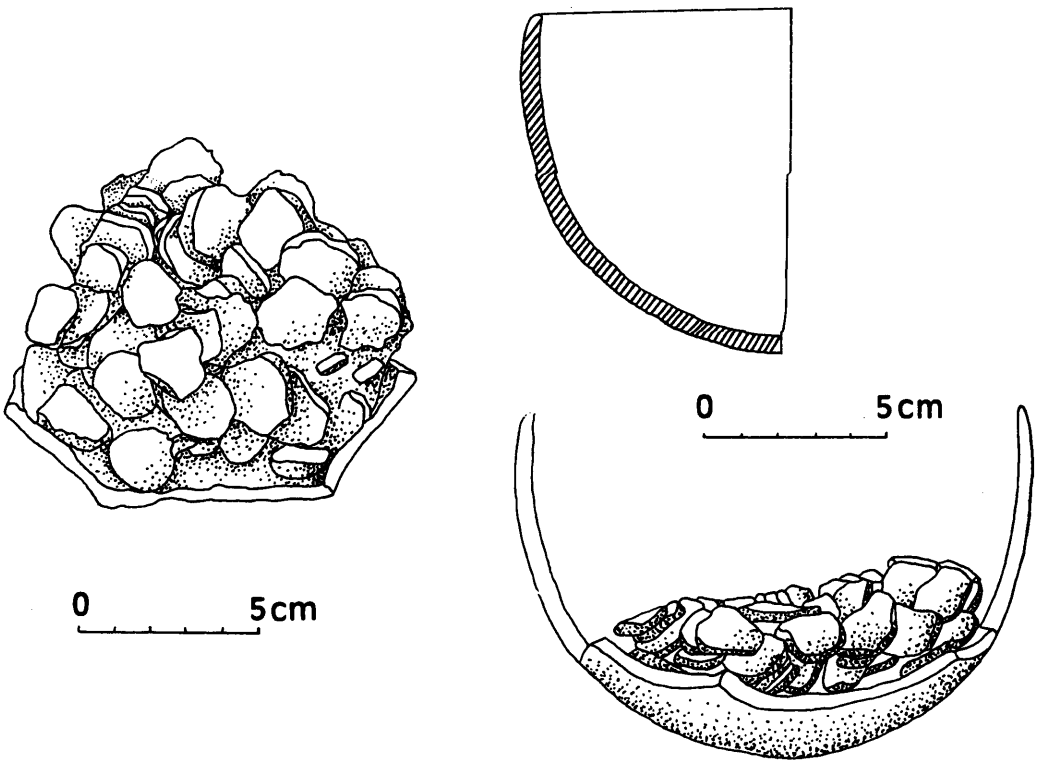


Figure 6.8. The deposit of rough-out limestone beads in the base of a pot at Marolles-sur-Seine. Augereau and Bonnardin (1998, 34).

However, these beads clearly had a particular value attributed to them and the location of their discovery in a loam pit suggests that there may have been some structure in these deposits. Thus, rather than the fills of the loam pits developing as an unconsidered by-product of daily activity around the house, there may also have been one-off deposits made. A certain amount of effort was put into making sure the beads remained together in the deposit, illustrating the care and attention that was given to the deposition, perhaps even hiding what was being put into the ground. As beads are usually found in the largest quantities in burial contexts, these items could have been particularly socially charged. Their deposition, outside burial, could have exaggerated this, perhaps in some way explaining the rarity of this deposit. Daily life can be precarious and everyday tasks can be unsuccessful, perhaps this deposit is an example of a moment when routine failed.

The previous discussion of daily practice and performance at the Seine-Yonne confluence has operated very much at the levels of the household and the community, yet beads are particularly associated with the human body. The burial of these rough-outs suggests that an event occurred to prevent these beads from reaching the context for which they were intended, which may well have been for ornamentation or display on the human body. These two contexts, therefore, seem to contrast with one another; the beads in the loam pit were deposited with the rest of the household waste, while the beads found in burial contexts are associated with the individual deceased. Bonnardin's (2003, 107, 111) use-wear analysis of the perforations of beads found in RRBP and VSG graves demonstrates that they were not only worn on threads before they reached the grave but also that beads were being recycled from other necklaces and ornaments. This means that they were being displayed on the body for some time before they were buried with deceased. Correspondingly this also suggests that beads were being exchanged and reused, with ornaments frequently being reconstituted from recycled and newer beads. Therefore many of the objects in the grave may have had complex and detailed biographies of their own.

The life-histories of the beads could also have linked individuals or households together at different scales. Some beads were made of shell brought from the coasts (Jeunesse 1997a) and in this particular case the beads were made of a particular Champigny limestone from close to Marolles-sur-Seine (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998, 33). Some of the beads made at Marolles-sur-Seine did reach the burial context and were found in a burial (burial 76) associated with the same house that produced the evidence for bead making (house one) (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998, 36). Therefore, as indicated by the tools found in the same loam pit at Marolles-sur-Seine, in this instance the rough-out beads were being buried close to their origin and this action prevented them from being exchanged with and worn by other people. Following Jones (2005, 209–11), these objects were part of the networked relations which constituted persons in the LBK. However, the example from Marolles-sur-Seine perhaps demonstrates how complex these relations were, suggesting that materials were caught up in their display and the local was mixed with more distant contacts. The social worlds, whether that of the human body, the longhouse, the settlement or the wider region were not divided neatly into separate

spheres of identity negotiation, but were rather layered together and capable of being concurrently understood.

There seems to be much emphasis on performance at the moment of burial at the Seine-Yonne confluence, as there was in the Aisne and Oise burials; at Passy, a VSG burial (burial C) contained a burned and broken pot (Gombau 1997, 69), which seems likely to have been deliberately smashed as part of the funerary ritual. Furthermore, D. Mordant (1997, 140) argues that about a tenth of the burials are accompanied by large sherds of ceramics in the grave fill. Whether these were deliberately fragmented or not remains unclear, but the intentional selection of broken pieces of ceramic seems to suggest that fragmentation played a role in making sense of funerary rites. The burial of beads with the deceased during the VSG could also represent the fragmentation of certain networks that stretched beyond the immediate household and into the wider region. The breaking of material could have metaphorically been associated with death and the smashing of objects or inclusion of sherds a necessary part of dealing with an individual no longer being part of the community. However, display of bead ornaments at burial could have also worked to emphasise and strengthen social networks, rather than break them (bead ornaments are left intact, closely associated with body). Therefore, goods accompanying the deceased into the ground appear to be a mixture of broken and whole, distant and local, new and old.

Fragmentation of the human body can also be demonstrated in the remains found in loam pits (Gombau 1997).[5] Therefore, the human body after death could well be caught up with the same processes and performances deemed appropriate for ceramics and other materials. At times statements were made through the deliberate display of these materials, however at other times the body became caught up in the flow of practice associated with the longhouse. This, for example, can be seen during phase three at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, when the deposition of fragmented human bone coincides with a number of architectural changes not in the style of the long house *per se* but their frequency of use at the settlement (see Chapter five). The life-histories of people and houses were obviously entwined, however this instance suggests that forms of building and certain practices of deposition were linked. If those receiving interment at settlements were individuals who were

particularly associated with the locality then funerary rites by houses could have been regarded as an extension of depositional activities in loam pits and fed into the particular senses of layered time provided by the longhouse, while drawing on the wider scales of contact across the landscape. If people were living at recognisably different scales, then this is perhaps what is being referenced in the burial practices; the local and networked community were not juxtaposed, but entwined together.

Clearly there is a great deal of variation amongst the settlements at the Seine-Yonne confluence, as was argued for the communities of the Aisne and Oise. This operated through the different material structures people were engaging with, whether this was the formation of settlement-wide burning events or perhaps different modes of organising how activities were carried out (e.g. the habitation layer at Misy-sur-Yonne) or even particular tasks certain households engaged in. However, this discussion has been focused on specific events or practices within the village and beside longhouses at the Seine-Yonne confluence. A comparison between the architectures of these two regions will allow for some of the more general aspects of the longhouse to be discussed and hence an appreciation of the most common everyday routines and sensory experiences associated with the longhouses. This will also facilitate a greater understanding of the how the local and regional practices overlapped with general conceptions of longhouse architecture and the process of building.

Interior design

In the last chapter we saw that the post layout, while adhering to certain ideals such as having 'three-posts-in-a-row', actually led to very different experiences of spatial layout inside the longhouse. Coudart (1998, 55–6) identified 14 features, which appeared to remain the same throughout the LBK, alongside four features which seemed to vary between individual houses. These were the absolute length, the number of postholes, the form of the external areas alongside the house and the form of the 'porches' at the front of the house (Coudart 1998, 56). As Figure 6.9 illustrates, a comparison of houses from the Aisne and Oise with longhouses from the Seine-Yonne confluence demonstrates that the ideal features are general rather than regional. The 'three-posts-in-a-row' remains a general pattern repeated throughout the Paris Basin, while that which does vary (such as the spaces created

inside the house) happens on an individual house-by-house basis. Thus, against the differences in possible movements inside individual houses, there was a general pattern of construction which stretched beyond the individual settlements, river valleys or regions.

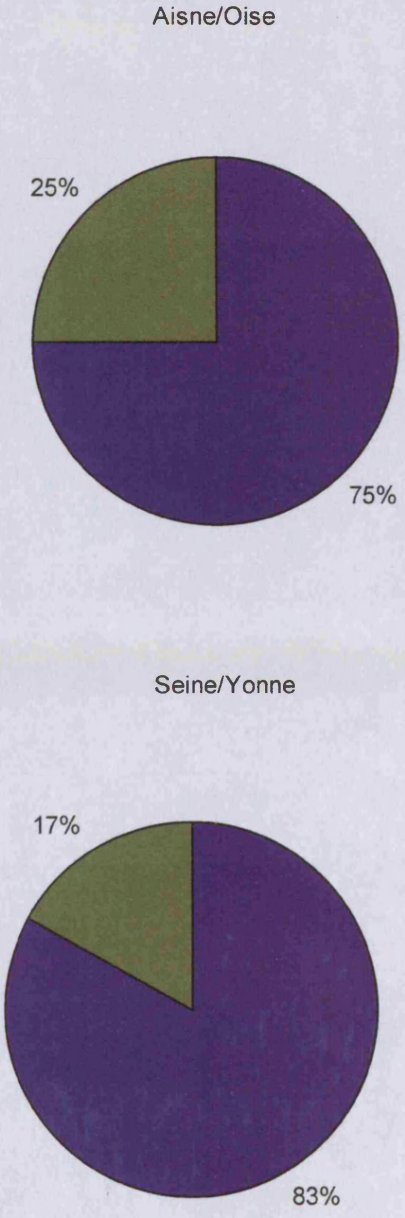


Figure 6.9. These two charts illustrate a comparison between the percentage of longhouses in the Aisne/Oise and Seine/Yonne regions, which adhere to the 'three-posts-in-a-row' ideal. Purple represents the percentage of houses with 'three-posts-in-a-row'. Not all houses could be included in these calculations due to the differences in preservation. Therefore only houses that were considered to have the entire house plan preserved were included; 45 houses for the Aisne/Oise and 24 for the Seine/Yonne (both RRBP and VSG houses were included; see Appendix 2, 423–4).

Coudart (1998) identifies such generalities in the architecture as 'conceptual norms' but does not consider how these may have been played out on a daily basis. We saw in chapter three how architecture is an ongoing process that does not end solely with the construction of a building, but rather the continual process of dwelling results in everyday movements and actions becoming creative, constructive and performative. Without the separation of different political and cultural institutions, particular architectures become a specific way of dwelling (see Chapters two and three for more detailed discussion). Therefore, such *norms* would have been part of the daily routines and the physical engagement between body and house. In Bourdieu's (1973; 2002) terms, this is the *habitus*: the potential of a building's structure to create axes along which particular social understandings can take place. Bourdieu's (1973) particular example is the Kabyle house, which he considers central to the structuring of male/female relationships and the yearly life-cycle of both the household and the architecture itself (see Chapter three). These understandings are not open or discursive, they are instead habitual and embodied in the way people move, sit and stand.

For Coudart (1998), the tripartite layout and number of post rows may have had a particular cosmological explanation. However, an understanding of why three posts had to be used to constitute a row may not have been discursive. It is more productive, therefore, to discuss the generalities of experience within the house, that is, how experience with materials and other people within the house may have led to general understandings of community and architecture. Hofmann (2006a) has explored the experiential aspects of the LBK longhouse, through considering the different senses at play as routines around the house were carried out. Thus, within the longhouse particular intimate experiences were created as posts, and possibly screens or internal walls blocked certain views (Hofmann 2006a). Although in rows, posts to the right and left of the observer would have blocked views on either side (see Figure 6.10). The post layout may also have influenced how light may have been experienced within the house. If there were no doors or windows other than at the southeastern/eastern entrance, then the house would have become darker as you moved through it, save for the presence of a lit fire in the central section of

the house. Hofmann (2006a) thus argues that the sensual experience of the LBK longhouse would have varied, but would have also been particularly intimate.

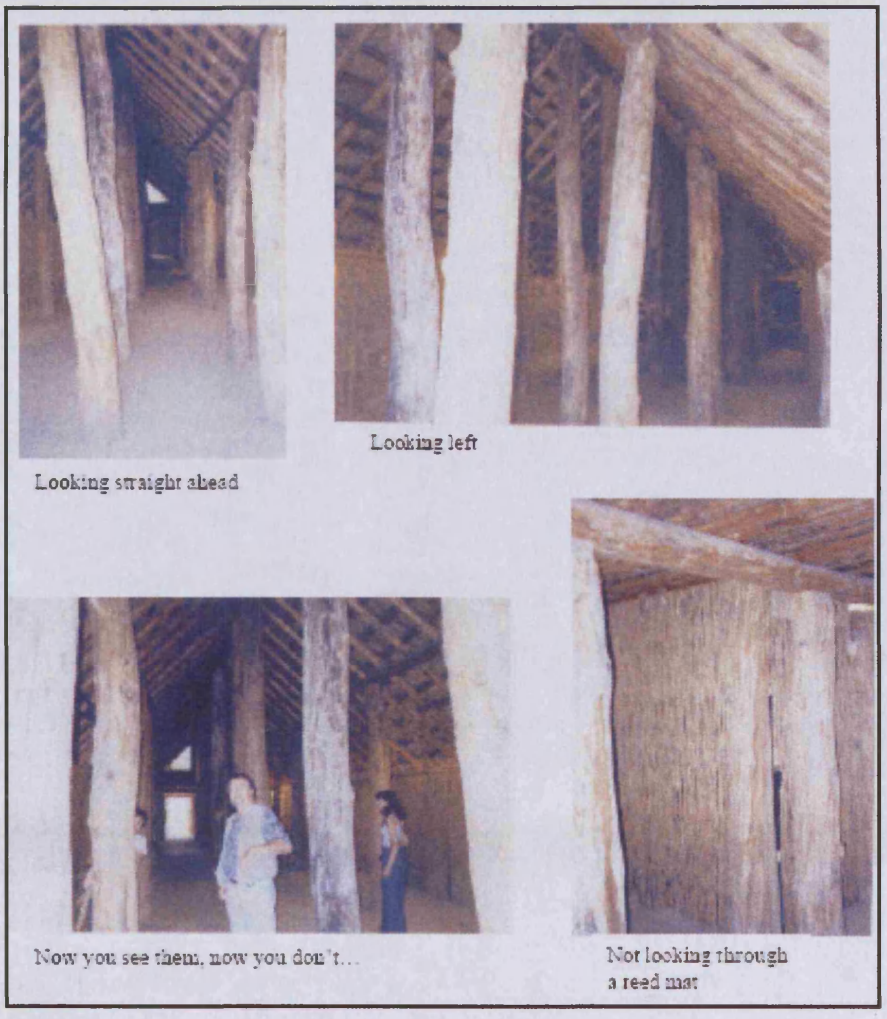


Figure 6.10. Lines of sight inside a reconstructed LBK longhouse. Hofmann (2006a. 89).

The changing light along the length of the house may have led to other sensory experiences within the house becoming important. Hofmann (2006a) thus stresses the importance of the auditory sense. Helliwell (1996; see also Chapter 3) explores the significance of sound travelling through walls and partitions in the Dayak longhouse, with its inhabitants sharing community through appeals to different kinds and levels of sound rather than visual display. The northwestern section of the LBK longhouse may have been fairly dark, frequently crowded with posts and quieter than the lighter areas where daily tasks could have been carried out. In longer houses this darker, quieter space would have been extended and the difference between the front and back of the house could have become more distinct. Thus the different sensory experiences within a longhouse could be manipulated, with longer

houses providing the opportunity to explore more distinct and different experiences. This does not mean that light was opposed to dark, nor noisy to quiet, rather the framing of different interactions between the household may have occurred within such experiences, connecting light to noisy and dark to quiet.

In Chapter 2, I explored how the Trio Indians emotionally respond to noise. Rivère (2000) argues that in everyday life low levels of noise are desired, while feasting ceremonies are associated with noisy and bawdy behaviour. This does not necessarily lead to silence being particularly desired, as it is associated with sorcery (Rivère 2000). Noise levels vary depending on the context and the responses people make will be checked accordingly. Thus, in terms of the longhouse, there may have been more appropriate places to experience the sound of other household members and moments when this may have not been followed, jarring with notions of living well in longhouses. This gives the inhabitants of the longhouse a means to negotiate different areas within the building, a framework with which to judge, or rather sense, appropriate movements, actions, performances and relationships with others and how well they were working.

For Coudart (1998, 104), such ideas may have been played out in the central section of the house, as it is this part that would have been where the household met outsiders or members of other households around the hearth. While I would not render this understanding in the same terms as Coudart (1998, 104, my translation), that is as 'a passage between public and private', I would argue that the central section does stand out as the place where broader relationships were juxtaposed with experience of more intimate experiences. The relationships which individual household members had with each other were thus probably not only varied but recognised discursively as such. The network of posts may have symbolically represented trees or the qualities of the space framed by wood (in terms of noise, smells and sensory experiences with materials, animals and other people) could have been provided with particular cosmological or historical explanations.

However, it is unlikely that these were the only understandings people had of these spaces and no doubt explanations were not static across the distribution of the LBK, but subject to regional variations. What *is* significant for the archaeologist are the

potentialities of the posts and open spaces as a framework through which difference in social relations could be recognised. I want to stress that this does not mean that open spaces were not guided by complex social understandings (Kent 1990b); rather that exploring different experiences with the longhouse was part of the attitude to dwelling in the Rubané and VSG. This was formed on a daily basis as people moved around inside the house. It is by combining the flow of those sensory understandings with the activities and temporal changes external to the household that the specificity of these experiences can be revealed.

It has been argued in chapter five that such 'tendencies' or 'ideals' as the tripartite system and three-posts were constructing of the longhouse. This requires further qualification. By arguing that certain features were 'constructive', I am implying that such practices allowed the longhouse to become an architectural space and hence to be conceptually and sensually engaged with. Without having such rules or regulatory ideals the communities in the early Neolithic would not know how to build. However, it is not architectural structure alone which informs how people experience the longhouse, but also the activities and community engagements that take place around them. Therefore, we must be careful not to place too much emphasis on the form of the longhouse, without also considering the contexts in which such forms or spaces may have been made to matter (that is to say, became significant to those who built and lived within this architecture). Although the house design was significant in shaping the movement and different engagements household members had with each other and, as such, this was manipulated over the life of the house, this was not exclusively influenced by the architectural structure. Temporal changes in size and form of the household and the material activities carried out in and besides longhouses would have all framed how the architecture was experienced.

In the previous chapter it was argued that certain groups may have left the village during the summer and early autumn, leaving after the spring floods had receded. Mark Harris (1998; 2000; see Chapter two) argued that amongst the Amazonian peoples this led to certain seasons being associated with certain emotions. Thus, seasonal differences may also have played a role within sensual experiences of the longhouse. Appropriate times to make repairs meant that certain engagements

between the human body and wood were framed by how the wood reacted to seasonal changes; hence, the negotiation of splinters and splitting posts or damp and rotten wood produced particular smells or sounds. The changing seasons may also have influenced the numbers in a household throughout the year. Flooding during the spring may have made travelling along the valley more time consuming and achieving everyday tasks away from the longhouse more difficult (M. Harris 1998; 2000), thus it could have been a time of restriction and confinement. This probably would have taken place in winter and early spring and then been followed by a time of dispersal with animals in the summer.

The end of summer and early autumn would thus be a time of coming together focussed around the settlement. Autumn is also the time of year that Bogaard (2004, 112–4) suggests the majority of cereal sowing took place in the later phases of the LBK. Autumn sowing would have been fairly labour intensive (Bogaard 2004, 159), requiring the bringing together of the community and perhaps cross-cutting households. Bogaard (2004, 158–9) also argues that autumn sowing illustrates that the LBK farmers were not cultivating river floodplains as the spring floods would have damaged crops. Therefore, cultivation may have taken place in clearings close to the settlement itself, resulting in a concentration of people working closely together. The Mehinaku have a number of garden plots differing lengths from the village and a network of well-worn paths run between the settlement and the gardens (Gregor 1977, 47). Close kin tend to cultivate nearby gardens so women (who do most of the weeding and harvesting) often share work with their affines (Gregor 1977, 47). Thus at times when a great deal of work is required, when planting or harvesting for example, this may have been a time when the coming together of people stressed the network certain people could call upon for help.

It is interesting therefore to note that the evidence from Noyen-sur-Seine suggests that Mesolithic groups were using the river valleys during the late summer and early autumn, perhaps hinting at continued Mesolithic attitudes to movement and the assembly of the community. Therefore, the seasonal changes in the local environment may have meant that, at times, the coming together of the whole household caused celebration or perhaps rather strained emotions came to the fore initiating disagreements. During the times at which more people were in the

settlements the differing experiences in the longhouse may have been even more exaggerated, with the number of people perhaps increasing the noise levels and decreasing the space available for tasks. This need not have been viewed in a negative way but actively sought out or desired as a time to catch up on gossip (Overing and Passes 2000; A. Strathern and P. Stewart 2000). The varied spaces of the longhouse may have therefore been viewed differently over the year, resulting in experiences provided by the architectural space becoming foregrounded or fading out of people's awareness.

The Tsembaga people of New Guinea regard cultivation as a continuum of other modes of caring for and raising animals and humans (Rappaport 1967, 42). Therefore, animals that care for their young (and other species) and the caring for domestic animals are understood as complex practices but crucially also as the same type of activity. Over the annual cycle, perhaps LBK cereal growing and animal movements would similarly tie together. Men and women in New Guinea have different, but equally essential, roles in garden cultivation resulting in a woman making multiple gardens both with her husband and his unmarried brothers (Rappaport 1967, 43). Therefore, gardens are not necessarily just a household activity calling on others at specific times but may have been formed through specific and existing ties across the settlement. If, as Bogaard (2004; see also Bogaard and Jones 2007) argues, gardens were long-lasting these relationships may have been handed down to the next generation and thus created a contrast to the time-scales of the relationships in the household. The yearly cycle and duration of the household may have therefore been different, but bound together. As the coming together and moving apart over the year framed experience in and of the longhouse, the building and abandonment of the longhouse contributed to how this movement and the relationships formed therein were played out.

Therefore, alongside the routine changes during the year, temporal changes over the life of the house would have also played a role in the community's experience and relationship to its architecture. This may not have been static but varied or altered during the houses' life. As discussed in chapter five, houses are thought to last 25 years (Lüning *et al.* 1988; Stehli 1989; cf. Rück forthcoming). This notion comes from the phasing of sites on the Aldenhovener Platte which was primarily based on

ceramic typologies (Lüning *et al.* 1988; Stehli 1989). Recently Rück (forthcoming) has suggested that phases may indeed last longer with more houses being contemporary than previously thought. This would mean that houses were lasting several generations, rather than one, significantly altering the timescale on which we envisage the LBK household life-span. Until more secure dating has been carried out, this point will have to remain unresolved, but here I follow Lüning *et al.* (1988) and Stehli (1989) and argue that house phases were shorter rather than longer.

As longhouses were of a substantial size their construction probably required more people than the immediate household could have supplied. Building a longhouse would have been a fairly physical activity and its construction would have brought together those whose bodies were able to be part of the build. House construction was thus probably a communal activity, bringing together people from different households and possibly different settlements. Relationships around the wider settlement were significant and this would have fed into the experience of building a longhouse. As some households had more significant relationships with each other, the event of building a new longhouse may have worked to emphasise that some households were closer than others. The creation of a new house would have also created a household, thereby initiating new relationships and ties amongst the community. The beginning or creation of the household would have been tied to the material experience and performances of building houses, such as cutting trees, clearing land and digging loam pits. These activities may have involved risky activities, which had the potential for failure, but were nonetheless welcomed. Contrastingly, the end of the house may have involved less vigorous activity; if, as argued previously, the house was abandoned and the house posts left *in situ*, then few actions which left a material trace can have taken place. There may have been certain rituals, of course, which left no material mark in the archaeological record.

These cycles of birth and death of the house/household and the everyday practices that gradually left material traces on the longhouse were part of the general routines found associated with the longhouse across its distribution. Regionally specific activities appear to have occurred over the short-term or rare occurrences, rather than habitual and routine. Can we then begin to make connections between the general practises around the longhouse (that remain the same throughout the LBK

distribution) and a flow of deep time,[6] while regarding this as punctuated by locally specific and episodic events? As Bradley (2002, 26) stresses, social memory may have been maintained by these settlements and its re-iterability through repeated performances and practices is certainly evident here. Yet communities' histories were developed through an anticipation of future pasts ('protentions' in Husserl's terms) not just the memories of previous actions and, here, it is demonstrable that these anticipated futures did not preclude the addition of new practices. Hence, we can again note that difference (in this case from habitual routine) is accompanied by closeness; new possibilities and challenges to everyday routine were not precluded from taking place close to, or even inside, the house. However, alongside these activities, practices away from the longhouse were also taking place, perhaps providing a forum for relationships that could not be made or contained within the architecture of the LBK.

Landscape and scales of dwelling

Along the Aisne and Oise there are more extremes in terms of settlement size than there are at the Seine-Yonne confluence and so there was more variation in experience of the size of communities. The region under discussion in this case study has no settlements equal in size, and therefore probably duration, to those of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes as settlements tend to have up to seven possible houses. Either the larger settlements have completely or partially eroded, or we are seeing a smaller scale of community at the Seine-Yonne confluence. I think that it is unlikely, given the extent of excavation in this region, that a large site would have been completely missed and hence we probably have a fairly good understanding of the size of settlements at the Seine-Yonne confluence. Therefore, although people continued to be tied into networks across northern France, the everyday community was on a smaller scale. However, considerations of temporality considerably confuse this picture. If there were five to six contemporary houses at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes then some sites in this region could have been roughly the same size as Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, but less long lived. Either way, the conception of the community must have been different. Over time the houses built and decaying at larger settlements would come to resemble a considerable commitment to one location and it is this which is not repeated at the Seine-Yonne confluence.

The settlements seem to be one or two phases at most and therefore the sites appear to bè less long lasting in this region. While it may be a mistake to directly infer community relations from the physical spaces in the settlement, the fact that temporal depth is not built up over time does have considerable impact on how we think about the household's and community's commitment to a particular location. The separation of the settlement at Gurgy into two distinct areas of habitation created two distinct spaces and the action of moving between them could have come to emphasise the two areas as distinct from one another (Delor 1996; see Figure 6.3). This may have been played out over time, with the houses to the northwest gradually decaying during the second phase. In contrast, if they were contemporary, the embodied space between them (for example, the need to raise your voice for communication or items becoming heavier as you had to carry them further) could have created the sense of difference. The two groups of houses become not only spatially apart, but also perceived as such.

While the development of Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes would have allowed an association with the history of the community and settlement to develop over a century or more, settlements along the Seine and Yonne (and indeed smaller settlements in the Aisne and Oise valleys) have a much shorter timescale. The RRBP and VSG occupation of Gurgy could have lasted for as little as 50 years, which could well have been the life-span of a number of the settlement inhabitants. Thus the histories developing at the majority of sites were probably very immediate; individuals would have remembered past households and been able to share direct stories about the events and routines at that particular place. However, with settlements only lasting a couple of phases encountering the decayed mounds in older and abandoned settlements may have been a more frequent experience than previously recognised. Therefore, the communities in the different regions may not have had rigid conceptions of these geographic locations, nor continued commitment to particular places. The immediate considerations of community and the negotiation of co-operative relations on this level may have held a great deal of significance.

The landscape knowledge of these communities was probably therefore very specific. Two pollen sequences (taken from paleochannels) are known from the Seine-Yonne region, one from Noyen and the other from Châtenay, near the

enclosure at Gravon (Leroyer 1996). They demonstrate different timings in the first evidence for clearings, though both coincide with the construction of an enclosure. At Châtenay this coincides with the end of the VSG and beginning of the Cerny period (Leroyer 1996, 352). At Noyen, the first evidence for clearance in the pollen diagrams, contemporary with the construction of the enclosure, is slightly later (Augereau *et al.* 1993; Leroyer 1996; 1997). Thus, as Leroyer (1996; 1997) argues, episodes of clearing were inspired by local concerns, rather than part of a large scale and consistent opening of the landscape. The different timings of these local clearings have a rather low resolution, tied into particular periods rather than specific local sequences. However, this further supports the argument that people had local and specific knowledges of the landscape around them, which, in turn, led to particular interventions in landscape, rather than a general experience of clearing throughout the Neolithic. Therefore, clearing episodes were infrequent and carried out for specific events and not part of the annual agricultural round.

In the previous chapter, I discussed how different animals may have constructed different senses of place and different scales of community in the early Neolithic. It is therefore interesting to note that a stronger emphasis on red deer can be detected when the assemblages from the Seine-Yonne are compared with the Aisne and Oise. Pernaud *et al.* (2004, 415) identify a difference between the north of the Paris Basin (Aisne and Oise), where wild boar are the more frequent wild resources, and the south (Seine-Yonne), where red deer is more common. Bedault (forthcoming; Bedault and Hachem 2008) suggests that this only works on a regional level and once this is broken down on a site by site basis there is so much variability it is difficult to argue that this would have been the immediate understanding or deliberate strategy employed by the RRBP and VSG communities. However, the regional trend of animal exploitation does demonstrate what things tended towards and therefore illustrates that there was an inclination in the south of the Paris Basin to hunt red deer over wild boar.

The concentration on red deer in the south of the Paris Basin cannot be explained by the presence of different environmental niches across the Paris Basin and therefore it seems more likely that the variability in different hunted species is down to cultural preferences (Tresset 1993; Sidéra 2000). Numerous suggestions have been

proffered, including economic value of the animal and a symbolic importance of animals in regional territories. Sidéra (2000, 114) argues that red deer had a particular cultural importance from the end of the RRBP, at which point the wild animals began to have an increasingly important symbolic role, although their actual presence in the archaeological record decreases. Sidéra (2000, 164) suggests that red deer may have been hunted for its bone and antler pointing to the 14 animals needed to make the ornaments found in grave 70 at Bucy-le-Long (see Appendix 3, 431). The symbolic role of the hunted animal can be seen in the burial contexts in all periods except the VSG (Sidéra 2000, 162). This is an interesting exception because animal remains are rarely found in graves during this period.

Smaller settlements tend not to have an emphasis on one wild resource; however, this might be due to the factors influencing the preservation and study of the remains (Bedault forthcoming).[7] Having put these caveats in place, however, it is important to stress that rather than 'animals' (as a concept) forming a rigid social system or groups adhering to particular herding or hunting strategies because they were the most productive or successful, animals were engaged with in other ways. Animals formed part of the relationships people and communities had with one another in the early Neolithic (Whittle 2003; Marciniak 2005). Hunting may have brought different households from the same settlement together. Thus the focus on wild boar in the north and red deer in the south may be more about engaging with particular identified characteristics of the animals and with the hunting process itself, rather the animal species' economic worth. In the previous chapter it was argued that red deer was a more passive animal than wild boar and the hunting of red deer may represent a day-time rather than early morning or dusk activity. Thus rather than red deer or wild boar being totemic animals, reflecting household or individual identity (or identification), wild animals were framing fewer experiences of difference between groups or households for the communities along the Seine and Yonne than they were for those along the Aisne and Oise.

The most important animals in daily life during the VSG period are considered by Sidéra (2000) to be the domestic breeds. The behaviour of different domestic breeds may also have offered contrasting experiences of landscape. The grazing requirements of cattle and sheep are different and still lead to diversity in the

transhumance patterns in the Italian Alps today, with sheep taken further afield for longer (Evans 2003, 176–83). Sheep are increasingly replaced by pig as the most common secondary resource throughout the VSG (Arbogast 1995; Bedault forthcoming). The increasing representation of pig in the faunal assemblages possibly suggests that transhumance with sheep became increasingly difficult to reconcile with other strategies associated with other domestic animal breeds. This may not indicate a reduction in the scale of mobility, but rather the difficulty of bringing together the varied needs of cattle and sheep (Halstead 2006).

Constantin and Ilett (1998) argue that these attitudes to different species can be reconciled with changes in the architecture between the RRBP and the VSG. The increasing length of buildings during the VSG appears to continue the connection during the RRBP between longer houses and herding and, similarly, smaller houses and hunting (as at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes where shorter houses were associated with the hunting of wild boar). Sidéra (2000, 166) thus argues that the RRBP village was a mixture of different identities, but traces these differences back to the Mesolithic populations that lived in the Paris Basin before the arrival of a Danubian Neolithic. In the VSG, it is the model of the longer houses which seems to be carried forward, while shorter houses and hunting both decrease in number, demonstrating that the structure of the architecture and relationships to animals both continue to be overlapping parts of the community's conception of their place in the world.

This again suggests that VSG communities were engaging in fewer performances of difference. However, given the discussion above about the material networks in the south of the Paris Basin, it seems rather that different scales of difference were being opened up and acknowledged. Animals seemed to play a less significant role in negotiating household differences at the Seine-Yonne confluence than along the Aisne and Oise. The trapezoidal nature of the longhouse and the manipulation of post lay-outs suggest that the negotiation of difference had come to be focused on the household, while the possibility to make distinctions between longhouses externally had diminished. These changes formed a framework in which specific local changes took place. In the previous case study I argued that herding was a more community-oriented activity, and it is this emphasis that we see developing and debated in the VSG. While the relationships between individual households and

loosely tied together communities were the focus of everyday activity along the Aisne and the Oise, at the Seine-Yonne confluence we see greater emphasis on performances which drew on the relationships that went beyond the household and tied the community together on a broader scale.

These notions can be tied in with the conclusions drawn for the changes in architectural spaces created at the Seine-Yonne confluence: between the internal intimacies of the household and the elaboration of the external façade. It was argued in Chapter five that the trapezoidal nature of the house not only created a focus on the front of the house but also affected the practices at the end of the house, providing smaller and more intimate experiences. At the Seine-Yonne confluence, this contrast was elaborated through certain practices as well as in the manipulation of the architectural spaces shaped by the longhouse. In many ways, therefore, groups at the Seine-Yonne confluence had many of the same concerns as communities along the Aisne and Oise: with immediate community relations, the materials caught up in them and more broadly in the manipulation and exploration of notions of difference. However, the scale on which these notions were negotiated differs between the regions. Along the Aisne and Oise the household was the prevailing medium for the negotiation of relationships; at the Seine-Yonne confluence this was embraced, but not at the expense of more open relations.

Conclusion: Architecture and difference at the Seine-Yonne confluence

When the longhouses of the Aisne and Oise are compared with those found along the Seine and Yonne, there are few significant differences in style. As discussed above, the strongest differences appear in the practices which are associated with the longhouses and their arrangements within settlements. Thus, as Coudart (1998) has identified, a number of features remain the same throughout the Paris Basin, in particular the tripartite system (as defined by Coudart 1998 rather than Modderman 1989) and the 'three-posts-in-a-row' ideal. The previous chapter identified a number of variables, including the spacing of the individual posts. To this, the discussion above has added a number of practices which seem to have regional focuses, such as the pits within the houses. Some of the changes in architectural styles can be seen to be chronological differences, while others appear to be very local and part of the immediate concerns of everyday life. In the previous chapter

and above I have argued that these general features were part of the *habitus* in which longhouses were built, the conditions through which a structure of postholes moved from a collection of upright posts into a structure that was recognisable and capable of being reconstituted in the form of other longhouses when the house was abandoned and another built nearby. However, amongst these similarities between the longhouses in terms of physical structure, the house nonetheless provided a forum for different activities and different identities.

There are two related scales on which this operates: the chronological differences and the variation between individual households. The chronological changes identified, such as the tendency to trapezoidal forms or the abandonment of trenches around the northwestern end of the house, tend to be general and widespread. In contrast to this, the other differences tend to be local, immediate and temporally limited. Thus against a general understanding of the place of the longhouse architecture within daily routine, there are moments when it is manipulated or played with. These come about within the particular location of each community and would have been tied into the specific relationships of each village or household. The broader changes, however, seem to be part of changing ideals of what constitutes a longhouse form. These are shared on a much wider geographical scale and were part of the ongoing routine of daily life; part of the process of dwelling with a particular way of life.

We can thus identify nested scales of difference: within the household, which would have varied during the year; between different households, which may have varied over their lifetimes; within the village and region, which would have ranged from individual to household relationships; and between different regions, where the degree of difference and the context in which it was negotiated varied. It appears as if it is the most immediate of these levels, within the household itself, where we find the most recognition of variety. Therefore, throughout the RRBP and VSG, the household did more than just live with notions of difference; it actively explored and manipulated them. I now turn to explore how the different scales came to be developed in new and different forms of architecture as practices of daily life in the Cerny period no longer required the longhouse architecture as a form of material expression.

The end of the longhouse

Therefore, the question remains as to why the longhouse fell out of use. The ways of exploring difference through the longhouse and the local networks of relationships into which it was tied were not static but continuously being manipulated and negotiated. However, at the end of the longhouse there seems to have been a significant change in how architecture framed attitudes to dwelling. While neither the approaches to dwelling in the early Neolithic (RRBP and VSG) period and the Cerny period stay the same, over this period the modes of change find new discourses associated with, in this region, the development of architectures associated with the dead and expansion in the number of enclosures built. It is therefore unlikely that there is just one reason why the building of longhouses failed to be continued. Throughout the previous section of the chapter I have hinted at how different understandings of temporality framed the various tasks which formed daily life. Did tensions develop in the choreographies and networks that related household to settlement and into the wider region? What role did the local practices particular to the Seine-Yonne play in the transition? This section will try to explore the reasons the way of life with longhouses ended by discussing the architectures built during and after the Cerny period.

Cerny houses?

Two different forms of house architecture are thought to follow the end of Danubian-style longhouses along the Seine and Yonne valleys. The first architectural style follows the linear ground plan of LBK houses and two possible structures are thought to date from the Cerny period: one at Marolles-sur-Seine (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1970) and a second at the site of Molinons (Prestreau 2003). The house at Marolles-sur-Seine recalls more directly the Danubian style of architecture and its cultural context remains uncertain, but it seems to have been most definitely built within the tradition of VSG architecture. However, the construction at Molinons seems to offer a transitional form of architecture, tying post-built architecture and trapezoidal floor plans with the linear emphasis and bounding ditches of the Passy monuments (see Figure 6.11; Prestreau 2003; Midgley 2005). The lithic and ceramic evidence from this site places it at the very end of the VSG and the beginning of the Cerny period (Prestreau 2003, 13).

