

Social power in the early farming communities of Eastern Hungary – Perspectives from the Upper Tisza region

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It may be said that the farmers in Eastern Hungary who form the focus of this paper inhabited a time-space of some four and a half millennia over some 25.000 square kilometres. It may further be proposed that their time-space may be divided into 10 chronological periods and 12 regional areas (or sub-divisions of the Alföld, the Great Hungarian Plain). And it may further be claimed that, in one sub-region of their time-space, settlements occurred within 8 out of 10 periods.

These kinds of statements are typically offered as starting-points for further analysis of the farming communities of Eastern Hungary (and many other areas!). The problem comes when such statements are taken as end-points, sufficient in themselves, of research. For while time-space co-ordinates are necessary for „accurate” prehistory, and may convince us of the illusion that archaeology is a rigorous, scientific and objective study of the „facts”, such markers do not breathe any form of life into the prehistoric communities whom we study.

This long and detailed attention to chronologies and distribution maps has, I fear, blinded us to any deep realization of the social basis for past lifeways – and has managed to make us overlook the basically social nature of three essential elements of the picture: time, space and archaeological sites and monuments. The social nature of time is often ignored (CARLSTEIN 1982.); the social significance of space and the spatial significance of society are often divorced one from the other (see HILLIER-HANSON 1984.); and, perhaps most basic of all, the true significance of sites and monuments is assumed rather than continually probed. The form and structure of a site is often taken for granted, as part of the general pattern of the time-space under observation.

In this contribution to the 125th birthday celebrations of the Jóna András Múzeum, Nyíregyháza, I shall oscillate between remarks on the general sequence in the Alföld and more detailed preliminary

observations based on the joint Anglo-Hungarian Upper Tisza Project¹, whose fieldwork is based in North-East Hungary. And since the ancestors bulk large in this article, I dedicate it to János Makkay and Nándor Kalicz – those living ancestors, whose towering achievements in research into the Hungarian Neolithic make it possible to write what we can write in this volume.

Tells, barrows and cemeteries in the Great Hungarian Plain

In contrast to the Bulgarian Neolithic and Copper Age, tells were a relatively rare settlement type in the lowlands of Eastern Hungary in the three millennia after the introduction of farming (Fig. 1). An alternative settlement mode is based on long-term but not necessarily continuous occupation of valley segments but with frequent settlement shifts within preferred zones. On many of the sites, repeated occupation for up to six, seven and even eight phases is typical. In the county Békés II survey region (JANKOVICH et al. 1989.), over 80% of all prehistoric sites were found in less than 20% of the region, with strong local settlement concentrations, termed site clusters (CHAPMAN 1981.). Only in the late Middle-Late Neolithic (RACZKY 1987.) and the Early-Middle Bronze Age (MEIER-ARENDT 1992.) were tells constructed in the Alföld and then only within the confines of these long-term site clusters. The other monument class found in the Alföld is the mortuary barrow (ECSEDY 1979.), whose distribution rarely matches that of the site clusters. The common feature of both tells and barrows is height above a lowland expanse whose modern flat relief conceals considerable ecological variability in the middle Holocene. The dominant relief of tells and barrows, matched by their similar appearance, reinforces their significance as key places of social value in the landscape.

¹ The Upper Tisza Project is an Anglo-Hungarian research project designed to define and explain changes in the physical and social environment of the Upper Tisza basin in the North-East Hungary over the last 10.000 years (CHAPMAN-LASZLOVSZKY 1992., CHAPMAN-LASZLOVSZKY 1993.).

Small open settlements both near and set back from the main watercourses are characteristic for the first farmers in the early 6th millennium CAL B.C.²; the sites showed frequent lateral relocation over areas up to 2 km long (e.g., Dévaványa-Katona-földek: ECSEDY 1972.). Total excavation of a satellite Körös Culture site (Endrőd 119: MAKKAY 1992., BÖKÖNYI 1992.) indicated two houses each occupied over some 50 years, with nine intramural burials. A broad-spectrum economy with hunting, fishing and fowling as important as cereal cultivation or stock rearing suggests that the Körös Culture may be rooted in the local forager population. Although few Körös houses have been identified until recently, the domestic arena of social power is dominant in these settlements.

There is no evidence for Holocene settlement of the Polgár Block (Fig. 2) of the Upper Tisza Project study region until the Early-Middle Neolithic transition (cca. 5200-5000 CAL B.C.). The earliest pottery found in the survey block is in the Szatmár II style. The onset of farming in the north part of the Alföld is traditionally dated to this phase (KURUCZ 1989.). A total of 14 scatters is known from the Polgár Block (Fig. 3), the majority in the southern part; no single finds were discovered. The scatters are well-spaced at usually 2+ km intervals. Most scatters are small (Polgár 18 – c. 25x15 m; Polgár 23 – 25x15 m); Polgár 35 has several concentrations of pottery within an area of 140x100 m, while Polgár 46 is defined as a small scatter of sherds within what becomes the largest Middle Neolithic site. Two sites lie on 'islands' in the floodzone (both on the Hodos island), five lie on the edge of the floodplain and two are set back from the edge. In most cases, site location provides equal access to 'dry' and 'wet' farmland³. Only one area is not colonised: the Tiszagyulaháza islands. The settlement pattern of the earliest 'farmers' reflects an exploration of the possibilities of settlement in most parts of a riverine landscape.

Four forms of mortuary practices may be defined for the Körös Group: skull burial, inhumation of disarticulated and partial skeletons, inhumation of articulated complete skeletons, and rarely, cremation of partial bodies (CHAPMAN 1983.). Most inhumations are deposited within the settlement, in pits or on unoccupied parts of the site, so as to include some of the ancestors into the local settlement context of the living. However, burials inside the house have also been identified as a significant rite at two Körös sites – Szajol-Felsőföldek and Szolnok-Szanda-

Tenyősziget (RACZKY 1982/83.). The excavator commented that the interior fittings and contents of the houses had been left intact as funerary offerings (e.g., figurines, pottery, stone and bone tools). Here we have an instance in the Great Hungarian Plain, comparable to those found at Lepenski Vir, of the deliberate killing of houses by fire in the same act as the final burial of the deceased. The intersection of the end of the life-cycle of social actors, material culture and houses is deeply significant for the reconstitution of the social world of Körös settlements, marking either the death of a significant individual or a re-ordering of the whole community or both. In the Körös case as in the Iron Gates, death is so absolutely polluting that all associations with the newly-dead must be destroyed before the re-emergence of the community becomes possible. This attitude to death may well be the cause of short-distance relocation of Körös sites, since social reproduction was not possible on sites polluted by recent deaths (pers. comm. M. Rowlands). Since the transformation of the deceased into the ancestor takes place wholly within the settlement, the subsequent re-incorporation of the ancestors into the social life that continues on an adjoining site is tightly structured to provide continuity between living, dead and ancestors.

In the subsequent phase of Middle Neolithic settlement on the Alföld, a larger number of usually smaller sites is known from the early Alföld Linear Pottery phase (or AVK: KALICZ-MAKKAY 1977., MAKKAY 1982.). Occupation of sites later to become tells may begin from this phase but tell 'production' can with certainty be dated to the later, or Szakálhát, phase of the Middle Neolithic, from c. 4800 CAL B.C. The Vésztő mound was at least 1 m high by the end of the Szakálhát phase (HEGEDŰS-MAKKAY 1987.). In this phase, site nucleation begins to reverse the trend of previous settlement. Szakálhát sites, whether tells or not, tend to be fewer and larger than the preceding AVK riverside hamlets.

In the Polgár Block, a massive increase in the number of pottery scatters is characteristic of the Middle Neolithic period, as defined by the local manufacture of Tiszadob pottery (a sub-group of the Late Alföld Linearbandkeramik: KURUCZ 1989.). 102 scatters have been identified, together with over 100 single finds (Fig. 4). The settlement distribution indicates expansion as much as consolidation. All nine Szatmár sites are re-occupied in the Tiszadob phase. A process of contagious growth may be noted, with

2 The abbreviation „CAL B.C.” refers to calendrical dates before Christ, where „CAL” refers to the calibration of radiocarbon dates necessary for their conversion to historically more accurate dates, and „B.C.” is the archeologically standard term for „before the Christian Era”.

