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### Author

Tringham, Ruth

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSEHOLD AS THE PRIMARY UNIT OF  
PRODUCTION IN NEOLITHIC AND ENEOLITHIC SOUTH-EAST EUROPE

Ruth Tringham  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Berkeley

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Ruth Tringham  
University of California  
Berkeley

### 1. The Study of Societal Complexity in South-Central Europe

In this symposium, we are all interested in the development of societal complexity in south-central Europe. Before I begin what is essentially a research report, I want to make two general comments; the first is about the analysis of social formations in the deep past for which we rely on archaeological data; the second is about doing it in south-central Europe.

The "development of societal complexity" really refers to the transformation of society from one formation to another; by expressing this term slightly differently again, we can add a new dimension to the study of social transformations in archaeology and bring them into the realm of testable hypotheses. I am referring to the study of the transformation of the mode of social reproduction which refers to "the socially determined form by which populations reproduce themselves as economic entities" (Friedman and Rowlands, 1978, 78). In "analysing a mode of social reproduction rather than a simple labor process, patterns of consumption, distribution and exchange within the base, as well as the role of the superstructure, must always be considered in any analysis of the mode of production (O'Laughlin, 1975, 360). The success of the archaeologists' investigations of social change, however, meaning their relevance and credibility for anthropological research in general, depends on their choosing the appropriate level of analysis for the enquiry, and carrying out the enquiry on a number of <sup>different</sup> levels of analysis. The so-called "social archaeologists", as exemplified by the recent volume of Renfrew and Shennan (1982) have tended to restrict their investigations and interpretations of social change to the macro-level and political questions of the tribe, the chiefdom, the settlement, and the region, in which behaviour has, of necessity, been extrapolated from specific examples to a cultural or group norm.

It may be regarded as a step forward that archaeologists are now joining the ranks of the enlightened who have descended to analysis at the level of the smallest unit of socio-economic behaviour: the household. The household has become of increasing importance as the unit of analysis for those anthropologists studying peasant societies (Barlett, 1980); it forms the basis of Sahlins' Domestic Mode of Production (Sahlins, 1972), and his re-popularisation of Chayanov's Household

Household Organization (Chayanov, 1966). The household is of great importance for the new school of time-space-motion geographers (Carlstein, 1982) and for many economic, social and demographic historical analyses (Laslett and Wall, 1972; see also the contributions to the Wenner-Gren symposium on The Household: Changing Form and Function in 1981 ). And now we have Household Archaeology (Flanery, 1976; Wilk and Rathje, 1982)! The advantage as a level of analysis that the household has for all of these social scientists is that it allows small-scale pre-capitalist societies to be analysed by the same statistical manipulations as those which are used to test theories (including game-theory and decision-theory) formulated by microeconomists and sociologists in capitalist societies. With larger-scale units, such as the lineage, the village, the tribe or the region, such analyses are much more difficult.

The danger in the use of the household as a unit of analysis, at least for archaeologists studying social change, is that it may prove to be too seductive, so that all change of a social and economic nature is seen through the eyes of the micro-unit, whereas the actual primary unit of social reproduction might be an agglomeration of households - a corporate body such as a lineage or entire village. It is important, therefore, that socio-economic analysis, as in other fields, is carried out at both the micro-level of the household, and the macro-level of the lineage, village, region, known world and so on.

Hayden and Cannon have actually recommended that archaeologists analyse social and economic change at the level of the "corporate group", since the household level presents such a jungle of variability (Hayden and Cannon, 1982). There are two points of criticism which might be made to this statement; the first is that the "corporate group" for Hayden and Cannon has a great deal in common with the "household" as defined by Wilk and Rathje (1982). When discussing the analysis of living societies, Barlett has mentioned that the "line between macro-level and household level factors is often arbitrary" (Barlett, 1980, 553). Moreover, by its very definition, the "corporate group" seems less easily identified and therefore less easy to use as a unit of analysis than "household". The second point is that the complex variability at the household level is meaningful for understanding the mode of social reproduction and its transformations; such variability should not be ignored as representing a tangled jungle - it has patterns which can and should be explained, even by archaeologists; variability in households can depend, for example on varying positions in the cycle of household development, and resulting variation in wealth, property and size of population.