Thus from the ground plan and spatial layout of the building at Molinons, it appears as if this structure combines both elements of the Passy monuments and VSG houses. The orientation of the building recalls that of the VSG houses in the region (Prestreau 2003, 7). However, the building is heavily eroded and the post arrangement in the wall trenches seems more irregular than those found at the vast majority of VSG houses. Indeed the actual presence of wall trenches seems strange given that this practice is not found at the Seine-Yonne confluence (though it is found throughout the rest of the Paris Basin). Prestreau (2003, 16) concludes that this structure is domestic, on the basis of the finds in the internal and external pits, and not associated with funerary remains or performances. The presence of possible residual lithic technologies dating to the Mesolithic period suggests to Prestreau (2003, 16) that these communities were open to external stimulus, which may have contributed to the end of the VSG.

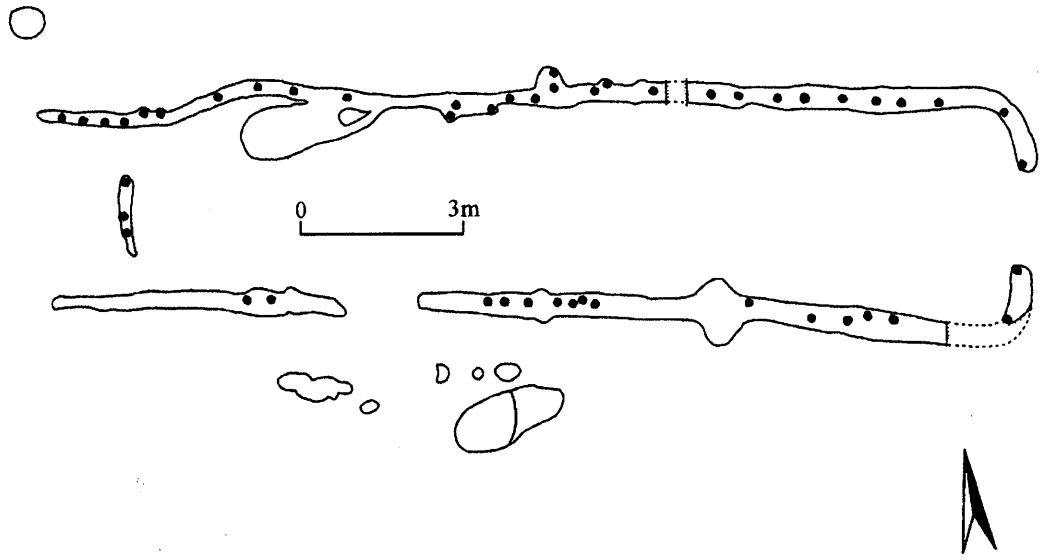


Figure 6.11. The Cerny 'house' at Molinons. After Prestreau (2003, 7).

Midgley (2005, 48) also argues that the ignition of the Cerny culture had a larger contribution from the local Mesolithic populations than the earlier RRBP and VSG communities. Therefore the abandonment of the Danubian way of life is thought to have occurred because of greater mixing between the indigenous and migrant populations (Jeunesse 1997b). The increasing number of sites constructed on the plateaus during the Cerny period (Constantin and Blanchet 1998; Prestreau 2003; Midgley 2005) certainly suggests that a new conception of the landscape had

developed, possibly associated with Mesolithic exploitation of this region. The mixtures of Mesolithic and Cerny material at the site of Charbuy may well support this argument (Carré 1991b). However, with a hiatus of 200–250 years between the final Mesolithic and the beginning of the Cerny period it is difficult to argue that a hunting-gathering population survived in the region without leaving any archaeological trace. It is, therefore, more likely that the Mesolithic way of life had already been abandoned and the end of the Danubian way of life came about in both the relationships amongst communities in the Paris Basin and in the networks which caused these groups to associate with the Danubian world (for more discussion of the VSG-Cerny discussion see Chapter four). Thus Prestreau (2003, 16) argues that the house at Molinons has a number of similarities to other post-Danubian architectures across the LBK distribution.

As Danubian-style architecture fell out of use, enclosures are more frequently encountered in the landscape and the Passy monuments develop. Some enclosures, such as the two at Noyen-sur-Seine may have evidence for slight structures that could possibly be interpreted as buildings (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 214). In contrast to these structures and the 'house' at Molinons, circular buildings have also been found around the Paris Basin, which Verjux (2007) has interpreted as Cerny-period houses (see Figure 6.12). These structures are not found in the river valleys, except at Orval which is found close to the Aisne River (Verjux 2007, 212; Midgley 2005). At Herblay (Oise) a Cerny structure was dated from ceramics in found in the postholes, a very rare find during the RRBP and VSG, and at eight metres in diameter, comparable to a shorter LBK longhouse (Verjux 2007, 212). However, unlike the linear post-Danubian architectures found along the Aisne and Oise, these structures seem to challenge the increasing emphasis on linear constructions, which are particularly visible at the Seine-Yonne confluence with the development of the Passy-style monumental cemeteries. Furthermore, the material found in the wall trenches of a round Cerny house at Auneau suggests that domestic activity was of relatively short duration (Agogué *et al.* 2007, 198) and the lithics demonstrate a focus on hunting and butchering of animals (Agogué 2007, 207) emphasising the difference in the temporalities associated with the VSG and Cerny houses. Evidently the end of the VSG and beginning of the Cerny period saw the abandonment of some practices alongside the continuation and elaboration of others.

At the Seine-Yonne confluence the expression of linearity was continued in the Passy monuments, a class of monument not found elsewhere in the Paris Basin, while the material remains of domestic life are either found associated with enclosures or lose their visibility in the middle Neolithic assemblages.

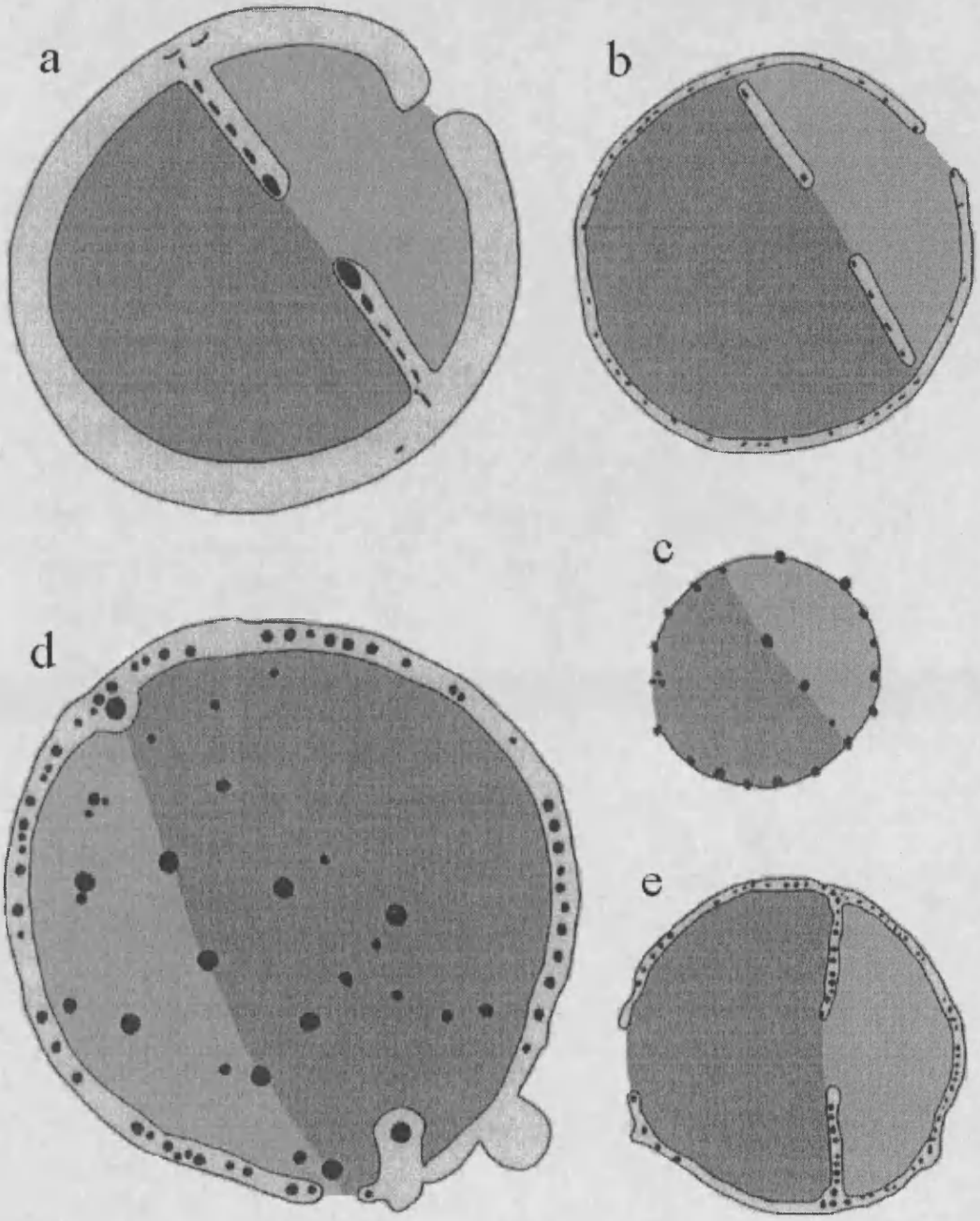


Figure 6.12. Possible round 'houses' from the Cerny period: a) and b) Orval, c) Herblay, d) Cannes-Ecluses, e) Auneau. After Midgley (2005, 48).

RRBP and VSG to Cerny burial—from longhouse to long barrow?

The way in which the dead were dealt with may well be tied into these changes in architecture, particularly given the focus on the dead at Passy monuments. Throughout the early and middle Neolithic at the Seine-Yonne confluence a number of different burial traditions were practiced. Unlike in the LBK further east, during the RRBP and VSG period large cemeteries are not found (Jeunesse 1997b). Instead, a small number of settlement burials and disarticulated remains in settlement contexts are known (Gombau 1997). In the Cerny period the Passy-type monuments are found, as some of the earliest examples of an architecture apparently directly associated with the treatment of the body in death. The following discussion will consider the relationship between the body in death and house architecture during the early Neolithic and, then in light of this discussion, debate the construction and performances associated with the Passy monuments.

Danubian or LBK burials have mainly been studied as indicators of social structure or stratification (Jeunesse 1997b; 2003; Veit 1992; 1996). The few considerations of burials from the Paris Basin published to date have followed these concerns.[8] Constantin *et al.* (2003) identify four different methods of burial along the Aisne and Oise and conclude that this may suggest that four different groups could be identified amongst these communities. The lack of large cemeteries has always made the Paris Basin stand out from the rest of the LBK (Jeunesse 1997b; Veit 1996; Whittle 1996).[9] However, grave good assemblages from the Paris Basin are usually judged on the basis of studies from these large cemeteries and the age and sex differences identified in terms of what accompanies the deceased into the ground. From this it has been assumed that the LBK is roughly egalitarian with identities being based on age and sex rather than inherited wealth. The tendency for some older male burials to be richer (that is contain more grave goods) has led occasionally to 'big men' models for the LBK (van de Velde 1990; Jeunesse 1997b; Midgley 2005).[10]

Jeunesse (1997b, 143) argues, however, that the different methods of dealing with the deceased (burial in cemeteries or inhumation at settlements) suggest that there may have been some form of social stratification or differentiation amongst the LBK, played out in the appropriate method of burial for each group rather than, for

example, in the architecture. However, as Hofmann (2006a; forthcoming) has argued, the practice of burying the dead and accompanying rituals can reference more than one aspect of social life or identity at once. Burials may not therefore be the most reliable way of identifying social differences or varying access to wealth, rather they may be worth studying in themselves as the means by which death is dealt with and socialised (Hofmann 2006a; forthcoming). Death may not have been an everyday occurrence during the RRBP and VSG periods, but the burial of the dead frequently took place within the location of everyday routines, particularly child burials which appear to be associated with the house architecture in the Paris Basin. Burials in the RRBP and VSG periods at the Seine-Yonne confluence also followed this pattern and were hence tied into notions of architecture and daily life.

In contrast to the roughly 80 burials found along the Aisne and Oise in the early Neolithic, the burial record from the Seine/Yonne region is less well known during the RRBP, but the burials from the VSG are more numerous in this region (Gombau 1997). The same emphasis on the display or decoration of the body for burial and the suggestion of display or performance at the actual burial event (as was identified for burials along the Aisne and Oise) can also been seen at the Seine-Yonne confluence. Thus, rather than a direct record of the identity of the individual buried, grave goods may be caught up in the rituals associated with the burial. The tendency to consider LBK grave goods across the whole of its distribution and to apply the ideas developed from the large cemeteries to settlement burials, results in grave goods appearing to have the same associations with age and sex throughout the 500 or so years of the LBK and its vast geographical distribution. However, a number of factors point towards burials being caught up with particular and local concerns, but this occurs alongside a number of other trends that allow burials to still be viewed as within the Danubian or LBK tradition.

One prime example of burials caught up with local concerns is the burial of an infant inside house four at Gurgy (Delor 1991; 1996). This burial was accompanied by a number of sherds from one pot, the remainder of which was found in the loam pit of the neighbouring building: house five (Delor 1991; 1996). This implies that either the houses are contemporary or possibly that the burial of the child inside the house was associated with the end of house four and the beginning of house five. It does

not matter which explanation is favoured; the significance of this remains that this burial was not only tied into the history of the relationships forming community (stressed in these ties between houses four and five) but also into the architectural history of the settlement bringing different households together. Instances such as these occurred alongside the continuation of other trends such as the position of the body in the inhumation (Gombau 1997). Thus at the Seine-Yonne confluence, the deceased is generally found with the head to the east and in a crouched position (Gombau 1997). Though this was at times varied, it appears that there were certain rules governing appropriate ways of placing the body in the ground. We can therefore distinguish between the material which accompanied the body in the ground, which could be tied into local concerns, performances and identities, and the overall structure of the burial rite which provided a meaningful framework for the burial rites.

In her survey of VSG burials from the Paris Basin, Gombau (1997, 72) argues that the practice of burying the remains of the dead with decorated pottery during the RRBP is replaced by the presence of bracelets made from schist and other materials in the VSG. However, I would argue that the bracelets are a continuation of the items of display which we see amongst the RRBP burials and thus demonstrable of a continued focus on the display of the body, which persisted into the Cerny period with the burial of animal bones alongside the body and often in the form of pendants (Sidéra 2000). The position of the body changes during the Cerny period along the Seine and Yonne, with the deceased placed in an extended position and laid on their backs (D. Mordant 1997, 141). At Marolles-sur-Seine *Le Chemin de Sens*, this was also accompanied by a change in the orientation of the burial with the head placed to the west rather than the east (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998). D. Mordant (1997, 146) argues that these changes were inspired by internal changes amongst Cerny groups rather than influences from elsewhere, emphasising the local origin of the Passy-style monuments.

However, what inspires these changes is not tackled by D. Mordant (1997). Sidéra (2000) argues that these changes in burial form are associated with the changing importance of hunting from part of the economy to an increasingly more symbolic significance and are, hence, linked to individual identities and their construction

through human-animal relationships. This coincides with a decrease in the number of wild animals found on sites (Tresset 1993; Sidéra 2000; Pernaud *et al.* 2004; Bedault forthcoming; Bedault and Hachem 2008). However, during the preceding VSG period hunted animals decrease in the archaeological assemblages (Tresset 1993; Bedault forthcoming) and relatively little usage of their bones in the burial record can be identified. Sidéra (2000) follows Tresset (2003) and stresses the growing emphasis on cattle during the Cerny period, arguing that they were primarily used for their meat. However, as Midgley (2005) argues, the animal bone assemblages from the Cerny period are mainly from enclosure sites which may have had particular ritual associations such as feasting, rather than being a faithful record of the full range of activities associated with animals. This occurs at the same time as wild animals were finding a new significance in the Cerny burial rites (Sidéra 2000), though the extent to which this reflects changes in the daily associations and activities of communities remains debated. In fact, the burial record may be the least reliable place to assess the everyday significance of such animals.

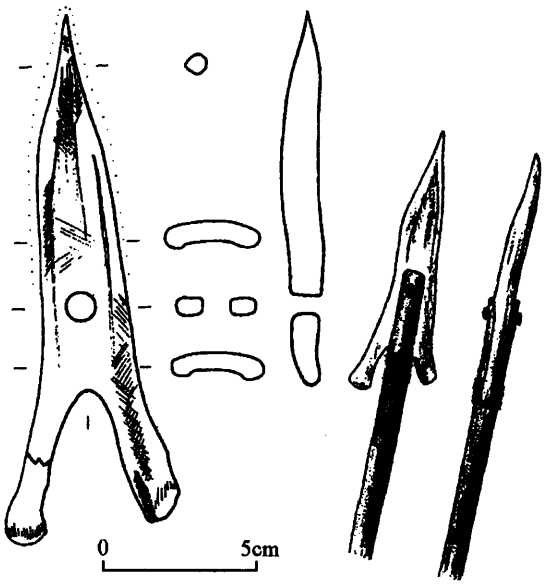


Figure 6.13. One of the 'Eiffel tower' bone spatulas found at Passy and suggested reconstruction of how they may have been hafted. Sidéra (2000, 151).

Although evidence for hunting significantly decreases during the Cerny period, this practice also seems to be emphasised in other ways, such as the bundle of 22 arrows in a grave at the site of Passy (Midgley 2005). It may also perhaps be seen in the presence of the rather enigmatic 'Eiffel Tower' bone spatulas sometimes considered as figurines (Figure 6.13). However, Sidéra (2000) suggests that they are actually

spears tips, associated with hunting.[11] How useful these items would have been in hunting has yet to be assessed and they may have been a reference to the action of hunting rather than a direct record of the activity of the individual. Certainly, the burial of a young woman of about 20 years at Passy with a wide range of materials including a number of bone items mainly, though not exclusively, perforated (Prestreau 1992), seems to build on the notion of display of the deceased in the grave over and above the identity of the individual during their life. This is not to say that the gender, status or the significant relationships of the deceased were not stressed, but rather to emphasise the burial as an opportunity for display of these aspects, specifically associated the body of the deceased. Though the range of materials used as grave goods changed, the performances and the display of the body at the time of burial seem to have been elaborated during the Cerny period (D. Mordant 1997; 1998).

Cerny burials contrast with the contracted flexed position of RRBP and VSG burials. The position of the body in later Cerny burial is open, facing those around the grave side (D. Mordant 1997; 1998) and this results in what is placed or worn on the body being far more obvious to the observer. The change from crouched to extended body position also suggest that the body had a different role in the rites associated with death. The body of the deceased thus became a tableau for display, in contrast to the RRBP and VSG where display seems to have been focused on the whole performance of burial. The distinction is subtle but significant; the participation in particular performances and visual cues of RRBP and VSG burial gave way to the dominance of the human body as the focus for attention during burial in the Cerny period.

If, as argued above, the longhouse did provide a forum for the negotiation of different relationships between households, the practice of burial and display during the RRBP and VSG was part of this ongoing engagement between the different scales of community relationships and architecture. These performances change during the Cerny period. While the body of the deceased and the moment of burial continue to be a forum for display, the architectures excavated become more directly associated with these rituals or performances. Therefore the specific relationships negotiated at the time of burial, between the living and the dead (possibly even

between the community of the living and the community of the dead) could no longer be satisfactorily contained within the settlement and be associated with longhouse architectures (or vice versa). The Passy monuments and enclosures allowed the possibility for different displays: not ones that occurred everyday, routinely in the flow of social life, but a medium that at times could be separated spatially and temporally from the community, from daily life and from the longhouse.

Figure 6.14. An illustration of the possible mound form of Passy monuments. This picture is a reconstruction of the site of Passy. Watercolour by Jean-Claude Golvin. Midgley (2005, Plate 23).

Passy monuments: architecture and funerary remains

Many Cerny burials at the Seine-Yonne confluence come from the Passy monuments (D. Mordant 1997). Unlike the stone monuments found along the Atlantic Façade from this period onwards, the Passy monuments have received rather less attention. Three sites along the Yonne have been excavated at Balloy (D. Mordant 1997; 1998), Passy-sur-Yonne (Duhamel 1997) and Escolives-Sainte-Camile (Midgley 2005) though others have been identified. These monuments were first identified by aerial photography and consist of shallow rectangular ditches, the fills of which suggest that there may have once been small mounds

between them (see Figure 6.14). These monuments are found grouped together in relatively large numbers at sites such as Balloy and the site from which they take their name, Passy. Burials have been found within the ditches of these 'barrows', under the mounds and around the outside of the enclosures, therefore associating the practice of inhumation with the practice of building and using these monuments. As they are largely ploughed out, we cannot usefully determine the former height of these monuments (Midgley 2005, 94).

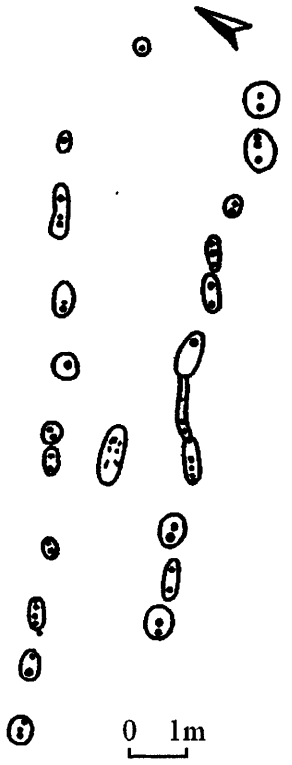


Figure 6.15. Monument seven at Passy, with post rows in the ditch. After Duhamel (1997, 411).

Duhamel (1997) identifies 20 separate barrows at the site of Passy, some of which may have stretched for over 200 m, thus continuing the emphasis on linearity apparently emphasised throughout the RRBP and into the VSG in longhouse architecture. As Midgley (2005, 88) points out, this is significantly exaggerated in the Passy monuments. The remaining significance of linearity may not have had the same social significance or symbolism, but will have created many of the same effects as the LBK settlements, with different phases of the site architectures (both longhouse and Passy monument) demonstrating community unity through shared orientation. Certainly, this could have been played out in an emphasis on linear movement, perhaps in the form of procession. D. Mordant (1997) at Balloy and

Duhamel (1997) at Passy have identified post-rows suggesting screening or attempts to guide and enforce particular movements around the site. These monuments or cemeteries were no doubt places of significant ritual.

However, the post-rows at Passy seem to emphasise movement around rather than through the site (see Figure 6.15), suggesting arrival and departure were particularly important. It is interesting to note, therefore, that both the long barrow cemeteries of Passy and Balloy were placed on raised ground alongside the rivers of the Seine and Yonne. Thus when seasonal flooding took place it is likely that these monuments were on or formed islands within a flooded or marshy landscape (Midgley 2005, 86; Dagobert *et al.* 2006, 181). If this flooding did indeed form part of the experience of visiting the site, then its taking place in spring is significant. This is because during this season movement along the river may have been more difficult and it may have been a time when people were together before moving apart once the flooding receded: a time of community, of being and living together in close proximity.

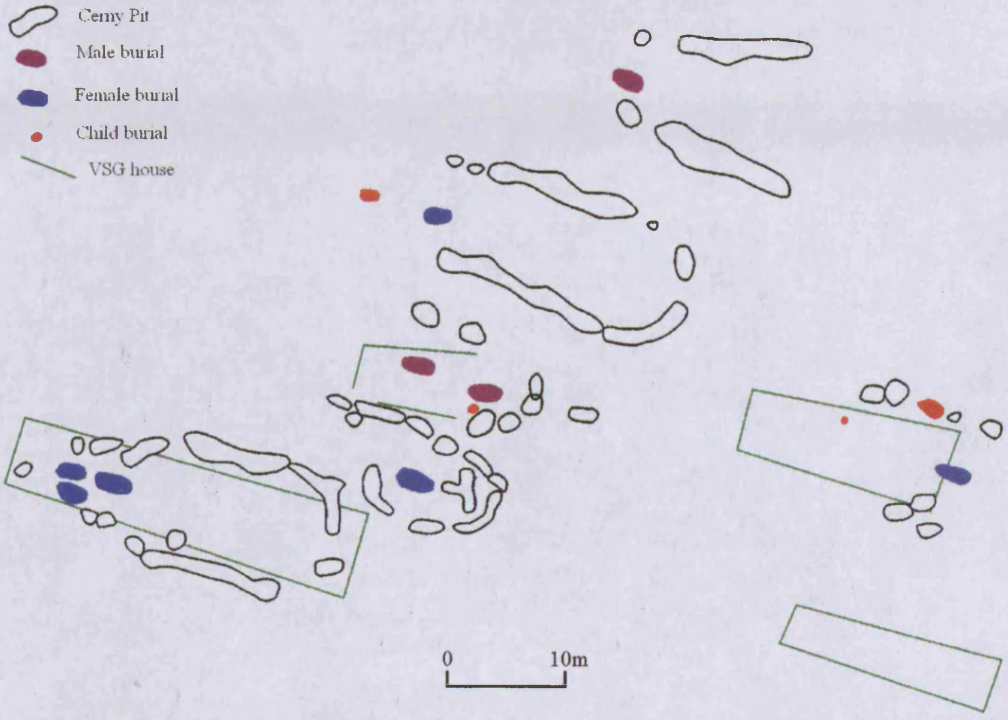


Figure 6.16. The distribution of male and female burials at Balloy. After D. Mordant (1998, 81).

As Midgley (2005) points out, the communities of the Paris Basin did not live on top of their ancestors as they did in the Neolithic of southeast Europe. There is, therefore, a very different relationship between house architecture and the dead in

the LBK region. While Midgley (2005, 133) argues that the Cerny communities of the Seine and Yonne were creating 'an enduring home for their most revered dead', there seem far more issues negotiated at these monuments. D. Mordant (1998) found that some monuments appeared to be dedicated to either solely male or female burials (see Figure 6.16), creating an apparent structural ordering to the burials. While some burials were thus separated by gender, the number of males and females buried at Balloy is roughly equal (D. Mordant 1997; 1998). However, burials at Passy-sur-Yonne do not follow this pattern and the genders are not spatially distinguished (D. Mordant 1998; Midgley 2005). The distinction between the genders is also not marked in the amount of grave goods with female and male burials both varying in the type and number of goods placed alongside the deceased (Prestreau 1992). Thus what is an appropriate condition of burial at Balloy is not repeated in the nearby cemetery at Passy and must have related to the specific conditions of the communities using these monuments.

The limited temporal and geographical distribution of these monuments leads Midgley (2005) to suggest that the Passy monuments are local indigenous hunter-gatherers' final acculturation into the Neolithic lifestyle. However, with no evidence for a Mesolithic way of life continuing outside of RRBP and VSG settlements, it rather appears that these monuments were part of a new way of life that developed at the end of the VSG period. These groups developed architectures that introduced new relationships with the dead. It is therefore interesting to note that at Balloy, several of the barrows are built directly over VSG longhouses (see Figures 6.16 and 6.17). Although D. Mordant (1998) does not suggest how much time had past between the abandonment of the VSG houses and the construction of the Passy monuments and enclosure, Midgley (2005) suggests the Cerny features were built between 150 to 200 years after the end of the VSG site (cf. Andersen 1997, 220). This is a period of some six to eight generations. As a number of the monuments were built directly over the houses and the enclosure ditch cuts the entrances of two further longhouses (D. Mordant 1998, 78); we can therefore assume that these buildings were marked in some way, possibly by the presence of the low mounds created when the house was left to decay *in situ*. The Passy monuments may therefore be an attempt to extend and exaggerate the mounds of

former longhouses or, at the very least, tie the construction of the monuments into

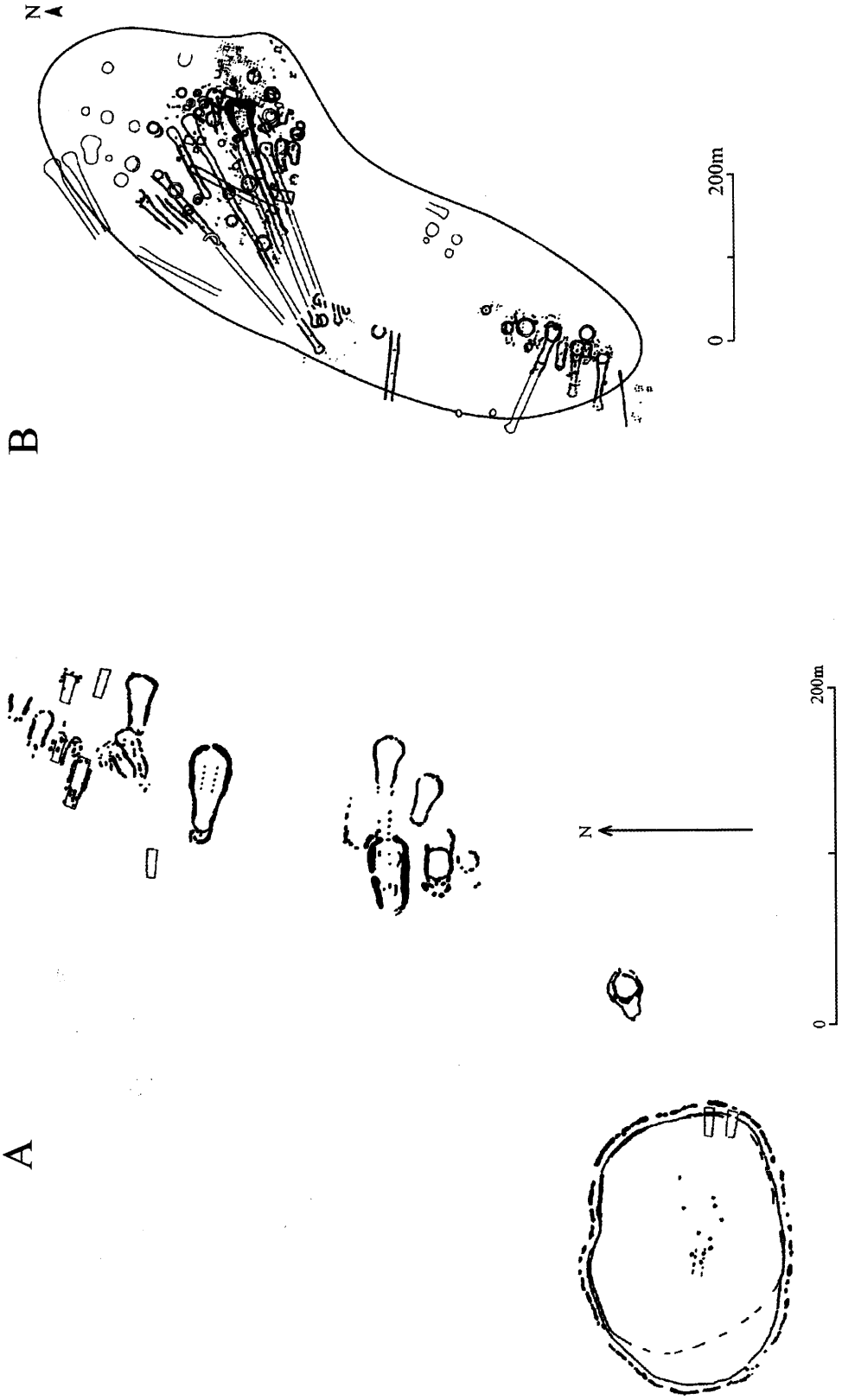


Figure 6.17. Site plans from the sites at which Passy monuments are found. A: Balloy. The VSG longhouses are marked in green. After D. Mordant (1998, 78). B: Passy-sur-Yonne. After Duhamel (1997, 400).

the physical landscape within which its past history is explored and possibly expanded upon.

This does not, however, fully answer why these monuments should be associated with the dead. The suggestion has frequently been tabled that houses for the living became exchanged for the notion of houses for the dead at the beginning of the middle Neolithic (Childe 1949; Hodder 1984; 1990; Bradley 1996; 1998; 2001). Yet, even here there is no direct connection between the particular longhouse architecture and the mounds apparently dedicated to rituals associated with the dead; it is rather between the decayed mound of the longhouse and the barrows as a forum for the burial of the dead (Bradley 2002). This is a significant distinction because the barrows may be tied into the notions of the stories or myths surrounding the house mounds rather than a direct link with the houses and the practices associated with them. It is interesting therefore to note that rather than echoing the linear house with loam pits either side, the barrows (particularly at Passy) are demarked by the construction of ditches (Duhamel 1997).

The presence of pits and deposits within the houses themselves is a feature particular to this region. Though this practice is found a number of times along the Aisne and Oise, it is at the Seine-Yonne confluence that this practice is significantly elaborated. The practice of placing items of material culture within the architecture of the house may have parallels in the burial of individuals beneath the Passy mounds. The action of depositing material remains, whether objects or human skeletons, within the architectural space of the house will have altered the space for those who either knew the deposit had been made or could see what was left by the backfilling of the pit (which may have remained visible for some after the deposit had been made). The same may have been true of the inhumations at Passy monuments, where some time may have elapsed between the first burial and the construction of the mound. Thus, in this way, the construction of the Passy monuments and the engagements with the performances associated with burial would have re-temporalised the experience of the landscape. Successive acts of creation, of layering, dealt very differently with the notions of how time passed and how its passing was judged. Amongst the build up of time around and in the spaces between houses, material remains may have synecdochically come to stand for the

way time passed at the settlement. Although the similar temporal depth of the Passy monuments may be viewed through the continued addition of new monuments, the complexity of relationships both past and present seems to have been played out in very different ways.

Gosden (1994, 162) has previously argued that Neolithic changes occur around the growing identification of public time and its relation to habit (or habitual routines). Gosden (1994) argues that habitual routine changes only very slowly, while public time can move at very different speeds. Thus, in his example, the Dorset Cursus was constructed quickly, but its temporal structure impacted upon daily life for as much as a millennium (Gosden 1994, 162). Although the development of the Passy monuments is quite distinct from that of the Dorset Cursus, the notion of public time relating to everyday routine in different ways is useful. Passy monuments were built without the deep layering of routine, relationships and the production of community in everyday events. The monuments echo the sense of time but not how it was produced. However, there are some key features of this change which need to be further elucidated. Bradley (1996, 250) suggests that the groups of mounds that were formed by the Passy cemeteries were imitating the results of the decay of the house as the longhouse had fallen out of use and was therefore no longer capable of commemorating the dead or acting as a memorial. Therefore, this suggests that over time the longhouse mound came to stand as a monument to the dead of the community through the repeated commitment to the routines and lives around Danubian architectures, but as the house fell out of use it was the mound that was carried forward as a practice to commemorate the dead not the practices which produced it.

The distinction between the practices of commemoration and the creation of a monument in the landscape is significant. During the RRBP and VSG commemorating the dead had been part of the ongoing flow of life at the settlement, punctuating daily routine. By way of contrast, monuments such as those at Passy and Balloy used themes inherent in the LBK architecture, rather than the practices that created them. Therefore the delineating of the mounds can be seen to recall the pits on either side of the longhouse. By developing the results of daily practices, rather than the routines in themselves, it suggests that these communities were

transforming and manipulating particular symbols of the past. Thus notions of the past seem to be less genealogical than during the earlier Neolithic. Groups are tying themselves to a generalised notion of the past for a particular community, without having to negotiate the architecture of the longhouse and the household, and, hence, the relationships contained therein.

The architecture of the Seine-Yonne confluence demonstrates a very different trajectory between the early and middle Neolithic ways of life to that of the Aisne and Oise. While in the latter region it seems that continuity was to some extent practised (e.g. the Cerny houses found at Berry-au-Bac), in the region under discussion in this chapter far greater change in the architecture of burial took place. This occurred alongside a new significance for the remains of the decayed houses rather than the actual architecture itself. The process of building and construction became far more closely entwined with the dead. Thus rather than being one aspect of life with longhouses, the linear form of the mound was no longer a place of the everyday, but rather a place to venerate the dead. Similarly, the symbolism of length and the construction of pits in linear form was no longer a forum for the everyday negotiation of community and household as it had been with the Danubian style longhouse. This change is more absolute along the Seine and Yonne than it appears along the Aisne and Oise, where more continuity can be demonstrated amongst the different styles of architecture that developed after the VSG.

Diversities of architecture: enclosures at the Seine-Yonne confluence

Some time after longhouse building had finished and alongside the development of monumental cemeteries at the Seine-Yonne confluence, the practice of constructing enclosures significantly increased. Although causewayed enclosures are found contemporary to later phases throughout the LBK (such as Menneville, Aisne valley), in this region they appear to arrive later, during the Cerny period (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Constantin and Blanchet 1998).[12] Thus, at the site of Balloy, an enclosure is constructed associated with the long mound cemetery and its ditches cut two earlier VSG houses (and no monuments) (see figure 6.17; D. Mordant 1994). An enclosure dating to the Cerny period is also constructed some time after the VSG settlement at Villeneuve-la-Guyard is abandoned (Prestreau 1992). A similar sequence was found at Monéteau, where six VSG longhouses were later surrounded

by a single ditched enclosure dating to the Michelsberg/Chasséen period (Augereau *et al.* 2005). Thus, while there seems to be some degree of chronological hiatus between longhouses and enclosures, there are also certain places in which the histories of both these different forms of architecture are entwined.

Our understanding of these sites is hindered by the lack of a critical understanding of how the deposits at enclosures formed (Midgley 2005). Again, as for the Aisne and Oise, the enclosures are varied both in their layouts and in the form material deposits took, from apparently highly structured deposits to extremely eroded assemblages of domestic remains (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991). A unified explanation for the presence and activities at enclosures is therefore difficult to find, if desirable at all. However, D. Mordant (in Dubouloz *et al.* 1991) argues that a trend from Cerny cemeteries through to the appearance of collective burials during the final Neolithic or Seine-Oise-Marne (SOM) period can be identified. Following this argument, enclosures would become a transformative location, helping communities to negotiate the changing ways of dealing with their deceased (individual and collective burial at enclosures, fragmentary remains and interment burials at Passy monuments). In contrast to this view, Bradley (1996; 2002) has argued that enclosures provided a metaphor for the entire settlement, rather than the individual longhouse.

Within the English-speaking tradition enclosures have been seen as places of social and ritual transformation, developing out of particular associations of the longhouse and the wider community (Bradley 1996; 2002; Whittle 1996). However, within the French tradition enclosures are considered to be domestic sites and frequently defensive in character (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Constantin and Blanchet 1998; Midgley 2005); they are regarded as a phenomenon entirely separate from the architectures found during the early Neolithic. The enclosures at the Seine-Yonne confluence are thus characterised as the strategic approach taken by separate communities to the exploitation of different territories along the rivers (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Delor *et al.* 1997), with the pairing of enclosures along the Seine (eastwards from its confluence with the Yonne) regarded as part of this territorial management of the landscape (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1988; Delor *et al.* 1997). D. Mordant (1997) argues that the burial record of the Seine-Yonne confluence also

indicates increased social complexity in the Cerny period, suggesting more structured and regularised hierarchies.