3 The terms „dry farmland” and „wet farmland” were defined by A. Fairbairn in relation to the weed flora from botanical samples from the Late Neolithic tell of Polgár-Csőszhalom (FAIRBAIRN in press). The weed floras indicate that crops cultivated near Csőszhalom were grown in two contrasting ecological areas – a wet zone, probably the Tisza floodplain, and a dry zone, probably the loess terraces.

each Szatmár site leading to the occupation of a cluster of Tiszadob sites in the immediate vicinity (HUDSON 1969., KRUK 1973.). In this phase, there is an expansion of settlement over much of the dry landscape. Site concentrations are found in all seven sub-areas, for the first and the last time in the prehistoric sequence. Most site concentrations in the southern part lie near the edge of wet farmland. Closer to Tiszadob, the higher altitude of the dry land appears to have attracted two or three concentrations of scatters; some sites are located further from wet farmland than in the Polgár area. Sites such as Polgár 61 lie on tiny elevations on the floodplain. Other sites, such as the largest scatter at Polgár 46, are well set back from the floodplain edge, with large areas of fertile loess-derived soils for cultivation. Single finds occur on tiny islands near Tiszagyuláháza and west of the Kengyel-Tiszadob corridor, as well as in most other site concentrations. Site sizes vary in this period from small clusters of sherds (25x15 m), presumably indicating a single structure, to the 30-hectare (600x500 m) site at Polgár 46, interpreted as a discontinuous, low-density distribution of individual houses with gardens. Although most of the sites are probably small-scale, maybe short-term and certainly dispersed, occasional large concentrations of people do occur as foci of social power in the landscape. The variety in site sizes may imply the existence of inter-site social differentiation, although this would need to be tested by future excavation. The site of Újtikos 2 is potentially interesting, since it is a tell with only Middle Neolithic pottery on the surface. If this dating is correct, this may be the first Tiszadob-phase tell in North-East Hungary.

The mortuary evidence from the Middle Neolithic shows continuity from the Körös period, with intramural burial of skulls, disarticulated partial and articulated complete skeletons (CHAPMAN 1983.). One burial is known from the Szakálhát levels on the Vésztő tell (HEGEDŰS-MAKKAY 1987.91.). The Vésztő burial is important in showing the typical path of future intramural tell burials – articulated but not buried in a burnt house. Thus the domestic arena maintains its ancestor focus, both on flat sites and on tells – a burial picture superficially comparable to that of the Bulgarian tell pattern (CHAPMAN 1991.). However, the Hungarian tell burials comprise complete articulated individuals, in contrast to the partial secondary burials on Bulgarian tells. It would seem that death has become less polluting in the Middle Neolithic, perhaps through the introduction of social boundedness designed to contain and limit the dangers from death to the community. Since the ancestral traditions so distinctive of tells have hardly developed strongly yet in Eastern Hungary, alternative modes of ancestral relations relating to mortuary ritual may have been more important.

The first flowering of the tell tradition in Hungary

dates to the Late Neolithic, c. 4500-3900 CAL B.C. Even then, fewer than 20 tells and tell-like sites are known from Eastern Hungary, their number being exceeded by sometimes larger flat sites (KALICZ-RACZKY 1987.a). The height of the tells at 3-4 m indicates intensive building and re-building, with rubble from earlier houses flattened and re-incorporated into new houses, a parallel strategy to incorporation of ancestors. The houses on the Hungarian tells are closely spaced, with a built-to-unbuilt ratio of around 2:3:1 for level 8 at Herpály (Plate 4: see also CHAPMAN 1989.Tab.1.). The contents of tell houses are extremely rich in pottery, figurines and other ritual paraphernalia. The houses are well-built, comfortable, full of life, fertility, possessions and furniture and fittings (for a full description: RACZKY 1987.). There is little doubt that the domestic arena of social power is as dominant on Hungarian as on Bulgarian tells. The question of hierarchical relations between tells and flat sites is still debated (KALICZ-RACZKY 1987.a.); some smaller flat sites near tells may be satellite sites (e.g., Szarvas 56: JANKOVICH et al. 1989.423.) but other, larger open sites (e.g., Sárzsadány) appear to be distinct entities.

In the Polgár Block, 11 Late Neolithic scatters are known – two tells and 9 flat sites (Fig. 5). There is a small concentration in the southern part of the block, with only two sites near Tiszadob. Late Neolithic sites are known neither on the Hodos island nor on the Kengyel-Tiszadob corridor. Continuity of smaller-scale occupation from Middle Neolithic sites is frequent (e.g., Polgár 1, 32 and 46). Although the Late Neolithic occupation at Polgár 1 (Kenderföldek) does not appear to represent a tell formation itself, this site was selected for tell occupation in a later period.

The main feature of this period is the decision to found tell settlements at Csőszhalom and Bosnyák domb. It is surely significant that one of the two Late Neolithic tells in Block 1 is located in the middle of the densest cluster of the remains of Middle Neolithic sites and on a site close to a small Tiszadob settlement (Polgár 34). This decision marks the relocation of the main site of the period some 4 km north from Polgár 46 to Csőszhalom.

It should be noted that none of the Late Neolithic sites is particularly large. While there is a high density of houses in the central part of the tell at Csőszhalom, a thin spread of pottery covering 130x60 m is found at Bosnyák domb, with smaller concentrations off the tell at Kenderföld (10x10 m), Polgár 32 (10x10 m) and Polgár 46 (20x10 m). The distinction between tells and smaller settlements, probably farmsteads, appears to emerge in the Late Neolithic. The majority of Late Neolithic sites is located on or near the edge of wet farmland, if in a range of different locations. Thus Csőszhalom is set back from the Hodos channel, Újtikos 6 is on a small island in the floodplain, while Tiszadob 1 lies near the main Tisza channel.

These locations provide equal access to both wet and dry farmland, with variable potential for fishing.

The existence of a long-term central place such as Csőszhalom in the Late Neolithic landscape attests to a level of social differentiation not seen previously. The 5 m high tell continues to provide a landscape monument with its own distinctive long-term place-value throughout later periods.

A frequent event on Late Neolithic tells is the destruction of a house or whole group of houses by fire; the stratigraphy of many tells reveals a „burnt horizon” of burnt clay fused by high-temperature firing. Three explanations of burnt horizons or houses have been advanced: 1. the traditional invasion hypothesis, usually involving long-range North Pontic arsonists (GIMBUTAS 1978., GIMBUTAS 1979.); 2. accidental fires resulting from cooking, baking or other pyrotechnical activities; and 3. the deliberate destruction by fire of houses to complete the life-cycle of the house and its contents (RACZKY 1982/83., cf. for Vinča houses, TRINGHAM-KRSTIĆ 1991.584.,588.).

The North Pontic invasion model of Kurgan waves can be dismissed summarily, since the ¹⁴C dates for the tells are more than a millennium earlier than the earliest dates for the North Pontic barrows. Accidental fires cannot be ruled out, especially not on sites where houses often lie less than 2 m from each other. In the Zürich Lake-Village exhibition of 1990, a fire started by an arsonist in one house spread to the whole village within half an hour (RUOFF 1992.), leaving no time to salvage the domestic artifacts. The third hypothesis is the hardest to test, despite the evidence available for deliberate house-burning in the Early Neolithic. The problem is that there is no example of a burial deposited as the penultimate act of the life of a Late Neolithic house. Quite the opposite – all the recently excavated Late Neolithic tells boast numerous burials of partial or complete inhumations, usually of articulated skeletons, on unoccupied parts of the tell but, *without exception, outside* the houses (RACZKY 1987.). The only example of a burial „associated” with a house is the coffin burial inserted into the south wall of a shrine from a previous occupation horizon at Vésztő (HEGEDŰS-MAKKAY 1987.96.). It is of course still possible to argue for deliberate house destruction at the end of the social cycle of the household. In contrast to the fusion of deceased person and structure in the Hungarian Early Neolithic, the separation of dead human from dead house may represent a distancing of the newly-dead from the household or the distinction between a failed social grouping and a failed architectural structure. The notion that death had less potential for pollution seems to characterise the Late Neolithic, the period *par excellence* of extreme material and ritual boundedness.