The importance of the household is that it is the minimal (and can be maximal) unit of economic production and/or social reproduction and thus enables the archaeologist to analyse in a quantifiable way the co-operative organization and social relations of production, consumption and distribution of resources, and even their transmission (Wilk and Rathje, 1982 ). The investigation of these functions at a micro-level enables the investigation of social change with a credibility that enquiry at more macrolevels into kinship relations and the basis and manifestation of political power cannot achieve.

This then was the first general point that I wanted to make.

My second point is that south-central Europe has been chosen as the topic of this symposium for a particular reason. What is it that has drawn the participants in this symposium together? Some might dare to suggest that this area more than any other in Europe is where U.S. archaeologists have been heavily involved in primary research; hence it must represent a region which is fruitful for providing case-studies to test processual models of behavioural change. This argument would furthermore suggest that these models could be tested (and are tested) as easily elsewhere, but the data is rich and appropriate in south-central Europe and has been relatively carefully collected.

I would argue, however, that south-central Europe represents much more than a playground for exercising what Trigger has called "technical and theoretical virtuosity" (Trigger, 1980, 183) in a culture-free context, whether this is concerning the adaptive behaviour of agriculturalists or the mechanisms by which elites rise and are maintained. The historical background of this part of Europe provides a context of long-term multilineal transformation of society whose formations are in sharp contrast to those of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies, and yet inextricably bound up with these and those societies to the north and east. The explanation for the variation in social formation and its transformations in these areas, why for example urban centres and "civilization" were never a part of pre-Roman temperate Europe, and the complexities of the process through ten thousand years and more of transformation cannot be obtained without this historical context. It seems to me then, that the papers in this symposium do not represent disparate case-studies, but cumulative research to explain the historical process in south-central Europe.

## 2. A Model for the Development of the Household as the Primary Unit of Production

In keeping with the above sentiments, I should say at the outset that the model which I present owes very little to the Law of Least Effort and the rationality of Economic Man. From this point of view it is not a predictable model of human behaviour. I hope, however, that at least it is explanatory. These words are a response to Robert Whallon's critique in Renfrew and Shennan (1982) but do not have to be heard by him except perhaps in some "ET"-like telepathic mode. The model which is presented below draws much of its explanation from the so-called "irrationalities" of pre-capitalist behaviour. It is based on the principal that transformations in the productive process (production, consumption and distribution and transmission<sup>of resources</sup>) are the result of transformations in the social formation and not vice versa (Friedman and Rowlands, 1978; Godelier, 1977; Meillassoux, 1960). The model deals with an important transformation in the mode of social reproduction in the later neolithic societies of south-east Europe in which not only was their society changed, but also their pattern of residence and utilisation of resources and their relations with the outside world. This social transformation revolves around the hypothesised emergence of the household as the primary unit of production during the late neolithic Vinca C culture in the Danube-Morava and the Tisza culture of the Tisza Valley-Hungarian Plain, which happen to be two well-researched areas. It is likely that the same transformation took place at about the same time elsewhere in the middle Danube valley.

The "household" not only has advantages as a unit of analysis, but it is hypothesised that at certain times, i.e. in certain situations, for example during the emergence of the Domestic Mode of Production (Sahlins, 1972) it plays a primary role as the organizing unit of co-operative labour, production, consumption and sharing of resources, the transmission of property and rights from one generation to another, and the creation and maintenance of ties and alliances with other units through marriage and other forms of exchange; in short in some situations the household becomes the primary unit of social reproduction.

Michael Rowlands has formulated a model of the social transformations in Bronze Age Europe, according to which a complex and expansionist network of exchange existed, grew and changed throughout Europe with regional variation, and which was created and maintained by the prestige and bonding needs of marital and other alliances between large corporate patrilocal households (Rowlands, 1980). He is arguing, as far as I see it, for a flexible basis for the ranking and stratification of society, rather than the emergence and growth of fixed elite classes, whose power grew and crystallised through control of the production process, which characterises

some other models of Bronze Age social change in Europe (Gilman, 1981). The model for the corporate household which administered marriage contracts for its members and thus created its own network of alliances is based on indications of Indo-European philology and early textual evidence of Indo-European social structure, as well as the analogy of Omaha type of household alliance organization. I am sure that the model has come in for some heavy criticism, but I nevertheless think that it has great implications for the explanation of the lack of urban development and states in Europe.