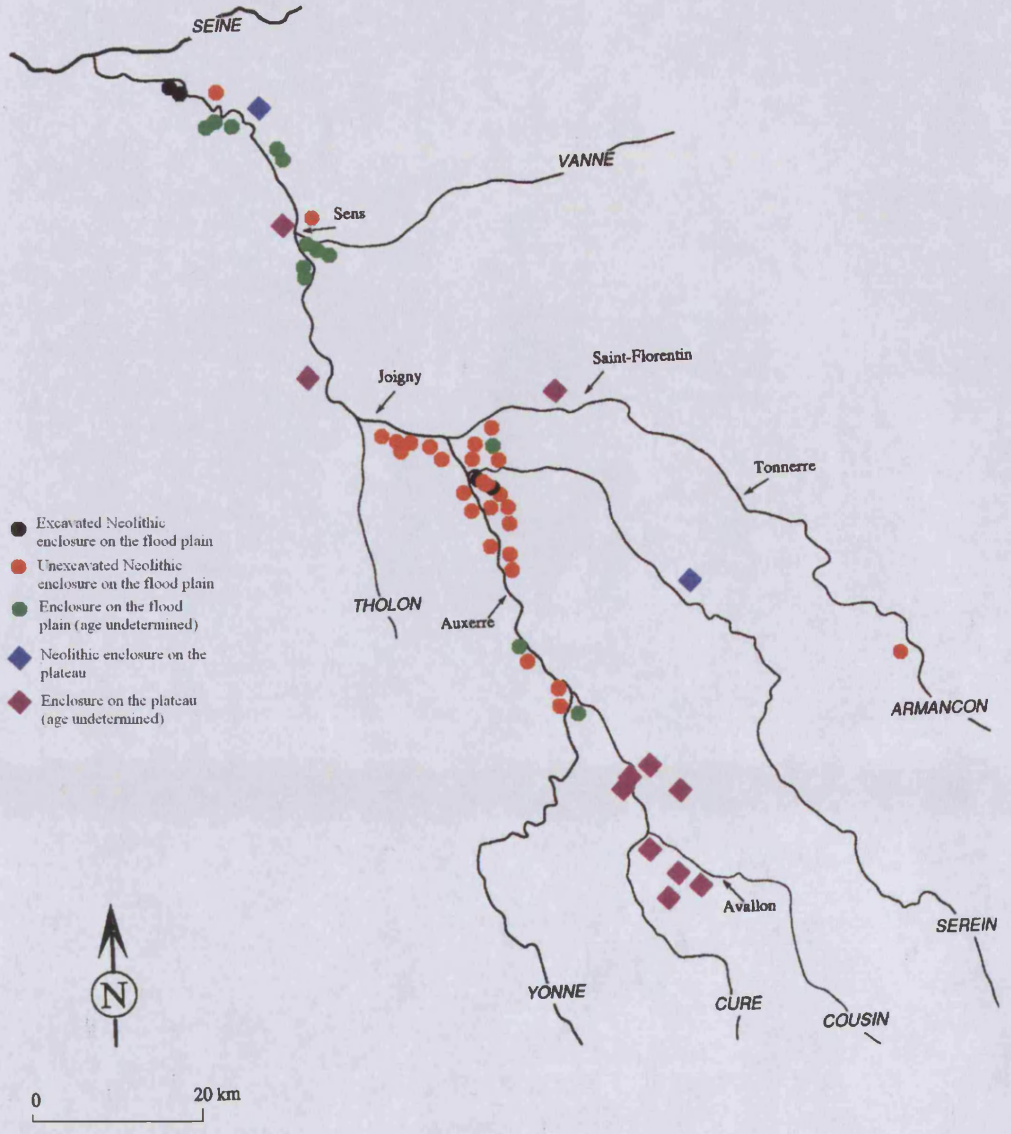


Figure 6.18. Map of the location of enclosures in the Yonne valley, illustrating the concentration of sites at river confluences. After Dubouloz *et al.* (1991, 221).

However, the landscape setting of enclosures along the Seine and Yonne favours an alternative explanation. The dominant location of the enclosures suggests that movement within the landscape may have been particularly important. Along the Seine and Yonne, enclosures seem to cluster around the confluence of these main rivers and their tributaries, irrespective of whether they are situated on the valley floor or higher ground (see Figure 6.18; Dubouloz *et al.* 1991). Furthermore,

Dubouloz *et al.* (1991) argue that these places were the location of fords. Suitable places to ford these rivers may have meant that these locations became places of concentrated movement (Bronwen Price *pers. comm.*). It also stresses new trajectories of movement through the river valleys. In the earlier Neolithic, movement along the river valleys seemed to be the dominant pattern of movement, while as the middle Neolithic develops routes across the rivers and plateaus seem also to be emphasised and extended. Therefore, enclosures were sited at places where movement across the river valley and movement along the valley bottoms may have intersected. This may not be the case along the Aisne and Oise valleys, where the same clustering around river confluences is not seen (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, Figure 3).

Each enclosure differs significantly, but the similarities on a regional scale suggest broader communities coming together. Therefore, although enclosures appear to occur together forming particular groups, they were tied into stronger links across these regions. However, there does seem to be a general trend towards exploiting a wider variety of the landscape throughout the Paris Basin from the final stages of the VSG period (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Delor *et al.* 1997; D. Mordant and Simonin 1997, 319; Constantin and Blanchet 1998). The detail of these changes remains elusive as most of the sites are known from air photography (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 216) and further excavation and dating are essential for considering such questions as whether the use of the sites and their environmental location were associated. Despite these attendant difficulties, we can still recognise the more widespread trend towards changing patterns of movement across the whole of the region.

However, a number of enclosures have received extensive excavation, which allows for some discussion of the activities which took place at them. The entrances to the enclosures at Noyen and Gravon differ both in number and whether gaps in the palisades align with causeways in the enclosure (C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1988, 237). At Balloy the notion of movement also seems to be played out in the ceramic assemblage, as it appears as if the vast majority of pots arrived in a broken condition (Andersen 1997, 222), hence suggesting that material from numerous locations was gathered at the enclosure. This appears to contrast with what Andersen (1997, 222–4) calls the 'ritual' deposits, a selected group of materials which included less flint,

more complete pots and ox skulls placed together. The mixing together of different materials, in different states of decomposition appears to contrast with the Passy monuments. The temporal changes in the river valley were also clearly significant in the choice of location of the Passy monuments at Passy, Balloy and Escolives-Sainte-Camille and their emphasis on arrival and departure (Midgley 2005, 95, 118). Therefore, in the Seine-Yonne region, similar locales of movement may have been associated with the construction and re-visitation of the Passy monuments as well as enclosures. However, while some enclosure sites (such as Balloy (D. Mordant 1997), Villeneuve-la-Guyard (Prestreau 1992) and Monéteau (Augereau *et al.* 2005)) are associated with longhouses, enclosure sites and Passy monuments never appear to physically overlap. Therefore, while these types of sites seem to both make explicit the connection between building (an enclosure or Passy monument) and the past (represented by the decayed mounds of former longhouses) they are not used to make these statements together.

The (at least) two hundred-year hiatus between the VSG longhouses and the Cerny or Michelsberg/Chasséen activity at some sites emphasises this dramatic change in the everyday of communities in the Paris Basin. However, it is not until the end of the Cerny period and beginning of the Chasséen/Michelsberg (around 4500 cal BC) that human activity has a significant impact on the vegetation cover of the landscape (Bakels 1995; Pernaud *et al.* 2004, 417). This may be partly due to the substantial palisades that were constructed at enclosure sites (Bernard 1998; Demoule *et al.* 2007). Thus the construction of an enclosure would have had a significant visual impact on the local landscape. Throughout the Cerny period, therefore, enclosures created the possibility to imagine new social worlds. Clearly the construction of longhouses no longer provided the necessary theatre for these emerging social worlds. To this end, the decrease in hunting and increase in cattle suggest that the death of the longhouse may have been part of a search for particular broader-scale relationships. It may be that rather than these forms of relations being impossible to support through building longhouses, the temporality of this kind of architecture did not mesh with desired performances of community.

This focus on movement across, as well as along, the valleys coincides with changing relationships with animals. This also seems to be part of general trends for

the Paris Basin as a whole, with pig appearing to be the only animal which varies significantly between the Aisne/Oise and Seine/Yonne regions (Arbogast *et al.* 1991, 359). The quantities of cattle and wild animals appear very similar across the region (Arbogast *et al.* 1991, 359); therefore, those animals associated with moving tend to have equal representation across the region, while those associated with more limited movements vary. Possibly, this resulted in difference between people on a community scale having less potential to be explored.

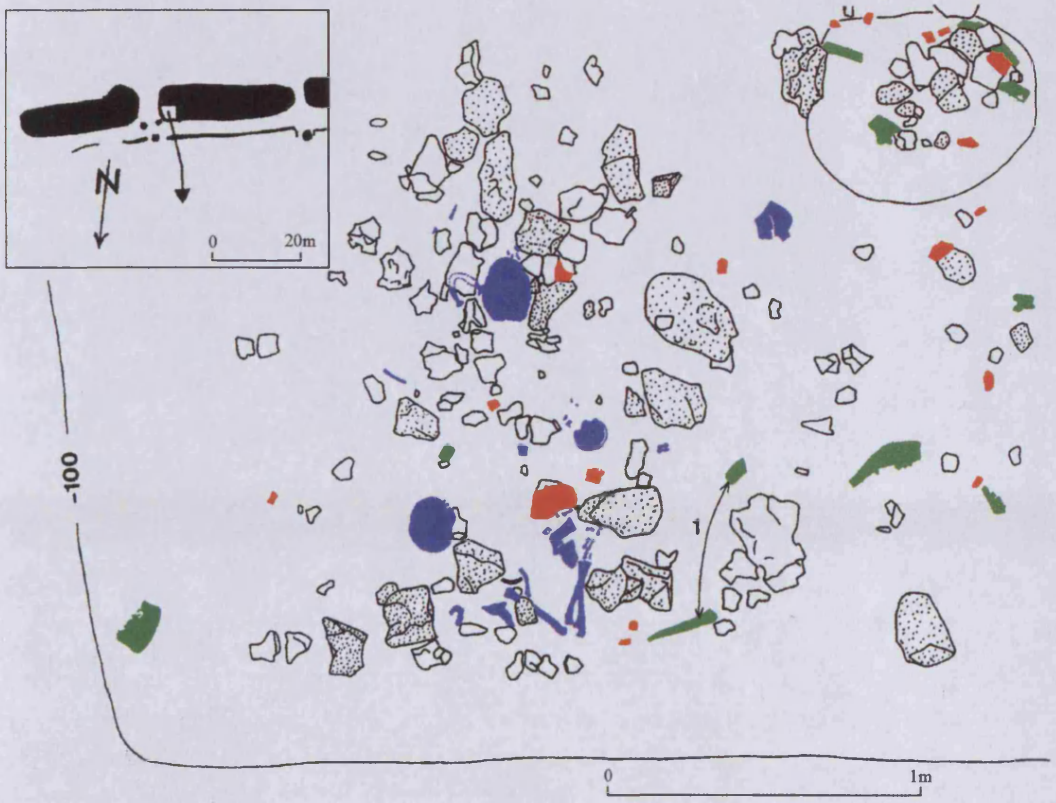


Figure 6.19. A scatter of material deposited in a ditch terminus at the Michelsberg/Chasséen enclosure at Gravon (Seine). Red: worked flint, blue: human bone, green: animal bone. After Dubouloz *et al.* (1991, 224).

As discussed above, hunting becomes almost insignificant in the animal bone assemblages (Tresset 1997), while being increasingly present in the form of bodily decoration in the burial record (Sidéra 2000). However, at enclosure sites human remains are also found disarticulated and mixed amongst the remains of domestic animals (see Figure 6.19). Thus, while everyday activities and relationships with animals apparently narrow and become focused on herding cattle, the burial record appears to represent a far more complex range of connections between animals and

humans and the extent to which difference is acknowledged. Indeed, enclosures are increasingly regarded as part of the increasing complexity of social relations in the middle Neolithic (Demoule *et al.* 2007). While this may be easy to reconcile with the territorial model of enclosure construction, if we regard these sites as places of intense or more concentrated movement through the landscape, it becomes more difficult to accept an understanding of enclosures as static expressions of people's social worlds.

Increasingly during the middle Neolithic the higher ground and plateaus produce evidence for habitation and although it may not be the first time these areas are used or part of daily life, it is the first time that substantial material evidence is left behind from these activities (Pernaud *et al.* 2004, 417). This suggests that the beginning of the middle Neolithic is a time during which communities along the Seine and Yonne were creating new forums for daily life and tasks, and were finding new ways to experience and construct the landscape. As 'crossroads', or rather places at which different groups came together or departed, enclosures were associated with herding and the material networks that connected groups throughout the Paris Basin. Therefore, these were places at which broader socialities were collected, negotiated and perhaps even created. The concentration of enclosures along the Aisne valley in the area most densely occupied by early Neolithic settlement may be in part due to the concentration of excavation in this region, but it may also be related to how the early Neolithic past of this region was viewed. Enclosures in this region during the Michelsberg tend to be more evenly spaced (Dubouloz *et al.* 1988; 1991). Therefore, different patterns of movement may have existed in each region, with the presence of more focal points at the Seine-Yonne confluence.

The performances that took place at enclosures explored very different temporalities to longhouses. Decay and disintegration are far more temporally immediate and negotiated at enclosures, with the active breaking of materials and bodies, and then their subsequent distribution across the site, while at longhouses such practices were developed over time through everyday routines which layered and mixed material along the sides of the houses. However, palisades may have decayed in much the same way as the posts of longhouses and if, as Dubouloz *et al.* (1988, 176) argue, the palisades were accompanied by banks, enclosures could have echoed decaying

longhouses in some respects. Therefore, although at first glance this appears to reflect notions of larger community-based practices rather than those based on the household, enclosures drew on experiences associated with the early Neolithic (working with wooden posts and digging pits). However, while enclosures seem to have been developed through widening notions of community, the broader scale on which this occurs conversely allows the particular configurations of material that were deposited together to be brought together deliberately, selectively and immediately, not requiring the layering together of concomitant relationships through the house. Enclosures at the Seine-Yonne confluence therefore provided a forum at which small-scale concerns and relationships could be created, manipulated and broken, perhaps tying in with the changing speeds, scales or direction of movement that centred in and through the performances at them.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explore some of the different ways the Danubian-style longhouse was manipulated and dwelt with at the Seine-Yonne confluence and, through comparison to the houses of the Aisne and Oise river valleys, to draw out any implications of the local context in the early Neolithic. The exploration of daily practice and performances associated with longhouses in these two regions has suggested that although there were general patterns of construction (what things tended towards), there were moments of deliberate intervention or manipulation of the house structure, routine movement or daily practice. Again, along the Seine and Yonne, we can see that concepts and degrees of difference were not contrasted nor opposed but explored and created. However, these moments not only took place in the relationships between houses (whether spatially or materially) as they did along the Aisne and Oise, but also in areas which provided forums for the negotiation of difference away from the house (as a physical space) and the individual relationships between certain houses.

The development of the Passy monuments at the Seine-Yonne confluence focuses attention on the relationship between the dead and architecture in the early and middle Neolithic of the Paris Basin. While burials are associated with houses during the early Neolithic, the Passy monuments are apparently not associated with everyday life and routine during the middle Neolithic. The contrast between spheres

of ritual and domestic life can, however, be overdrawn and rather we may be seeing a new way of conceiving the place of the community and the rhythms of daily life. The enclosures, which begin to be constructed at this time, suggest that there were changing approaches to movement in the landscape and this may have led to different conceptions of how people were dwelling. The place of architecture and, hence, the very ways in which notions of building were conceived of, changed dramatically across the first centuries of the 5th millennium cal BC.

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[1] Delor (1996, 296), however, considers these pits to be additional posts added to help the house withstand strong winds. The notion that longhouse construction was directly affected by the prevailing winds and weather conditions has been repeatedly challenged (Coudart 1998; Bradley 2001; Whittle 2003). Furthermore, these pits frequently included material remains suggesting that they had significance beyond the physical requirements of the longhouse structure.

[2] I consider that these two buildings might possibly be earlier due to their more rectangular shape, but this is by no means necessarily the case, and furthermore this cannot provide us with any clues as to the time difference between the construction of the two groups of houses. There may well have been a hiatus of some time between the two groups of houses.

[3] House six/seven is, in my opinion, part of the second phase of a two phase settlement. However, the occupation length of each of the two phases remains undetermined, so the suggestion that the rebuilding of house six led to the end of the settlement remains speculation.

[4] A similar isolated pit has also been recently excavated on the bank of the Aisne opposite Bucy-le-Long (Ilett *pers. comm.*). This suggests that throughout the LBK there may have been particular activities and practices of deposition which took place away from the forum of the longhouse (see also Hofmann *in prep.*).

[5] There has been little consideration of the human bone found in loam pits, so it is difficult to compare the inhumations with the fragmented remains. Pariat's (2007) study of the human bone from Cuiry-les-Chaudardes (discussed in chapter five) stands out as a rare example.

[6] By *deep time* I mean the sense that a particular production of the experience of time is in some way *naturalised*, not natural as opposed to cultural time, but rather the on-going passing of how things are in the world (see Gell 1992; Gosden 1994; Borič 2003; Lucas 2005).

[7] Though we must be careful with this argument because at smaller settlements, animal bone assemblages are more likely to be studied as a single corpus of material rather than on a house by house basis and the preservation of bone in the south of the Paris Basin is not as good as it is along the Aisne valley.

[8] A major study of the early Neolithic human remains along the Aisne Valley is still underway; preliminary results were published by Constantin *et al.* in 2003.

[9] There are other regions of the LBK which also lack large cemetery burials. For a summary of the different burial rites found in the LBK see Jeunesse 1997b.

[10] However, no one has consistently applied the 'big men' model to the evidence from the Paris Basin.

[11] These two notions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is possible that the spatulas could both be used for hunting and also be conceptually stylized representations of the human body. This suggests interesting ties between the human body and hunting at a time when the amount of hunting occurring in daily routine at least appears to be decreasing. The representation of the body would also be the active part of the spear, penetrating the animal's flesh.

[12] D. Mordant (in Dubouloz *et al.* 1991, 223) argues that the first enclosures are contemporary with the end of the VSG. However, most researchers stress the continuity between the VSG and Cerny communities, particularly along the Seine and Yonne.

7

The life and death of the longhouse: discussion and conclusions

Introduction

In small-scale, face-to-face societies saying hello is an important and elaborate performance. The greetings of the Shona people, Zimbabwe, are no exception and their exchanges encapsulate the importance of shared feeling within community relations. During the morning the first speaker will say '*Mangwanani*' [Good morning], to which the second speaker replies '*Mangwanani, Marara sei?*' [Good morning, did you sleep well?]. The first speaker then continues '*Ndarara kana Mararawo*' [I slept well if you slept well], to which the second speaker responds '*Ndarara*' [I did sleep well]. Later in the day *Marara* is replaced by *Maswera* [did you have a good day?]. These exchanges are also accompanied by hand-clapping (flat hands for men, pointing away from the body and cupped hands for women). However, in the normal flow of daily life, minding children, watching animals, carrying wood or water, or passing time in the shade, there is often neither the time nor inclination to enact the whole exchange. Clapping can replace it all if someone is holding something in their mouth or can be missed out altogether if their hands are full. The everyday English translation of this exchange is particularly revealing; the greeting is often condensed to 'fine', meaning I am fine and hence we are fine, thus stressing the significance of shared feelings over saying hello in appropriate ways.[1]

This short example neatly illustrates the importance of performing community relations and shared feeling. Communities are not naturally formed through inhabitation of the same location but rather continually need to be made and their constituting relationships are fragile, requiring regular re-enforcement through shared performance (see Chapter 2; Bourdieu 1977; 2002; Giddens 1979; 1984; Isbell 2000; Amit 2002). However, these actions or performances are not necessarily adhered to rigidly, with individuals strictly following rules or endeavouring not to trespass the

boundaries of their social systems, but rather they can be manipulated, translated and elaborated (de Certeau 1984; Overing and Passes 2000). The desires of everyday life can be thought to centre on artful living, aiming for harmonious conviviality or a particular aesthetic which guides how communities engage in social relationships (Overing and Passes 2000). This very flexibility of practice and performance results in daily life being messy, creative and not easily drawn into a totalised narrative which explains every action and motivation. Therefore the term community is ambiguous, perhaps resulting in the numerous political overtones it has in the modern world (Bauman 1992; Bourdieu 1998; Highmore 2002a; Day 2006). As Bauman (1992, 134) notes, today community relationships are often pitched against the faceless and inhuman forces of globalisation, resulting in a 'lust' for local community. The notions of the *community* and the *local* have thus become particular tools in the legitimization of certain identities and political debates (Day 2006, 193–203). However, rather than regarding this as a critique of the discussion of community in archaeology, this has to be viewed as continued evidence for social relations as 'works in progress' and as encouragement to seek out the particular historical conditions in which past communities were performed and their relationships manipulated.

This final chapter will therefore discuss the specifics of daily life and social change in the early and middle Neolithic of the Paris Basin through examining the different scales and routines through which community was constructed and performed. Amongst the communities of the RRBP and VSG in the Paris Basin, the architecture of the longhouse provided a constructive daily forum for the formation of communal life on a number of different scales. Human bodies, households and wider communities shaped and negotiated their relationships through daily practice and routine performance in and around this particular architectural structure. Over time the practices associated with building the longhouse were abandoned and different architectures came to be constructed as new ways of dwelling in the landscape developed. The recognition and negotiation of difference amongst the longhouse communities created the impetus for relationships to be formed and also eventually led to the end of the longhouse and the development of new social worlds. Finally, discussion will turn to focus on two of the themes that have developed out of this consideration of daily life and architecture in the Neolithic of the Paris Basin:

difference and the scales of archaeological approach. The concept of difference has far-reaching implications for the appropriate scales of analysis used in archaeology. I will conclude by arguing that the consideration of daily life is not a complete rejection of archaeologies that examine long-term material patterns, but rather a move towards more nuanced understandings of the processes by which social life was formed at particular moments in time and the spatial and temporal scales at which these communities lived.

The 'life' of the longhouse: daily life in the Paris Basin during the early Neolithic

When I state that the aim here is to illuminate 'daily life' with longhouses in the Paris Basin, I am seeking to explore the conditions and means of dwelling through examining how these particular architectures and archaeological deposits were inhabited. This in turn leads to a stress on understanding how material remains and archaeological contexts were formed. The house is more than just the physical structure of the building; it is also the suite of practices and routines carried out by the members of the household. These practices encompass the physical location and spaces of the house, as well as the activities of the household, which feed into notions of identity, memory and forgetting, history and the layering of time (Souvatzi 2008a, 29–31). This is especially true of the LBK longhouse, where the associated practice of depositing material in the loam pits on either side of the building is as much part of the architecture as the posts which constructed the house interior. This suite of practices came to form the choreography of everyday life and in this section I will consider the particular composition of daily routine during the RRBP and VSG and then move on to examine the different scales at which those routines took place.

By using 'thick description' (see Chapter two), the two case study chapters identified how the arrangement of posts, the creation and disposal of material culture, moving with animals and temporal changes throughout the year and over the life-span of the house helped to inform performances of social relations, landscape and the passage of time. Chapter two identified three vital aspects of daily life: performance, routine and community. Throughout the case studies these concepts were regarded as interlocking scales of attention providing the impetus for action in the world. These aspects of existence constitute quotidian experience and it was within commitment to and repetition of these habitual actions that this particular way of life was produced.

Each of these routines fed into the construction and maintenance of the architectural space created by the longhouse, but did not by any means lead to every person or household having the same experiences. There was a great deal of variety between houses and households and a necessary part of the longhouse architecture was its ability to allow a particular fluidity in social relations. These arguments contrast somewhat with the dominant model of the LBK lifeworld, in which rather more stable views of the household, settlement and regional exchange systems are presented.

While Hodder's (1990) view of the longhouse through the concepts of *domus*, *foris* and *agrios* ties the architecture into a symbolic system which influences the everyday movements of the household's members, both the house and its occupants are conflated into a rather stable and static entity. Coudart's (1998) attempt to refine Modderman's (1988) typology emphasises and explores the variability in longhouse architecture, but she still concludes that the aspects of the longhouse that were stable over the long-term suggest that LBK social structures were as well. Therefore, because households are regarded as constituting the wider community, models of how settlements were organised are also relatively stable. This can be seen in the 'ward' models from the *Aldenhovener Platte* in northwest Germany (where one household rebuilds in the same area of the settlement) (Boelicke 1982; Lüning 1982a; 1982b; 1988) and van de Velde's (1990, 37), consideration of the hierarchies found at LBK settlements (where one longer house per phase is regarded as higher status consistently over the life of the settlement). These interpretations of the longhouse architecture have translated into rather static views of daily life, with stable formations of identity. Hence, Hachem (1997; 2000) suggests that divisions between 'hunters' and 'herders' may have been based on the everyday activities of each group, and Allard (2005) argues that the techniques of producing projectile points were habitual demonstrations of regional identities. The institutionalisation of power structures is therefore defined by the household and the architecture is considered to be a symbol of that enduring social structure.

Within such an understanding of the longhouse, that is, as a stable social institution which contained the fundamental social relationships of LBK communities, variety in the design of the architecture is regarded as an expression of difference between isolated and independent households (see van de Velde 1990, 35–7; Louwe

Kooijmans *et al.* 2003). Understanding social change therefore becomes a matter of interpreting what aspects of the physical house structure meant or represented and then examining how they develop or fall out of use. The consideration of daily life and of the rhythms of communities' everyday activities challenges the idea that social structures can be read directly from the physical structures of the architecture. Rather, in attending to the practices of inhabitation, explorations of the material and social contexts of daily routine are required. Therefore, it is necessary to begin thinking about the social world of the LBK through examining the contexts in which the features of longhouse architecture became significant or constructive within people's life-worlds. I therefore consider the phenomenological and performative aspects of the longhouse to be a valuable starting point for writing an archaeology of the LBK.

Inhabiting the longhouse involved living amongst a world of posts. These posts not only operated as a frame for the everyday movements in the house, but were constructive of the house space. In this sense the posts were thus the architecture (or rather the 'build-*ing*', i.e. they were the process that formed the house rather than the enclosing and roofing of space) and the house came about through their particular arrangement. This is illustrated in the rules which surrounded the posts in the Paris Basin: the tendency to use three posts to constitute a row (see also Coudart 1998, 51). Rather than merely being a device to separate and divide internal space, throughout the RRBP and VSG the internal posts were as significant to the architectural structure of the longhouse as the external loam pits and house walls. The layout of the house was varied through the placing of the rows rather than the individual posts. Over time this was manipulated by altering certain aspects of the architecture. The increasing tendency towards trapezoidal plans, and the elaboration of the front of the house, played with and exaggerated the differentiation of space within the house. Through the particular configuration of the post rows, the engagement of the senses in different parts of the longhouse would have been manipulated.

The changing arrangements of posts led to areas at the front of the house being more open, while towards the end of the house, posts were placed closer together. Hence, within one house there would have been more open, noisier and lighter areas of the house, with other areas being darker, more intimate (with closer associations between human bodies and wooden posts) and quieter. These feelings and sensations would

have choreographed how people interacted with each other and the materials of the house. Thus the movement and noise levels of others, as well as particular smells and haptic sensations, varied throughout the house and these experiences would have guided understandings of appropriate ways of behaving within the household (see Chapter six; Hofmann 2006a). The manipulation of the interior and elaboration of the front of the house suggest that rather than there being a distinct division between interior or exterior, the flow of movement was more significant. These movements were not tightly controlled nor contrasted, but rather one space opened out and fed into another. Therefore, this suggests that the architecture was not repeated from a uniform design or set of notions of that design, but that within the means of construction (the tendencies to 'three-posts-in-row'), numerous variations and manipulations of the space were possible. Hence the form of the house and the layout of posts were enabling of movement and action rather than creating or bounding particular configurations of space. There was no rigid juxtaposition of private and public contained within the longhouse; this architecture permitted the manipulation of how members of the household interacted with architecture and potentially with each other.

Alongside these apparent norms that longhouse constructions followed, there were other aspects of the house that appeared to have been manipulated by the household. These aspects of the architecture included the location of the house in the settlement, the shape of the house and the spaces created by the arrangement of the posts. Throughout the Paris Basin settlements there were particular events that deviated from the apparent ideals that existed for longhouse architecture. These included the two rare examples of bi-partite houses at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes (Figure 5.9), the extreme difference in orientation at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (Figure 5.2) and the re-building of house six at Gurgy (Figure 6.4). Each of these events was a moment of extreme variation from the norms and routines of the RRBP and VSG, where difference from habitual daily life often led to these architectures being placed particularly close to others in the settlement. Hence difference was often accompanied by closeness, exaggerating the deviation from the norm: the house's expected position, architectural form or life-history. The decision to emphasise these aspects of the house must have been taken at the construction of the house, fulfilling and creating anticipated futures for the household and community. Perhaps it is at

moments during the household's lifespan (as distinct from the lifespan of the longhouse), when unanticipated events occurred that led to it becoming necessary to intervene with the structure of the house.

However, the form in which architecture is constructed and the household group constituted were not isolated from other scales of sociality. The loam pits which were dug either side of the length of the house were such an integral part of the longhouse structure that it appears as if no house was built without them. There were a number of different practices which brought material remains to these pits, including one-off deposits, the collection of refuse from people working close by, sweepings from inside the house and the gradual build up of material. However, the duration of these depositions remains unknown; they could have taken the whole life time of the house to build up, or have been filled in a matter of weeks. Despite the difficulty in defining their temporality directly, the loam pits seem to have come together gradually through everyday tasks and movements in the spaces between longhouses rather than quickly at the birth of the house (cf. Stäuble 1997). During phase two at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, certain houses can be identified as pairs, either choosing to preferentially place materials on the same or opposing sides of the house (Figure 5.18b). In contrast, at Berry-au-Bac the same side of the house is favoured for deposition each time. With the distinct likelihood that the three houses at Berry-au-Bac were successive rather than contemporary, this particular pattern may represent the passing on of habitual actions through the generations. These patterns are not exclusive routines (with material only placed on one side of the house) but rather came about through the preferred choreographies of movement around the settlement. What is significant about the varying sequences of deposition is that they demonstrate that particular households' movements around the settlement and organisation of their depositional activities were influenced by the presence of others. Thus rather than being organised around co-existing independent 'wards', communities in the Paris Basin were far more closely entangled.

The act of deposition may also have been tied into certain facets of the house architecture and the household. At Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes the changes in the northwest end of the longhouse during phase three coincide with the appearance of human bone in the loam pits. If Bradley's (2001, 53) assertion that the northwestern

end of the house was associated with the dead, or possibly even built as a shrine or mortuary, is correct, it certainly supports a link between the building of more extensive northwestern rooms and the deposition of fragmentary human remains. However, given the amount of erosion envisioned for the loam pits, the human bone was most likely deposited at the beginning of the house's life. Rather, it seems that the construction of a trenched northwestern end and more than one northwestern 'room' in the longhouse and the deposition of human bone were caught up in other contexts. Clearly they were associated not with the events of the individual household, but with concerns that had affected the whole community.

The changes in phase three are entirely centred on the patterns of construction at the northwestern end of the house. However, it is particularly revealing that this phase also sees the first appearance of the tendency towards a trapezoidal house form. This type of house plan and the rooms at the back of the house result in the increased differentiation between the front and back. This also happens at the Seine-Yonne confluence, where pits are found inside the northwestern extent of the house at a number of settlements. At these times, therefore, attention was at the back of the house, extending and manipulating the most intimate part of the house, but at the same time these changes were clearly caught up in community-wide concerns. Instead of trying to distinguish whether this was associated with closer co-operation between houses (closer relations between households) or with increased competition (challenges to the relative status of individual households or the development of more distant and problematical relationships), as we are unlikely to ever satisfactorily determine which of these options inspired the architectural changes, this pattern is best interpreted as revealing the interconnected-ness of the architectural structure of the house and the practices of inhabitation during the RRBP. The intertwining of relationships between and amongst households, communities and architecture (including both its construction through form and the practices of deposition) give a sense of how the negotiation of community relationships was possible through different material scales (deposition, construction, household and settlement) and occurred with a degree of fluidity.

The refitting of ceramic sherds and lithics, however, suggests that households were relatively autonomous from one another, organising tasks on the basis of the

household rather than the whole community, as there are relatively few places where pieces of objects end up in the loam pits of different houses (Ilett *et al.* 1986, 36).[2] At Marolles-sur-Seine, the loam pit of one house suggested that the household (or certain members of it) were specialising in the production of beads rather than the whole settlement (Augereau and Bonnardin 1998). Taking this into consideration with the previous discussion, there seem to be tensions between the community of the settlement and the individual household; where certain tasks or acts of deposition were carried out was influenced by other houses, as well as what these activities were or what they involved. This suggests that community relations were closer but also less rigid than the 'ward' model (see above and Figure 7.1). Although the focus for everyday routines was organised and chosen by individual households, at the same time how and where they were carried out was influenced by the very fact of being part of a wider community. Thus there is no reason to suppose that the autonomy between individual households led to a lack of community feeling. Clearly the household remained a significant aspect of social organisation and differences between the households in the community were recognised, but there were other relationships within the community that were also significant on a daily basis, not just at intermittent or one-off events (such as the building of a house for example).

More broadly, however, the wider community was constituted out of these histories and potential futures, which in some cases led to the development of more substantial numbers of houses being constructed. For example Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes has some forty houses over five phases and potentially more than 150 years of history, while Gurgy has seven houses over two phases and possibly no more than 50 years of occupation. On the whole there is a tendency for some settlements on the Aisne to be larger and therefore possibly longer-lived than those at the Seine-Yonne confluence. Therefore, the scale on which community was experienced was highly varied. At Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes there was a significant commitment to that location, with the decaying houses of earlier phases a physical reminder of the settlement's duration; while at Gurgy, the first phase of houses demonstrated a considerably shorter history and there was less scope to recognise the depth of community relations. Therefore, rather than seeing community as stable or built up successively from the same affinal relationships at each site, an inherent variability in the relationships that were created when a settlement was built must be regarded as the norm. Relationships were by no

means fixed and each household seems to have been free to reaffirm or break existing ties.

This variation in community size would have led to a multi-layered experience of time, focussed around nested scales of the life and death of the individual, the house and the settlement. Smaller and larger sites formed a coherent network but were choosing to do things differently (Ilett and Allard 2008, 296–7). The building and decay of the longhouse were part of a cyclical pattern of creation and disintegration that may have applied as much to human relations as to the architecture itself. The use-length of the longhouse has long been recognised as particularly interesting because the house is thought to outlive the household, with the physical structure left to decay *in situ*. This potential abandonment and decay must have been part of the anticipated future for the longhouse as it was built, and in turn, also that of the household. However, the household would also have probably varied over the year. Regular movement with cattle has been demonstrated by Bentley and Knipper (2005) and Knipper (forthcoming). Therefore hunting remains a consistent feature of the RRBP and VSG faunal record. This would have provided individuals with differing experiences with animals. Hunting would have been a localised and fairly intimate experience amongst the local community, while herding took people into the wider landscapes and regional community. This is not to say that wild animals were everyday in opposition to domestic species that were more distanced from the immediate settings of the settlement, rather cattle were a means through which links between the wider and the local community (or indeed individual household) could be created and maintained.

Movement with animals is likely to have taken place during the summer, with groups moving away from the river valleys to higher ground, possibly after the spring floods had receded and movement along the valley became easier. Not everyone would have necessarily moved away from the settlement at this time, leaving a smaller or contracted household behind. This was then followed by a period of aggregation during the later summer and early autumn. Bogaard (2004) argues that the LBK population practised autumn sowing, which would have demanded a concerted effort by a large group of the community. Therefore, the annual round would have involved the coming together and renewing of community, proceeding from its dissolution or

disbanding. The pulsations in the size of a community over the year would have provided moments when the formations of relationships could be renewed and strengthened, but conversely manipulated and challenged as well. Material exchanges may well track this remaking of community. The shells that accompanied the deceased into the ground, which came from well beyond the immediate region, and flint which was collected from between 15 and 30 km away, hint at the multiple scales at which LBK community was conceived (being both within and outside of the household, the settlement and with households and other settlements, and rarely at the valley or regional scale) and the distances over which relationships were formed.

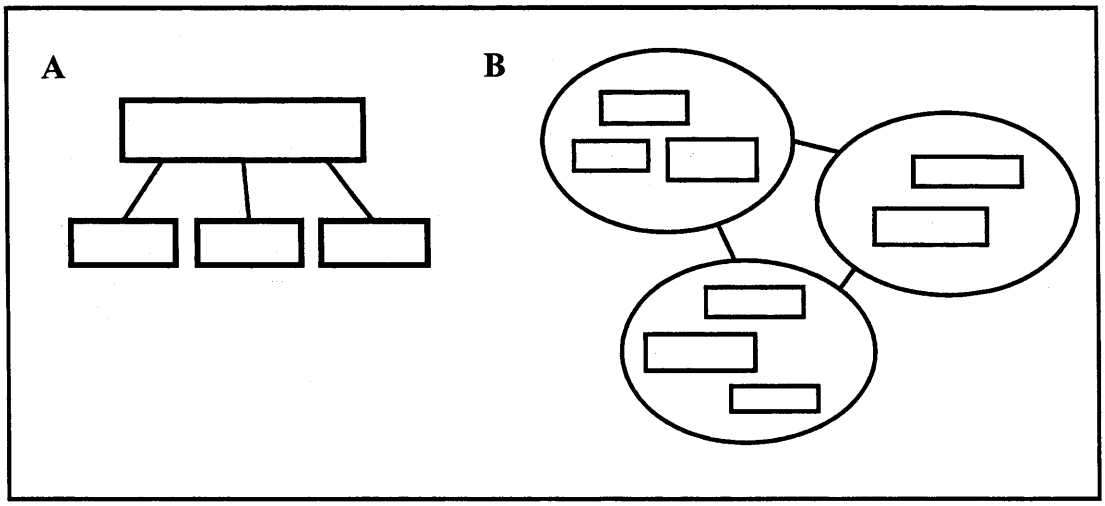


Figure 7.1. Pictorial depiction of the A) 'big men' model and B) 'ward' model of LBK settlements. The rectangles represent houses and the lines represent political/social relationships.

Thus rather than the 'big men' models (in which the social structure is stratified on two tiers) or the 'ward' model (where houses are socially or politically independent from each other), there is probably no one model on which relationships were constructed during the LBK (Figure 7.1). Even the burial assemblage is extremely varied, with four different methods of burial identified by Constantin *et al.* (2003, 56), to which we can also add a fifth: the fragmentation of human remains. The independence and differing identities of people, households and communities were thus not rendered through hierarchy or rigid social structures, but rather fluid, varied, and created through different contexts (Figure 7.2). Figure 7.2, of course, cannot represent that relationships may have been reconfigured or rebuilt in other ways, but it does depict those varied contexts in which relationships were formed. On the settlement level these contexts were the longhouse architecture and its attendant

depositional practices, concurrently forming household and settlement relationships, while on a regional and supra-regional level the spheres of exchange and domestic animals appear to have had more significance; certainly this is the case on a daily basis.