The alternative mortuary rituals of on-tell inhumation

indicate ancestral continuity in the realm of the living. This is best demonstrated by the preliminary results of serological analysis of the tell burials at Gorzsa, which indicate that the burials comprise the deceased of four successive units of the same genetic unit (HORVÁTH 1987.45.). An innovation for tell burial is the provision of timber coffins for many of the tell burials. It is interesting to note that the proportions of the coffins at Vésztő match those of the shrine building in level 4; the form of the cult building for the living may have been implicated in the passage of the newly dead to the ancestors. The small groups of burials on the tells are a parallel to the Bulgarian examples and represent the first spatial step in the distancing of bodies, if not ancestors, from the houses of the living. But still the ancestral values predominate on the tell and the ancestors are not excluded; rather, the passage from the world of the living to that of the dead is made more secure by the provision of coffins and fine grave goods.

In summary, ancestral values continue to dominate the Late Neolithic, not least because of the visual symbolism of the height of the tell in contrast to the flat sites of the other villages and hamlets and the surface of the plain itself. The higher the tell rises from the plain, the deeper the ancestral relations which tell-dwellers can claim, in contradistinction to the occupants of flat sites whose descent group memories are constructed in different and less visually impressive ways. For this reason, social relations between tell communities and those on flat sites may have been mediated primarily through the ancestor cult, privileged access to which was in the hands of the tell ritual specialists. Preliminary data from flat sites suggest that there are fewer burials and fewer objects of ritual paraphernalia there than on tells.

The first use of distinct, bounded cemeteries in the prehistory of Eastern Hungary is dated to the Copper Age. Here, the relationship between tells and cemeteries is quite different from that defined for Bulgaria. Because of their small numbers in the Alföld, each Late Neolithic tell assumed a greater place-value, in a wider social setting, than in Bulgaria. For this reason, there was a greater likelihood of inter-site tensions between tells and flat sites in a period of wide-ranging exchange networks, with their potential for wealth accumulation. The larger number of flat sites, each at an important node in the exchange network, made it harder for tells to exert the control of prestige goods that was highly probable in a tell-dominated landscape. Thus, at the time when the first cemeteries appear in the Early Copper Age, in the early 4th millennium CAL B.C., tell occupation becomes quite rare and the dispersed farmstead constitutes the predominant settlement unit (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1972., SHERRATT 1982., SHERRATT 1983.).

The Early – Middle Copper Age in the Polgár Block is characterised by an increase in the number of

settlements occupied as well as a marked continuity in settlement from the Late Neolithic. 24 scatters are known but no single finds have been recorded (Fig. 6). Five out of the 11 Late Neolithic sites are re-occupied in this period, including Copper Age scatters within 100 m of all three tells. The main cluster of Copper Age sites portrays a moderate expansion across the landscape, based on a markedly linear settlement from Basatanya north to the Hodos channel. Only one site in this line is set back from the wetland edge (Polgár 46). The Hodos island is re-occupied by two settlements, since a break from the Middle Neolithic, and two new sites are founded near Csőszhalom. The Kengyel-Tiszadob corridor is re-settled and sites are still found on the Tiszagyulaháza islands and the Tiszadob „uplands”. The sites reveal a wide range of sizes, with low-density dispersed scatters at Polgár 46 over 25 hectares, similar scatters at Polgár 59 and 60 over 6 and 7.5 hectares respectively, and small scatters of 0.2 hectares at Polgár 23 and 30. Thus large, low-density sites comparable to those of the Middle Neolithic are known in the Copper Age, characterised by much lower densities of structures than on the Csőszhalom tell.

The shift to farmsteads away from tells has three implications for social reproduction: 1. the dominance of the household as the primary economic unit, in contrast to the densely packed overlapping social networks on the tells; 2. the importance of extensive local networks linking perhaps as many as 50 dispersed farmsteads into an exogamous breeding unit; and 3. the predominance of a comparative ideology of prestige goods accumulation over the overtly traditional, egalitarian values of the tell village. These changes may explain the wide range of rich grave goods found in the inhumation graves of complete, articulated skeletons that characterise the mortuary population of Early Copper Age cemeteries such as Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1963.). These cemeteries are often partitioned into lines or rows of graves, which may represent household groups from particular farms. BARRETT (1990.) has shown the significance of placement for individual burials in barrow cemeteries of the Bronze Age of Southern Britain; the Copper Age cemeteries show the emergence of complex cemetery topography without a monumental burial form. The denial of monumentality is perhaps a symbolic distancing from the ancestral tell monuments, standing unoccupied, if not unused, in the landscape.

The Copper Age cemeteries tend to be located some distance not only from tells but also from contemporary farms, giving them a liminal status between the farmland of the living and the world of the ancestors – the locus of transition of states of being. The removal of the newly dead from direct association with the houses of the ancestors (on the tells) and those of the living (the dispersed farms)

suggests a different conception of ancestral landscape, more in harmony with the dispersed social relation of an exogamous network than the place-based values of the tell communities. The spatial linearity of the cemeteries is matched by their linear concept of time, with the once-and-for-all insertion of a sequence of dead bodies until dissolution of the lineage leads to abandonment of the cemetery.

What of those few communities who lived on tells in the Early Copper Age? Although different sequences occur at each excavated site, less intensive occupations occur, with lower densities of artifacts and less solid structures, with more interruptions in the sequence and, consequently, a less active contribution to tell-building. At Herpály, an arrangement of loosely spaced houses in early phase 5 is replaced by an occupation defined only by hearths, both associated with pottery transitional between the Late Neolithic and the Early Copper Age (RACZKY 1987.111.). At Gorzsa, a similar assemblage was found mostly in graves on the tell but settlement areas are to be excavated (HORVÁTH 1987.36-37.). The tell at Vésztő was abandoned at the end of the Late Neolithic for several centuries, only to be re-occupied in the Copper Age (HEGEDŰS-MAKKAY 1987.89.). At present, it is the only tell with occupation and mortuary remains in the Middle as well as the Early Copper Age. Although the main mortuary rite consisted of inhumation burial in coffins, an exceptional act was the burial of seven children inside the burnt debris of a house (HEGEDŰS-MAKKAY 1987.91.). Unfortunately, the excavators do not clarify whether the burials are under the burnt remains (a primary burial inside a house that was subsequently burnt) or in them (a secondary burial, as the beginning of another cycle of life and death on tells). In either case, the Vésztő burial is the sign of a renewed concern for the extended social group and its social reproduction, in contrast to the individual households of the coeval farmsteads.

This continued occupation of tells in the midst of an landscape developed in ideological opposition to tell values indicates a lengthy period of tensions between two incompatible modes of social reproduction and two contrasting conceptions of time and space. In the succeeding Middle Copper Age and flat communal cemeteries continue to receive the newly dead from surrounding small farmsteads (e.g., the cemetery of 54 graves at Tiszavalk-Kenderföldek: PATAY 1978.). Another new feature is the creation of separate ritual enclosures, such as the ring-ditch (or Rondel) at Szarvas 38 (MAKKAY 1980/81.); the new possibilities of aerial photography will doubtless transform our knowledge of such cropmark sites. At the same time, wealth indices make a quantum leap upwards, with rich hoards such as the Tiszaszőlős gold treasure (MAKKAY 1989.) and wealthy cemeteries such as Tibava (ŠIŠKA 1968.).

SHERRATT (1982.) has documented a shift in settlement concentration to the edge of the plain, so as to control access to important rocks and minerals in the hills north of the plain. The increasing dominance of household units and strategies of prestige goods accumulation ensures that the tell has little place in the more flexible, opportunistic social landscape of this period. In the Early and Middle Copper Age, the mortuary arena of social power has overtaken the domestic arena in importance, not least as the key spatial context for social reproduction.