The reason why I mention Rowlands paper at this point is not because I want to suggest in any way that a similar social formation existed 2000 years before. The question which interests me concerns the large households with their alliance networks. At what point do such households emerge in Europe, how and why? Do they emerge with the establishment of permanent agricultural villages? Are they always associated with the establishment and maintenance of alliance networks? Does the formation of such a household create the network of exchange (as Rowland suggests) or is it a form of social unit which grows out of intensification of production caused by a wide exchange of goods and the control and accumulation of certain key resources? Can we see a continuity between the household formation in "Old Europe" and that of the "proto-Indo-Europeans" of the 2nd mill.? These are provocative questions which do not actually form part of the model I am presenting here, but serve to put that model in its wider historical perspective.

The model for the emergence of households and social inequalities in the Neolithic of south-east Europe, which I want to present here is on a somewhat smaller and certainly less international scale than that formulated by Rowlands for the Bronze Age. Like that of Rowlands, it suggests that the "social" function of the household in securing partners for its marriageable members by alliances within and outside the village and the maintenance of these social bonds by various other forms of exchange, displays and accumulation stimulates and directs <sup>such as intensification</sup> the transformations in production, consumption and distribution of resources. The changes in the social functions of the households are themselves a product of the increasing degree of sedentism and the establishment of permanent villages 1500 years after the initial introduction of a food-producing subsistence strategy into the Danube basin. The causes of the establishment of permanent villages are themselves still very much under discussion. The explanations vary from a response to external stress such as the restriction of resource catchment area to a state which is temporarily entered for tactical reasons such as cooperation in food-quest or defense and which cannot subsequently be escaped (Harris, 1978; Rafferty, n.d.; Tringham, n.d., Kaiser and

Voytek, n.d., Bender, 1978). The question of sedentism dominates (if generally implicitly) all of the models of the "Neolithic Revolution", but the nature of the enormous social and economic transformations which resulted from the establishment of permanent villages is only now beginning to be considered.

The model presented here for social transformation in the Neolithic and Eneolithic of south-east Europe, as seen in the middle Danube basin, takes off from various research projects which a number of us have been carrying out in the last few years (Sherratt, 1982a, 1982b; Chapman, 1981; Tringham et al. 1980; Kaiser and Voytek, n.d.).

Andrew Sherratt drew attention to the change from the small opportunistic settlements of the FTN Koros culture on the Great Hungarian Plain to the large aggregated settlements of the later neolithic Tisza/Szakalhat culture which were associated with the intensification of production (involving especially cattle) and an elaboration of ritual items.

A similar process of change in a similar time-period was noticed south of the Great Hungarian Plain in the Moravo-middle Danube basin of east-Yugoslavia from the short-term "tactical" settlements of the FTN Starcevo culture whose faunal debris comprises mostly sheep/goats to the aggregated long-term settlements placed in locations for the "strategic" utilisation of resources, foremost among which in the animal world were cattle which characterise the later neolithic Vinca culture (Chapman, 1981; Tringham, 1971; Kaiser and Voytek, n.d.).

The changes in settlement pattern, the concentration on local cattle and pigs, the changes in ceramic styles, and the increase in the frequency of elaborate ritual items such as figurines, was interpreted originally (and this interpretation still holds for many) as a new late neolithic migration of an agrarian population to the Danube valley, mirroring the original FTN migration, from the south, from the Aegeo-Anatolian area. I think that John Chapman (1981, 33-39) and the rest of us (including of course Colin Renfrew) have successfully argued against this interpretation and for its alternative, that is that the Vinca culture represents an essentially internal evolution from the FTN agricultural population of Europe, without disruptions or augmentations from any further demic diffusion from the south. I have argued, however, that internal evolution does not mean evolution in isolation (Tringham, 1979). Thus this paper starts from the premise that the Koros-Tisza-Tiszapolgar sequence and the Starcevo-Early Vinca-Late Vinca sequence represents the transformation of the earliest agriculturalists from semi-sedentary



low-productivity labour-extensive farmer-herders with loose-knit units of social co-operation into fully sedentary relatively intensive village farmers with fixed long-lasting households established as the unit of social and economic co-operation. The argument suggests that this process took ca.1500 years to complete and we first see clear signs of the establishment of permanent villages in the Vinca C period.