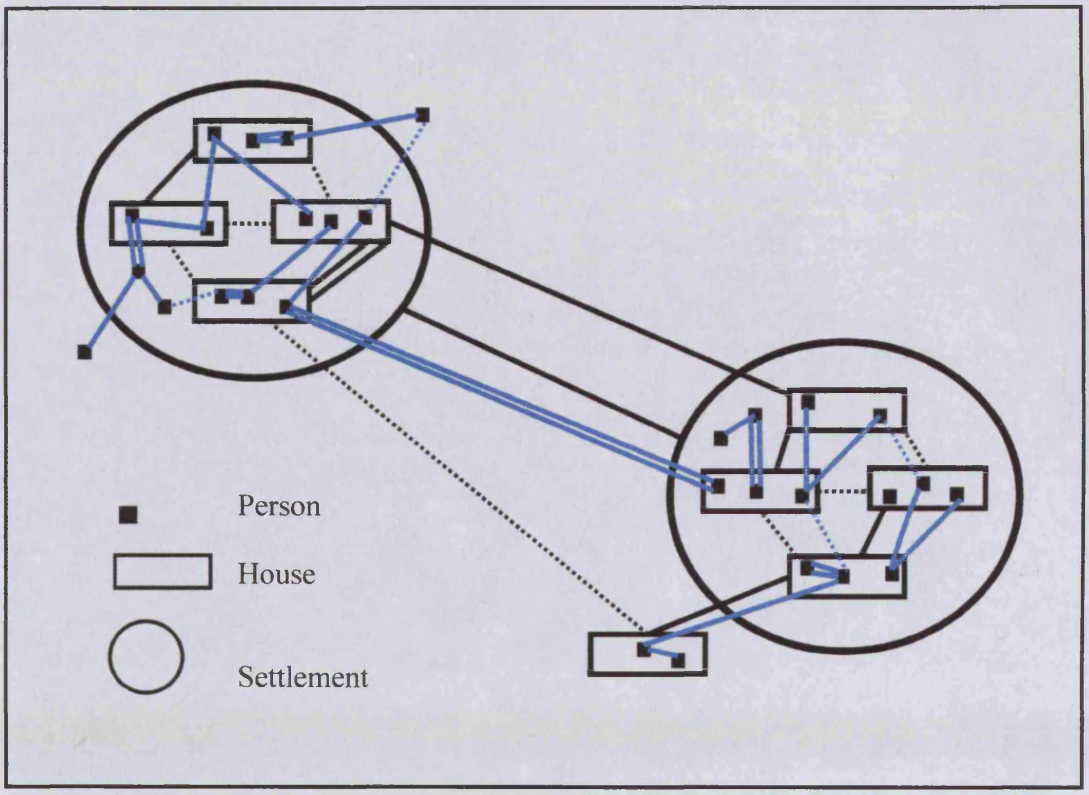


Figure 7.2. Model of social relationships with the LBK world. The lines between the features indicate the closeness of the relationship: broken line — relationship separated by time, but conceptually maintained; single line — relationship identified and conceptually maintained; double — close relationship maintained; black line — relationship conceived of as created between a particular group of people; blue line — relationships which cut across groups and existed between persons.[3]

Figure 7.2 depicts four conceptual scales of social-interaction, namely between persons, within individual households, and within and between different settlements. To these the river valley and broader region can also be added, as well as the temporal contexts created by layering the histories of these scales together in and around the longhouse. Many of these social interactions would have taken place away from the household or the settlement. In Ingold's (1993; 2000) terms these are the taskscapes of the LBK, such as seasonal herding, hunting, tending to crops, collecting flint or clay, making items of material culture such as ceramics and so on, that also provided forums in which relationships could be formed between people, animals and materials. Therefore none of these scales exists in isolation from the others and, significantly, they are formed in the context of one another, and the nexus of each

scale is repeated as people moved between them. Hence, rather than a hierarchical model in which people constituted houses, that then formed settlements, which in turn bonded together in the formation of a region, LBK social relations were composed out of specific bonds, in which their scalar situation is the context in which they formed, *not* what they were determined by. This not only means that there were possibly times when relationships within the community were closer in some regions or settlements than others, but also that the attendant rigidity or fluidity of the social relations varied. Hence, along the Aisne, the longhouse appears to be more firmly entrenched as the means for negotiating social relationships, while the settlement context was more flexible along the Seine and Yonne, signalled by the presence of deposition away from the house architecture.

This may or may not be the case for other regions of the LBK. At the Flomborn settlement of Geleen-Janskamperveld, in the Meuse valley, Louwe Kooijmans *et al.* (2003, 393–5) argue for a stable settlement hierarchy, even going as far to propose the presence of a communal men's house or dominant spiritual leader in each phase. Therefore, they identify ranked 'wards' in much the same way as was inferred for the *Aldenhovener Platte*, with this being the primary means through which difference was recognised in the settlement (Louwe Kooijmans *et al.* 2003). However, in contrast to the Paris Basin sites, the LBK arrives in the Dutch Limburg at much the same time as it does on the *Aldenhovener Platte*—during the Flomborn phase (Whittle 1996a, 149; Boelicke *et al.* 1997) and it is perhaps not surprising that the two areas of settlement have much in common. In contrast, Pechtl (forthcoming) suggests that in southern Bavaria different communities used either enclosures or extra long houses as forms of monumental architecture, perhaps stressing a more hierarchical structure of LBK relations in this region. In terms of its architectural style, the Paris Basin does stand out from the rest of the LBK. Significantly, the longhouse architecture appears to have fewer degrees of variability in the extreme western end of its distribution than elsewhere in the LBK distribution (Coudart 1998, 95). Perhaps the house replaced the ward as the dominant means of recognising difference in the Paris Basin.

The LBK world was one in which social relations, although framed by the longhouse, were not completely defined by it. The longhouse was certainly an important part of the process of their formation and variability. It was enabling of relationships, as all

architecture is, but in the case of the LBK, what it facilitated was the acknowledgment and mediation of difference. This was not necessarily a creation of status difference nor the separation of natural process from social constructions, but, rather, an increased appreciation that difference between people could be recognised in architectural and material contexts. As difference was frequently accompanied by closeness, it suggests that rather than indicating the division of groups within the community into static and separate cultural factions, this occurred in the immediate day-to-day material context. Consequently, difference was not attributable to identity in the same way it is today (e.g. between the genders, social classes or ages): recognised in the juxtaposition of the inherent qualities of two or more entities, hence of what someone or something has or has not (does or does not, is or is not). Rather it occurred in the means by which social relationships were formed. By this, I mean that in the intrinsic creativity of daily life, difference was a conceptual mediation in the liaisons of relationships, caught up in and forming the network of the ongoing routines which shaped the everyday.

The 'death' of the longhouse: architectural changes in the Neolithic

The previous section discussed the inherent variabilities that surrounded building and living with LBK longhouses. However, despite the moments when the house architecture was manipulated or challenged, the impetus to build remained constant throughout the Paris Basin in the early Neolithic. Furthermore, the practice of building Danubian-style longhouses began to end about the same time across this region, about 4700 cal BC (see Chapter Four). Although this history may have been wide-spread throughout the Paris Basin, it was created on an intimate scale, amongst the formations of social relations and in the contexts of material engagement. In contrast, this trajectory of change is usually characterised as identical throughout the whole of the LBK. The story is one of decline: from the initial homogeneity of the first LBK groups, through to increased regionalisation from the Flomborn phase and then the eventual end of the LBK, which is sometimes—but controversially—characterised as violent (Sommer 2001; Whittle 1996a; Gronenborn 1999; 2007b). The breakdown of previously well adhered to norms of construction and the increased regionalisation in architectural style is regarded as the fragmentation of the LBK social order played out in the violence evidenced at sites such as the Talheim pit (Bentley 2007). However, as both Coudart (1998) and Hofmann (2006a) have

demonstrated, there are continuities between LBK and post-LBK architectures found further east of the Paris Basin, such as the longhouses of the Stichbandkeramik (SBK), Lengyel and Rössen cultures (for summary see Whittle 1996a, 184–95). The mere handful of Cerny (c. 4700–4400 cal BC) houses found in the Paris Basin, therefore, suggests that a distinctive transition took place in this region, and while the construction of longhouses did not die out completely, it clearly reached a critical juncture by the end of the VSG period.

The subsequent Cerny culture is frequently represented as a significant increase in social complexity from the early Neolithic, with the enclosures which characterise this period being regarded as 'territorial markers' (Demoule *et al.* 2007, 57, my translation) and primarily defensive in character (Dubouloz *et al.* 1991). Therefore, the expansion into the higher ground at this time is explained by the pressure created by tensions in social relationships, with groups using the higher ground for its natural fortifications (Demoule *et al.* 2007, 57). These arguments imply that social relationships were transformed during the Cerny period; they became more ordered as social organisation developed from loose affiliations of independent households to structured groups competing for land and resources. This appears to have been borne out in the methods of producing ceramics, which became much more standardised, with the number of different '*chaînes opératoires*' in use decreasing after the end of the VSG (Constantin 2003, 15). Conversely, Cerny ceramic assemblages also demonstrate continuity with the VSG and wider cultural contacts across Neolithic Europe in their styles and decorative schemes (Constantin 1997). Within these models of the Cerny period, the end of the longhouse is hardly problematic at all, as the implied drive for greater social complexity and economic productivity is regarded as explanation enough for these changes. In this section, I will challenge this view of the VSG-Cerny transition and argue that this period marking the end of the longhouse was part of a number of complex social changes, for which it is unlikely that a single explanation can be satisfactorily adopted.

Throughout the RRBP and VSG there are a number of significant changes in the forms in which longhouses were built. The trapezoidal shape, break down in the rigidity of the post layouts and changes at the front of the house (such as the 'Charmoy-style' entrances found at the Seine-Yonne confluence and the 'porches'

found on VSG houses) all develop alongside a tendency towards building longer houses. Together these changes emphasised particular aspects of the longhouse, exaggerating the differentiation of space within the house, but at the same time decreasing one of the most recognisable distinctions between longhouses, that is, their length. In the RRBP there were far more differences in the length of houses, which varied between 7.5 and 35 m. At this time the length of houses also appears to be in some way tied to whether a household is predominantly hunting or herding. The shorter houses (associated with hunting) also appear to lack trenches and multiple rooms in the northwestern section of the house. Thus house length may have been initially used to distinguish between groups sub-dividing the community, but over time the longhouse is no longer used as a forum to create diversity in the settlement. At times this could be further emphasised, as is the case with the two houses at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* which inter-cut (see Chapter five). In other cases during the RRBP such difference is similarly accompanied by closeness, as if the practice of recognising difference was mediated through practices of building architecture rather than part of the implicit construction of identity.

During the VSG house lengths tend to be above 20m (see Appendix 2, 421–2). This does not mean that houses were similar in their internal layouts; if anything, the interior of longhouses became much more diverse at this point and certainly less regularised. Concern with differences in identity and practice amongst the wider community is therefore increasingly turned inwards on to the house. However, it is significant that the overall average length of houses increased between the RRBP and VSG. The growing length of all the houses at one settlement may have signalled increased competition in the status of certain household groups. If longer houses were higher status, requiring more people to build them, then everyone is trying to improve their relative position through constructing larger houses, and longer houses would come to symbolise the networks people could call on to support them. However, the focus on entering (and exiting the house) and the negotiation of different spaces within the longhouse coupled with the fact that differentiation of house length actually decreases lead me to conclude that these modifications of the house style were tied into changing conceptions of building and how architecture formed social relationships. The manipulation of the post layouts remained effective in daily life for negotiating difference, but the external appearance of the house did not. Although the

scales of the household and the settlement remained necessarily entwined, in many ways continuing to form the immediate community, the relationships between settlements, households and longhouses were clearly changing.

In some regions this lengthening of the houses has been regarded as a monumentalisation of the house and household and starts somewhat earlier (before 5000 cal BC and before the LBK reaches the Paris Basin) (Hofmann 2006a; Pyzel forthcoming). Furthermore, Hofmann (2006a) argues that decrease in differentiation between houses through length represents a change in the scales at which difference is expressed. During the LBK, this operates at the level of the settlement and as status or identity differences became convention, that is, part of the habitual movements and routines around the settlement, these concerns were transferred to the settlement as a whole and how it engaged with other sites (Hofmann 2006a). The settlement or community group came to dominate the ways and means of constructing identity. This implies that there was increased recognition of the settlement as a social unity and a new focus of the relationships developed between community groupings, a distinct departure from the common narrative for the decline of community relationships at the end of the LBK. However, Hofmann's (2006a) focus is on the Bavarian sequence where houses continue well into the middle Neolithic, which is markedly different from the Paris Basin.

The longhouse provided a particular perspective on the world and a forum for the negotiation of specific relationships. In the Paris Basin, this 'negotiation' involved particular recognitions of difference and it is the manipulation of the *interior* of the longhouse that increasingly became the focus for this during the VSG. Therefore, the everyday routines outside the house, which involved habitual and repeated movements that led to deposition in the loam pits, would have no longer provided the same degree of recognition of the differences constructed in and by longhouse architecture. The smoothing out of external differences between houses also occurs alongside changes in the temporal and spatial scale of settlements in the Paris Basin. With few exceptions, we see neither the size nor duration of RRBP settlements (e.g. Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes and Bucy-le-Long *La Fosselle*) in the VSG period. Hence settlements are, on the whole, also shorter-lived, with one or two phases, and not as large. This meant that there was not the same build up of community through the

decaying mounds of earlier houses. Significantly, the decaying mounds that were present at settlement sites would have also demonstrated less differentiation in size. Therefore, there seem to be two processes occurring in the final stages of the VSG in the Paris Basin, with two different temporalities: the increased manipulation of interior house space, influencing and exaggerating difference on a daily basis, and less commitment to settlement communities over the generational time-scale.

Interestingly, there may be some suggestions that the layout of the villages also changed at this point and, where the sites are better preserved (such as Gurgy, Yonne and Poses, Lower Seine), a linear arrangement of houses can be inferred (Figure 6.3) (see also Rück forthcoming). Therefore, although we might be seeing the homogenisation of households within the settlement, as the external features of the houses are more similar and there is also less potential for identifying historic differences in houses (and possibly households) in the decayed mounds, the immediate community of the site does not develop the same spatial and temporal depth, as settlements are abandoned quicker. Thus, the layering of different generations or depths of time together at the settlement decreases. There was less scope for the mounds of decaying houses to provide impetus on a daily basis for the re-telling of stories and remembering previous inhabitants. Instead, older houses may have been encountered as people were moving with animals and away from the settlement. Perhaps this distanced the past to a greater degree. Rather than continuous community, its fragmentation across the landscape and hence broader ties between different settlements were present as material reminders. If these 'dead' settlements were encountered in contexts where people were moving to exploit such broader connections, then sites such as these might have been powerful metonyms of the wider-scale social ties which people had.

The architectural changes throughout the VSG were tied into the continued focus on the negotiation of difference, but this begins to occur at different social scales which were framed by changes in how the temporality of the community was experienced. This is particularly the case in the Seine and Yonne valleys, where more immediate expressions of links beyond and outside the household seem to have been appropriate, demonstrated by the pits outside the context of the houses at Gurgy and Marolles-sur-Seine. The VSG period also sees an expansion west into Normandy at this time and

as the procurement routines for lithics and other resources (such as cattle, schist bracelets and shells) continued, this suggests a simultaneous growth in the distance covered by social networks. Contemporary with these changes, the presence of sheep bone decreased in the archaeological record and pig increasingly took its place throughout the VSG (Bedault forthcoming). Why it is that pig should become more popular than sheep is an interesting problem. The husbandry of pigs is often associated with more sedentary and geographically restricted life-styles (sheep require a larger area to feed and pigs are not well suited to long-range transhumance; Rappaport 1967); this species also produces large litters and has a more varied diet than sheep (Bedault forthcoming).

However, pigs and caprines merely switch places in their relative importance, rather than marking a dramatic increase or decrease in their numbers. It therefore seems unlikely that this signals a significant change in the relationships between people and domesticated animals; rather I would argue that practices leading to the breeding of pigs became more frequent, which may have included people remaining longer at the settlements. This may be significant as the frequency of hunted animals consistently drops throughout the VSG (Sidéra 2000). So while movement in the landscape undoubtedly continued, particularly as the percentage of cattle bones in the faunal assemblages is relatively constant throughout the early Neolithic, perhaps we are seeing a narrowing of the forms of movement and possibly even of the numbers of people involved. Although community therefore appears to experience more movement than it had during the RRBP (echoed in less temporal depth at settlements), the previous discussion suggests that this may not have been translated into changes in the wider networks of social alliances. In contrast, it is the number of contexts in which these broader communities were created and renewed that may have decreased (but not weakened).

Therefore, the forums providing the possibility for the negotiation of differences between people and wider groups became more limited. This is perhaps what is signalled in the changes in architecture; it is not that previous RRBP relationships broke down, nor that increased competition led to the breaking up of communities, but rather that social groups chose to focus the performance of community on particular activities and scales. These concerns were continued in the interior of the house,

particularly focused on entering and exiting the house and therefore perhaps formalised and regularised moving from the broader community into the interior of the house (and vice versa). This, taken in conjunction with the possible narrowing of contexts in which more explicit wider community connections could be negotiated, suggests concerns with regularising and structuring how difference was negotiated, whether between households on the level of the settlement or in the sphere of social relationships formed across the landscape and throughout the river valleys.

Therefore, it is not that social relationships were any less fluid or optative,[4] but rather that the performances which mediated them became more formalised and immediate. Therefore, social liaisons were not allowed to build up through the accumulation of material at settlements over subsequent generations but focussed on the immediate creation of that history through specific moments of construction. Perhaps this is also visible in the pits inside houses at Gurgy and Villeneuve-la-Guyard, which allowed for specific moments of deposition and particular configurations of the material remains from specific activities. This is certainly carried forward into the Cerny period, when the rare examples of architecture are found separated from the contexts of deposition. The three Cerny houses at Berry-au-Bac have no accompanying loam pits, while the possible houses at Molinons and Pont-Saint-Maxence have associated pits which do not take the form of loam pits (i.e. they are placed along the longest walls). Deposition was an essential part of the LBK longhouse; it mixed together the remains from one-off activities with those that were more gradual and piecemeal. With alternative contexts for deposition, such as enclosures, providing the opportunity to perform and negotiate relationships at a multitude of scales simultaneously and over a temporally shorter period of time, the practices which accompanied the longhouses were abandoned.

Therefore, while it may have been possible to build a longhouse as it was still a recognisable form of architecture, these occurrences are far less frequent. This is perhaps evidenced by the three Cerny longhouses constructed at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* (see Figure 5.26). These houses appear to reference the earlier RRBP settlement and in one case the Cerny house is deliberately associated with a rare instance of overlapping RRBP houses, which were perhaps still visible as mounds into the Cerny period. This seems to be a deliberate mediation of the past as past,

rather than as the present life of the community. Constructing a longhouse involved a considerable effort, gathering people and materials together. Startin (1978, 155) estimated a house of over 20 m would have taken 2200 man-hours to complete or 20 able-bodied persons working ten hours a day, 22 days. While these estimates are based on a number of assumptions, they do illustrate the commitment undertaken—it may well have taken about a month to build a new longhouse. During the Cerny period, there was perhaps not the space in the daily routine to commit to building longhouses as frequently. However, as the houses at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* demonstrate it remained a possibility and I would therefore argue that it is rather the temporality of the longhouse that there was not space for in routine.

Furthermore, changes can also be seen in the burial records of the VSG and Cerny periods. There are substantial changes in the layout of the body in the ground and the accompanying grave goods. Wild animals and, indeed, animal bones seem to become far more significant in burial contexts during the Cerny period (Sidéra 2000). The deceased frequently displayed pendants and other bone items made from wild animals. At the same time the position of the body in the grave changed from crouched to extended and laid on its back. The significance of these changes is not that crouched or extended positions were symbolic of anything in particular; it is rather that the change from flexed to extended emphasised the increasing elements of display found in the Cerny period. In contrast to in the RRBP and VSG, where it seemed that focus was on the demonstration of particular performances associated with the burial rites, in the Cerny period burial seem to be much more focussed on the display of the deceased's body. Assuming the body was not wrapped in cloth or placed in a coffin (of which there is no evidence), the position of the body in the grave during the Cerny period allowed those watching to view the items displayed on the individual's body. Rather than viewing the context of rite, which would have involved the negotiation of formal routine and tradition, in Cerny burials this viewing took place in the context of looking at a prepared tableau. Perhaps the emphasis of ritual shifted away from being associated with the burial itself and on to the architectures at which internments were made.

It is within this context of burial that the Passy monuments were constructed. They do not belong to the earliest phase of the Cerny period and therefore probably date to

a couple of hundred years later, about 4500 cal BC. However, they still draw on earlier Neolithic use of the landscape. The Passy monuments and the enclosure at the site of Balloy physically reference the VSG settlement. Two monuments are constructed on top of former longhouses and the enclosure ditches cut across the end of two longhouses (see Figure 6.17). Neither of these events seems to have been coincidental and, like the Cerny house constructed over the RRBP house at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir,*[5] each construction would have enforced engagement with the material remains of the past. However, the sites of Passy and Escolives-Sainte-Camille are not associated so directly with former longhouse settlements. It therefore seems as if there was a framework in which the sites and mounds of former longhouses had a powerful presence in the landscape, but it was not always necessary to draw upon them. I do not wish to argue that longhouses represented a particular view of the past during the Cerny period, nor is it likely that they had one meaning. Rather the presence of these mounds probably had multiple and fluid meanings, but the very material-ness of their presence provided the opportunity to negotiate with that past. Hence, the construction of the Cerny houses at Berry-au-Bac and the events at Balloy allowed the Cerny communities a fairly regularised forum in which to encounter their histories (i.e. through funerary architecture and the practice of building enclosures). Both enclosures and Passy monuments allowed for particular events to be drawn and guided by controlled rites and bodily movements.

The Passy monuments seem to have been constructed from c. 4500 cal. BC (Dubouloz 2003; Midgley 2005) and therefore appear to have much in common with the *Trichterbecherkultur* (hereafter TRB) long mound cemeteries found in Denmark and Poland from around the same time (Midgley 2005, 36). These too are often situated near or on top of earlier settlements, but, unlike the Passy and Balloy sites, TRB long mounds, such as those at Sarnowo in Poland, are thought to be raised on occupations of the same culture (Whittle 1996a; Midgley 2005, 84). However, the radiocarbon dating remains limited and the relationship between the post-LBK Lengyel culture and the TRB remains uncertain (Midgley 2005, 119). Therefore it could be cautiously suggested that the gap in time between occupation and mound construction may be significantly shorter in the TRB than the Cerny period. The timber buildings and pre-mound activities evidenced underneath barrows from the Kujavia region of Poland actually suggest that they were created during funerary ceremonies (Midgley 1985;

2005, 98) and it is more likely that occupation may have been an important part of mound construction during the TRB. The distance in time between the VSG occupations at Passy and Balloy and the construction of the monuments is therefore more drawn out.

The longhouses were possibly still visible at these sites and the placing of a number of mounds directly on top of former longhouses at Balloy suggests they were still fairly clear. The building of a Passy monument over a VSG house at Balloy and constructing enclosure ditches over two others illustrates that engaging with the past was clearly significant. As these monuments seem to be built 200 years or so after the end of the VSG (six to eight generations), these mounds were not encountered as a past of the present (i.e. as the future of the houses they were currently living in) but directly as a past (a way of life that was no longer). This distinction is significant because the mounds are no longer a possible future (or 'protention' in Husserl's (1991) terms) for the current way of life and therefore may have been considered to come from a more distanced past. The mounds could, however, have still been recognised as former houses as oral histories could well have been passed down over this time (Bloch 1998, 107, 110). This would have distanced current temporal patterns from the mounds without making them inaccessible to the Cerny communities. In this sense, the construction of Passy monuments may have commemorated this past by creating a context in which it could be materialised and negotiated. This past is considered 'distant' because it is not a past that is possible for the present (in both a practical sense because longhouses are no longer built and a conceptual sense because sites of the past are drawn upon in different ways).

The end of the longhouse is usually considered with reference to the funerary monuments which develop along the Atlantic Façade from after 4500 cal BC. Within the familiar narratives—that have been refashioned many times since Childe's (1949) first suggestion that the longhouse was the inspiration for the long mound—why the longhouse was no longer constructed has caused few, if any, problems in archaeological explanations. I have argued here that longhouse building was not rejected outright, but came to no longer offer a productive perspective on the world as the scales over which life was experienced had been transformed by the differing temporalities of the social networks into which communities were tied. The spheres

in which understandings of time were constructed changed, creating a disjuncture between the everyday routines in the present and the material remains of the past. The scales on which difference was mediated also changed, moving inwards into the house and conversely also away from the house into contexts of deposition that formed over much shorter time-scales. The longhouse as a forum for social relations and mediation of those relationships could not, in its cycles of construction and decay, provide such direct negotiations of community connections. The longhouse thus lost its affectivity as deposition was divorced from the context of the household and enclosures became the forum and focus for mediating difference. There was no longer the impetus to construct longhouses because their temporality could not mesh with the negotiation of everyday routines. The longhouse thereby lost its efficacy as a means into creating community social relations and therefore space for the construction of longhouses could no longer be found in daily life.

Outlook: daily life and architecture in archaeology

One of the key themes to have developed out the previous discussion has been the forms of architecture in which conceptions of difference were mediated. The negotiation of difference is a means of going on in the world rather than necessarily being culturally divisive. All too often when difference is recognised in the archaeological record it is then interpreted in very simplistic ways, frequently forming patterns of opposition or hierarchy. The use of ceramic studies in the Paris Basin is a classic example of this tendency; differences in style and design are taken as representative of difference between groups of people (see Constantin 1985; 1997; Dubouloz 1994), rather than as a forum in which such distinctions as group affiliation could be actualised. Therefore, attention is paid to each new style rather than the social relations and material contexts in which certain styles were developed and the ways in which they helped to produce different temporalities. This is a recognition of the fact that people's discursive place in the world and their possible ways of dwelling are not the same as the medium of our philosophical enquiry into the past. By this, I mean that the archaeologist needs to move from considering variability in the material remains of the past as symptomatic of the structure of particular social arrangements, such as hierarchy or opposition, towards attending to the contexts in which difference was explored and negotiated.

Architecture and difference

In archaeology it is all too often assumed that an idealised version of a social institution, such as the house or household, will tell the archaeologist more than moments of deviation from the norm (Souvatzi 2008a, 17; 2008b). What I am arguing here is that rather than trying to model an idealised and regularised institution such as the household, the archaeologist must attend to the contexts in which such structures are manipulated and played with. As de Certeau (1984, 59) would argue, this is the tactical 'pullulation' of social life.[6] Tactical and creative plays necessarily mean that people act differently, producing and acting on their desires. Following on from this, de Certeau (1984, 200) argues that the difference which this produces, mediates and 'defines every place ... not on the order of a juxtaposition but rather [it] takes the form of imbricated strata'. Hence, difference must be constructed in a context in which that which it differentiates between is made to matter. Architecture, therefore, becomes a point of view, but not 'one that varies with the subject...; it is, to the contrary, the condition in which an eventful subject apprehends a variation ... or [that] something = x' (Deleuze 1993, 21). The object of study here is not to identify the individual subject (or agent) or the material object on their behalf, but rather to explore the loci of experience in which performative action (acts of construction) makes the world meaningful in particular ways.

This can be demonstrated through a concrete example. In Kathleen Stewart's (1996, 88–9) anthropology of old mining communities of west Virginia, she argues that the communities remain in a state of moving towards consciousness. Daily life is therefore full of the search for signs through social acts of speech, which sift through events and remembrances, picking apart their possible meanings (K. Stewart 1996, 88). Of course, these communities live in a particular space in which poverty, geographical location and historical circumstance act on them in ways that are beyond their control, but in telling stories, remembering events and passing judgements on what they might mean a particular way of questioning, of figuring life out, comes about (K. Stewart 1996, 205). For these communities, their social institutions and kinship relationships are not enabling, it is rather the discursive engagement within them that facilitates daily life. The architecture of the longhouse operates similarly for the communities of the early Neolithic in the Paris Basin; it is not what the

longhouse represented, in terms of a historical ancestry or the *Domus* (*sensu* Hodder 1990), but how it en*folded* different scales and constructions of temporality together.

As Barrett (2006, 21) states, we have to accept that 'things were meaningful not because they could be equated to what they might once have represented, but because people knew how to perform their lives in relation to them'. The architectural styles of the longhouse, Passy monuments and enclosures thus not only facilitated different social liaisons, temporalities, agricultural practices and burial rites, but also helped communities to use that difference as a means of performing, debating and ensuring the ongoing of life. 'Our task is to understand these performative (meaningful) strategies, if for no other reason than that it was through these strategies that history was made' (Barrett 2006, 21). This necessarily occurs in the context of everyday life. Deleuze (1994) has explored notions of difference through his philosophy and tied this concept to notions of performativity and its citation of connectivity, by which I take Deleuze to mean the uniting of an actor or agent into their specific conditions of life. However, Deleuze (1993; 1994) also argues that the world (and agent) is constantly in the process of becoming, by which he means, immanent and at the nexus of the flow of life. This means, unlike in phenomenology, where the perceiver is considered as a point from which perspectives on the world are emitted, Deleuze sees 'an eventful world of anonymous gazes, perspectives, [in] which a subject may emerge to occupy, and may crystallise within' (Wylie 2006, 529).

This can be demonstrated in the life of the longhouse; while it continued to offer a place for the formation of social relations and productive material relationships, the space for it to be created and maintained was found in daily life. Over the two hundred or so years of the VSG (between six to eight generations), the temporal scale of the house became difficult to maintain within community cycles of formation and dissipation. The creation of enclosures was facilitating a more immediate situating of community activities together. For example, although the regional styles of ceramics continue, we see a drop in the number of different techniques used to produce pots (Constantin 1997), possibly suggesting that ceramics were no longer being produced on a house by house basis, but as part of group. However, rather than releasing people from older networks perhaps dominated by 'big men' (for instance), the

enclosure allowed difference to mediated repeatedly over a socially shortened period of time hence maintaining the fluidity of social relationships.

The communities of the early and middle Neolithic were therefore confronting difference in their daily lives, but were doing so on scales not encountered in the Mesolithic. However, like Souvatzi (2008b, 156–7) found for Neolithic Greece, there were no rigid hierarchical differences suggesting that the longer or bigger the house, the more dominant or higher status the household. This does not mean, however, that egalitarianism existed throughout the Paris Basin. People were having different experiences and clearly had different skills (in hunting, for example), but the recognition of these differences was by no means fixed. When moments of difference occur they appear to be emphasised within one settlement, but they tend to be one-off extreme variations rather than part of the subtle variations that would have occurred on a daily basis. However, these were not 'events' as once the house was built it seems that they continued to be used and lived in. The enduring nature of the architecture may have inevitably led to its end, as it could no longer provide the temporal scales over which community came to be negotiated.

Daily life and scale in archaeological enquiry

Clearly, therefore, the temporal scales of daily life were significant in the demise of the longhouse. Throughout this thesis daily life has been considered to be the routines and events in which the communities of the RRBP and VSG built longhouses, engaged in different tasks and negotiated difference. This has necessarily involved close and detailed engagement with the contexts of construction and deposition in terms of habitual routine and event. As such I have deliberately not considered the processes of the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, but rather chosen to focus on the practices which created what the archaeologist excavates today. This was in order to appreciate the processes and social relationships in which the longhouse was built and eventually came not to be built. Although it is this everyday engagement which creates meaning within social relations, it is not the specific meaning *per se* but the manner in which meaning is created which matters and forms how the passing of time (Husserl's (1991) 'running-off' of time) is perceived. The consideration of daily life, therefore, is not a choice to attend only to the short-term and immediate context, but to engage with the very necessary constructions of the conditions in which life took

place (Bourdieu 1977; 1990; Giddens 1984; Gosden 1994; Thomas 1996; Ingold 2000; Highmore 2002b). This involves discussing how performance and practice were situated in relation to the materials, architectures and landscapes of the past in order to attend to the particulars of dwelling, in this case, in the early Neolithic of the Paris Basin.

Although at first glance it can seem easy enough, pinning down what daily life is exactly can be difficult (Highmore 2002a). It is at once both the habitual routines that fill our waking hours, which seem to occur without consciousness, and the basis of our learning how to go on in the world (de Certeau 1984; Ingold 1993; 2000). However, if ritual, extraordinary or intermittent events are excluded then very little is left of what they are frequently meant to ensure: the ongoing of life and relationships (Lefebvre 1991). Such a rigid separation of ritual and domestic life is therefore wholly unworkable. The notion of dwelling (as derived from Ingold 1993; 2000) is not largely different from an appreciation of how people live on a day-to-day basis: the process of continual embodied, material engagement in the world. The consideration of daily life adds a temporal dimension to this concept which is desirable for the archaeologist. This is because it not only allows for the exploration of the specifics of dwelling within particular moments in time but also permits the ways in which routine was experienced and practised on a human scale to be illuminated. Furthermore, it focuses the archaeologist's attention onto the performances which produced the data under study.

However, because the emphasis is on considering ways of dwelling that are fully rooted in a material world, this necessarily challenges how the material remains of the past should be considered. No longer is it sufficient to just consider objects and their histories, as this detaches human communities from their embeddedness in the material world. This is because archaeological objects are more than just products of the mental maps people held of their socialities and environment. The materials of the past are not merely a representation of human action; they inspire, compel and restrict human relations, architectures and creativity. Following Gosden (2005, 208) we should ask questions not of what objects represented but of their effects (see Chapter 3). The focus of the archaeologist therefore must instead be on the events and routines in which the materials of the past were produced and caught up. The

challenge of studying everyday life in the past is thus to think beyond the object; to take it up as a way into the possibilities of life in the past, rather than as a record or representation of a particular way of life (Barrett 2001). As Barrett (2001, 142) states, 'this is not a call to 'empathy' ... [r]ather it is to accept the presence of knowledgeable agents within the operation of the social conditions before us'.

In contrast to this approach, the period of change, covered by this thesis, is usually considered in two ways; either the end of the longhouse represents the traumatic decline of a once successful cultural order (Gronenborn 2007b) or the architecture is abandoned because it was replaced by more complex social institutions for which it did not have the necessary sophistication (Demoule *et al.* 2007). It has been argued here that the longhouse was a suite of practices of construction, deposition and communal relations which allowed a creation of daily life in which the household was nested into the different scales of community. Within these nested scales of relationships, the household was gradually created out of repeated depositions, with history emerging out of the accumulation of habitual routine unfolding as material remains gathered by houses and the wooden structure of the building decayed. It is the mediation of these scales (of community and of social relationships), rather than their temporal adherence (whether we can attribute them to the long-, middle- or short-term), that led to the end of the longhouse. Community differences and relationships needed more temporally immediate contexts in order to make connections between people, materials and animals, an engagement in the world that the architecture of the longhouse could not provide.

This is not, however, to completely reject the consideration of long-term change, such as the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, which appears to have occurred on scales not easily reconcilable with the everyday. Although the materials of archaeological study are produced in specific short-lived events, they are also a continual engagement between the present, memory and the ways in which time's 'running-off' is perceived. As Robb (2007, 286) argues, the explanation of change is always retrospective, involving both the recognition of what changed and the reasons behind it. Hence, the definition of the time-scale over which a particular change has occurred is implicit in considerations of historical trajectories of certain societies. Robb (2007, 294) considers the most useful scale to be in the order of a few centuries; a period in which

'innovation and tradition' are unlikely to be separate. By this, I think Robb (2007) is trying to get at the scale where change occurs in the manner in which a particular society dwells. Hence, the character of the change itself becomes informative of the interplay of community, architectures, landscapes, animals, materials and so on. This does not mean, however, that there will be a single cause or effect, but rather multitudes of interlocking scales mediated and confronted in daily life. This is to do more than merely appeal for a 'bottom-up' approach; it is to adhere to the production of history. Hence, daily life is not a move away from long-term change but rather a reconfiguration of how archaeology negotiates the different scales of analysis.

I began Chapter two by stating that archaeology, like no other field, lends itself to debates about scale. I have argued here that rather than debating at which scale archaeology would find its most illuminating narratives, our attention should fall on exploring the scales which past communities were themselves created, debated and manipulated, whether this be expressed materially, temporally or geographically. First and foremost it is in our relationships with the world that life finds its specificity and also instils in the agent the very impetus for action and for ensuring that life continues. It is in this constant communication with the world that people seek to negotiate what it means to live well and the aesthetics through which community is formed (Whittle 2005, 64–5). An archaeology which attends not to mapping totalised social institutions, but the means by which daily life in the past was choreographed, and hence the means of enabling and perceiving performance and debate, will necessarily find scale, and its mediation, the object of enquiry.

[1] This example is based on personal observation. While there is an obligation to say that you did sleep well or have a good day, the tone and intonation can tell a very different story. Similarly 'fine' can equally be played with to express joy, surprise, annoyance, frustration, flirtation etc... People are virtually never ignored.

[2] However, the excavators argue that the lack of refitting objects from the loam pits of different houses is a result of the different phases of settlement at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes, which they see as exclusive (Ilett *et al.* 1986, 36).

[3] Of course, setting the scales of social interaction at three levels (the person, the household and the settlement) reproduces shades of a Westernised notion of the individual as a bounded whole (Fowler 2004). However, the stress here is on the liaisons between the different scales, which are rather more difficult to depict.

[4] By 'optative' I do not mean merely open to choice, but rather appearing to be such.

[5] However, unlike the Passy monuments at Balloy, the Cerny house at Berry-au-Bac *Le Vieux Tordoir* does not follow the same alignment as the house it intersects with. See chapter five.

[6] Pullulation, in this context, means the germination of social relationships through the tactical mediation of the contexts in which socialities were formed, i.e. the household providing a means through which people could live because its presence necessitates and inspires other actions.

Appendix One: Site Gazetteer

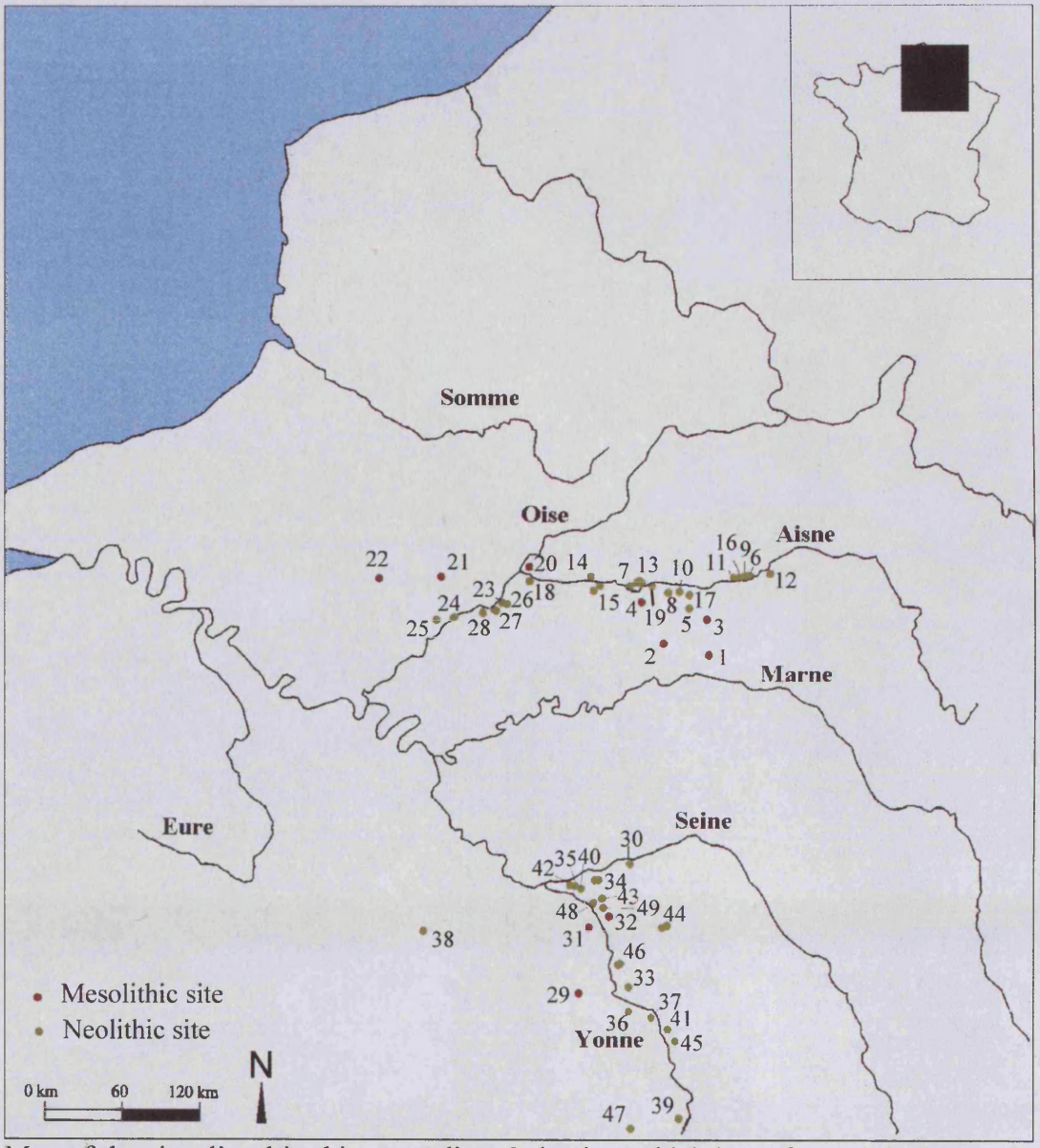
Introduction

This gazetteer is intended to represent the most significant sites and those mentioned in the text from the regions under study in the two case studies. It is therefore primarily divided into three sections:

a) The Aisne Valley
b) The Oise Valley
c) The Seine-Yonne confluence

Where appropriate references and radiocarbon dates are included along with a brief description of the site itself, any significant finds and any figures it may appear in from the main text of the thesis. Radiocarbon dates that I have converted to cal BC through the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit online calibration service are italicised (Internet ref. 3). The dates converted using this method are quoted to two standard deviations (95.4%). Where available the material used for obtaining the radiocarbon date is also given. A plan of the site has also been included where available. Unfortunately the quality of the plans varies due to the partial nature in which some sites have been published. The source of the plan is referenced below the figure.