A new pattern of dispersed settlement, with small farms scattered evenly over much of the landscape, is found in the first half of the Late Copper Age in Eastern Hungary. The Baden phenomenon (BANNER 1956) includes communal inhumation cemeteries, such as Alsónémedi, but these are not so common in North-East Hungary as in the Danube valley. The differentiation between finds discarded in the mortuary domain and those in the domestic domain reinforces the notion that status is won more readily in the former.

In comparison with most field surveys in Eastern Hungary, there is a relatively large number of dispersed Baden sites known from the Polgár Block (Fig. 7). 21 scatters are known, while no single finds have been recorded. There is continuity from the earlier Copper Age in both the linear settlement pattern on the Polgár and the Csószhalom peninsulæ and the Hodos islands and also with sites in the Tiszadob area, though in the latter sites penetrate deeper into the dry interfluves than before. The Tiszagyulaháza islands area also reoccupied, but on a smaller scale than before.

There were three kurgans found in the Polgár Block (Fig. 7). The kurgans cover individual inhumation burials of articulated complete male skeletons, furnished with a narrow range of specific grave goods (lumps of red ochre, the remains of blankets, caprine astragali, perforated dogs' teeth, rare silver earrings and copper beads). All of these undisputed facts would seem to be sufficient to convince readers that we are in the presence of that rare prehistoric specimen – a well-attested migration.

The alternative view of kurgans is that most of the elements defining the phenomenon have already occurred, singly or jointly, in the earlier Copper Age and that the kurgan „package” is a strikingly novel arrangement of local forms legitimated by symbolic associations with the past.

We should begin with the kurgan itself, since it is the visual embodiment of the new monumental burial. Archaeologists who have participated in field survey on the Alföld will agree that it is very difficult to distinguish visually between a kurgan and a tell. This will have been the case in the Late Copper Age, when the appearance of few tells was emphasized by building houses on the top (for a rare exception,

see Gorzsa: HORVÁTH 1987.33.). The visual similarity in size and shape leads one to the hypothesis that kurgans were built to imitate tells or, more accurately, to re-incorporate the ancestral place-values of tells and their ancestors into the mortuary domain. The impetus for this imitation was local – those abandoned mounds so rich in oral tradition and folk memory, the locus of the tribal ancestors whose ways were not necessarily followed by the acquisitive Copper Age households. The burial form of the kurgans was also not novel – individual inhumations of complete skeletons were the standard rites for the newly dead of phases of the earlier Copper Age (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1963.), often oriented W-E (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1972.153.), although extended inhumations were rare (Tiszapolgár-Basatanya and Srpski Krstur: BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1972.153., cf. BANNER 1956.).

The grave goods of the barrow graves also find some parallels in earlier Copper Age graves: red ochre at Tibava (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1972.155.), copper beads at Deszk A and Hódmezővásárhely-Népkert (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1972.138.), perforated animal teeth at Lebő A (BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1972.136.), while long blades are clearly paralleled at many Copper Age sites. It can thus be demonstrated that many of the elements of the kurgan „package” were available for combination and recombination in the mortuary arena of the Copper Age of Eastern Hungary. It is therefore difficult to test the two opposing hypotheses: whether „outsiders” moved into the Alföld and marked their dominance with monumental barrows, or „local” elites exploited traditional and well-understood mortuary symbols in order to underscore their success in regional alliance and breeding networks. After all, the more dispersed the farmsteads of this period, the more widespread the requisite breeding network needed to be.

The other aspect of the second half of the Late Copper Age is that the decline of the domestic arena coincided with the rise of the monumental mortuary arena. Field survey results are unanimous that settlement debris from this period is closer to invisibility than site sherds from any other period in Hungarian prehistory (SHERRATT 1983.37.). The region marked by kurgan burial may be contrasted with the first half of the Late Copper Age, where smaller or larger communal cemeteries dominated the mortuary arena (e.g., the Baden cemeteries in the Danube valley: BANNER 1956.) but, here too, the domestic arena was attenuated. How did these changes affect social reproduction in the kurgan lands?

Barrett has argued persuasively that burial under barrows forms the focal point for the re-definition of genealogical status; only after burial could mourners return to the wider community (BARRETT 1990.). Certainly he is right to stress that, unlike partial burials after exhumation in the Hungarian Neolithic,

barrow burial represented the end of burial rites, whether it concerns a primary or a secondary burial. There is, however, a paradox here: the full, open, public burial rites in front of the grave of a prominent male, set against the concealment of the body so deep in a „communal” individual monument as to deny his death. Another reading of kurgan burial concerns the re-integration of the body with the earth, so as to produce fertile offspring – a transformation marked by the swelling of the barrow. However, this transformation may also be read as a denial of death, since the proof of this is the fertility of the mound itself (I am indebted to Colm O’Brien for this reading). A third alternative is that barrows were conceived of as the primeval land rising out of the waters of Chaos, often literally in the inundated Alföld (thanks to Jon Davies for this suggestion). Here, the cyclical process of life – death – new life is dramatically symbolised by burial under barrows that imitated the ancestral homes of the Neolithic tells. By the same token, the extension of the landscape „settled” by the kurgans is an extension of ancestral land – a legitimisation of settlement expansion in a period of agronomic change – the full implementation of the secondary products revolution after its initial 5th millennium impact on Eastern European communities (SHERRATT 1979.)

In summary, barrow burial represents yet one more solution to the problem of the polluting bodies of the newly-dead: the return to purity through abolition of the pollution. Denial of the importance of the body leads to a focus on the fertility recreated through use and re-use of the barrow itself, with its primary and secondary burials set in linear time. While the body may be unimportant, the identity of the deceased is memorialised in the barrow, that visual symbol of tell living.

The final stage for consideration here of this long-term alternation of the domestic and mortuary arenas as nodal domains for social reproduction concerns the return to tell occupation in the Early-Middle Bronze Age (MEIER-ARENDETT 1992.). The Bronze Age communities followed various strategies for inserting their new sites into an ancestral landscape already resonant with the symbolism of both domestic and mortuary mounds: resettlement of Neolithic tells (e.g., Herpály: KALICZ-RACZKY 1987.a.106.); occupation of land previously reserved for burial (e.g., Berettyóújfalu-Szihalom: MÁTHÉ 1992.169.); or, more rarely, tell construction on virgin soil (e.g., Tószeg: BÓNA 1992.a.). The act of tell-formation so that one’s village resembled an ancestral tell was, of course, a long-term strategy not available to those building new tells.

In the Polgár Block, there is some evidence for location continuity between Late Copper Age and Earlier Bronze Age sites, with renewed occupations at 3 out of 6 sites (Fig. 8). Altogether, four tells are

known and 5 flat sites; there is significant off-site discard, represented by 25 single finds. The Tiszadob area has a particular concentration of single finds and very few site scatters; single finds are also noted on the tiniest of floodplain islands, near Tiszagyulaháza.

Settlement becomes strongly nucleated around the tells of Kenderföld, Ásott halom, Bosnyák domb and Réhe tanya, each of which contains occupation both on and off the mound. Kenderföld’s Bronze Age scatter covers an area of 16 hectares, while Bosnyák domb covers a smaller area of 3.2 hectares. The tell at Réhe tanya lies adjacent to a damaged Copper Age kurgan. All of the off-tell scatters are smaller than 0.25 hectares, perhaps an indication of single farmstead occupations.

A dichotomous pattern appears to emerge for the first time in the earlier Bronze Age. In the southern part of the block, widely-spaced tells appear with a few farms in between; in the northern part, one main tell is found, at Réhe tanya, together with sporadic low-density off-site discard. All the sites in the southern part lie on the edge of the wet farmland, whereas, in contrast, many of the Tiszadob single finds lie well back from the wetland edge.