The problem for us to model, then, is how and why such a transformation should have taken place. One might argue that this is a non-problem, since like the acceptance and adoption of food-production techniques in the first place, the success of an agriculturally based society is assured and its advantages are obvious; following this argument further, by the expansionist nature of an agricultural economy, an agricultural population will inevitably grow and expand and in the struggle to control the expansion, the culture will inevitably develop and become more complex. One could argue this. But I prefer to draw attention to the fact (that is if you are convinced by the Carbon 14 dates in the Danube Valley) that when the earliest agricultural population moved into the Danube-Morava valley, there existed in the Danube Gorges a series of sedentary hunter-gatherer settlements whose productivity, knowledge and utilisation of local resources, and social complexity was far greater than that of the FTN Starcevo settlements (Tringham, 1973). It was not at all inevitable that the FTN agriculturalists would survive and socially reproduce themselves. For the sake of speed and space I have now converted my model into a scenario. But in a fairly lengthy model-building-testing paper I have attempted to demonstrate that the exchanges between the hunter-gatherers in the Danube Gorges (for example at Lepenski Vir) and the FTN agriculturalists of the Starcevo culture, which involved information and people as well as the archaeologically more visible goods, led to the transformation of both societies; in this transformational process, the FTN agriculturalists learned about local resources and received a stimulus for intensified production and more settled way of life, as a result of which the hunter-gatherers had their social reproduction completely disrupted after which their culture did not survive (Tringham, n.d.).

The death of the Lepenski Vir culture and the abandonment of the Danube Gorges not long afterwards coincides with the first steps towards the establishment of sedentary farming villages in the earliest settlements of the Vinca culture (Vinca A) at the base of a number of long-lived <sup>stratified</sup> settlements of the Vinca culture, such as Vinca itself. I would suggest that it is no accident that the first Vinca settlements emerge in the lower Morava valley and the area of the Danube-Morava-Tamis confluence, that is in those areas where the FTN settlements had been in closest

proximity to the hunter-gatherers of the Danube Gorges. From this same area, the Vinca culture (along with sedentary settlements) spread southwards and northwards during its Vinca B and C phase. In fact I am suggesting that the hunter-gatherers of the Lepenski Vir culture in encouraging and providing the initial stimulus for the growth of the agriculturalists, which we see archaeologically in the formation of the Vinca culture, at the same time sowed the seeds of their own destruction (or at least that of their way of life).

Thus the situation of change in unit of social reproduction as suggested here seems quite analogous to the change in social form in lowland Mesoamerica, as it has been hypothesised by Wilk and Rathé (1982). Their earliest agricultural phase was hypothetically characterised by loose-knit flexible short-lived households in which the village and houses may have remained on the same spot but were not occupied continuously and comprise series of short-lived occupations separated by collapse and re-building of the same houses. This pattern was also transformed into one comprising more fixed longer-lived households displaying (they hope) the full household cycle.

The process of transformation of the agriculturalists from FTN to Vinca C has at least three features which are testable by archaeological data: intensification of production, increasing degree of sedentism and the establishment of permanent settlements, and the change of the social unit of production to the long-term household. The model suggests that this process was set in motion by exchange between hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists. In the models of both Rowlands and Bender these exchanges should have been most importantly in the nature of alliances to ensure marriage partners as much as to maintain a flow of goods between the two groups. In theirs and this model it is presumed that exchanges were desired and even competed for amongst the FTN loosely-knit groups. Presumably a marriage alliance with the settled hunter-gatherers was considered advantageous. It may be suggested from this that production of exchangeable goods and their accumulation would have been stimulated in this way. It is the ~~the~~<sup>CHANGING</sup> the alliance network towards competition between households which must have made the difference and lifted any constraints on the intensification of production. It is likely in this process that establishing the household as fixed alliance unit and settling down into a permanent settlement represents one and the same process at first. ~~the~~<sup>THUS</sup> the small settlements we see in Vinca-Tordos (A-B) are in fact the emerging households in a process of becoming permanent, and the larger villages of the Vinca C phase represent the completion of this process and already the seeds of its change with a number of households organised in one village in competition with each other.