The sites included date from the Mesolithic to the middle Neolithic periods of the Chasséen and Michelsberg, and the gazetteer is arranged chronologically by the Mesolithic and Neolithic. The Neolithic sites are not subdivided further as many sites date to more than one of the sub-periods. Within the chronological periods the sites are arranged alphabetically. The map below shows the location of the sites described in the appendix, the numbers refer to the order in which the sites are listed.



Map of the sites listed in this appendix. Only sites which have formed the basis of the case studies have been depicted. After Pernaud *et al.* 2004.

The Aisne Valley

Mesolithic

1) Allée Tortue *Fère-en-Tardenois*
Date: mid–late Mesolithic
References: Parent 1967; Thévenin 1996; C. Rozoy and J.-G. Rozoy 2000; Verjux 2003.

Description: The site of *l'Allée Tortue* was found on a narrow band of Tertiary Bartonian sand, near an area that would have been marshy during the Mesolithic, and consists of ten dense concentrations of lithic debris. The chronology of the site has only been roughly estimated from the lithic assemblage. An initial period of use was followed a 1000 year period of abandonment, apparently caused by the marsh drying up. The site is then reused when the marsh returned. The second phase of use is thought to continue until the introduction of the Rubané into the region.

2) Coincy *Le Sablonnière*
Date: middle Mesolithic
(Gif 1107) 4769 ± 140 BP, *3938–3104 cal. BC* (Charcoal)
(Gif 1266) 8190 ± 190 BP, *7578–6686 cal. BC* (Charcoal)
References: Gob 1990, 112; Verjux 2003.

Description: This site was first discovered in 1885 and consisted of ten hearths and knapping areas over 40m². The occupation seems to be over successive phases rather than continuous.

3) Montbani
Date: mid-late Mesolithic
(Gif 1106) 6930 ± 170 BP, *6205–5530 cal. BC* (Charcoal)
(Gif 355) 7280 ± 350 BP, *7031–5559 cal. BC* (Charcoal)
(Gif 356) 8060 ± 350 BP, *7938–6235 cal. BC* (Charcoal)
References: Parent 1967; Gob 1990, 110; C. Rozoy and J.-G. Rozoy 2001; Verjux 2003.

Description: Thought to date to the middle Mesolithic from the lithic assemblage, this site consists of 22 hearths, created by repeated visits to the site rather than continuous occupation.

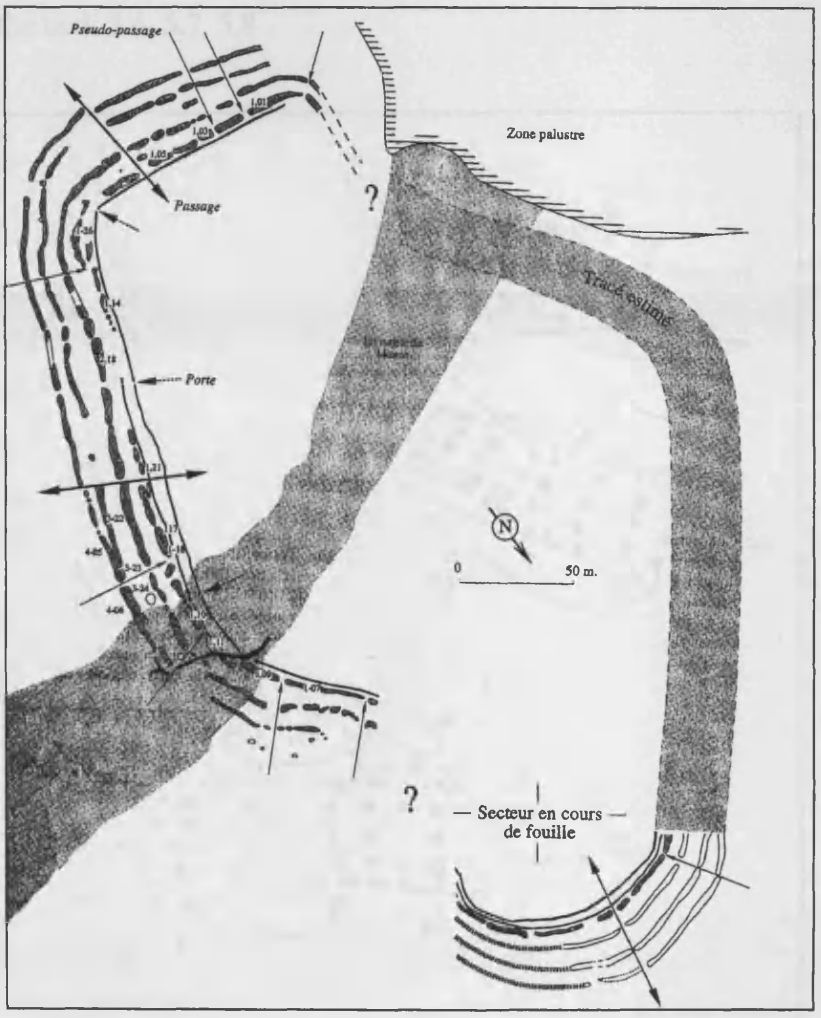
4) Noyant-et-Aconin *Derrière le Colombier*
Date: unknown
References: Féray 1998.

Description: An excavation was carried out in 1998 and found evidence of Mesolithic occupation. The finds consisted of two nuclei, the first for producing blades on black secondary flint and the second, for producing flakes on tertiary flint. This find was interesting as it demonstrated the variety of flint types and source locations being used during the Mesolithic period.

Neolithic

5) Bazoches-sur-Vesle *Le Bois de Muisemont*
Date: Michelsberg
References: Hachem 1987; Constantin and Dubouloz 1987; Dubouloz and Plateaux 1985; Dubouloz *et al.* 1986; Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Robert and Chartier 1992; Dubouloz and Auxiette 1994; Demoule *et al.* 2007.

Description: This enclosure site is situated on the river Vesle, which is a tributary of the Aisne River. Between one half and three-quarters of the enclosure had been preserved. The four interrupted ditches surrounded a possible double. The site is close to a known source of tertiary flint. The archaeological remains were found in the extremities of the ditches, close to the 'entrances'. Internal structures are almost certainly absent at the enclosure. The ditches show different phases of silting, but the excavators do not say whether they include phases of recutting.



Bazoches-sur-Vesle *Le Bois de Muisemont*. Dubouloz *et al.* (1997, 128).

6) Berry-au-Bac

The village of Berry-au-Bac is situated at the eastern extent of the distribution of RRBP and VSG settlements along the Aisne valley and consists of three different areas of Neolithic occupation.

Le Chemin de la Pêcherie

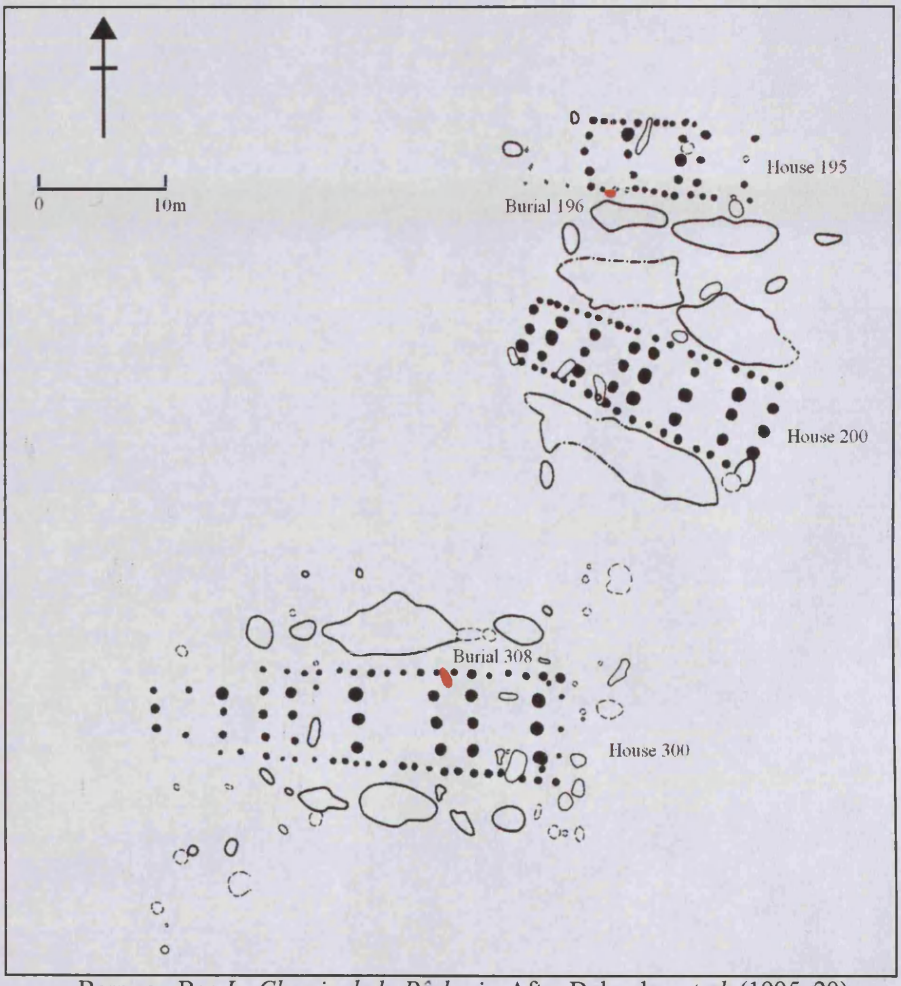
Date: RRBP

(Oxa 6686) 6080 ± 45 BP, 5045–4858 cal. BC (hazelnut)

References: Dubouloz and Plateaux 1983; Ilett and Plateaux 1995; Coudart 1998; Dubouloz 2003

Description: Excavated between 1978 and 1984, *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie* consists of three RRBP houses (195, 205 and 300) and their loam pits. Each house is aligned between east-west and northwest-southeast, though house 200 is 20° further towards NW-SE than the others. Two burials were discovered, both directly associated with a house: 196 with house 195, 308 with house 300. The radiocarbon date comes from the northern loam pit of house 200 (pit 201).

Figures from the text: 5.6, 5.7, 5.8



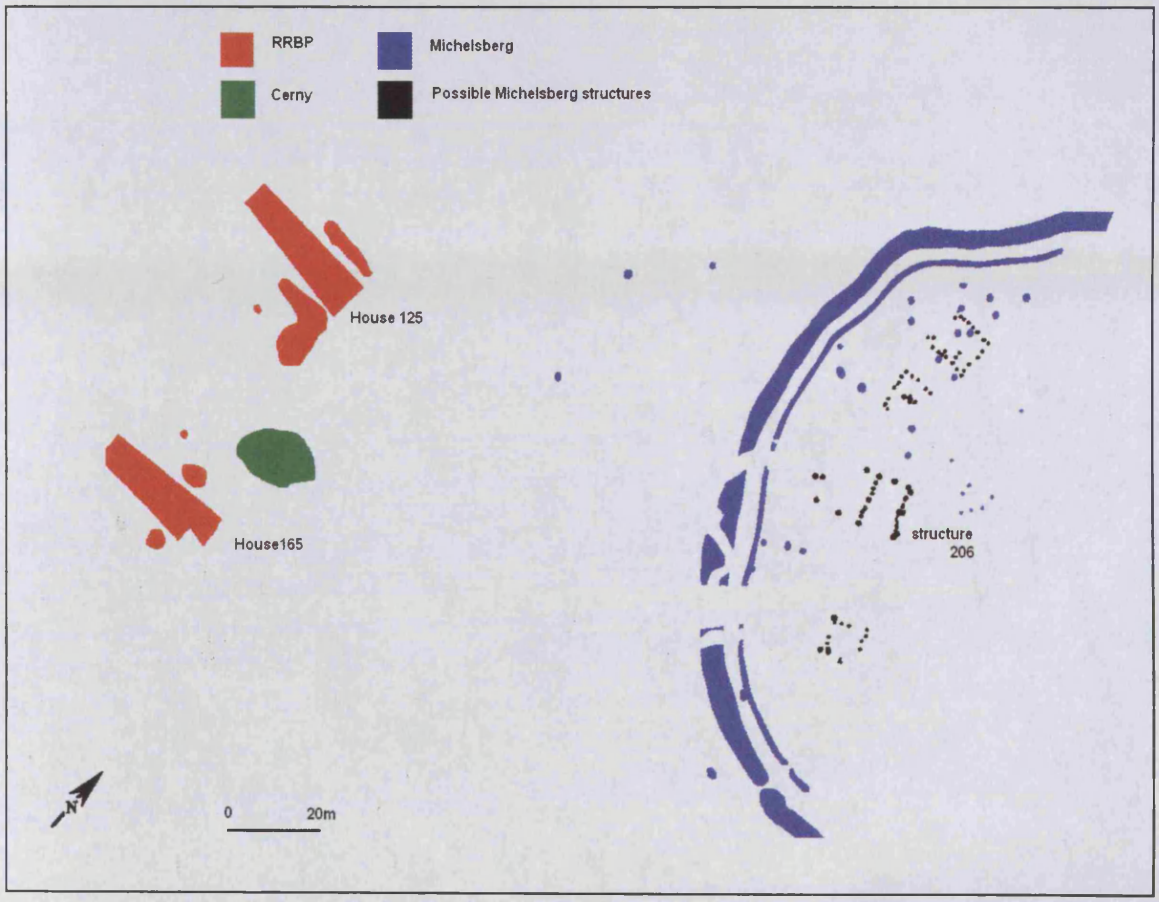
Berry-au-Bac *Le Chemin de la Pêcherie*. After Dubouloz *et al.* (1995, 29).

Le Croix-Maigret
Date: RRBP and Michelsberg
(Ly 2327) 6030 ± 130 BP, 5199–4732 cal. BC (bone)
References: Lasserre and Dubouloz 1981; Cottiaux and Robert 1987; Dubouloz 1991; Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Coudart 1998.

Description: The site of le Croix-Maigret is situated west of the village of Berry-au-Bac. The site consists of two large Rubané longhouses (125 and 165) and a further possible house. A child burial was found in the southern loam pit of house 165 and another inhumation (345) was found north of house 125. The bone used for radiocarbon dating came from the loam pit (124) of house 125.

The Michelsberg site consists of an enclosure with original dimensions estimated to be 130 m diameter, enclosing 8000m^2. Three possible house plans were visible in the interior. A possible Michelsberg house (206), c. 20 m long and rectangular, oriented E-W and truncated at the eastern end by a First World War trench.

Figures from the text: 5.28



Berry-au-Bac *Le Croix-Maigret*. After Dubouloz *et al.* (1991, 422).

Le Vieux Tordoir
Date: RRBP, Cerny and Michelsberg
References: Auxiette and Robert 1986; Cottiaux and Robert 1987; Allard *et al.* 1995; Hachem and Robert 1995; Dubouloz *et al.* 1996; Dubouloz *et al.* 2000.

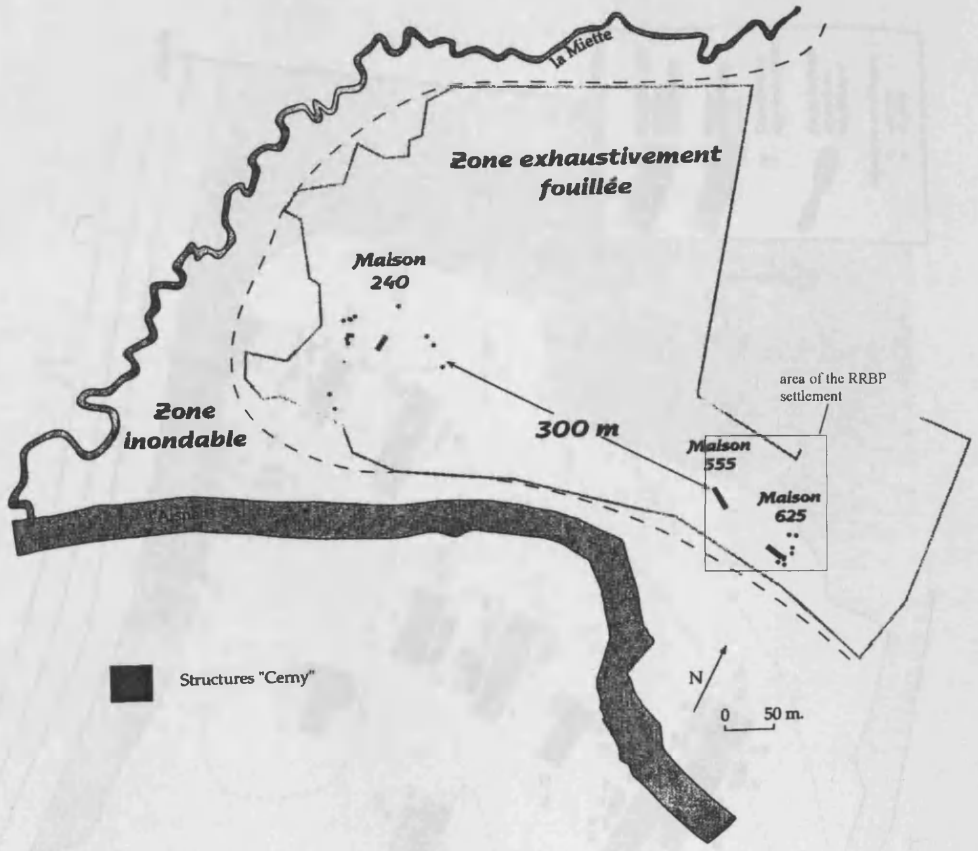
Description: This site was primarily excavated in both 1988–1989 and 1995. The site comprised of possible eight houses from the RRBP period of which only five (370, 580, 590, 620, 630) have been well conserved. The houses have various alignments ranging from southwest-northeast to northwest-southeast. Five inhumations, including a double burial, were found. Four are situated northeast of house 590 and the fifth is southwest of house 630. A small pit (about 0.3 m in diameter) was found during an excavation in 1986, and contained a sherd of Limburg pottery.

Three possible Cerny houses were also excavated at this site, though their dating remains debated (Dubouloz *et al.* 2000). All the houses are thought to have an 'ante' or porch like structure at the southern/eastern end of the house. House 625 was built across half of RRBP house 620 and is oriented NE-SW (opposed to House 620's alignment SW-NE). House 240 is found in among ten pits, usually ovide and between 0.9 m/0.9 m and 2.1 m/1.1 m. The pits were dated by the presence of Cerny decorations on the ceramics and the presence of lithics.

An oval pit was found with the neck of a large bottle of the style found in Michelsburg features at Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes. The building found at the site is possibly a Michelsberg house, but it was attributed to the Bronze Age by the excavators.

Figures from the text: 5.2, 5.16, 5.19, 5.26

This map illustrates the RRBP settlement at Berry-au-Bac *le Vieux Tordoir*. After Allard *et al.* (1995, 48–9).



This map illustrates the location of the Cerny houses. The larger river is the Aisne. After Dubouloz *et al.* (2000, 69).

7) Bucy-le-Long

The sites of Bucy-le-Long and Missy-sur-Aisne make up four Rubané and VSG villages, situated within the bend of the River Aisne.

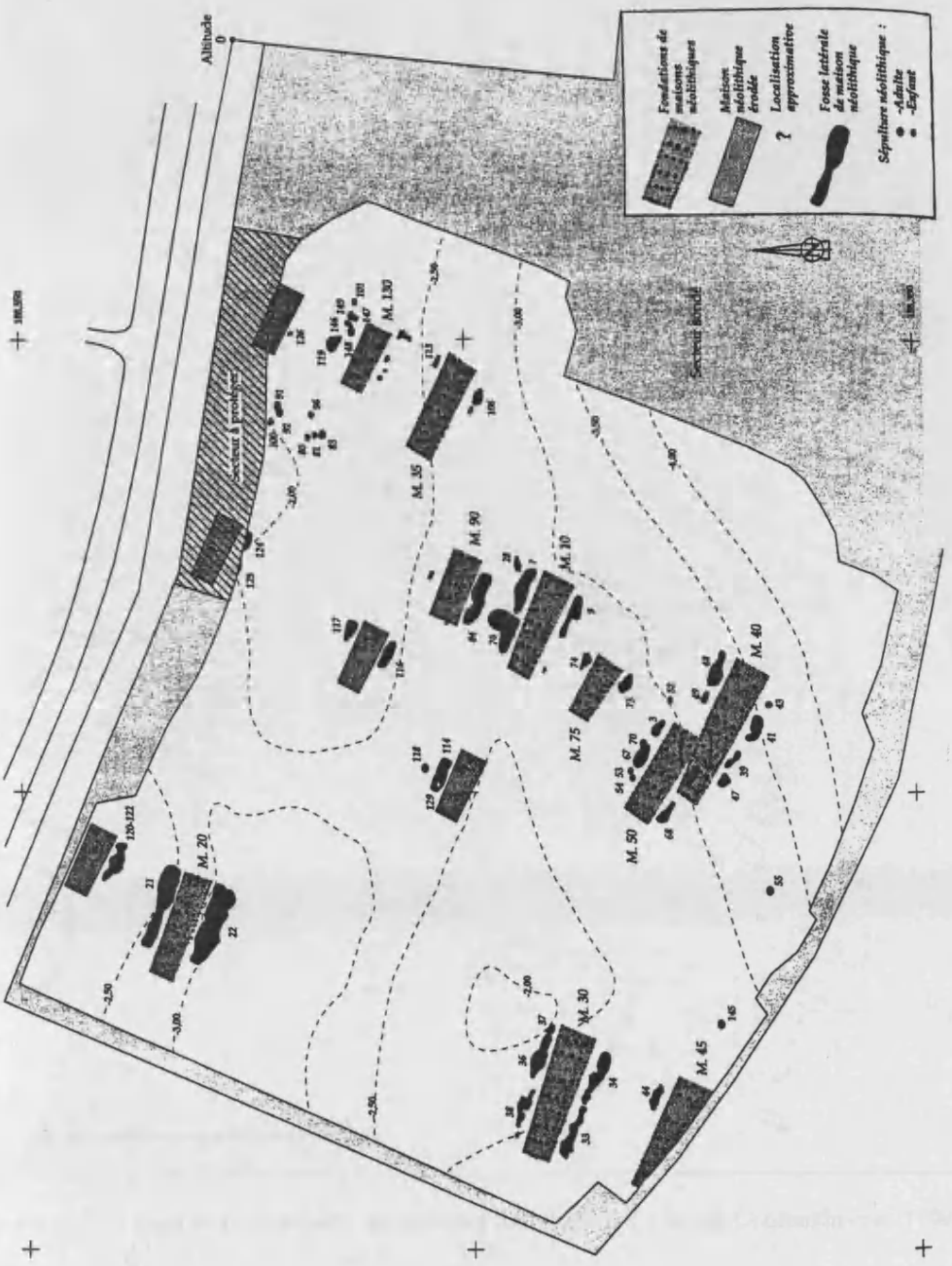
La Fosselle

Date: RRBP and VSG

References: Henon 1996; Hachem *et al.* 1998a.

Description: Discovered in 1996, the site was excavated in 1997. The site is situated on a narrow terrace above the flood plain, practically opposite the site of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. Ten definite houses were found, though a further possible five were identified during excavation that may have eroded since. House '20' is regarded as transitional, mixing together both elements of RRBP and VSG. Ten adult and eight child burials were discovered dating to the RRBP. Three adult burials and four child burials are found in a small group towards the northern extent of the settlement. Two adults and one child are associated with house 130, one adult and three children with house 50. The other adult burials are isolated and away from individual houses.

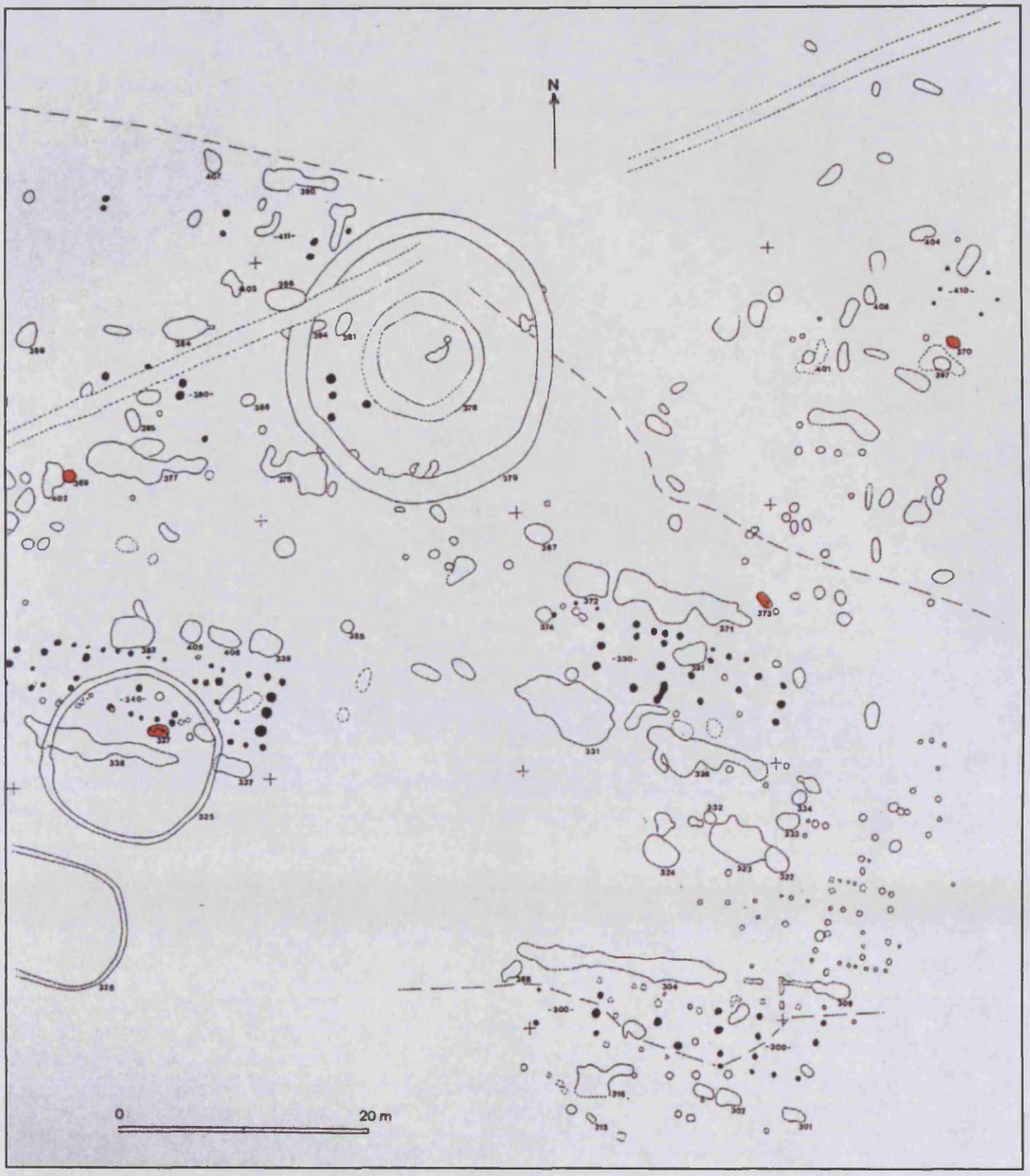
Figures from the text: 4.6, 5.5, 5.22, 5.25



Bucy-le-Long *La Fosselle*. Hachem *et al.* (1998a, 24).

La Fond du Petit Marais
Date: VSG
References: Constantin *et al.* 1992; Constantin *et al.* 1995

Description: Excavated between 1991 and 1994, the site of Bucy-le-Long *La Fond du Petit Marais* had six VSG longhouses. The site is situated directly west of *Le Grand Marais*, and the sole VSG house discovered at this site is probably contemporary to the six found at La Fond de Petit. Four burials were found associated with the settlement; three were older women between the ages of 50 and 60. The fourth was also a woman, but was probably about 20 years old when she died.



Bucy-le-Long *La Fond du Petit Marais*, red indicates the position of a burial. Constantin *et al.* (1992, 24).

La Fosse Tounise

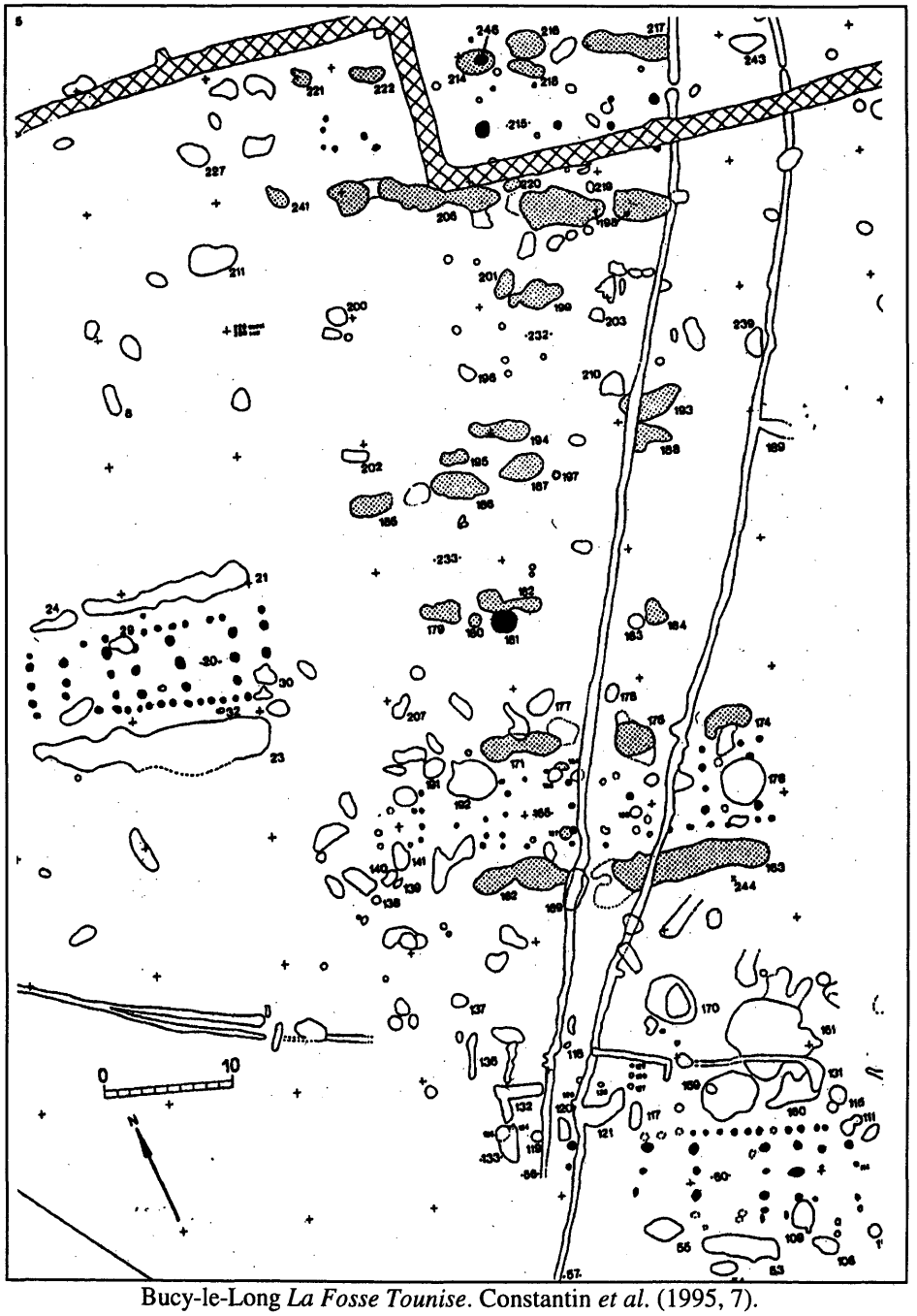
Date: RRBP and VSG

(GIF A97057) 5900 ± 90 BP, 4905–4622 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 6773) 5575 ± 75 BP, 4488–4348 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 6478) 5870 ± 105 BP, 4846–4593 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 6479) 5835 ± 85 BP, 4781–4557 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 6595) 6185 ± 65 BP, 5254–5048 cal. BC (bone)
(Orstom 1094) 6110 ± 60 BP, 5202–4938 cal. BC (bone)
(Oxa 6643) 6030 ± 55 BP, 4990–4809 cal. BC (cereal)

References: Constantin *et al.* 1995.

Description: The excavation of *La Fosse Tounise* showed evidence for eleven Rubané houses, apparently associated with a further four VSG longhouses. The VSG houses were found on the southeastern edge of a Rubané village. Two houses (232 and 233) are only known from their loam pits. Despite being on the same soils as the RRBP houses, all four VSG houses are less well preserved. A number of isolated pits attributable to the VSG were also found. A burial of a young adult male was found associated with the loam pit of house 233 and another burial of a neonate was found in the loam pit of house 215.

The site is also enclosed and partially cut but a large palisaded Michelsburg (or Chasséen) enclosure.



Bucy-le-Long *La Fosse Tounise*. Constantin *et al.* (1995, 7).

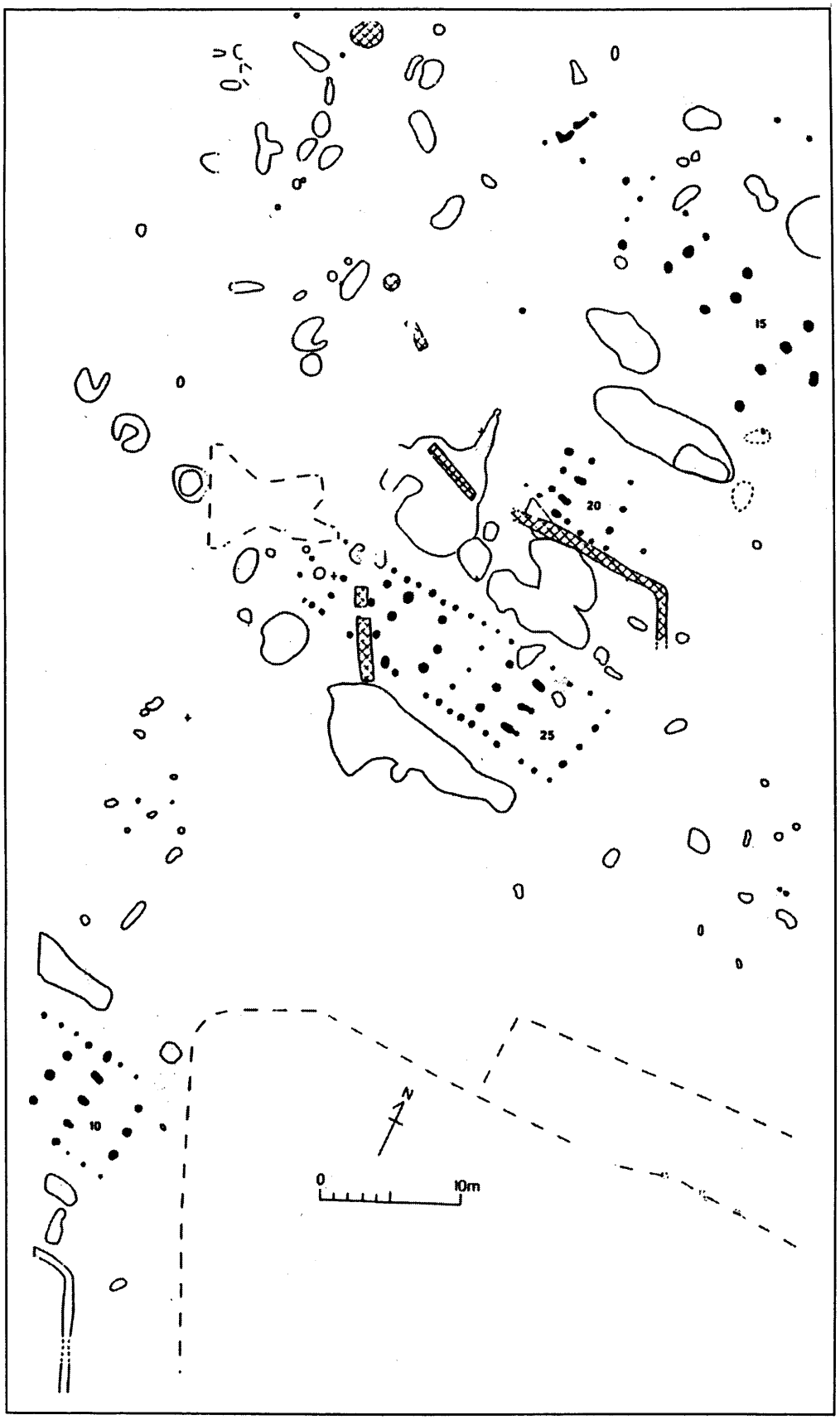
La Héronnière
Date: RRBP and Michelsberg
(Oxa 6642) 6250 ± 55 BP, 5300–5082 cal. BC (cereals)
(Orstom 1082) 5780 ± 70 BP, 4707–4549 cal. BC (bone)
References: Auxiette *et al.* 1994.

Description: The site is situated directly west of La Fosse Tounise and consists of five Rubané houses and a child inhumation.

Two semi-circular concentric ditches were discovered at the site. In 1994 two isolated pits were found containing pottery associated with the Michelsburg period.

8) Chassemy *Le Grand Horle*
Date: RRBP
References: Farruggia and le Bolloch 1984; le Bolloch *et al.* 1986; Perrin 1986; Auxiette *et al.* 1987; Coudart 1998.

Description: Situated by the confluence of the Aisne and Vesle rivers, the site of Chassemy *le Grand Horle* was known about from 1970 but was not completely excavated until 1985–87. The site consists of ten Rubané houses. The houses 10, 15, 20 and 25 share very similar alignments and form a line running N-S on the northwestern extent of the settlement. Houses 40, 50, 70, 75, 80 and 90 form another group to the southeast. One inhumation has been found. Perrin's (1986) analysis of the ceramic styles suggests that Chassemy dates to the very end of the RRBP.