While Bronze Age and Neolithic tells showed general similarities in the elaboration of house construction, domestic artifacts and ritual paraphernalia, there was a fundamental difference between tells of the two periods. The standard Neolithic ritual practice of incorporating the ancestors into their living space through on-tell burial was extremely rare in the Bronze Age. This suggests a fundamental difference in social reproduction, based on the more equal development of both mortuary and domestic arenas within a tradition of strict spatial separation (or, following Heraclitus, you can never walk through the same tell twice).

The mortuary domain in Eastern Hungary shows significant regional variation, with Nagyrév and Hatvan communities tending to bury the newly dead in small clusters near their tell, while Füzesabony groups created large, bounded cemeteries, some of them near tells (e.g., Tiszafüred-Ásotthalom: KOVÁCS 1992.96.) but mostly at some distance from the domestic domain. The most remarkable combination of domestic and mortuary areas occurs outside the Alföld at Dunaújváros, where a very large cemetery was planned to form a semi-circular space around one of the very few tells in the Ványa landscape (BÓNA 1992.b., VICZE 1992.). The cemeteries contain a variety of inhumations and/or cremations, with an emphasis on the newly dead within some form of community grouping. The implications of total absence of mortuary remains on the tells was that funeral processions led mourners to the graveside or to the cremation pyre, sometimes found within the cemetery. The development of mortuary rituals distinctly different from the Neolithic rites may

explain why relatively few Bronze Age houses on tells were destroyed by fire in comparison with those of the Late Neolithic. Linear time is symbolised in the cemeteries, in contrast to the cyclical time of the tell settlements.

In summary, Bronze Age communities of Eastern Hungary thus participated in, and continued, the tradition of monumental tells and barrows by stressing the domestic use of ancestral monument but also linking up to the earlier Copper Age practice of the bounded flat cemetery. Social reproduction was thus based on the successful integration of prestige goods accumulation into corporate tell group ideology, with the ancestors still omnipresent in the fabric of the tells while their bodily remains were deposited in communal cemeteries.

This long-term sequence of the later prehistory of Eastern Hungary can be read as a suite of alternating arenas of social power, in which those social actors dominating the domestic and mortuary domains vie for control of the key practices through which social reproduction is validated. The existence of prior uses of similar monuments in the sequence, at least from the Middle Neolithic onwards, leads to a contrast between place-centred, ancestor-based ideologies and ideologies of competitive prestige goods accumulation and alliance building. This contrast is matched in the mortuary sphere, when the dead body can be dangerously polluting or relatively innocuous, and buried in containers symbolic of cyclical or linear time. The earlier Bronze Age appears to represent a period when tensions arising out of the two contrasting ideologies of time and space lead to the use of elaborate material culture to stress social boundedness, as in the Late Neolithic.

Discussion

Several long-term trends in the settlement evidence represented in the Polgár Block appear to characterise in microcosm the pattern of settlement changes found over much of the Alföld. Thus the appearance of nucleated tells in the Late Neolithic and the Early-Middle Bronze Age and the predominance of dispersed flat sites, often farmsteads, in most of the intervening periods forms the background problematic to the Upper Tisza Project; explanation of these changes constitutes one of the main project aims.

Two basic characteristics of the settlement sequence are the chronological variations in 1. the number and size of sites and monuments and 2. the form of sites and monuments. At least three hypotheses may be advanced to explain 1.: variations in the occurrence of diagnostic sherds; fluctuations in population; and fluctuations in the distribution of people across the landscape.

The occurrence of diagnostic sherds certainly varies in the Hungarian sequence (cf. RUTTER 1983.).

The paucity of Copper Age (especially Late Copper Age) decorated wares leads to under-representation, while almost every Middle Neolithic sherd is diagnostic to period. Equally, large numbers of sherds have been recovered which can be dated unspecifically to the Bronze Age (c. 35 from Block 1); many of these scatters may well date to the Early-Middle Bronze Age. In contrast, a single highly burnished black fine ware can identify a Late Bronze Age presence. Thus, even general patterns of settlement numbers are but a partial artifact of archaeological diagnosticity.

Given this *caveat*, the population hypothesis may be investigated with data on both site size and number. Consistent assessment of the size of the surface scatters requires intensive gridded collection, not feasible on more than a handful of sites (cf. SHERRATT 1983.). The pattern found in Block 1 is that site size tends to vary inversely with site numbers (with occasional exception such as Polgár 46). The big increase in the number of scatters of the same mean size from the Szatmár phase to the Tiszadob period surely indicates some measure of population growth. However, it would be difficult to falsify the hypothesis that, from the Middle Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age, a broadly similar total population occupied Block 1 but was distributed in different types of sites and monuments. This brings us back to the theme of settlement nucleation and dispersion.

The fundamental pattern which emerges from Block 1 is the multiple re-occupation of *flat* sites in the lowland zone. The dichotomy previously drawn between dispersed flat sites and nucleated tells (CHAPMAN 1989.) can now be seen to be an oversimplification, in three senses. First, the existence of previously settled *flat* sites provides an important resource to new occupants of the old settlement, whether detected by the occurrence of artifacts from a previous age or known through oral tradition. These multi-period sites do not concentrate their discard or architectural debris to the extent typical on tells; their remains indicate the significance of ancestral land in a less focussed manner than is found on tells. Secondly, there are several examples of the combination of the tell principle and the flat settlement principle, through which large sites can be created as an extension from the original core of the tell settlement. And, thirdly, the desire to be associated with previously occupied tells as much as kurgans leads to the use of flat settlement modes in the vicinity of pre-existing tell settlements.

Our proposition is that significant sites and monuments contain within them the core of what is most important for the social reproduction of the group, the mechanism through which they define their community's place in time and space, especially in relation to their past. Given that the strategies of social reproduction will be reflexively related to the form of the site or monument, it follows that changes in the form of sites and monuments should be related

to changes in the underlying ideological strategy of the group. In circumstances where social change is possible, or desirable for part of the group, but in conflict with traditional group ideology, the question of how to renegotiate social reproduction is of particular significance. A familiar pattern of social reproduction concerns the use of opposition to a traditional mode in order to formulate and clarify new principles of social reproduction. In this way, a cycle of ideological strategies may be set up, based on the establishment of *difference* from the past. This sequence may assume various spatial guises, in relation to re-use of previous monuments, abandonment or continuity of occupation.

In the Neolithic, Copper Age and Bronze Age of Eastern Hungary there are two basic patterns in the ideological domain, which are then combined in one period into a third domain. The first pattern concerns flat sites, whose relation with the ancestors is defined by extra-mural or intra-mural burial, as well as an increasing tendency to multiple re-occupation of earlier flat domestic sites. This pattern is seen in the Szatmár Group, the Middle Neolithic, most of the Copper Age and the Late Bronze Age. The second pattern is based on the ancestral home of the tells, where links to the past are based on the domestic domain, on living where the ancestors once lived. This pattern is found in the Late Neolithic and the Early-Middle Bronze Age tells. A basic difference between these two modes is that the first includes the principle of individual or household accumulation, whereas in the second the principle of communal accumulation and ownership is more strongly rooted in ancestral values (CHAPMAN 1991.). However, the existence of settlements larger than single farmsteads in the „individualising” periods, as much as single farms in the „communal” periods, signifies the continual need for negotiation and re-negotiation of these social values.

The combination of the mortuary domain and the domestic domain is symbolised by the mortuary barrow, or kurgan. Kurgans share a strong visual similarity with tells and it is postulated that they represent the imitation of the tell monument in the landscape. The construction of a burial mound which contains all the ancestral place values of the tell yet which focuses on the single burial of an individual adult male represents a strong ideological statement about social reproduction, simply because it combines the two oppositional forms for previous social life generations.

In short, the alternating sequence of tell-dominated landscapes and landscapes of farmsteads with intra-mural or community cemeteries, often located on previous settlement sites, indicates a continuing struggle for social reproduction, in which the tell ideology is constructed in opposition to the flat sites of the Middle Neolithic and then abandoned as the

opposing, individualising ideology becomes stronger. In the Late Copper Age, the individualising ideology reaches its apogee with kurgan construction, which then becomes the traditional set of values against which to construct the next, communal domain through the creation of tells in the Early-Middle Bronze Age. The abandonment of tells in favour of smaller farms and hamlets represents a further swing toward the individualising pole of this ideological continuum.