The actual test<sup>situation</sup> of such a model would be to have a number of sites of the Vinca

phases A-C excavated with a view to investigating all three of these aspects of change. So far, however, no such test has been carried out on a single site of the Vinca culture, let alone a number.

### 3. The archaeological data on the social transformations of the early Vinca culture

The archaeological evidence for the intensification of production during this period, meaning overall increase in labour input into the production process, increase in the channelling of labour effort into the sequence of specific tasks, as well as diversifying and increasing the resource base, has already been discussed at length for this period (Tringham, 1971; Tringham et al. 1980; Kaiser and Voytek, n.d.; Chapman, 1981). This is the most testable aspect of the whole question and formed the basis of our research at Selevac.

For the evidence of increasing permanence of settlement, Chapman relied especially on the thickness of the cultural layer (Chapman, 1981, 47). At Selevac, our conclusions on duration of settlement were based on the houses themselves and the labour commitment put into them and provision for long-term duration: methods and materials of construction, maintenance, destruction and replacement of the houses; in addition we used evidence in and around the structures for behaviour expected to be associated with increasing permanence of settlement (based on ethnographic observations): the provision for storage and the accumulation of goods, specialised fixed organization of space including the location of garbage areas, production areas and so on, and spatial organization of buildings; and finally information on the use-histories of houses and their associated finds and stages of use-life of materials in more permanent settlements. At Selevac in fact because of the lack of exposure and data on spatial organization of data, the information on duration of residence concentrated on the information on building construction, destruction and replacement. It is this data which I shall present here.

At Selevac, the 3 metres of cultural deposits have been divided on the basis of their stratigraphy into nine building horizons probably of unequal duration (fig. ). In these nine building levels, three "architectural phases" have been distinguished. These latter, although based mostly on architectural-stratigraphic information seem likely to correspond to different parts of the transformational process I have been discussing, and correspond also to different phases of the Vinca culture. This correspondence is supported by Carbon 14 dating.

The earliest phase is represented by four horizons in the re-building of a single structure (house 6). The floor alone and part of the external wall represented by a row of postholes has survived. The floors of each re-building is represented by a thin layer of unburned sterile clay on which are deposited thin patches of ash, charcoal and burned earth, with virtually no sign of burned clay rubble. The posthole comprises deep narrow closely packed postholes (1 - 1.5 m. below floor level. This

structure has been interpreted as a wooden structure which was occupied for short periods and left to collapse and rot, whereupon it was re-built using the same postholes, thus implying repeated but not continuous occupation over several generations. Thus this mode of house replacement resembles that of a tell in that there is complete vertical superimposition of structures and cake-like formation of stratified deposits but without the long continuous occupation implied by tell settlements for example at Vinca and in the Aegean drainage area. Sediment-coring showed that small patches of deep deposits of vertical superimposition existed at other areas of the site. In fact during the 1976 season another area, but less clear of this kind was excavated.

The second phase, represented by two building horizons, has the remains of two adjoining houses. In this case the structure was also held up by the external supporting walls which were even more solidly founded, their deep densely packed posts being placed in a trench packed with sterile earth. The floors of the houses comprised thicker layers of unburned sterile clay, on which had been deposited the same ash/burned earth and charcoal patches, but with slightly more evidence for burned clay rubble. In the case of these two houses, however, there was no vertical superimposition. The later house is an extension and a replacement of the older house. These two floors are associated with internal clay-lined pits which have been interpreted as storage pits. These houses are also interpreted as wooden houses with at most a thin coating of clay to prolong their use-lives. In the layers of the first two architectural phases, however, there is very little burned clay rubble, compared to the final and third architectural phase.