Chassemy *Le Grand Horle*. Le Bolloch *et al.* (1986, 51).

9) Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes *Les Fontinettes*
Date: RRBP

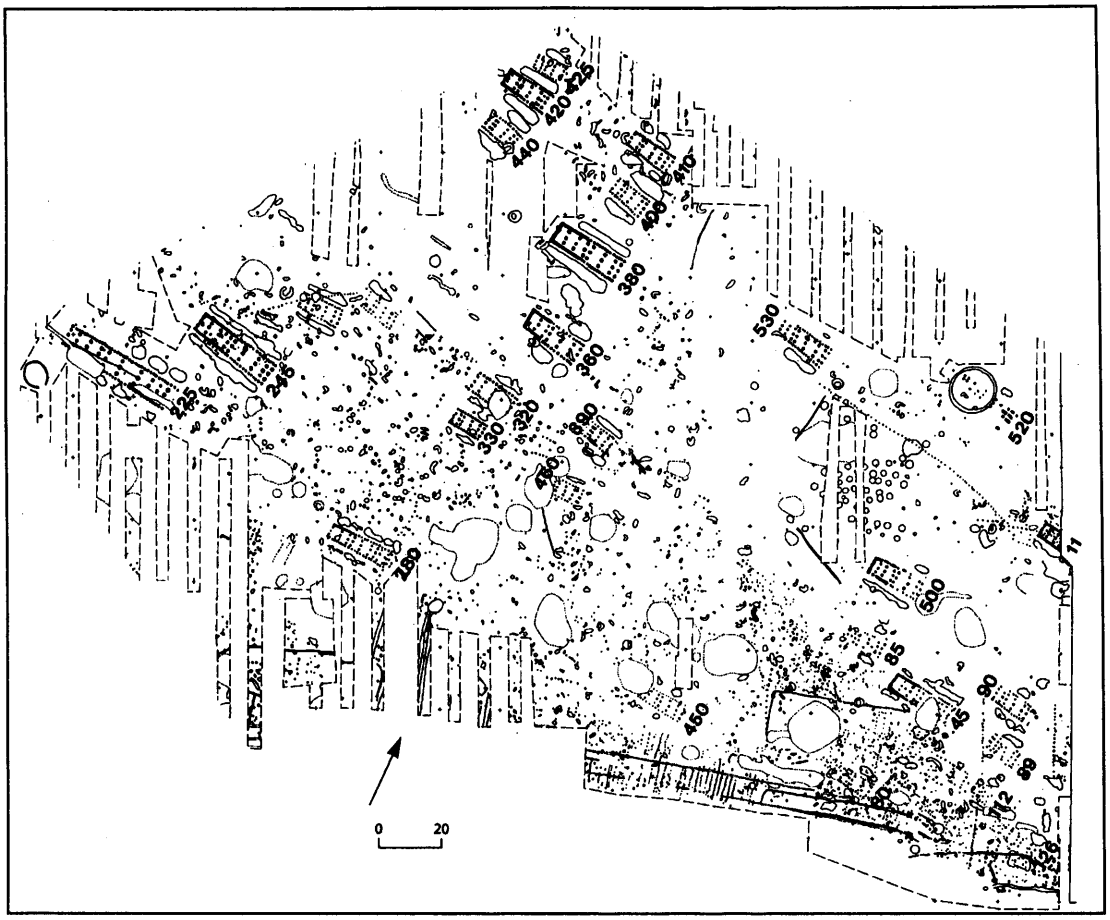
(Ly 1736) 6450 ± 160 BP, 5610–5262 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 1737) 6220 ± 230 BP, 5411–4856 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2331) 6000 ± 120 BP, 5039–4727 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2333) 5980 ± 110 BP, 4994–4720 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2321) 5960 ± 170 BP, 5187–4617 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2336) 5960 ± 150 BP, 5047–4621 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 1829) 5930 ± 190 BP, 5036–4555 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2330) 5910 ± 130 BP, 4939–4612 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 1827) 5880 ± 300 BP, 5205–4375 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2551) 5870 ± 175 BP, 4936–4527 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2335) 5840 ± 140 BP, 4845–4527 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2332) 5800 ± 170 BP, 4840–4458 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2552) 5730 ± 170 BP, 4773–4367 cal. BC (bone)

References: Ilett *et al.* 1980; Ilett and Demoule 1981; Ilett and Coudart 1982; 1984; 1985; Coudart and Ilett 1986; Ilett and Hachem 1987; Chartier *et al.* 1994; Coudart 1998;

Description: Excavated during the summers between 1972 and 1994, Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes is perhaps the most famous and well preserved of the Danubian related sites in the Paris Basin. It is also the largest, consisting of over 30 houses (33 of good enough preservation to be phased) built over five phases with approximately six houses per phase. The five burials found at the site are all children, not including the fragmentary remains found in the loam pits during phases three and five.

A few pits with Michelsberg pottery were found. A number of palisades (or lines of postholes) were found. Near the Rubané house 570, a palisade consisting of 13, possibly 14, postholes each spaced by a metre was excavated. The line is oriented SW-NE. Another line of postholes, oriented E-W, ran for 72 m from house 530 eastwards. Ceramic from one of the postholes confirmed it was a Michelsberg feature.

Figures from the text: 5.4, 5.9, 5.10, 5.12, 5.13, 5.15, 5.17, 5.18a-e, 5.21, 5.24



Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes *Les Fontinettes*. Coudart (1998, 130).

10) Cys-la-Commune
Date: RRBP
References: Boureux and Coudart 1978; Jeunesse 1997b; Coudart 1998

Description: Two RRBP longhouses were found, though there preservation was fairly small. An isolated adult burial was also found. For figures of the houses see Appendix 2.

11) Maizy-sur-Aisne
Date: RRBP
References: Le Bolloch *et al.* 1986.

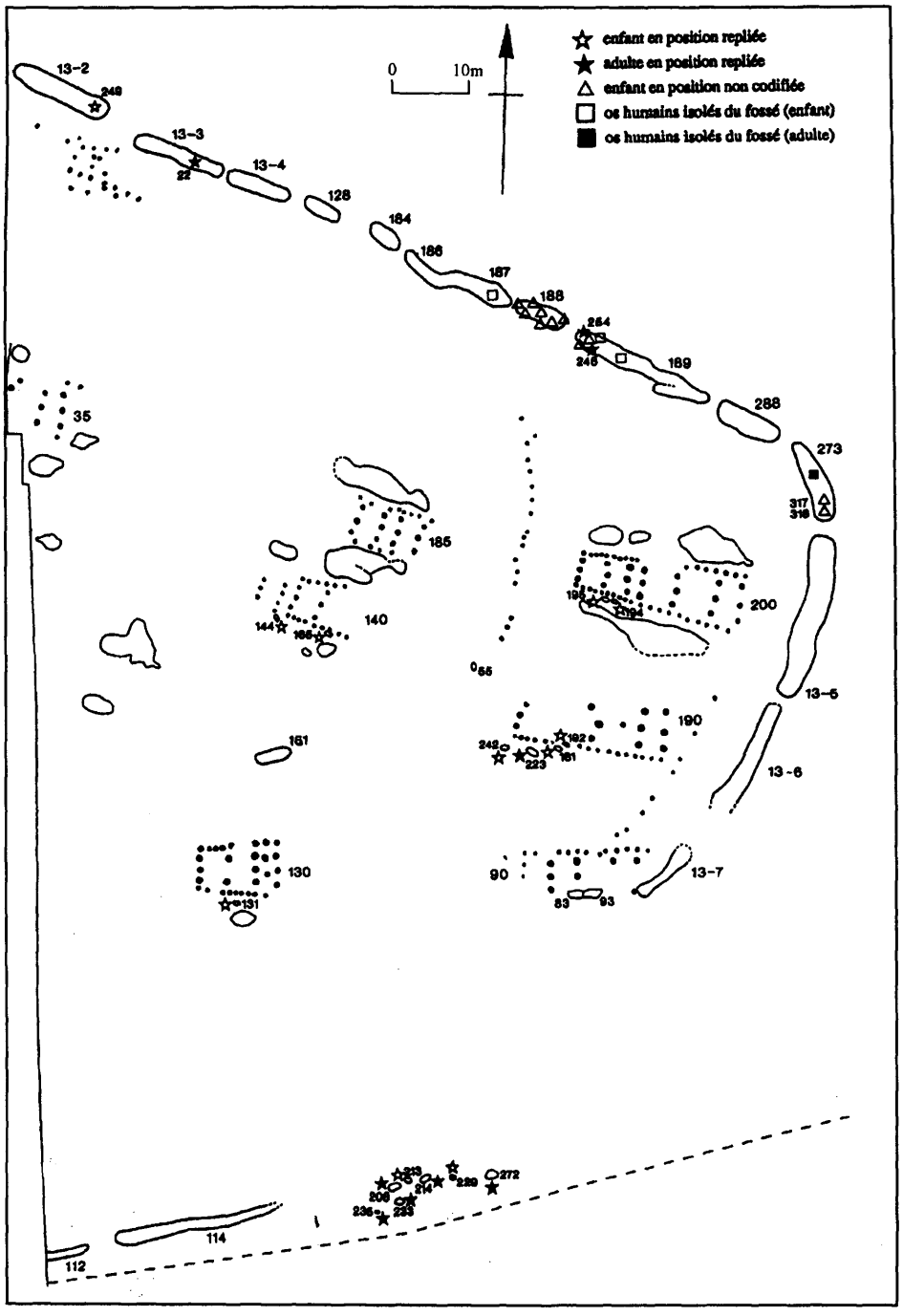
Description: Excavated in 1983, after a preliminary investigation in 1982, the sites consist of an enclosure, thought to date to the end of the 5th Millennium cal BC. Three isolated Rubané burials were found, with no traces of settlement.

12) Menneville *Derrière le Village*
Date: RRBP
(Ly 1735) 6200 ± 190 BP, 5336–4857 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 1734) 6140 ± 190 BP, 5301–4809 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 2324) 6110 ± 140 BP, 5229–4813 cal. BC (bone)
(Oxa 6644) 6040 ± 55 BP, 4997–4811 cal. BC (cereal + pea)
(Ly 2322) 6030 ± 130 BP, 5199–4732 cal. BC (bone)

(Oxa 6646) 6025 ± 55 BP, 4987–4808 cal. BC (hazelnut)
(Oxa 6645) 5985 ± 55 BP, 4937–4796 cal. BC (cereal + hazelnut)
(Ly 2323) 5860 ± 190 BP, 4935–4497 cal. BC (bone)
References: Farruggia *et al.* 1996; Hachem *et al.* 1998b.

Description: The eastern extent of the Menneville Rubané enclosure was excavated between 1977 and 1990. A single line of interrupted ditches encloses eight Rubané houses (10, 35, 90, 130, 140, 185, 190 and 200). Two lines of postholes were found inside the enclosure, suggesting possible fence lines. At least 20% of the ditch has been excavated and both inhumations and fragment human bone was found. The houses share similar alignments ranging from E–W to NE–SW and a number of burials were found close to or associated with the houses. A possible cemetery of seven burials was found to the southeast of the enclosure and may possibly have been outside the interrupted ditches. In total 22 adults and eleven children are buried at Menneville.

Figures from the text: 5.23

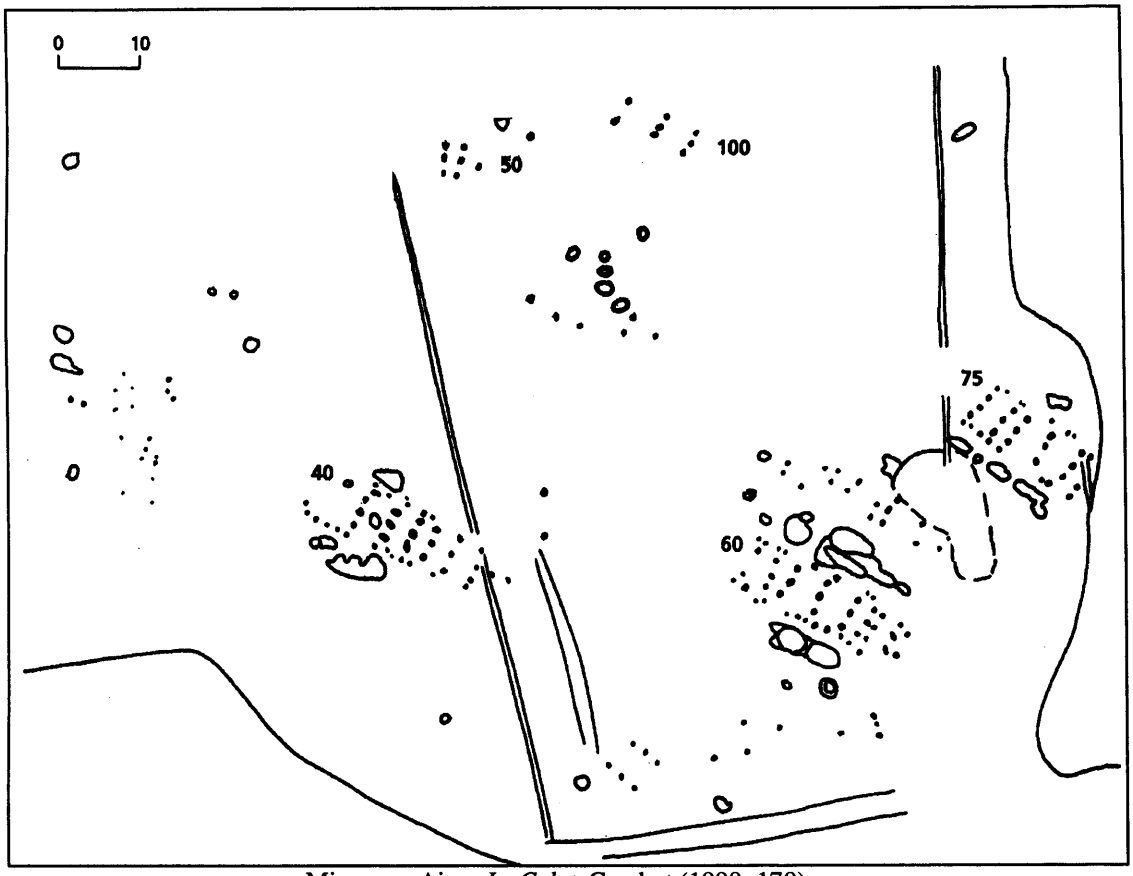


Menneville *Derrière le Village*. Farruggia *et al.* (1996, 121).

13) Missy-sur-Aisne *Le Culot*
Date: RRBP and Michelsberg
References: Brun and Firmin 1982; Farruggia and Constantin 1984; Demoule and Pion 1985; Dubouloz *et al.* 1991; Coudart 1998.

Description: Excavated between 1977 and 1985, Missy-sur-Aisne has four Rubané longhouses and at least one inhumation. One house had a rare example of finds in the fills of the postholes, including a fragment of quern stone and a piece of human skull. The quern stone was in the southern-most posthole of the first post-row (to the east) and the piece of skull was found in the northern-most posthole of a middle post-row (the forth from the east).

An enclosure belonging to the Michelsberg period was discovered by air photography, and excavated partially in 1978 and 1986–87.



Missy-sur-Aisne *Le Culot*. Coudart (1998, 170).

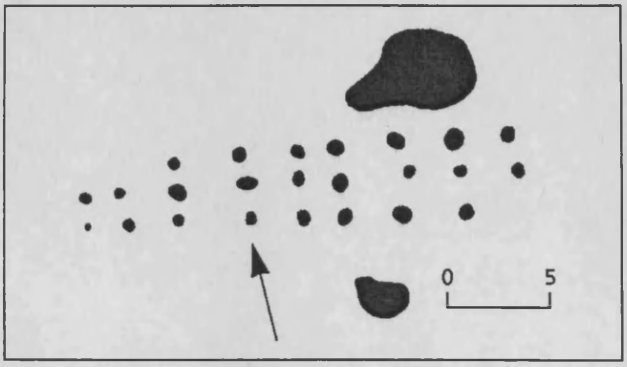
14) Osly-Courtil *La Terre-Saint-Mard*
Date: Michelsberg
References: Dubouloz 1998b.

Description: The ceramic and lithic assemblages suggest that this palisaded, ditched enclosure site dates to after the beginning of the Michelsburg. The internal structures consist of six 'fours' and one possible house. The house is known from about 20 large postholes (up to a 1 m deep).

15) Pernant *Le Roc Pottier*
Date: RRBP and Michelsberg
References: Lasserre 1982; Coudart 1998.

Description: A house from the end of the RRBP period was found, largely in the RRBP style.

This site also produced evidence of a possible enclosure, with a palisade. The excavator is unsure of the size but the ceramics and lithics suggest a Michelsberg date.

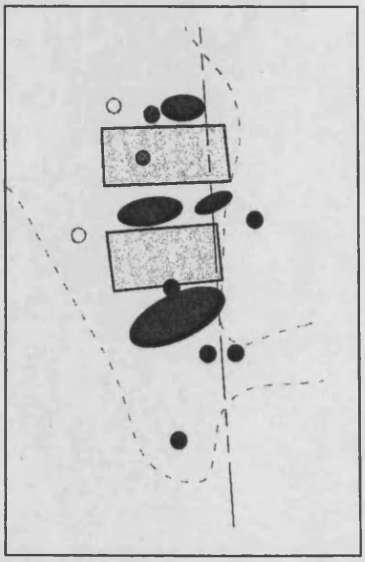


The isolated house from Pernant *Le Roc Pottier*. After Coudart (1998, 175).

16) Pontavert *Le Port-aux-Marbres*
Date: RRBP, VSG and Michelsberg
References: Allard *et al.* 1994; Hachem 1995b.

Description: Excavated in a series of different projects between 1989 and 1995, the Rubané site at Pontavert is situated between Cuiry-lès-Chaudardes and Berry-au-Bac. Two longhouses were discovered during the excavations and an inhumation. The archaeology was partly destroyed during the First World War. During stripping two VSG schist bracelets and a schist plaque were found in unstratified contexts. No VSG structures were found.

Evidence was also found of two sections of a possible palisade belonging to the Michelsburg period. The northern of two trenches (38) was oriented E-W and was 18m long. The southern trench (39), slightly to the southeast of 38, was oriented roughly N-S, and was 10 m long, though was truncated by the edge of excavation at its southern extent. Both trenches had traces of post-pipes.



Pontavert *Le Port-aux-Marbres*. After Hachem (1995b, 29). See appendix two for the post layouts of the two houses.

17) Presles-et-Boves *les Bois Plantés*
Date: RRBP and VSG/Cerny
References: Colas and Thouvenot 2000; Colas *et al.* 2001; Ilett and Allard 2008.

Description: Excavations in 2000, found a two or three pits belonging to the Neolithic. The lithic assemblage places the pits towards the end of the VSG and/or the Cerny period.

The 2001 excavations covered some eight hectares. Three 'Danubian' style houses were uncovered. House 55 most recalls the RRBP style and the ceramic from its lateral pits fits into the middle RRBP phase from Constantin (1985). Limburg ceramics were also present. House 55 is oriented NW-SE, has 7 rows of three postholes. The house was longer 20 m and wider than 5 m. Many post-pipes survived.

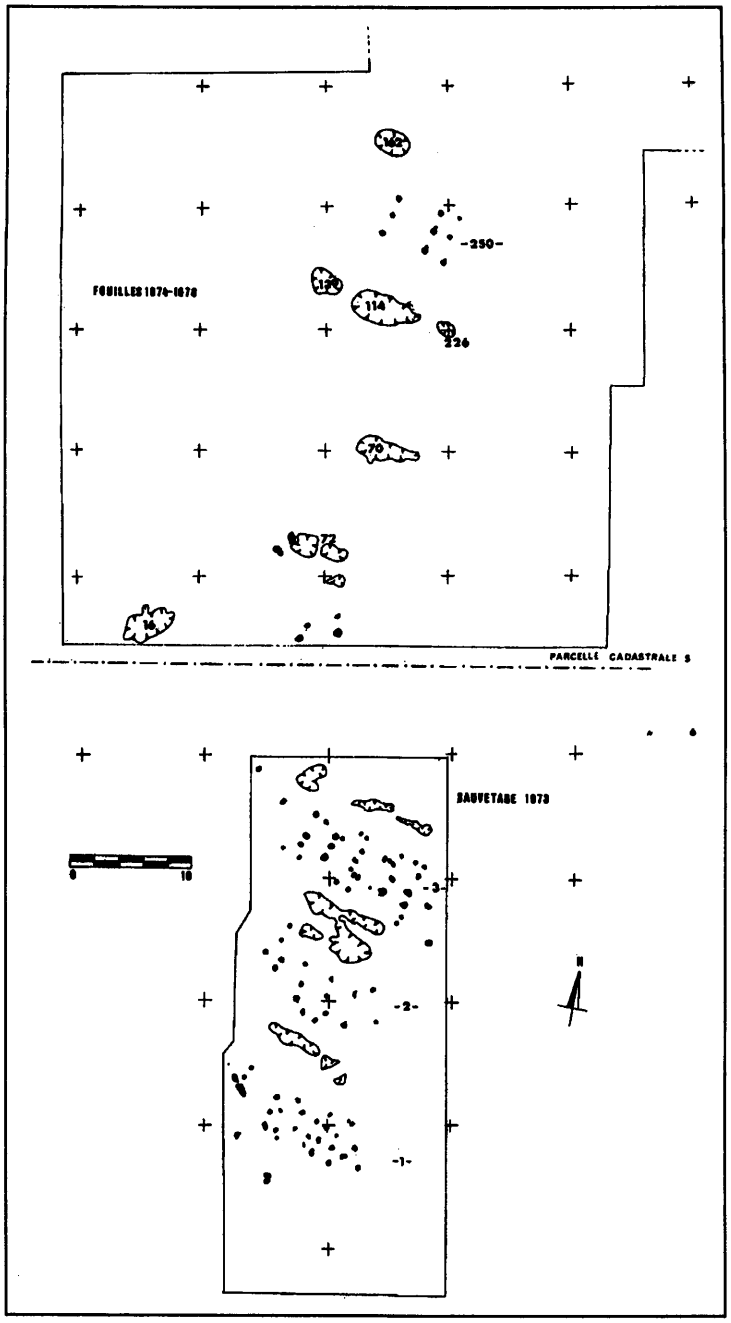
Figures from the text: 5.4

18) Trosly-Breuil *Les Obeaux*
Date: VSG and Cerny
(Beta 127058) 6350 ± 90 BP, 5468–5213 cal. BC (bone)
(Beta 127059) 5980 ± 60 BP, 4936–4783 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 3460) 5890 ± 120 BP, 4909–4599 cal. BC (bone)
(Beta 127057) 5660 ± 80 BP, 4582–4364 cal. BC (bone)
References: Bostyn 1994; Bostyn 2000.

Description: Excavations in 1984 and 1988–1990 produced evidence for two possible VSG houses, identified by their loam pits and occasional postholes. Their orientations suggest relation to the 'Danubian' style. Ceramic from both the VSG and Cerny periods were found, though the Cerny evidence is fairly limited. Bostyn suggests the site was not long lived.

19) Villeneuve-Saint-Germain *Le Grèves*
Date: VSG
(Ly 1824) 6130 ± 200 BP, 5297–4810 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 1825) 6010 ± 220 BP, 5214–4629 cal. BC (bone)
(Oxa 6652) 5995 ± 55 BP, 4940–4800 cal. BC (cereal)
References: Constantin and Ilett 1982.

Description: This is the site which gave its name to the Villeneuve-Saint-Germain culture, identified by Constantin (1985). Excavated throughout the 1970s, this site consists of a number (possibly more than four) longhouses, but there was very poor preservation. There may also be evidence for Cerny use of the site but this is limited to a few ceramic sherds.



Villeneuve-Saint-Germain *Le Grèves*. Constantin and Ilett (1982, 122).

The Oise Valley

Mesolithic

20) Choisy-au-Bac
Date: late Mesolithic
References: Alix and Prodeo 1995.

Description: This site was situated on the confluence between the Aisne and Oise rivers. Valentin (cited in Alix and Prodeo 1995) directed the excavation of a late Mesolithic site or 'camp', identified by concentrations of lithics. Middle Mesolithic lithics are also present.

21) Cirès-les-Mello *Le Tillet*
Date: middle Mesolithic
(Lyon-842) 9278 ± 60 BP *8700–8312 cal. BC*
(Lyon-839) 8895 ± 60 BP *8249–7824 cal. BC*
(Lyon-847) 7980 ± 65 BP *7056–6696 cal. BC*
References: C. Rozoy and J.-G. Rozoy 2001.

Description: Ten concentrations of flint were found over an area of 27 m^2, consisting of 15 000 pieces of flint, of which 337 were tools. This dense concentration of lithics is probably evidence of successive rather than continuous occupation.

22) Longueuil-Sainte-Marie *Le Parc aux Beoufs*
Date: Mesolithic
References: Lorin 1998.

Description: A few lithic tools attributed to the Mesolithic were found and no structures.

23) Warluis *Le Marais de Merlemont*
Date: Mesolithic
References: Ducrocq 2000.

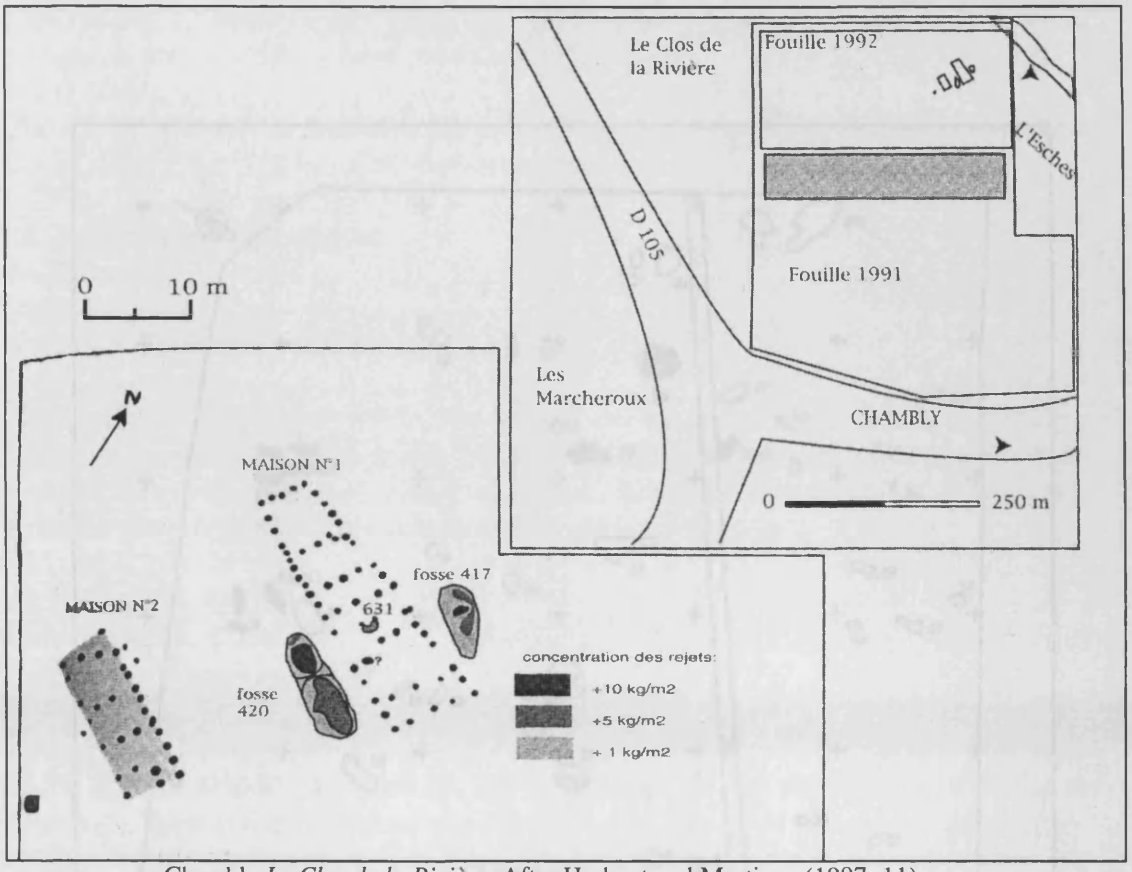
Description: Although a multi-phase site, the excavations at Warluis suggest that there were long gaps between habitations. Five concentrations of Mesolithic material (animal bones and lithics) were discovered.

Neolithic

24) Chambly
Le Clos de la Rivière
Date: RRBP and VSG
References: Boucneau 1992; Boucneau *et al.* 1996; Herbaut and Martinez 1997; Bostyn and Durand 1999.

Description: Situated on the left side of the river Oise, on the tributary Esches, this site was excavated in two campaigns (1989 and 1991/1992). The first excavation

produced a series of possible RRBP pits, some of which produced Limburg pottery. The second excavation produced two houses of 'Danubian' style. Both RRBP and VSG ceramics are present in the loam pits of house one, leading the excavators to suggest that Chambly *Le Clos de la Rivière* is a transitional site. However, this interpretation is problematical as four Limburg vessels were also found, thought to date earlier rather than later in the RRBP.



Chambly *Le Clos de la Rivière*. After Herbaut and Martinez (1997, 11).

La Vigne à l'Intrigue
Date: VSG
References: Locht 1992; Bostyn and Durand 1999.

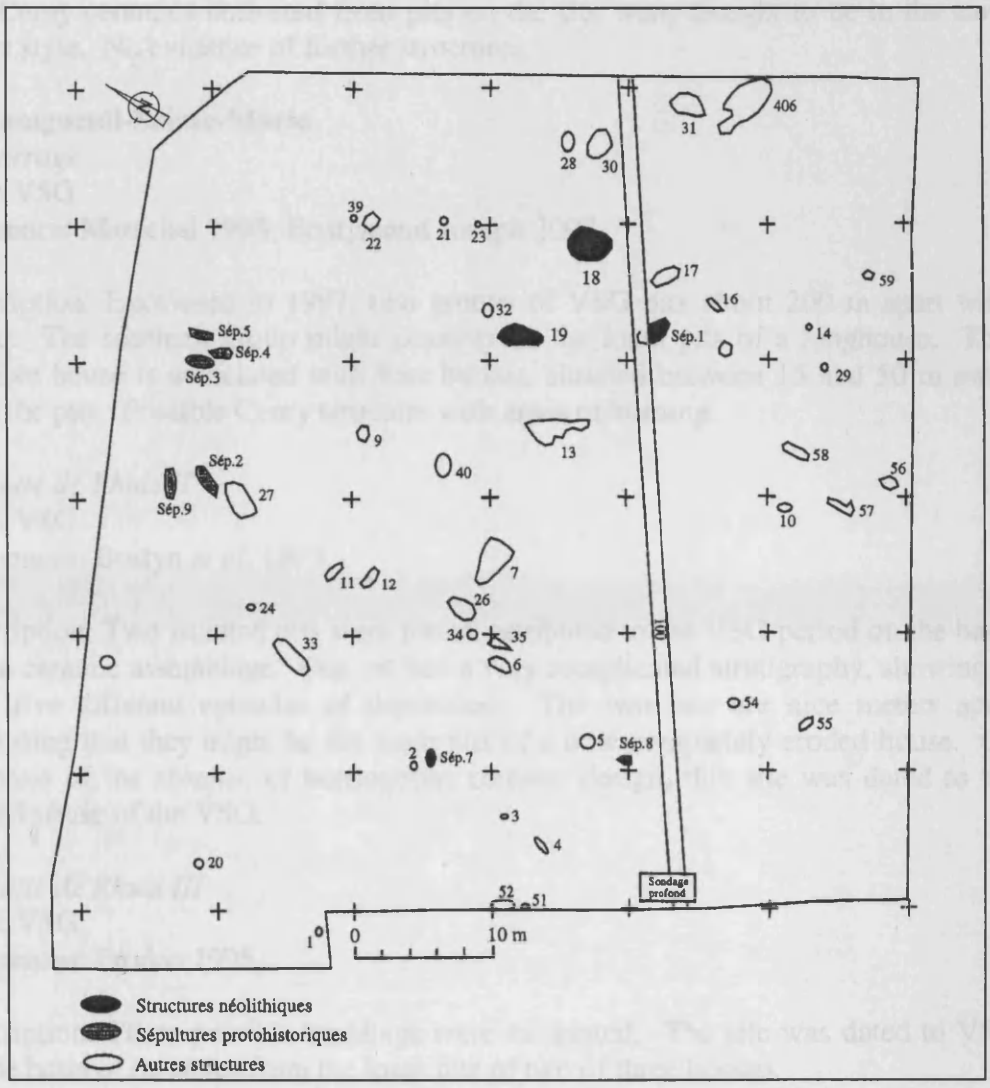
Description: Excavated due to the construction of the A16 autoroute. Two VSG pits (158 and 153) were found. Alongside ceramics and lithics, six pieces of bracelet were found (one from ceramic, the rest schist). This site is thought to date to the final phase of the VSG.

25) Champagne-sur-Oise *Le Grand Marais*
Date: VSG
References: Bostyn and Durand 1999.

Description: This site, part of the A16 excavations, did not produce any evidence for houses but a pit which produced VSG pottery and three Neolithic burials possibly dating to the VSG. The two VSG pits (18 and 19) are likely to represent the loam

pits of a house, though there were no traces of postholes. The absence of incised decoration suggests a late VSG date.

The three burials were all crouched inhumations, oriented NW-SE with the head to NW (1), NE-SW facing SW (7). Two of the burials were adults and one of these burials was found with six flint flakes. The third burial was a child, but was very poorly conserved.



Champagne-sur-Oise *Le Grand Marais*. Bostyn and Durand (1999, 36).

20) Choisy-au-Bac *Le Confluent*
Date: Cerny
References: Alix and Prodeo 1995.

Description: An interrupted ditched enclosure, in a similar style to that found at the site of *Noyen 2* (Yonne) was found. The evidence from the enclosure suggests that

it was fairly long lived, being used down till the end of the Neolithic (Seine-Oise-Marne).

26) La Croix-Saint-Ouen *Le Pré des Isles*
Date: VSG and Cerny
References: Prodeo *et al.* 1997; Gaudefroy 2000; Constantin 2003.

Description: Excavated in 2000, the lithic assemblage suggested that a VSG settlement may once have been present at this location.

The Cerny ceramics collected from pits on the site were thought to be in the early Cerny style. No evidence of further structures.

22) Longueuil-Sainte-Marie
Le Barrage
Date: VSG
Reference: Maréchal 1998; Bostyn and Joseph 2007.

Description: Excavated in 1997, two groups of VSG pits about 200 m apart were found. The southern group might possibly be the loam pits of a longhouse. This possible house is associated with four burials, situated between 15 and 50 m away from the pits. Possible Cerny structure with areas of burning.

La Butte de Rhuis II
Date: VSG
References: Bostyn *et al.* 1993.

Description: Two isolated pits were found, attributed to the VSG period on the basis of the ceramic assemblage. One pit had a very complicated stratigraphy, showing at least five different episodes of deposition. The two pits are nice meters apart suggesting that they might be the loam pits of a now completely eroded house. On the basis of the absence of herringbone ceramic design, this site was dated to the second phase of the VSG.

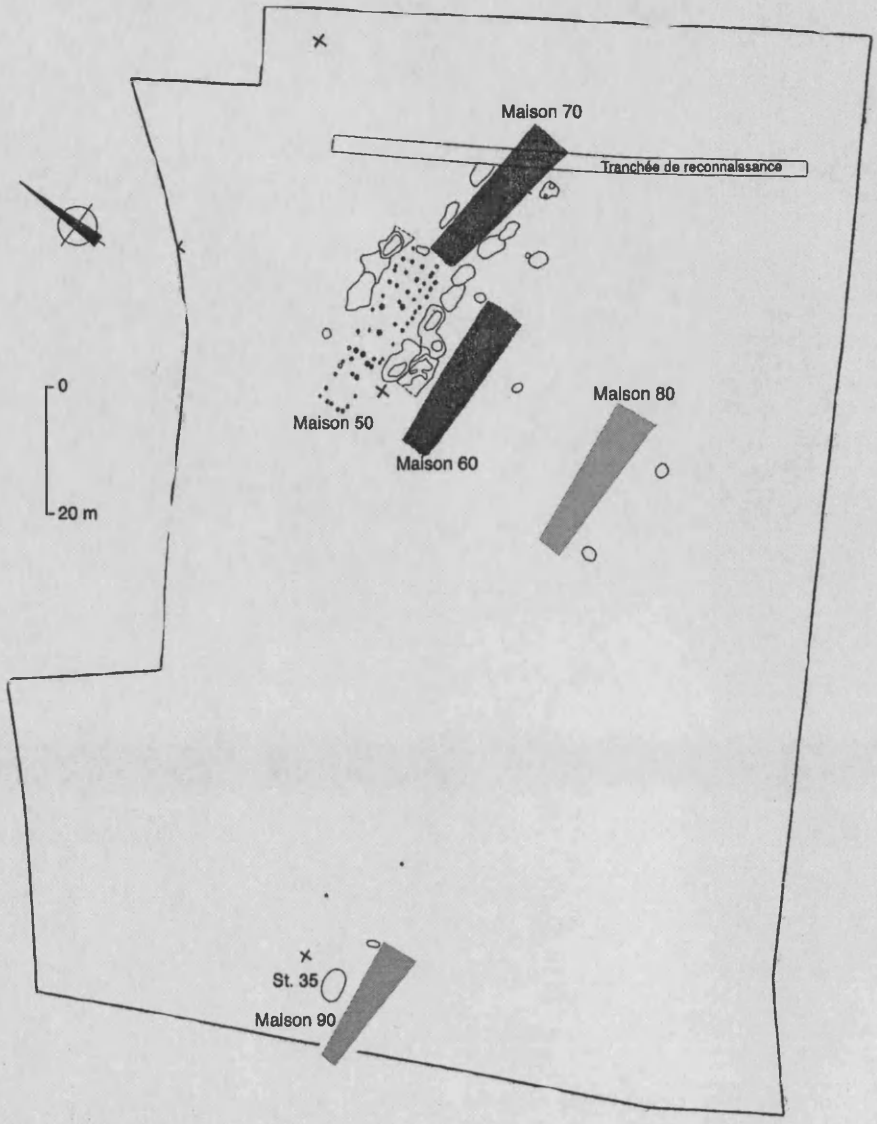
La Butte de Rhuis III
Date: VSG
References: Prodeo 1995.

Description: Three possible buildings were excavated. The site was dated to VSG on the basis of ceramics from the loam pits of two of three houses.

27) Pontpoint
Le Fond de Rambourg II
Date: RRBP–VSG
References: Bostyn *et al.* 1996.

Description: Five trapezoidal houses were found thought to date to the first phases of the VSG or end of the RRBP. Three houses were fairly well preserved (Houses 50, 60, 70). Four houses (50, 60, 80, 90) share the same orientation (E-W), though

house 90 is situated more than 50 m to the west of the other four houses. House 70 is situated directly east of house 50 and at a slight angle (SE-NW).