Length of site occupation and form of settlement are critical determinants in the contribution of the mortuary sphere to social reproduction. In long-lasting tells, ancestral values and memories permeate the settlement and there is a ready home for the return of the ancestors. In less sedentary sites such as some Hungarian Neolithic flat sites, burial of complete skeletons may represent a strategy for the establishment of closer ties between ancestors and the living, and indicate that the bodies of the newly-dead are deemed less polluting than before. While the domestic arena of power remains the principal, if not the only, resting-place for the newly dead, the cyclical principle of social reproduction of small-scale social units (village, lineage, household) remains dominant.

Two main causes have been identified for the differentiation of arenas of social power. Colonisation of new landscapes in Eastern Hungary (the Late Copper Age interfluves) led to novel opportunities for the exercise of social power. Here, the legitimisation of such settlement expansions was based on the insertion of symbols of the traditional occupied areas into the newly settled landscape (barrows which imitated tells in Hungary). In this settlement expansion, a predominance of a linear conception of time may be noted.

The contradictions between traditional community values and new opportunities consequent upon the expansion of exchange and alliance structures into inter-regional networks is a common theme in many parts of Eastern Europe and forms the strongest patterning in this exploration of mortuary change. The introduction of new prestige goods (copper and gold) brings the opportunities for accumulation by individuals, households or lineages which run counter to traditional values of communal ownership and tenure. There is widespread evidence for long and strenuous resistance to change by the guardians of the traditional ideologies. Ancestral values on tells were maintained in opposition to the new spirit of competitive accumulation for centuries in Eastern Hungary.

It is in the period when competitive prestige goods accumulation is in sharpest competition with the traditional ideologies that mortuary arenas become the solution to structural contradictions. The creation of new spatial contexts for prestige goods display permitted the development of change through the interstices of the old order. It is in this interstitial change that we find the clearest instances of the use

of the mortuary domain for the ideological aims of different groups, stimulated by the adoption of new attitudes to bodies, linear irreversible time and linearity of space. It is also in times of greatest social conflict that there is the most obvious overlap of the life-cycles of persons and artifacts through deposition of grave goods with individual burials. The Tiszapolgár-Basatanya and Tibava cemeteries are the most extreme examples of the death of a marked diversity and quantity of prestige metalwork and many other materials to provide a clear mortuary message about the struggle for social dominance amongst the living.

Rich cemeteries remind us that the physical form of sites and monuments is not the only way in which tradition is mediated and manipulated. The houses and other structures which dominate the built space of tells and farmsteads alike are some of the most potent forces for the display, embellishment and denial of tradition. Similarly, the artifacts which are so prolific in quantity and diversity in Hungarian prehistory provide extraordinarily potent media for the display of individuals' affiliations to past, present and future. Style is the means by which current strategies are negotiated with recourse to traditional values.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we suggest that this study has demonstrated the utility of the concept of arenas of social power in the conceptualisation of social change in the landscape. The alternation of emphasis on mortuary and domestic arenas is a characteristic of many long-term sequences in European prehistory but rarely so evident as in Eastern Hungary. The creation of social power in small-scale communities rested on differential use of the economic and ritual possibilities inherent in the domestic landscape and the wildwood, as well as very different classifications of the natural and cultural world in which all the communities were embedded. The increasing scale of social interaction in exchange and alliance networks led to the creation of novel opportunities for social change in the context of an often hostile traditional ideology. In this sense, the linkage of both internal and external sources of social change are

inevitable if we are to develop an integrated approach to the study of the Neolithic and Copper Age of Eastern Hungary.

We may end with a caveat related to the scale of social action. The long-term sequences for which we have studies were neither necessary nor inevitable but relied on small-scale, often cumulative changes in short-term social action as well as the structural constraints of the medium-term and long-term. These short-term changes are particularly significant in the creation of new arenas of social power. For example, the first burial which made use of novel mortuary rites would always have been a critical step in the unintended sequence of subsequent events, though only with hindsight could it be seen as the start of a tradition which has survived for recognition in the archaeological record. The most optimistic principle of interpretation is that only those innovations which gain lasting social significance survive in the archaeological record at all. We must not delude ourselves that this is always the case!

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Társadalmi erőforrás a kelet-magyarországi korai földművelő közösségekben a Felső-Tisza-vidék szemszögéből

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Az őskori társadalom kutatásának objektív, tudományos és szigorú vizsgálatát a tér és az idő dimenziójában kell elvégeznünk (elterjedési térképek, időrendi táblázatok, kormeghatározás stb. segítségével). Míg tehát a tér-idő koordináták az őskor kutatásában nélkülözhetetlenek, a tér és az idő fogalma a társadalom vizsgálata nélkül száraz és élettelen, s kizárja a lehetőségét annak, hogy dinamikusan rekonstruáljunk letűnt társadalmi eseményeket. A tér és az idő jellegzetesen ideológiai lelemény, amelyet a társadalmi termelés és újratermelés vonatkozásában lehet ellenőrizni, de egyben szétszabdalni, felhasználni, újraértékelni és végül figyelmen kívül hagyni is. A múlt megértésében alapvető fontosságú az a kérdés, hogy egy meghatározott terület elfoglalásához kinek volt elegendő hatalma, ereje létrehozva így egy-egy települést (bizonyos értelemben vett

„emléket”) egy bizonyos időtartamra és ellenőrzése alatt tartva némely javakat.

A neolitikum és rézkor az az időszak Közép- és Kelet-Európában, amikor a helyközpontú életmód meghatározóvá válik és új időbeli struktúrák keletkeznek. Amint a tér és idő fogalma új jelentést kezd hordozni, az őshöz – mint az elmúlt idők irányítóihoz – fűződő viszony megváltozik. Különösen fontos a tér-idő ideológiákban, hogy az élők és az ősök között a halott közvetíti.

E kérdéseket itt a kelet-magyarországi neolitikum és rézkor összefüggéseiben vizsgálom, figyelembe véve a régebbi, a Dél-Alföldön végzett terepmunkákat, illetve az északkelet-magyarországi „Felső-Tisza-vidéki program” (Upper Tisza Project) keretében végzett legújabb kutatásaink eredményeit.