The final architectural phase comprises one building horizon only. This is a burned clay rubble house of spectacular appearance, of the kind known universally in Vinca C and D settlements, and in other parts of southeast Europe at this time. Vinca, the type-site is exceptional in having evidence of this kind of structural remains in the Vinca A-B levels. This is the phase in which we are suggesting that the process of sedentisation and establishment of the household as the fixed unit of production reached a peak. Much of the data that we have in reconstructing the materials and methods of construction and destruction of the structures comes from the data collected at Gomolava, a site whose burned houses are contemporary with those of Selevac. At Selevac there are the incomplete remains of two structures, in which the external walls were built of a light planking covered on inner and outer surfaces by a 10 cm. thick layer of clay and chaff etc. mixture and the inner walls of a wattling frame covered with clay. The floors of the houses comprise a thick layer of clay (which is burned) on a layer of horizontal planks. Each structure is founded on a 50 cm. thick layer sterile earth which acts as a levelling or foundation layer. At Gomolava, these structures are full of internal furniture such as ovens, weaving areas, platforms and so on.

Although in this phase it is suggested that the process of sedentism was far advanced, the mode of house replacement was by complete horizontal displacement of the subsequent houses. By this process, during the Vinca C phase at Selevac, the cultural deposits were spread over an area of 80 hectares, although probably less than 15 hectares was ~~probably~~ occupied at any one time (Chapman, 1981; Tringham et al. 1980).

The change to a structure which was built primarily of clay on a relatively light wooden framework which characterises the Vinca C period at Selevac and probably in general, is interpreted as representing the construction of a building which, with regular maintenance, such as liming the walls, could last for more than a hundred years. Much of the other evidence interpreted as indicating increasing sedentism can also be used to indicate the emergence of the household as the clear unit of production. As mentioned before these two features are closely interdependent. It is really essential for the investigation of both sedentism and households to have a large area exposed by excavation. At the site of Gomolava, this was provided but with little attention to the spatial distribution of associated artifacts and the area between the houses (Brukner, 1981).

In the study of the emergence of households, it should be remembered that one cannot assume that a "household" corresponds to a "house" as excavated archaeologically. Thus the establishment of fixed furniture, tool-kits, ovens and so on inside a house will not establish that it represents the unit of production. As Rathje and Wilk observe, one should look at the behaviour which is supposedly associated with the emergence of households as the unit of production. One of these is the long duration of the household in a cycle of growth and decline, in which one should be able to see a long-term pattern of additions and modifications to structures, and care in their maintenance; these are features which can be tested archaeologically, although it is certainly not easy. The change in materials used in the construction of structures in Vinca C would indicate a new provision for such a long term cycle. It may even be that what we see in phase 2 at Selevac in the modification of the house represents provision of a growing household, although I think the area excavated is too small to say anything conclusive. But with respect to this question, it becomes imperative to pay more attention to the phenomenon of the change in method of house replacement in Selevac phase 3 and other Vinca C settlements and the apparent change in house destruction in which the structures were burned in ~~very~~ violent fires. This is part of the rationale of the research which I have been doing at Gomolava to investigate the cause of the fires - whether they are deliberate or accidental, and whether all the houses which seem to be of a single building horizon burned in the same conflagration or in separate fires. Because of the lack of information on the exact stratigraphic position between houses, this is proving to

be difficult to prove either way. However, it is clear that the houses burned at very high temperatures, in some places up to 1100° C, enough to vitrify ceramics and clays. This is a very high temperature for a house fire but could be produced by a sudden and large draught (a combination of wind, door opening and roof falling in); it could also be produced by having highly flammable materials inside, for example if part of the house was used as a granary. Such a temperature could also be produced by deliberate arson. The last two possibilities have very significant implications for the theory of the emergence of the household; the first suggesting within-house storage, the second suggesting possible deliberate burning at the end of the household cycle. But until the research has gone further, this is still speculation.

The other significance of house replacement data for the emergence of the household is that a new structure may have been built separately from the old not only because the old was burned and/or quite unmodifiable, but because it was a practice to use the old burned buildings after their destruction. There is some very interesting work being done by Gary Shaffer in Italy for reconstructing the stage of the use-life of a house at the time of burning, i.e. was it already abandoned when the fire occurred, which we hope to incorporate in our own research. Meanwhile, I would draw your attention to the houses at Comolaya, in which there seem to be, at least in 2 or 3 cases, pairs of houses; one which is burned containing masses of burned collapsed pots and other domestica goods; the other, one metre or less away which is virtually empty; which may be indicating two structures belonging to the same household at two different points in its cycle.