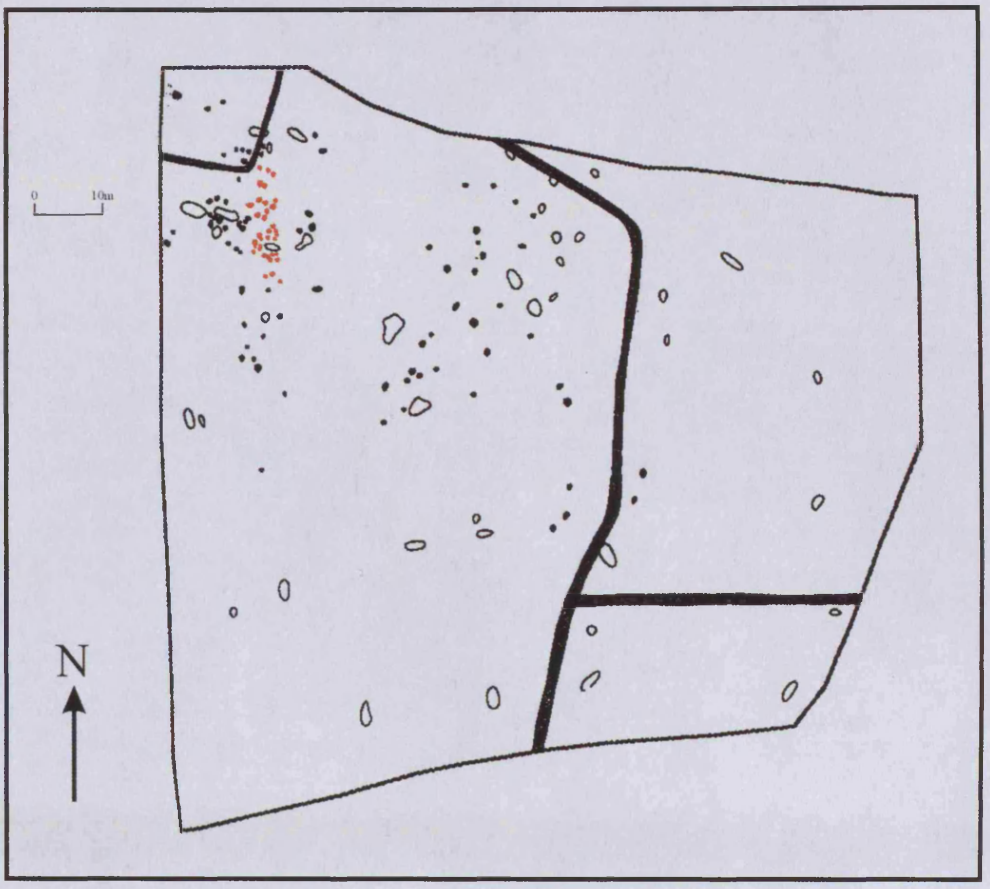


Pontpoint *Le Fond de Rambourg II*. After Bostyn *et al.* (1996, 76).

Le Trésor
Date: VSG
References: Pellerin and Prodeo 1994.

Description: Excavations in 1993 and 1994 produced evidence for a VSG settlement. A probable 'Danubian' style house was found alongside ceramics from a late phase of the VSG, tertiary flint tools and two schist bracelets. The animal bone assemblage was interpreted as transitional between VSG and Cerny. A burial

was found, thought to be contemporary to the VSG site, but no grave goods were found.



Pontpoint *Le Trésor*. The possible VSG longhouse is depicted in red. After Pellerin and Prodeo (1994, 111).

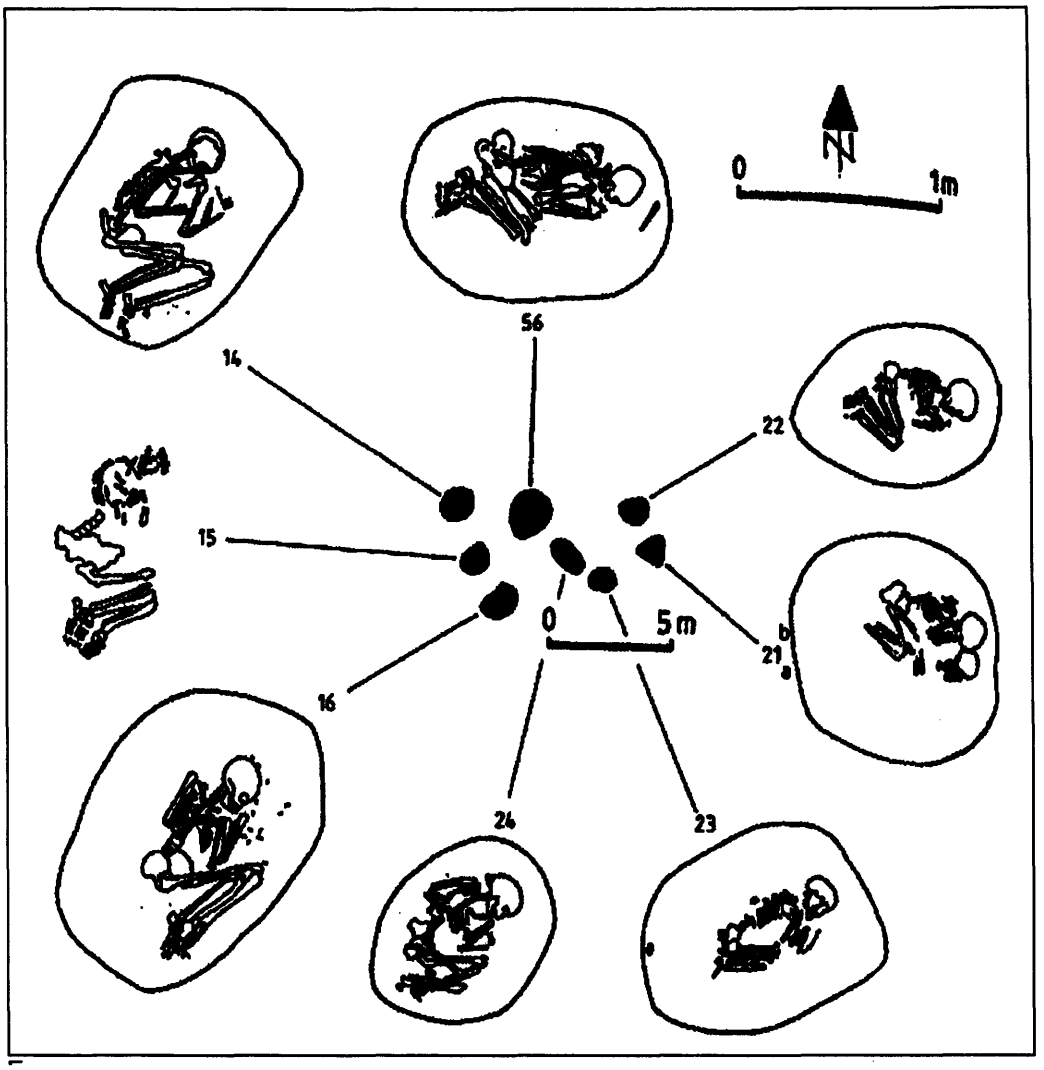
28) Pont-Saint-Maxence
Le Grand Bosquet
Date: RRBP
References: Gaudefroy and Pinard 1991.

Description: During rescue excavations a small pit was found with a ceramic and lithic assemblage that suggested a RRBP date.

Le Poirier
Date: RRBP–VSG
References: Joseph *et al.* 1993.

Description: In 1992 a small cemetery was found which consisted of nine burials (four adults and five children). The date of the burials is uncertain as no diagnostic pottery survives, but the style suggests the burials are either RRBP or VSG. The possible presence of ochre in burial 16, favours a RRBP date. The children form a group to the east of the cemetery and the adults a group to the west. Twelve postholes were also uncovered, which appear to form a building and a possible loam pit which produced most of the finds of the site. Arbogast studied the faunal

remains and although c. 800 fragments of bone were found they were in a relatively poor state of preservation.



The cluster VSG burials as Pont-Saint-Maxence *Le Poirier*. Joseph *et al.* (1993, 102).

The Seine-Yonne Confluence

Mesolithic

29) Charbuy
Date: mid-late Mesolithic and possibly Neolithic
References: Carré 1991a

Description: Situated northwest of the modern town of Auxerre, this site covers 1000m^2 and consists of 29 pits with evidence for Mesolithic occupation. Amongst these pits are a number which contained a mixture of finds and possibly even Cerny ceramics. RRBP presence of at the site was suggested by several finds of RRBP ceramics, which appeared to be mixed with Mesolithic flint tools. However, it is difficult to draw a direct chronological correspondence between the Mesolithic and Neolithic finds. It is more likely that the finds were mixed by re-use of the site by RRBP and Cerny communities.

30) Noyen-sur-Seine
Dates: mid-late Mesolithic (through to the middle Neolithic, see below)
(Gif 6559) 7960 ± 100 BP, *7136–6600 cal. BC* (Canoe)
(Gif 7286) 9130 ± 100 BP, *8634–7996 cal. BC* (Bark)
(Gif 6632) 8020 ± 100 BP, *7293–6646 cal. BC* (Wood)
(Gif 6633) 8000 ± 100 BP, *7426–6638 cal. BC* (Fish-trap)
(Gif 6631) 7990 ± 100 BP, *7180–6637 cal. BC* (Wood)
(Gif 7126) 7300 ± 80 BP, *6364–6019 cal. BC* (Wood)
(Gif 7125) 7040 ± 80 BP, *6051–5784 cal. BC* (Bark)
(Gif 6991) 6240 ± 79 BP, *5374–4991 cal. BC* (Wood)
(Gif 6990) 5400 ± 70 BP, *4358–4047 cal. BC* (Wood)
References: C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1970; 1992.

Description: a rare example of a Mesolithic site situated on the valley bottom. The Mesolithic finds were found on a bend in the river Seine and were concentrated in four main areas on the edges of channels or ponds. Some 7500 bones, 1000 flints and 100 bone or wooden tools were found, including a dugout canoe, fish-traps and basketry.

The evidence for the Mesolithic diet suggests that fishing was mainly based eel and pike. Techniques appear to have changed over time. The faunal remains include red deer, roe deer, wild boar, auroch, wolf, turtle and some aquatic birds. During the late Mesolithic Mordant and Mordant (1992) argue that camp was occupied for shorter periods. The site is thought to be occupied at the end of summer and beginning of autumn. From the kill-patterns opportunistic hunting was practiced, mainly of wild boar. The users of this camp were probably contemporary with the first farmers on the Seine.

Human remains from the Mesolithic in France are extremely rare. The human skeletal material from Noyen was found mixed in with other finds and included four incomplete skeletons, one mandible and several long bones. Cut marks could be seen on the mandible, elbow and hip bones of one of the skeletons.

31) Saint-Julien-du-Sault
Date: late Mesolithic
References: Carré 1991a.

Description: The Mesolithic site extends across an area of 30 m by 100 m and mainly consisted of lithic scatters. The excavator suggested that the site dated to the later Mesolithic on the basis of the lithic types.

32) Véron
Date: mid-late Mesolithic
References: Carré 1991a; C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1992;

Description: Thought to have been occupied during the transition between the Middle and Late Mesolithic in the Paris Basin, this site suggests a long history of use. However, the stratigraphy suggests that each phase of use was relatively short. This site was also situated on the valley floor.

Neolithic

33) Armeau
Date: RRBP-VSG
(Grn 6781) 6260 ± 65 BP, 5306–5081 cal. BC (bone-burnt bone)
References: Bailloud 1964; Prestreau 1992.

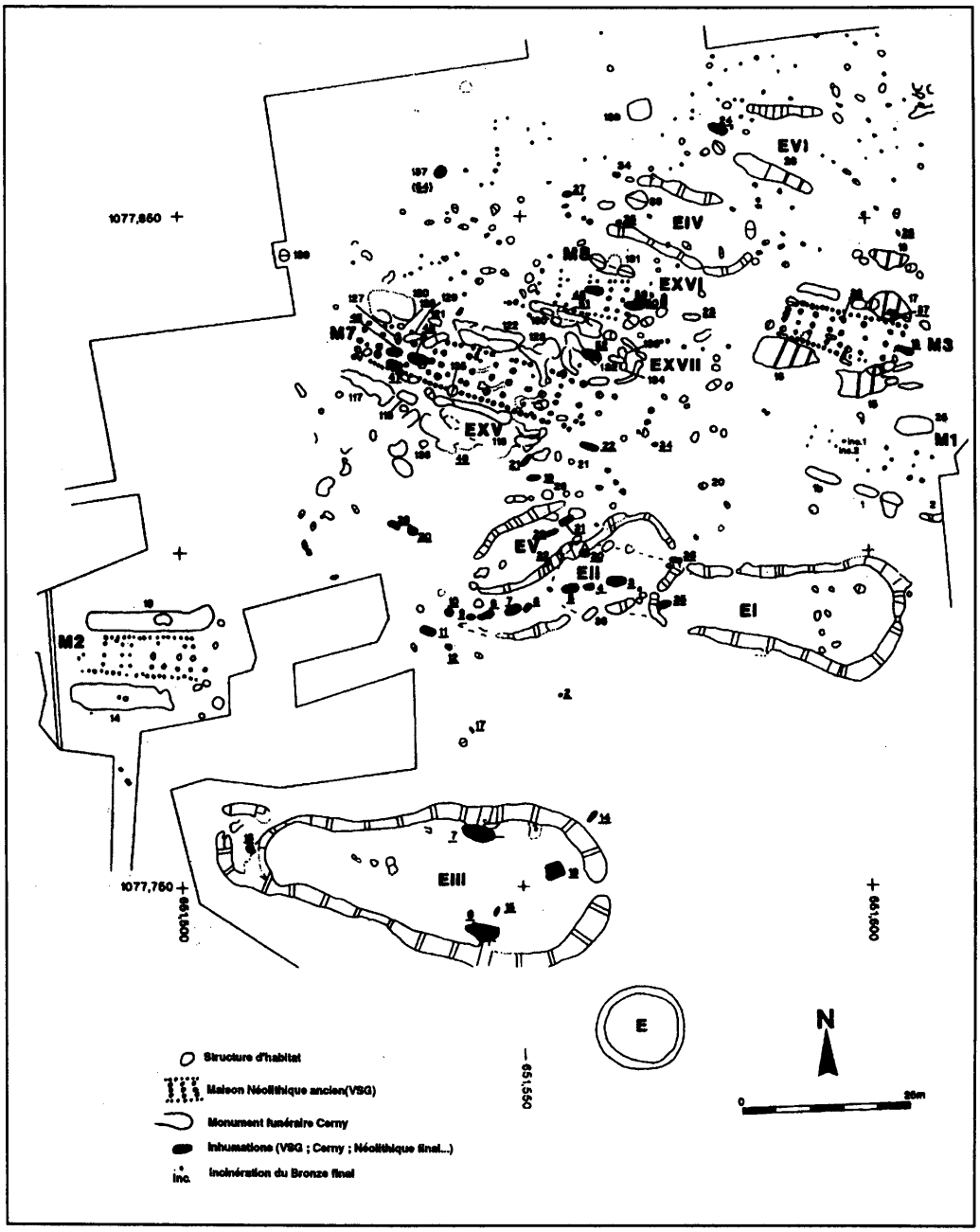
Description: This site was first excavated in 1946 and produced evidence for the presence of longhouses in the form of a loam pit. Alongside the usual assemblage of lithics, ceramics and animal bones, a significant quantity of beads were found on a range of materials. The bead made from a wild boar's tusk is particularly unusual.

34) Balloy
Les Réaudins
Dates: RRBP-VSG and Cerny
(Oxa 4087) 6180 ± 90 BP, 5249–5002 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 5542) 5680 ± 60 BP, 4572–4451 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 5541) 5770 ± 60 BP, 4690–4548 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 5540) 5720 ± 85 BP, 4675–4463 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 5883) 6220 ± 160 BP, 5322–4954 cal. BC (human bone)
(Ly 5543) 5800 ± 50 BP, 4717–4556 cal. BC (bone)
References: D. Mordant 1993; 1994; Bourdeau 1997; Chambon 2003.

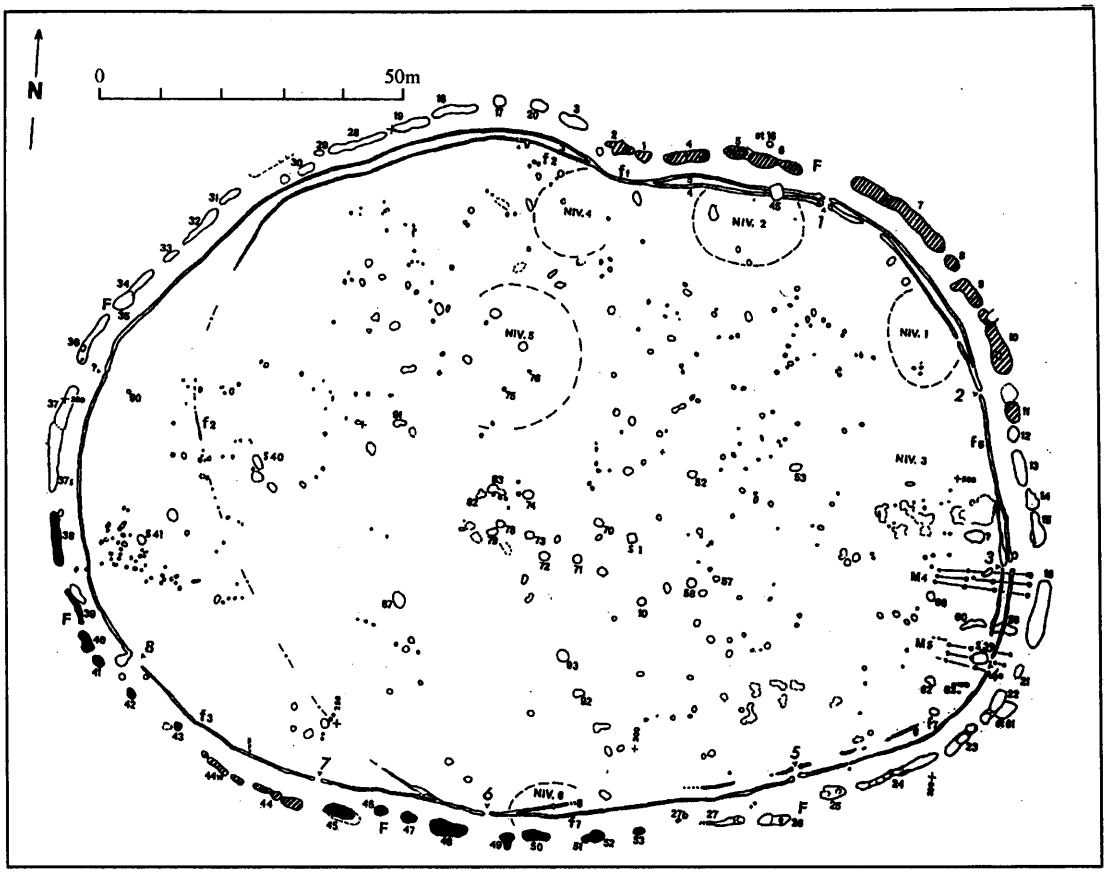
Description: The excavations at Balloy began in 1987 and over a period of nearly a decade an occupation lasting from the Rubané until the Cerny period was discovered. The RRBP aspects of the site consist of five or six houses, thought to date to the very end of the RRBP or the beginning of the VSG. The houses are aligned roughly east-west. Two burials are associated with the earliest phase of the settlement. The VSG elements of the site consist of two or three longhouses which are later cut by a palisaded causewayed enclosure. These are situated to the south of the earlier phase of occupation at the settlement.

The Cerny elements to this site are numerous and consist of an enclosure (interrupted and palisaded) and a number of monuments which contained human remains. Mordant (1994) suggests that there are as many as 18 monuments from the Cerny period and as many as 45 burials associated with the Passy-style monuments. To the north of the site the monuments were built on the same location as the late RRBP-VSG longhouses. The enclosure in the southern part of the site cuts two VSG longhouses.

Figures from the text: 6.5, 6.16, 6.17



The Passy-style monuments at Balloy constructed over the VSG village. D. Mordant (1993, 78).



The Balloy enclosure. Bourdeau (1997, 94).

35) Barbey *Le Chemin de Monteneau*
Date: RRBP-VSG
(Ly 5881) 6410 ± 120 BP, 5483–5267 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 5882) 5720 ± 220 BP, 4827–4342 cal. BC (bone)
References: Meunier 2003.

Description: Excavated in 1991, this site produced evidence of four houses, though only one had some of the postholes preserved. Two of the possible houses had both loam pits preserved, but house four was only known from its southern loam pit as this bordered the edge of the excavation.

36) Champlay
Dates: RRBP-VSG and Cerny
(Ly 9511) 5920 ± 40 BP, 4839–4722 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 9510) 5850 ± 50 BP, 4780–4620 cal. BC (bone)
References: Merlange 1982; Prestreau 1992.

Description: An early Neolithic settlement site, determined by a number of pits that were possible the loam pits of now eroded houses. Prestreau (1992) thinks this is the earliest Neolithic site along the Yonne on the basis of the ceramic styles. A Cerny enclosure was also found in the vicinity.

37) Charmoy *Sous Les Ormes*
Date: RRBP-VSG

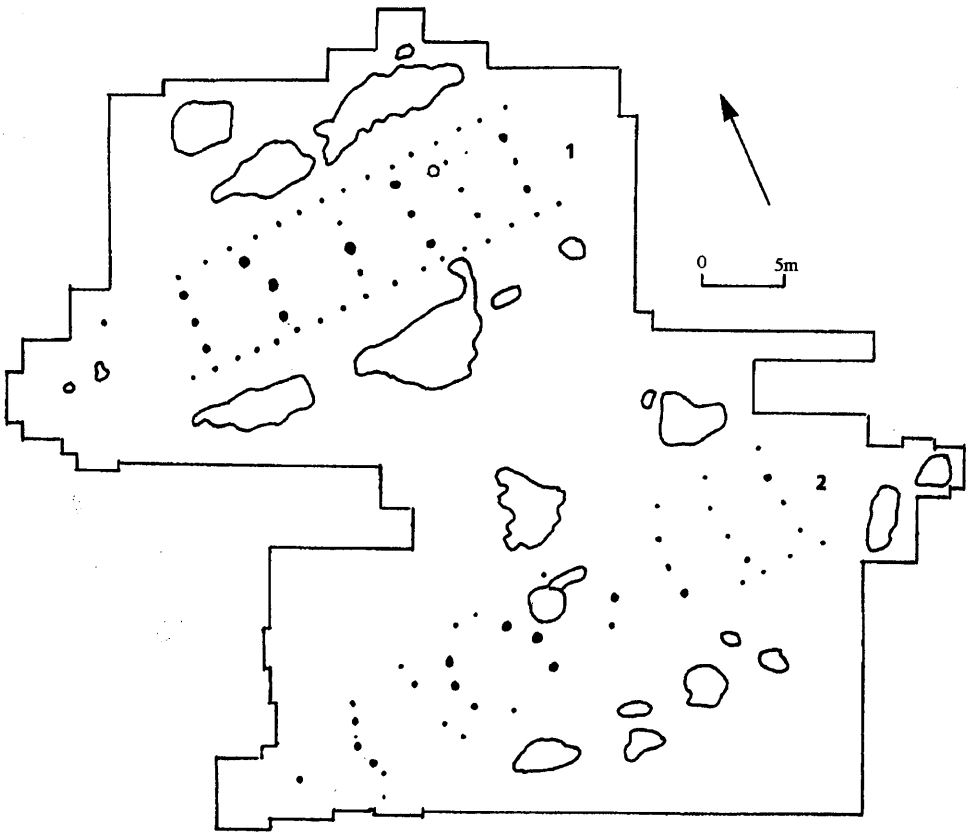
References: Carré 1968; Joly 1970; Coudart 1998.

Description: Excavated by Carré over three years 1967–69. Two Danubian style houses were found with unusual sets of loam pits.

Figures from the text: 6.5, 6.6

38) Échilleuses *Les Dépendances de Digny*
Dates: RRBP-VSG and Cerny
(Ly 5568) 5990 ± 50 BP, 4932–4800 cal. BC (charcoal)
(Ly 5569) 5980 ± 70 BP, 4942–4777 cal. BC (charcoal)
(Ly 5567) 5560 ± 115 BP, 4527–4255 cal. BC (charcoal)
References: Coudart 1998; Dubouloz 2003.

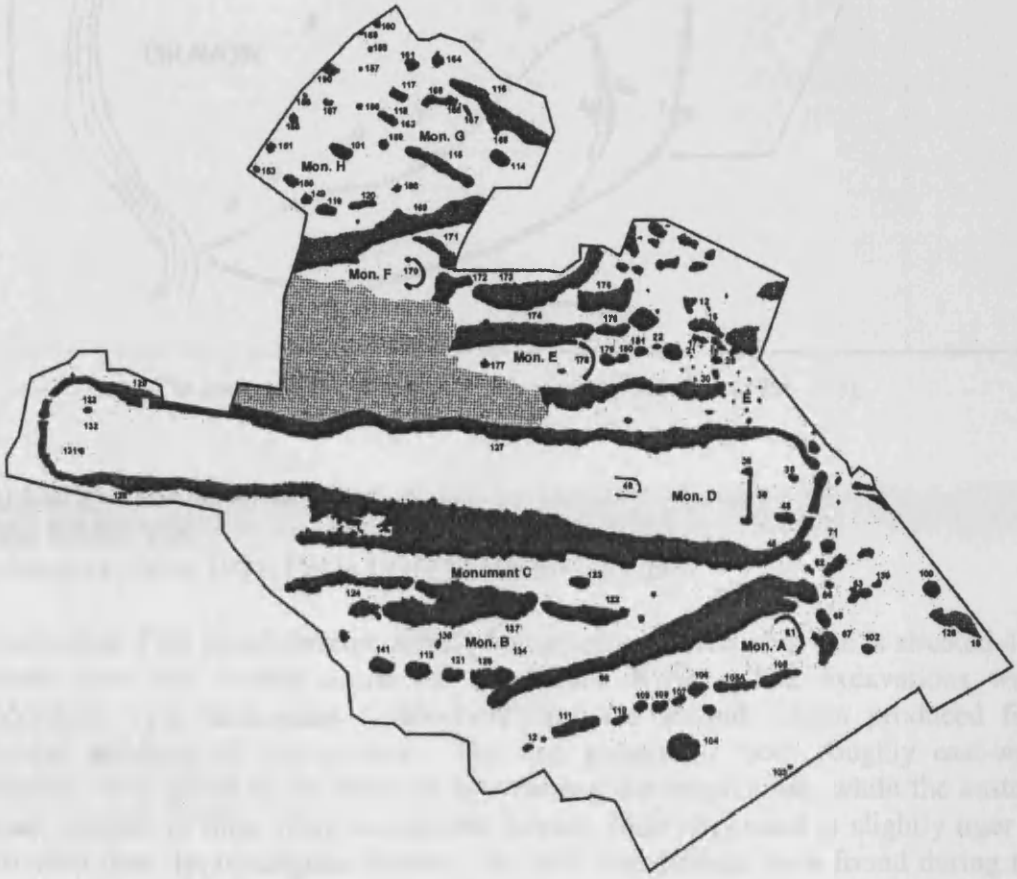
Description: This site is actually situated west of the river Yonne, beyond the mainly area of the river valley and unusually not on an alluvial terrace. It produced a range of early and middle Neolithic evidence, including the presence of two VSG longhouses.



Échilleuses *Les Dépendances de Digny*. After Coudart (1998, 208).

39) Escolives-Sainte-Camille
Date: Cerny
References: Midgley 2005.

Description: This site is the southern most of the Passy-style monuments with the remains of six individuals. There is no evidence that there was any Danubian-style settlement nearby. The monuments at this site are very close together and have more varied orientations than either Passy or Balloy. There may be suggestions that the monuments were dividing space for different funerary activities. A number of possible U-shaped structures were found in the interior of a number of the monuments, which Midgley (2005) hesitantly suggests are ceremonial buildings.

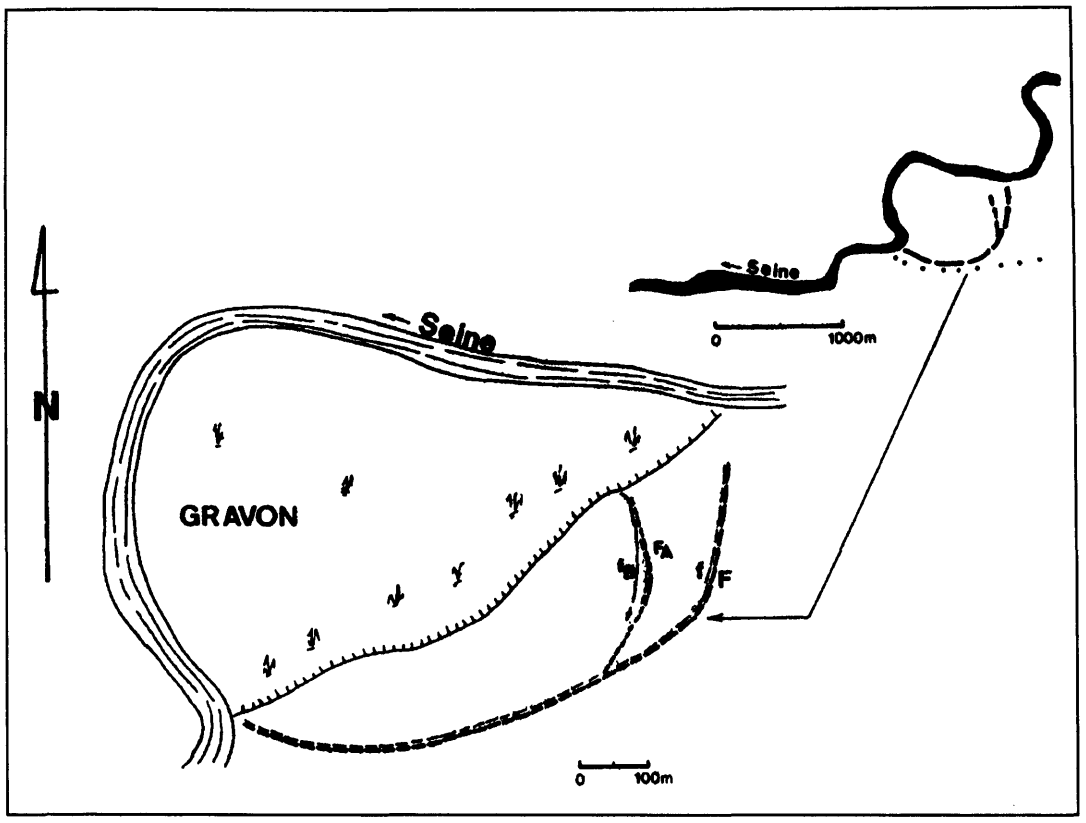


Escolives-Sainte-Camille. Midgley (2003, 87).

40) Gravon
Date: Michelsberg/Chasséen
References: Dubouloz *et al.* 1991.

Description: This site is a large middle Neolithic enclosure situated away from the river valley. It covers about 20 hectares, with 14 palisades.

Figures from the text: 6.19



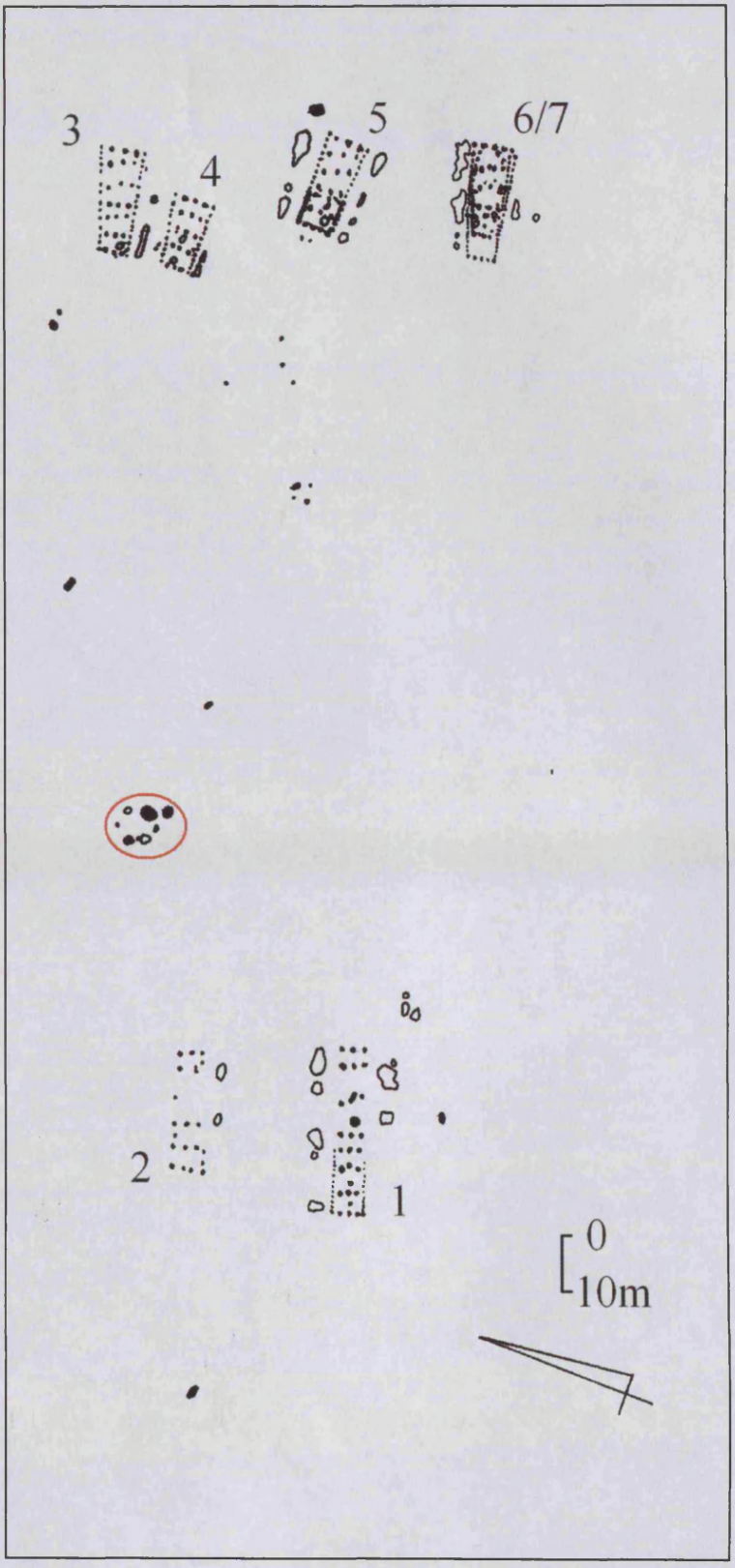
The enclosure at Gravon. C. Mordant and D. Mordant (1988, 233).

41) Gurgy *Les Plantes du Mont*
Date: RRBP-VSG
References: Delor 1991; Delor 1996; Meunier *et al.* 2006.

Description: First found through aerial photography in 1976, this site is situated 400 metres from the current course of the Yonne River. The excavations were undertaken over three years (1989–1992) and the second season produced five Rubané buildings in two groups. The two groups are both roughly east-west oriented. The group to the west are two rectangular longhouses, while the eastern group consists of three more trapezoidal houses; their alignment is slightly truer to east-west than the rectangular houses. At least four burials were found during the excavations, these were in a group and situated between the two groups of houses. One burial of an infant was found inside house four, accompanied by a number of ceramic sherds, and possibly sherds associated with this pot were placed in the northern loam pit of house five.

Another three houses were found in 2000, situated 500 m away from the other group of houses. Pits inside houses were also found within these structures. The excavators argue that there was a hiatus between the two occupations but do not state which site was first, nor how long they estimate the hiatus to last.

Figures from the text: 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6



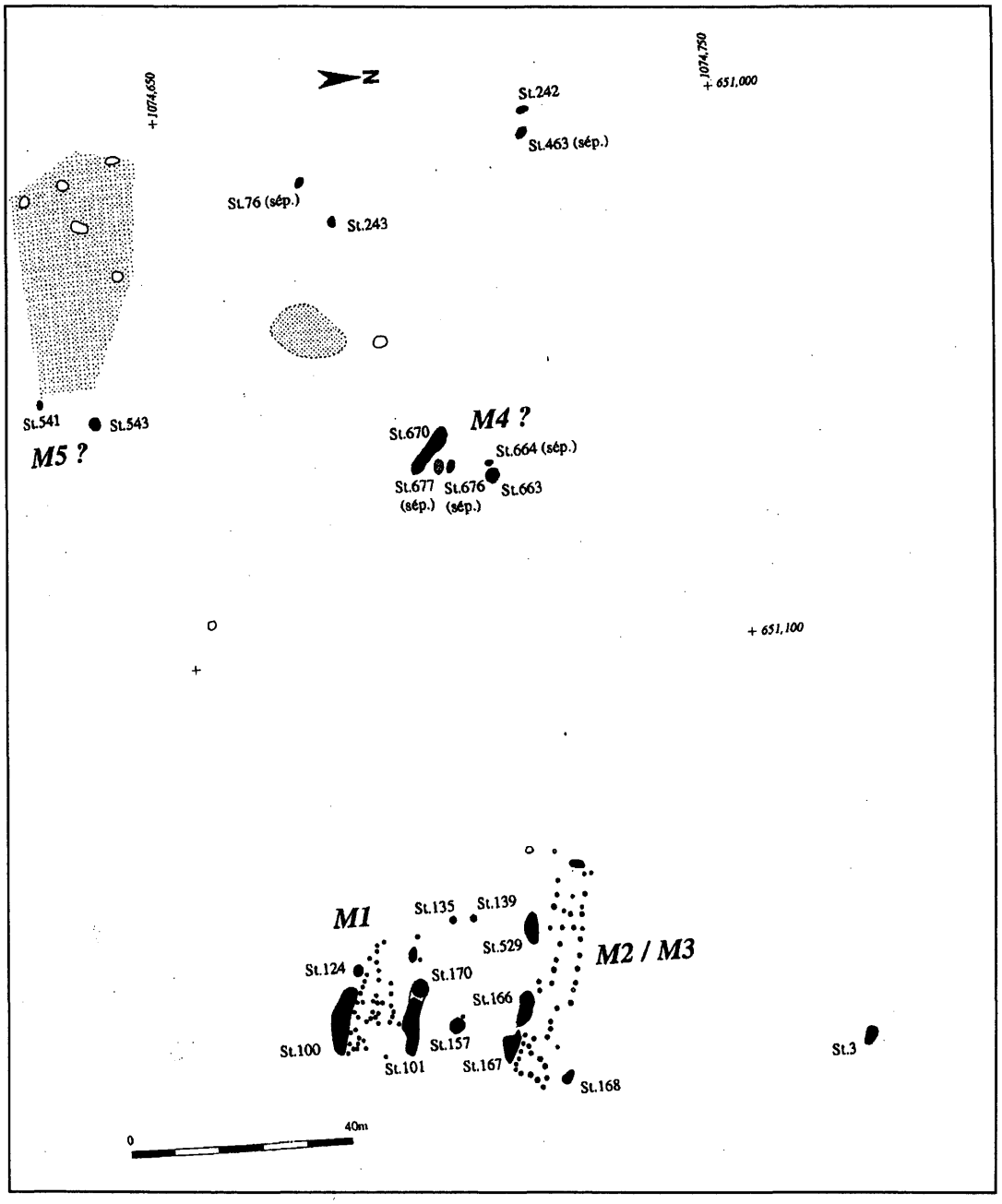
Gurgy *Les Plantes du Mont*. The red circle indicates the position of a small group of pits. After Delor (1996, 296).

42) Marolles-sur-Seine
Le Chemin de Sens
Date: VSG and Cerny
References: C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1970; Augereau and Bonnardin 1998.

Description: A VSG village consisting of up to five possible buildings, generally of poor preservation. Houses two and three are most likely one building. One of the loam pits of house one had a concentration of beads rough-outs, deposited in the base of a pot.

A Cerny burial was discovered. The head was to west, laid on its back in an extended position. The grave goods included a pig's tusk, some fragments of ceramic and some flint.