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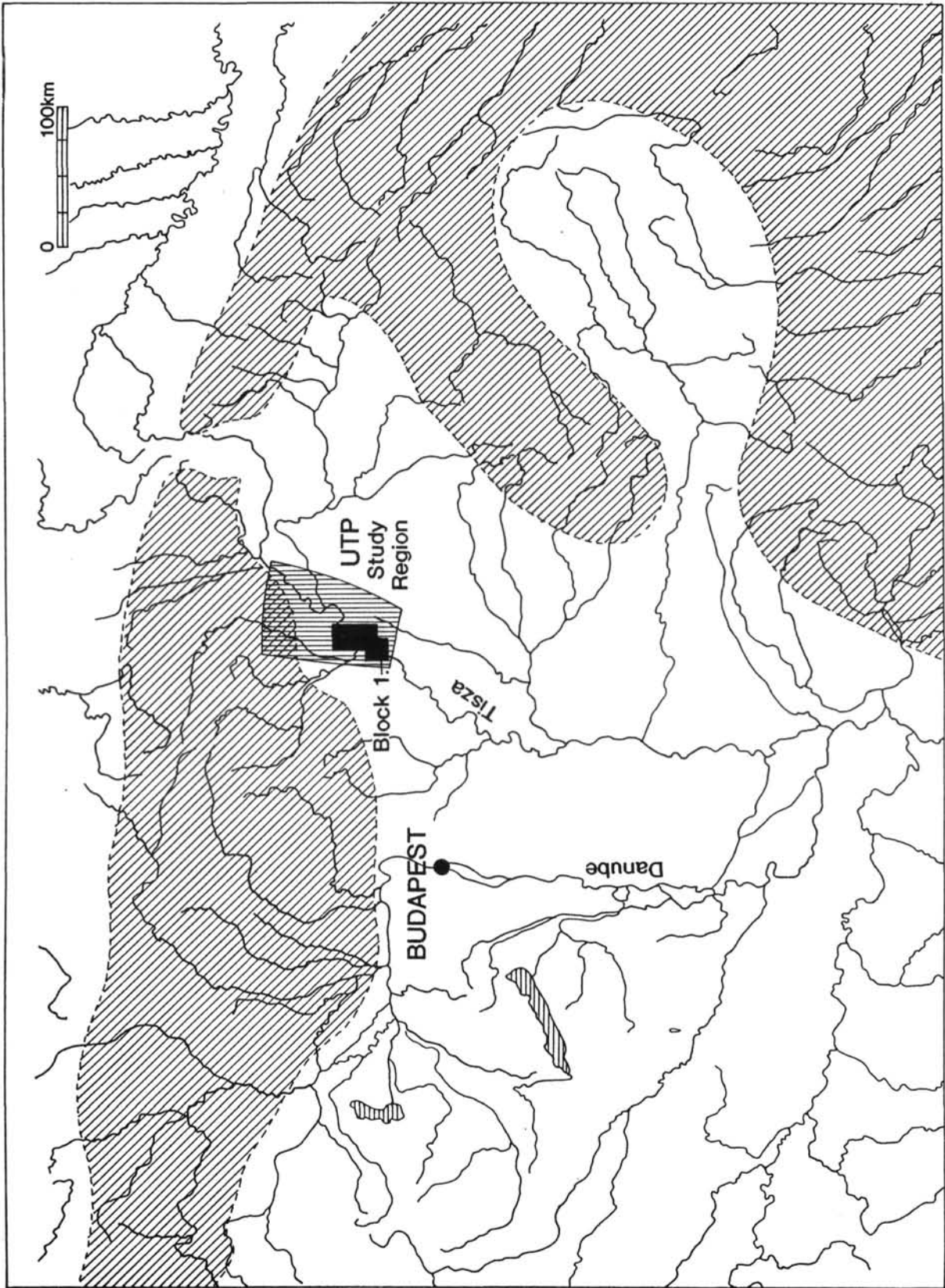


Fig. 1 Location map, Upper Tisza Project study region and Block 1.

1. kép A Felső-Tisza-vidéki program által érintett terület és az 1. blokk térképe

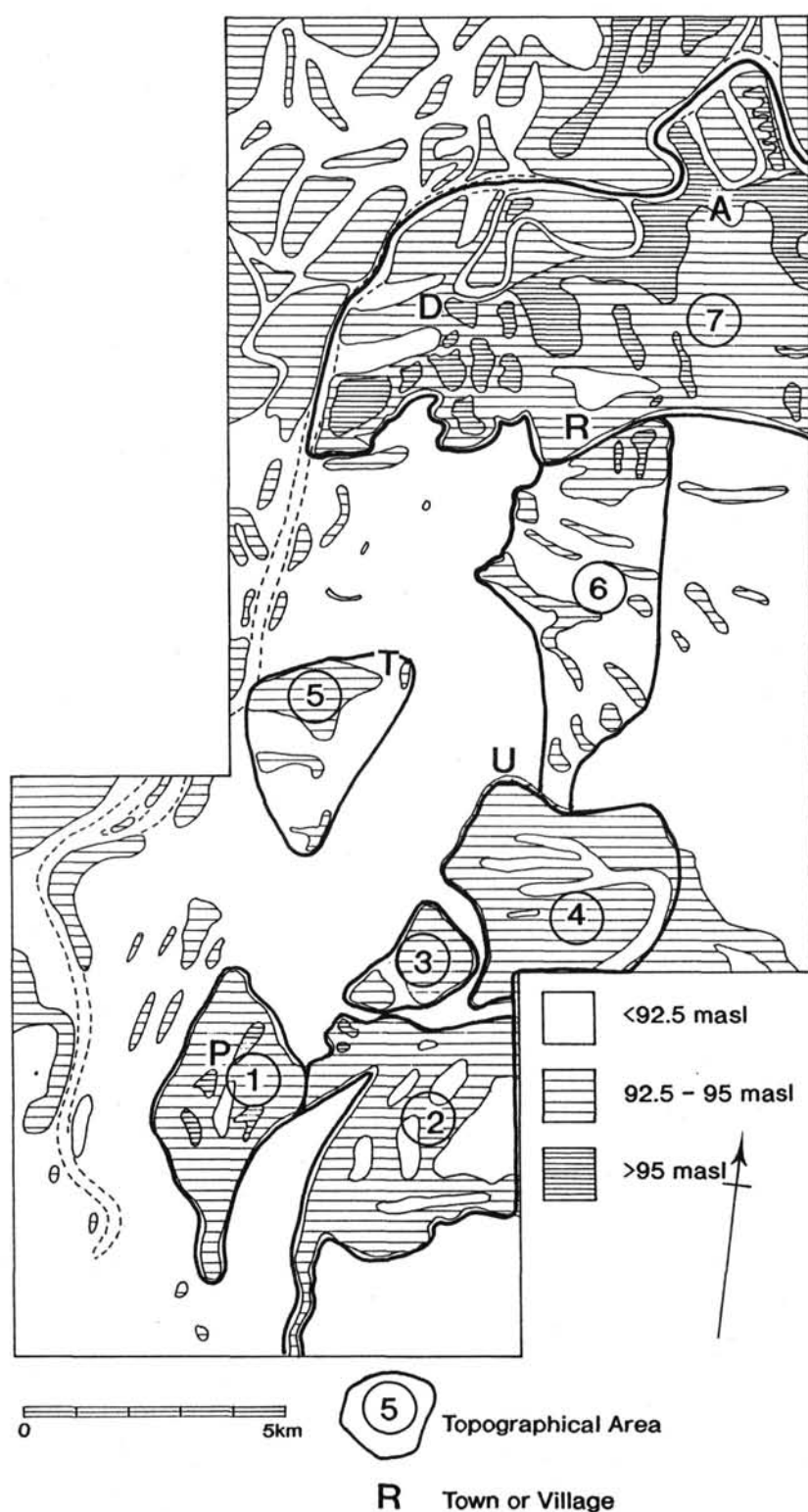


Fig. 2 Location of topographic zones, towns and villages in the Polgár Block. Zone 1: Polgár peninsula, 2: Csőszhalom peninsula, 3: Hodos island, 4: Kengyel meander, 5: Tiszagyulaháza islands, 6: Kengyel-Tiszadob corridor, 7: Tiszadob „Uplands” P: Polgár, U: Újtikos, T: Tiszagyulaháza, R: Réhe tanya, D: Tiszadob, A: Tiszadada

2. kép A topográfiai zónák, városok és falvak helyzete a polgári blokkban. Zónák 1: Polgári félsziget, 2: Csőszhalmi félsziget, 3: Hodosi sziget, 4: Kengyeli meander, 5: Tiszagyulaházi szigetek, 6: Kengyel-Tiszadob folyosó, 7: Tiszadob „felföld” P: Polgár, U: Újtikos, T: Tiszagyulaháza, R: Réhe tanya, D: Tiszadob, A: Tiszadada