These are the main indications of the emergence of the household from an architectural point of view. A most important indication which will be discussed by Barbara Voytek and Tim Kaiser is the separation of a household from others in a village in the production process, (that is in the production, consumption and distribution of resources) which will demonstrate itself not only stylistically in such materials as ceramics (perhaps) but in the presence of the full sequence of tasks and consumption of materials in association with particular residence units. This separation of the household from the rest of the village and cohesion among its members can manifest itself in outward signs of ownership or producer marks. Such an interpretation has been given to the so-called "potters' marks" which occur in the Vinca C phase. This interpretation has also been given to the figurines which occur in enormously increased quantities in the Vinca C period, including Selevac phase 3. An alternative interpretation of these is that they are part of the increased appearance of ritual objects in this period and the ritualisation of production activities to compensate for the uncertainties and insecurities of the participants as the new social form emerged.

Finally, in the theory of the emergence of households as the unit of economic production and social reproduction, the cycle of evolution through which households pass, in which they expand, accumulate wealth, property and members, and then contract, leads to inequalities between the households, as well as the myriad of variation between them (Sahlins, 1972). This is very likely the basis of the temporary and flexible stratification between ~~xxx~~ different households of a village and between villages in the Domestic Mode of <sup>P</sup> production. <sup>T</sup>he inequalities manifest themselves in access to products and the production process, i.e. not only the products of exchange with other groups but also to the raw materials and techniques and equipment for making use of <sup>such as copper and ceramics</sup> certain resources. <sup>H</sup>is inequality in access to tangible material goods, as seen archaeologically, certainly reflects inequalities in access to information and alliance exchanges. All such alliances and exchanges of materials were on a relatively local scale, with some exceptions, until the late eneolithic. And the stratification caused by such inequalities was relatively temporary (i.e. not more than one person's lifetime). <sup>I</sup>n this model of household production, it is unlikely that highly stratified societies with long-lived ranking lasting several generations developed. If and how they did in the late eneolithic/Early <sup>B</sup>ronze Age of southeast Europe is another story, as is the question of whether the large household continued to act as the primary unit of social reproduction in these periods.

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CULTURAL ASSOCIATION	C14 UNCALIBRATED b.c.	BUILDING HORIZON	ARCHITECTURAL PHASE
VINČA-PLOČNIK C	(3720±80)	IX	3
	(3800±80)	VIII	
VINČA-PLOČNIK C/ VINČA-TORDOŠ B2		VII	2
	4150±100	VI	
		V	
	4100±70	IV	
VINČA-TORDOŠ B2	4090±70	III	1
	4100±70	II	
	4280±100	I	

SELEVAC: BUILDING HORIZONS AND ARCHITECTURAL PHASES

3

IX

2

VIII

VII

VI

1

V

IV

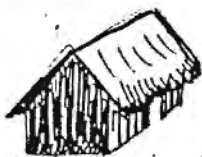
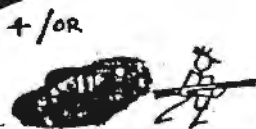
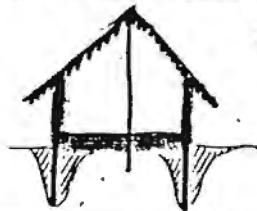
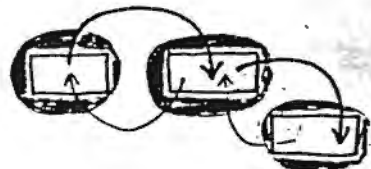
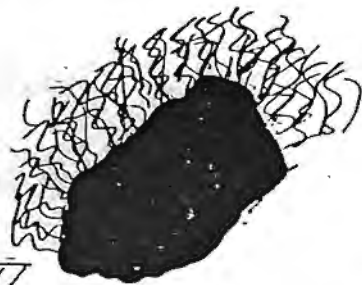
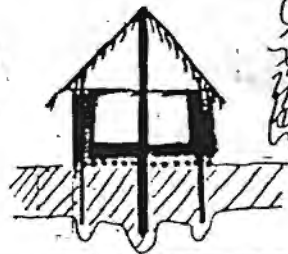
III

II

I

CHITEC PHASES

BUILDING HORIZONS



DESTRUCTION

PATTERN OF HOUSE REPLACEMENT

FORM

CONSTRUCTION

SELEVAC: ARCHITECTURAL PHASES

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