Figures from the text: 6.8



Marolles-sur-Seine *Le Chemin de Sens*. After Augereau and Bonnardin (1998, 25).

Gours-aux-Lions
Date: RRBP and Cerny
References: C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1970; Coudart 1998.

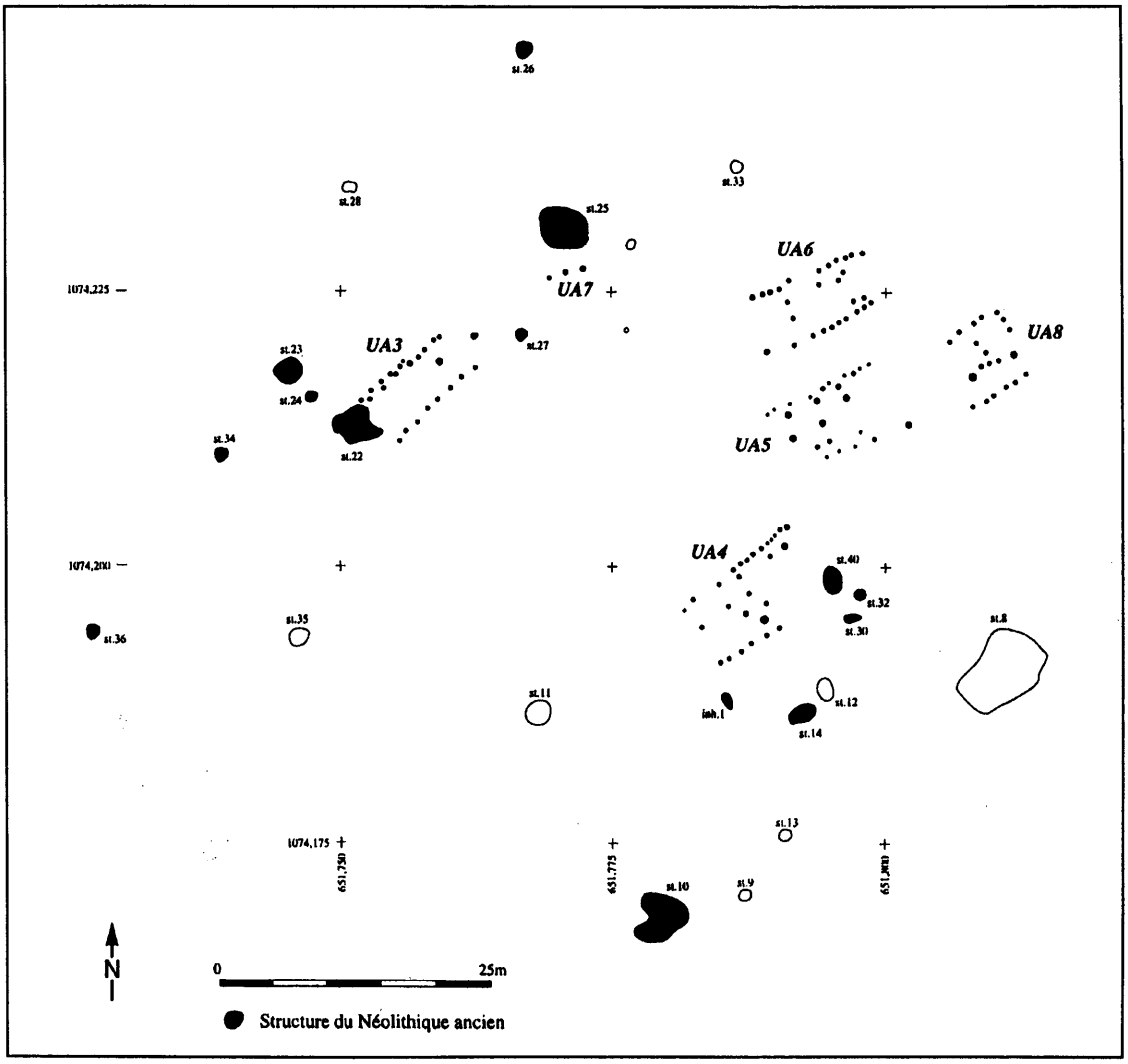
Description: A slightly trapezoidal house was found associated with a number of burials, two of which were associated with the house. One burial was found by the

northeast corner of the house and was an adult. The other was found to the east and is also an adult. The house was 'sub-rectangular' in Coudart's (1998) terms.

Cerny burials were discovered associated with a relatively long lived site. Four burials were found they are all adults: three women and one male.

Les Prés Hauts deuxième vallée
Date: VSG
References: Augereau and Gouge 1997.

Description: Up to five possible early Neolithic structures were found, unfortunately without great preservation. The ceramic material largely suggest at VSG date.



Marolles-sur-Seine *Les Prés Hauts duexième vallée*. After Augereau and Gouge (1997, 83).

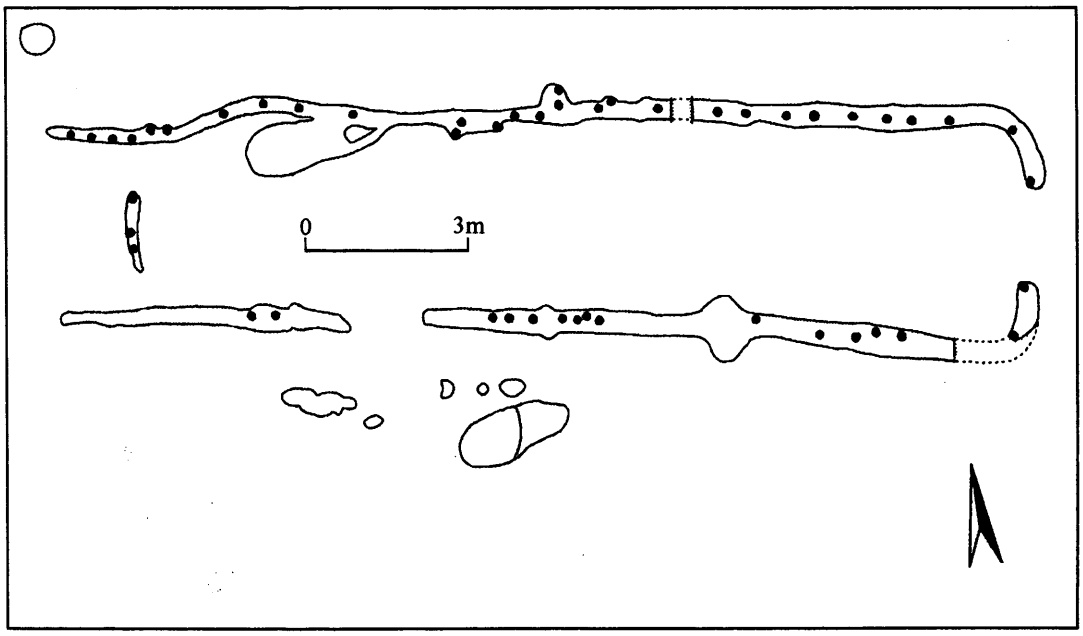
43) Misy-sur-Yonne *Les Bois des Refuges* and *Les Refuges*
Date: RRBP-VSG
(Ly 2463) 6050 ± 160 BP, 5208–4736 cal. BC (bone)
References: C. Mordant *et al.* 1977; Poulain 1977.

Description: This site was identified by aerial photography carried out by D. Jalmain and is situated directly next to Barbey *Cent Arpents*. The Rubané finds consist of two circular pits some 40 m apart and a possible habitation layer about 20m².
In the first pit (labelled A by the excavators) was lots of coarse ware, possibly from two large storage jars and some lithics. In the second (labelled C by the excavators) were shards of fine ware, including some decorated pieces, three fragments of bracelets (two of hard stone and one of ceramic, which was incised) and a piece of antler.
The habitation layer consisted of lithic tools, all made from blades, and a relatively high concentration of fine decorated ceramics.

44) Molinons
Date: Cerny
References: Prestreau 2003.

Description: This site was excavated in 1990, in advance of the construction of the A5 autoroute. A building was found which appears to demonstrate a VSG-Cerny transition. The plan of the structure recalls the Passy-type monuments.

Figures from the text: 6.11

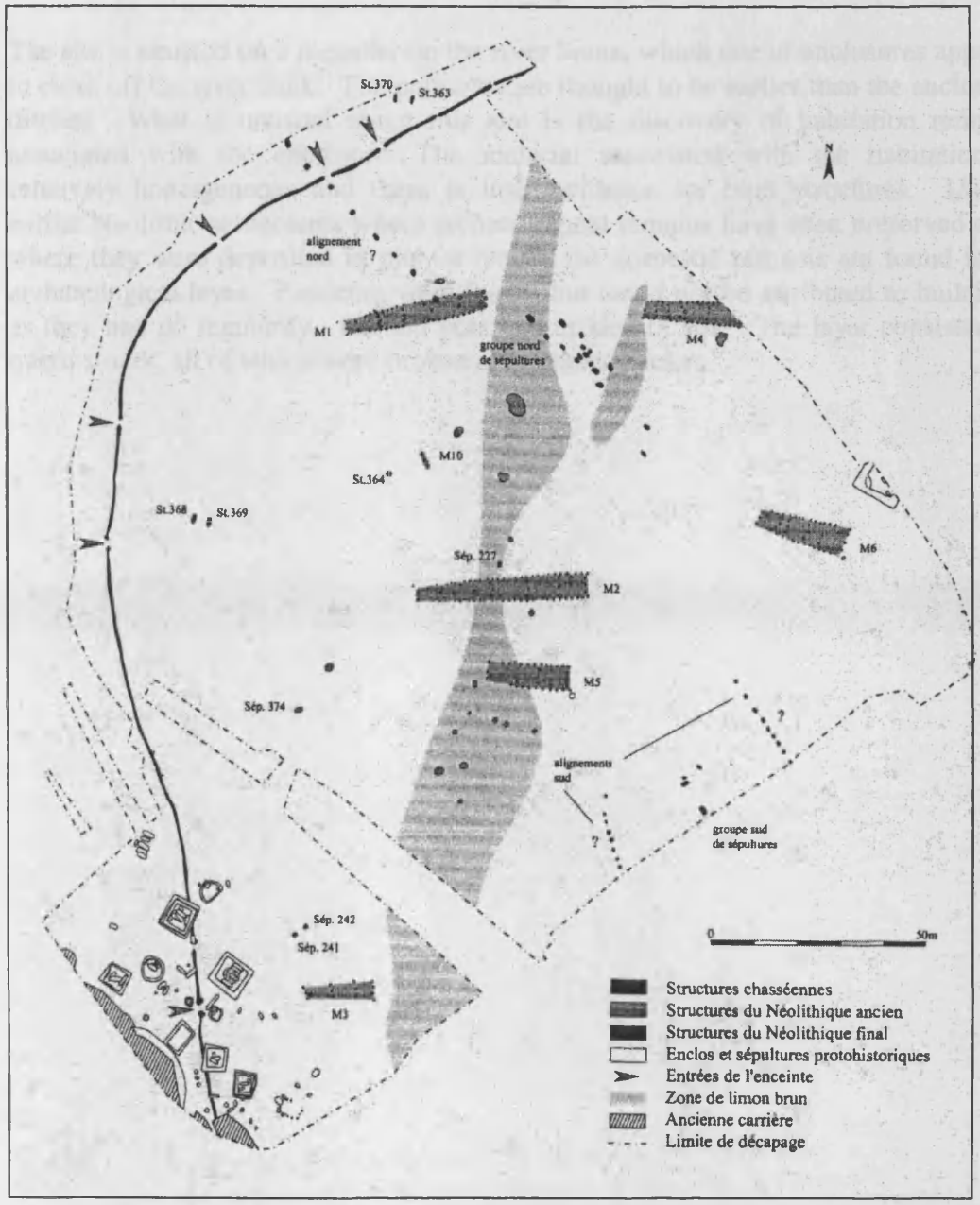


The Cerny 'house' at Molinons. After Prestreau (2003, 7).

45) Monéteau *Le rue de Bonn*
Date: VSG and Michelsberg/Chasséen
(Ly 9745) 5350 ± 35, 4322–4046 cal. BC (human bone)
(Ly 9747) 5910 ± 35, 4897–4695 cal. BC (human bone)
(Ly 9748) 5270 ± 40, 4223–3979 cal. BC (human bone)
References: Chambon *et al.* 2004; Augereau *et al.* 2005.

Description: Six longhouses were found probably dating to the VSG period. Their alignments are faily varied. One VSG burial was found, which provided the radiocarbon date quoted above.

The area they occupied was enclosed by a single ditch and palisade during the Michelsberg/Chasséen period. A number of post alignment in the interior of the enclosure are also thought to date to the middle Neolithic. About 15 Chasséen burials were found in the interior of the enclosure, clustered together.



Monéteau *Le rue de Bonn*. After Augereau *et al.* (2005, 53).

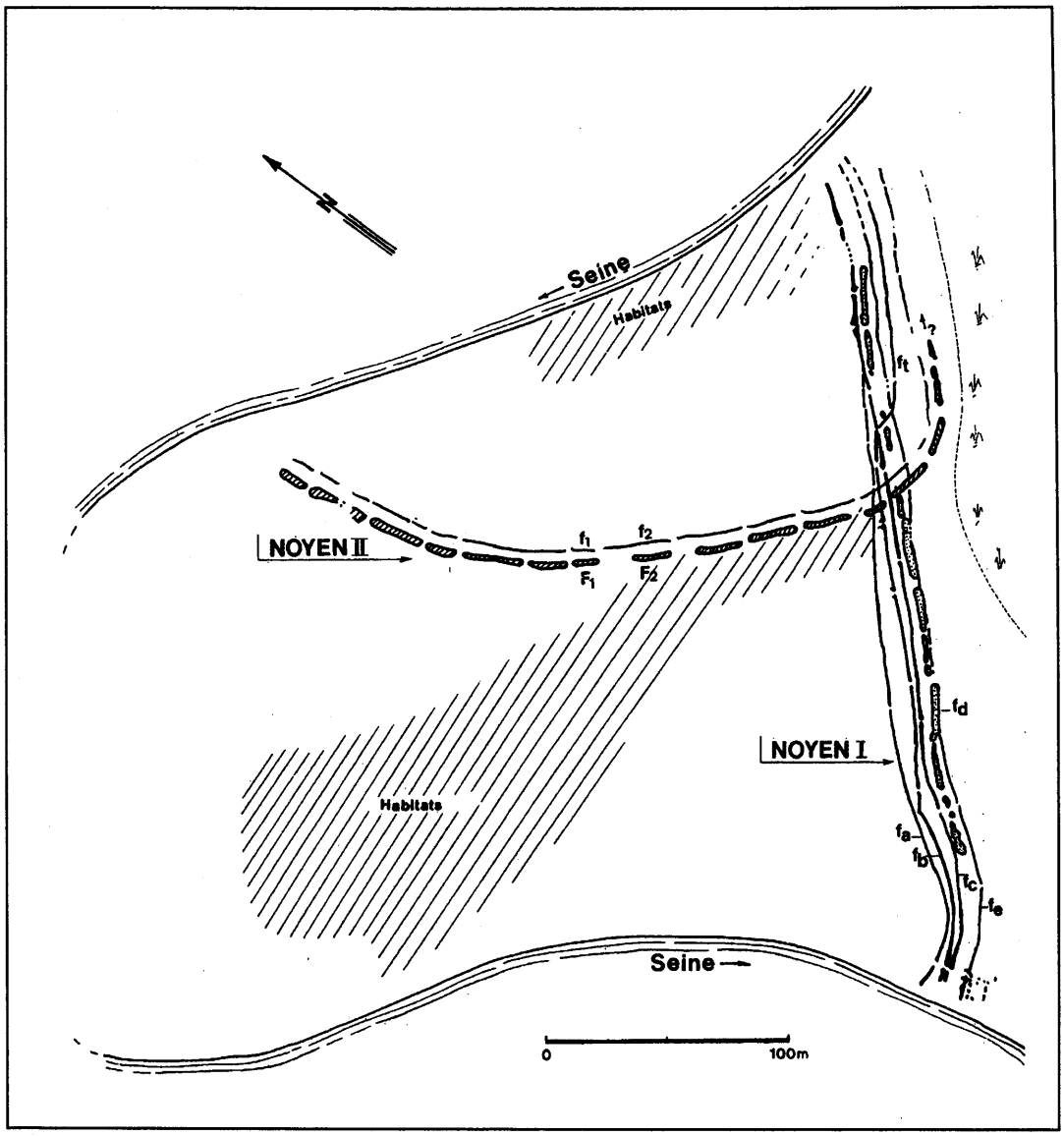
30) Noyen-sur-Seine *Le Haut des Nachères*
Date: Cerny and Chasséen (Noyen)
(Ly 2462) 5140 ± 170, 4339–3548 cal. BC
(Ly 2557) 4870 ± 160, 3981–3339 cal. BC

(Ly 2461) 4970 ± 140, 4038–3381 cal. BC
(Ly 2458) 5260 ± 200, 4468–3647 cal. BC

References: D. Mordant and C. Mordant 1977; C. Mordant and D. Mordant 1978; Constantin and Blanchet 1998, 607–8.

Description: Found through aerial photography in 1960 by D. Jalmain, the enclosure at Noyen-sur-Seine is one of the most famous sites from this period. It was excavated by Mordant and Mordant over a series of campaigns which started in 1969. Some 3500m² were excavated, showing evidence for two enclosures.

The site is situated on a meander on the river Seine, which one of enclosures appears to close off the river bank. The palisades are thought to be earlier than the enclosure ditches. What is unusual about this site is the discovery of habitation remains associated with the enclosure. The material associated with the habitation is relatively homogeneous and there is little evidence for built structures. Unlike earlier Neolithic settlements where archaeological remains have been preserved only where they were deposited in pits, at Noyen the domestic remains are found in an archaeological layer. Postholes were found, but could not be attributed to buildings as they had no regularity. Certain pots had eroded *in situ*. The layer consisted of quern stones, all of which were broken or appeared broken.



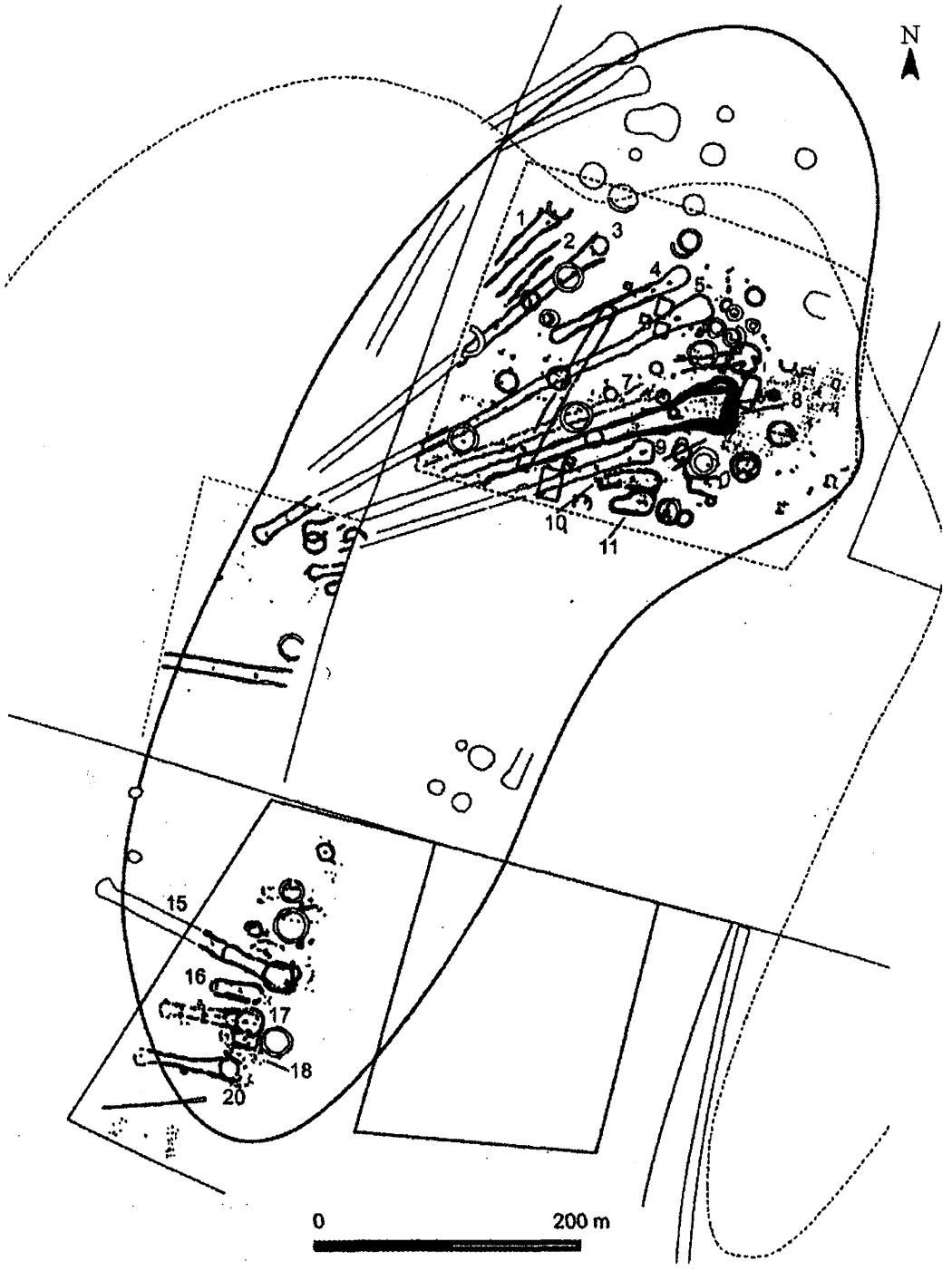
Noyen-sur-Seine. C. Mordant and D. Mordant (1988, 236).

46) Passy-sur-Yonne
Les Graviers and *Le Sablonniere*
Date: RRBP-VSG and Cerny
(Ly 3447) 6400 ± 180 BP, 5597–5082 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 8823) 6065 ± 55 BP, 5039–4855 cal. BC (bone)
(Beta 127056) 6010 ± 60 BP, 4954–4800 cal. BC (bone)
(Beta 127054) 5830 ± 60 BP, 4774–4603 cal. BC (bone)
References: Prestreau 1992; Duhamel 1997; Duhamel and D. Mordant 1997; Chambon 2003; Midgley 2005; Carré 2006.

Description: Although identified by aerial photographs in the 1950s, this site was not excavated until a rescue project in 1978. The majority of the site was excavated between 1982 and 1986. There was evidence for both RRBP-VSG and Cerny occupation before the construction of the Passy-style monuments. Five RRBP-VSG structures were found, probably dating to the early Neolithic, though the preservation was not substantial. A cemetery of five individuals was also found.

The organisation of the Passy monuments is very complex, with some appearing to be grouped together. The arrangement of the 23 monuments suggests different phases of construction. As for Escolives-Sainte-Camille, there may be possible ceremonial buildings inside the monument enclosures. Some 30 burials were discovered associated with these monuments.

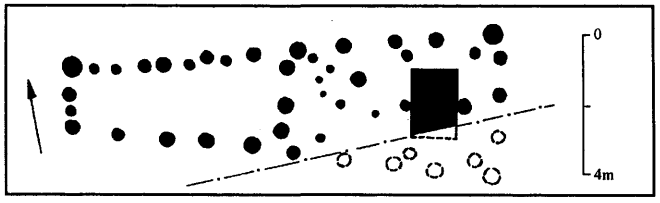
Figures from the text: 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, 6.17



The monumental cemetery at Passy-sur-Yonne. After Duhamel (1997, 399).

47) Sainte-Pallaye
Date: VSG and possibly Cerny
References: Carré *et al.* 1958; Carré 1999.

Description: First excavated in 1956, when a trapezoidal longhouse was discovered. It was the first evidence that the LBK had spread as far as the Paris Basin. Four trapezoidal houses were found, thought to date to the Augy-Sainte-Pallaye group, now attributed to the last phase of the VSG, possibly some of the site provides evidence for Cerny habitation.

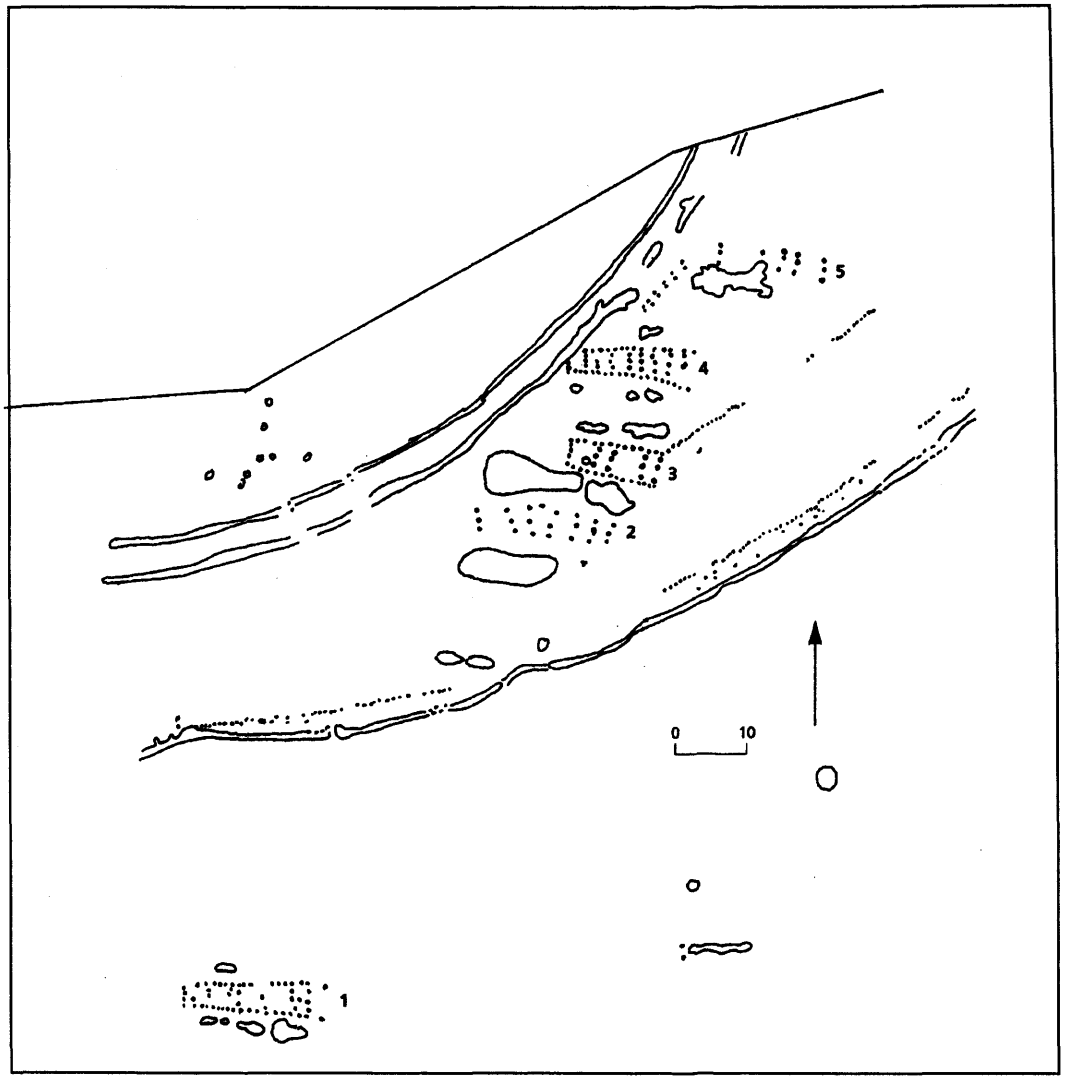


Sainte-Pallaye. After Carré *et al.* (1958, 133).

48) Villeneuve-la-Guyard *Prépoux*
Date: VSG
(Ly 4503) 6730 ± 110 BP, 5724–5538 cal. BC (human bone)
(Ly 4505) 6510 ± 170 BP, 5618–5315 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 4507) 6120 ± 110 BP, 5209–4858 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 4504) 6070 ± 240 BP, 5284–4723 cal. BC (bone)
(Ly 4502) 5980 ± 120 BP, 4961–4597 cal. BC (bone)
References: Prestreau 1992; 1993; Coudart 1998.

Description: This site is situated 10 km upstream from the confluence of the Yonne with the Seine. About six longhouses attributed to the VSG were found. The houses are all trapezoidal in plan. During the Cerny a double ditched enclosure was built and then a further one added during the Noyen phase. Prestreau suggest that they may have been two villages because the houses are fairly well spread out. Less than 14 burials have been found, including two multiple burials. Prestreau (1993) thinks that this site fits in with Constantin's phase two of the VSG.

Figures from the text: 6.2, 6.5



Villeneuve-la-Guyard *Prépoux*. After Prestreau (1992, 175).

49) Vinneuf
Date: RRBP-VSG and Cerny
References: Carré 1967.

Description: Excavated before a period of gravel extraction, this site produced evidence for a small trapezoidal house, about 7 m in length. A cemetery was also found and as the burials do not all share similar alignments, it is probably Cerny. A small interrupted ditched enclosure was also present dating to the Cerny period.

Appendix Two: Houses

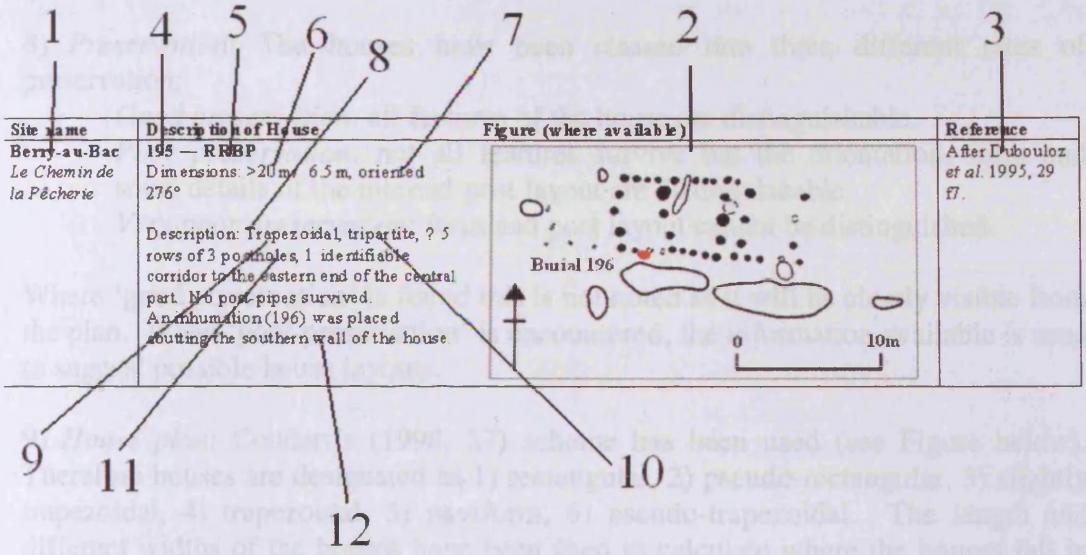
This appendix collates all the architectural data from the RRBP period through to and including the few examples of houses from Cerny period in the regions which form the two case studies. It is divided into two sections, with the first describing the houses themselves and the second discussing the data from which certain aspects of architectural design have been inferred. The intention in this thesis has been to focus on the experiential aspects of living with longhouses rather than considering them in plan or birds-eye form, perceptible only to the archaeologist. Therefore the following data is designed to give the reader a feel of the variety of spaces created in the different longhouses rather than replacing the work of Modderman (1988) and Coudart (1998).

The house data

The following two tables bring together all the published information on the architectural structures in the areas that form the case studies. It is therefore divided into two sections: Aisne/Oise and Seine/Yonne. The total number of houses represented here is 131, with 91 from the Aisne/Oise and 40 for the Seine/Yonne. The two tables include a brief description of the house, a figure (where available) and the published source. There is a great variety in the way houses and early Neolithic sites have been published. To date very few sites have received full publication (a notable exception being Berry-au-Bac *le Chemin de la Pêcherie*; Ilett and Plateaux 1995). Therefore the majority of the data has been taken from interim publications in journals such as *Les fouilles protohistoriques dans la vallée de l'Aisne* and the *Bilan Scientifique*.

House data, when not provided by the author, was estimated from published plans. Coudart's (1998) scheme has been used to describe the RRBP and VSG houses where possible, using the categories defined below. However, in contrast to Coudart (1998), I have included all the houses that have some form of preservation. This is because even partly preserved houses can provide information and assist in building up an overall picture of RRBP, VSG and Cerny architectures. Furthermore, many settlements would be completely ignored using Coudart's (1998) scheme resulting in a vastly reduced understanding of each region. I have not included all of the categories Coudart (1998) used to discuss longhouse design, but only the key ones which influence the experience of being within the house: the shape of the house, its modular design and whether it adheres to the 'three-posts-in-a-row' ideal. I have also noted the cases where a particular internal post layout has been inferred (such as the 'Y' arrangement; see below) and any extra features that are of interest such as burials associated with the house.

Definition of the categories



This is an example of the table design used for the first section of this appendix. The numbers refer to the categories defined below.

1) *Site location*: The houses are organised alphabetically by site.

2) *Figure*: Where a published plan of the house is available it has been included.

3) *Source*: The reference from which the description of the house was taken is noted. If a figure has been included, the page number and figure number of the plan in the original text is also given.

4) *House number*: The houses are listed in numerical order by the structure number originally assigned by the excavator, rather than chronologically, so that the reader can look for specific houses with ease.

5) *Period*: The chronological period to which the house belongs is given: RRBP, VSG or Cerny. However, a number of sites appear to fall into a transitional period between RRBP and VSG. In these case they have been denoted RRBP/VSG.

6) *Dimensions*: The length of the house and its width at the widest point are given. If the information was not published in detail, I have used the published plans and scales to estimate the dimensions of the house. In these cases I have given the measurement to the nearest meter. Where house lengths and widths are unclear I have prefaced the measurement with either '>' to show that it is longer than the measurement given, or 'c' to denote that the measurement is an estimate from a relatively unclear plan. Due to these difficulties the measurements provided for the houses should be regarded as a guide to relative lengths, rather than an absolute figure, and may be subject to change at a later date.

7) *Orientation*: The orientation of the house is provided. When the exact orientation was provided, either by Coudart (1998) or the excavator, this has been given in

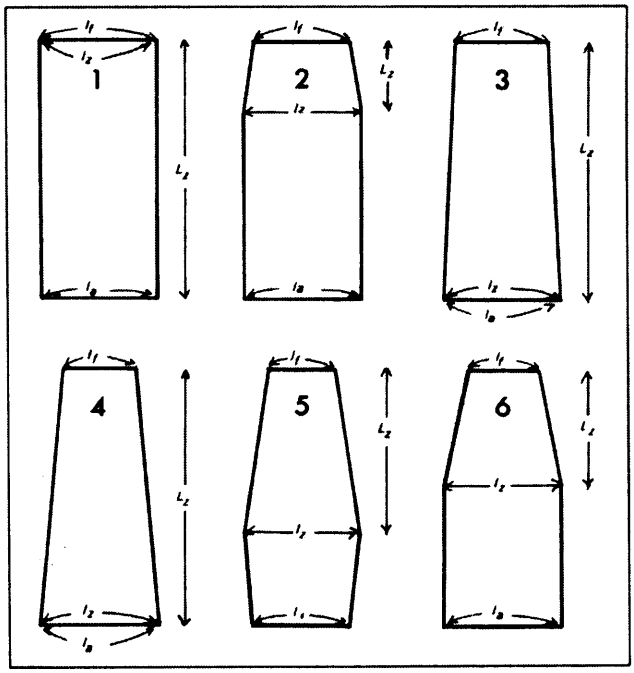
degrees from north. In the cases where this information had been omitted I have given the orientation in cardinal points (e.g. WNW–ESE, NW–SE and so on; for more discussion of orientation see Bickle 2004).

8) *Preservation*: The houses have been classed into three different rates of preservation:

Good preservation: all features of the house are distinguishable.
Poor preservation: not all features survive but the orientation, form and some details of the internal post layout are distinguishable.
Very poor preservation: form and post layout cannot be distinguished.

Where 'good preservation' is found this is not noted as it will be clearly visible from the plan. When 'poor preservation' is encountered, the information available is used to suggest possible house layouts.

9) *House plan*: Coudart's (1998, 27) scheme has been used (see Figure below). Therefore houses are designated as 1) rectangular, 2) pseudo-rectangular, 3) slightly trapezoidal, 4) trapezoidal, 5) naviform, 6) pseudo-trapezoidal. The length and different widths of the houses have been used to calculate where the houses fall in Coudart's (1998) scheme and there are a few places where I differ from her original designation.

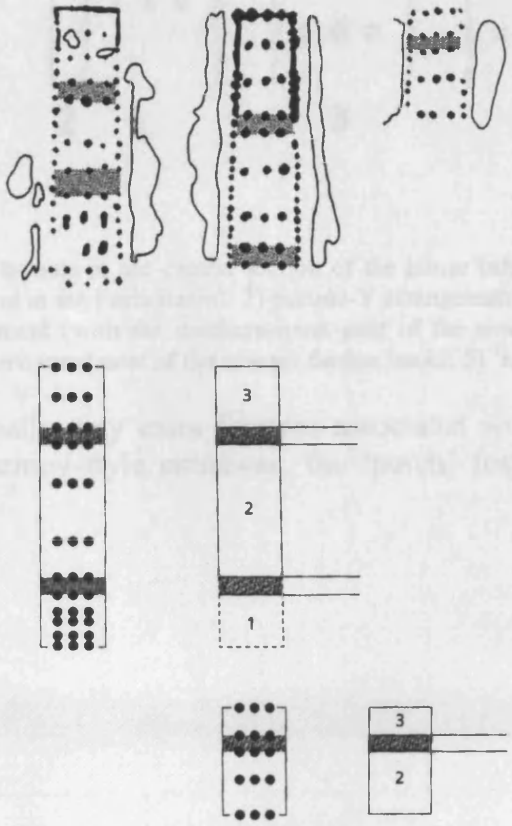


The 6 possible house plans as designated by Coudart (1998, 27).

The calculations Coudart (1998, 27) used were:

1: la=lf=lz
2: 0.1 < lz – lf < 1.59m; lz=la
3: 0.1 < lz – lf < 1.59m; lz=la
4: lz – lf > 1.6m; lz=la
5: lf < la < lz;
6: lz – lf > 1.6m; lz=la

10) *Partition*: For both Modderman (1988) and Coudart (1998), the modular partition of the house was extremely important in its classification, though they both differed in defining what constitutes a 'tripartite' house. Using Coudart's 1998 scheme (see the Figure below), however, the RRBP and VSG houses in the Paris Basin are overwhelmingly tripartite.



Coudart's (1998, 28) scheme for the partition of the longhouse. 1) front section, 2) central section, 3) back section. Houses in the Paris Basin usually have all three, though a small number have only sections 2 and 3 and are therefore bipartite. The shaded parts of the figure are the 'corridors'. After Coudart (1998, 28).

11) *Internal layout*: Several different aspects of the internal layout of the house are noted here. Firstly, the degree of adherence to the 'three-posts-in-a-row' ideal is considered by noting how many of the 'rows' consist of three posts. The central post layout has also been noted when it differs from the normal 'row' style (where the rows are perpendicular to the external rows; see Figure below). If the information is available the number of surviving post-pipes is also noted. This is because it strengthens the case for early Neolithic houses being left to decay *in situ*.