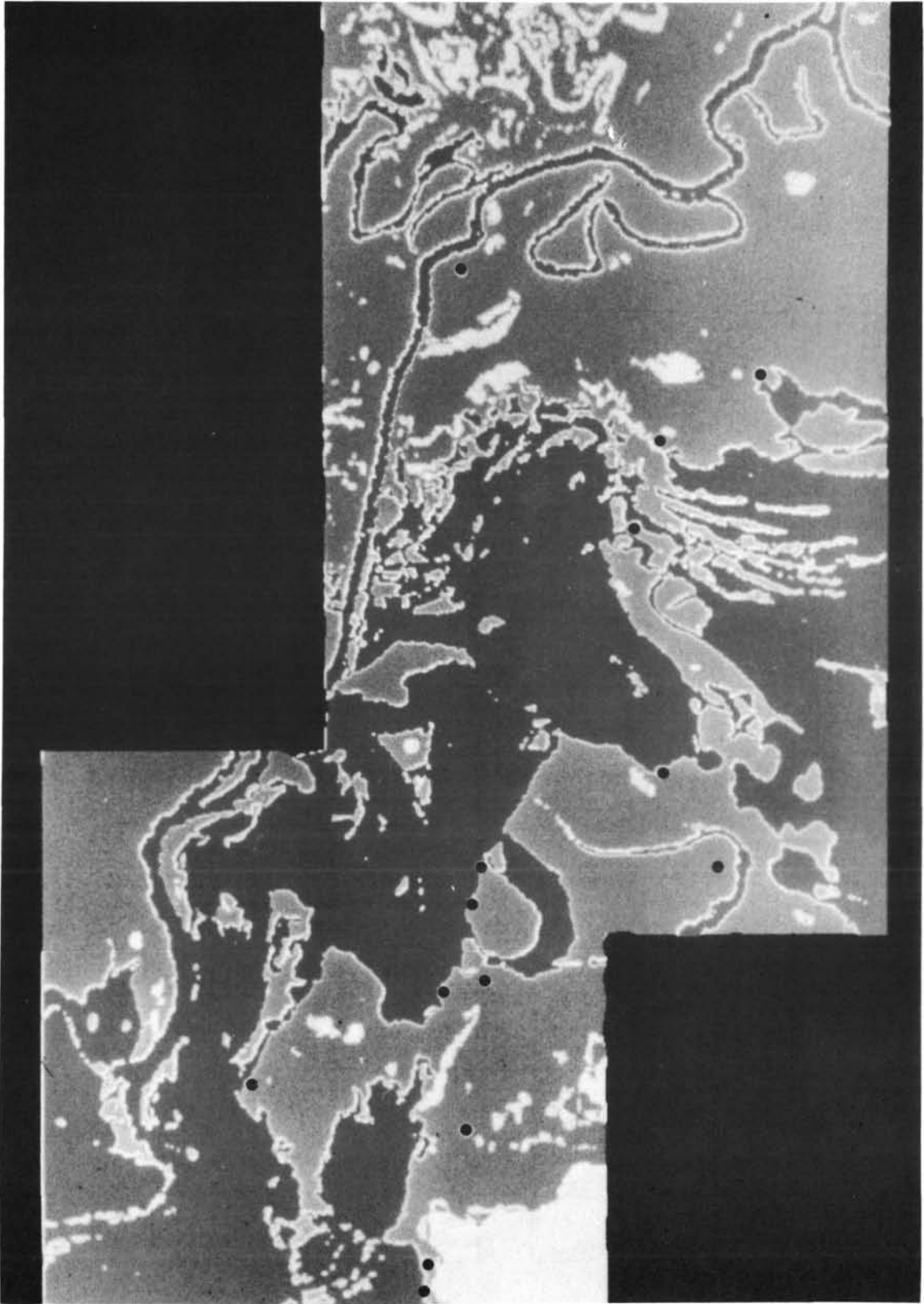


Fig. 3 Distribution of Szatmár II sites in the Polgár Block. Circles — scatters. Dark grey — flooded up to 92 m. Light gray — permanently dry areas. White — potentially flooded areas.

3. kép A Szatmár II lelőhelyek megoszlása a polgári blokkban. Körök — szóródás. Sötétszürke — 92 m-ig elöntött terület. Világosszürke — állandó szárazulatok. Fehér — árvízveszélyes területek.

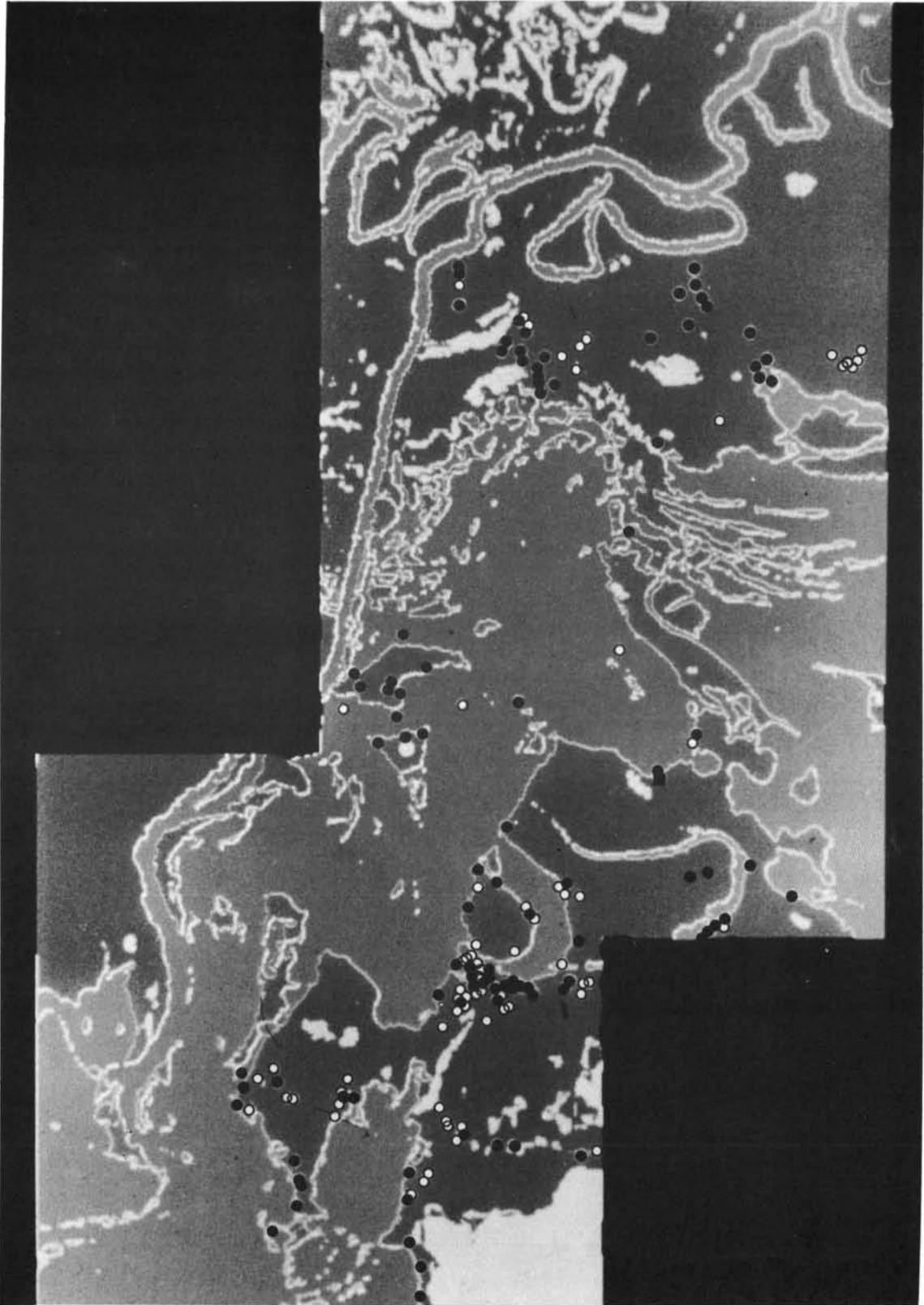


Fig. 4 Distribution of Middle Neolithic (Tiszadob) sites in the Polgár Block. Full circles — scatters. Open circles — single finds. Square — tell. Dark grey — flooded up to 92 m. Light gray — permanently dry areas. White — potentially flooded areas.

4. kép Középső neolitik (Tiszadob) lelőhelyek megoszlása a polgári blokkban. Kitöltött körök — szóródás. Üres körök — egyedi leletek. Négyyszög — tell. Sötétszürke — 92 m-ig elöntött terület. Világosszürke — állandó szárazulatok. Fehér — árvízveszélyes területek.

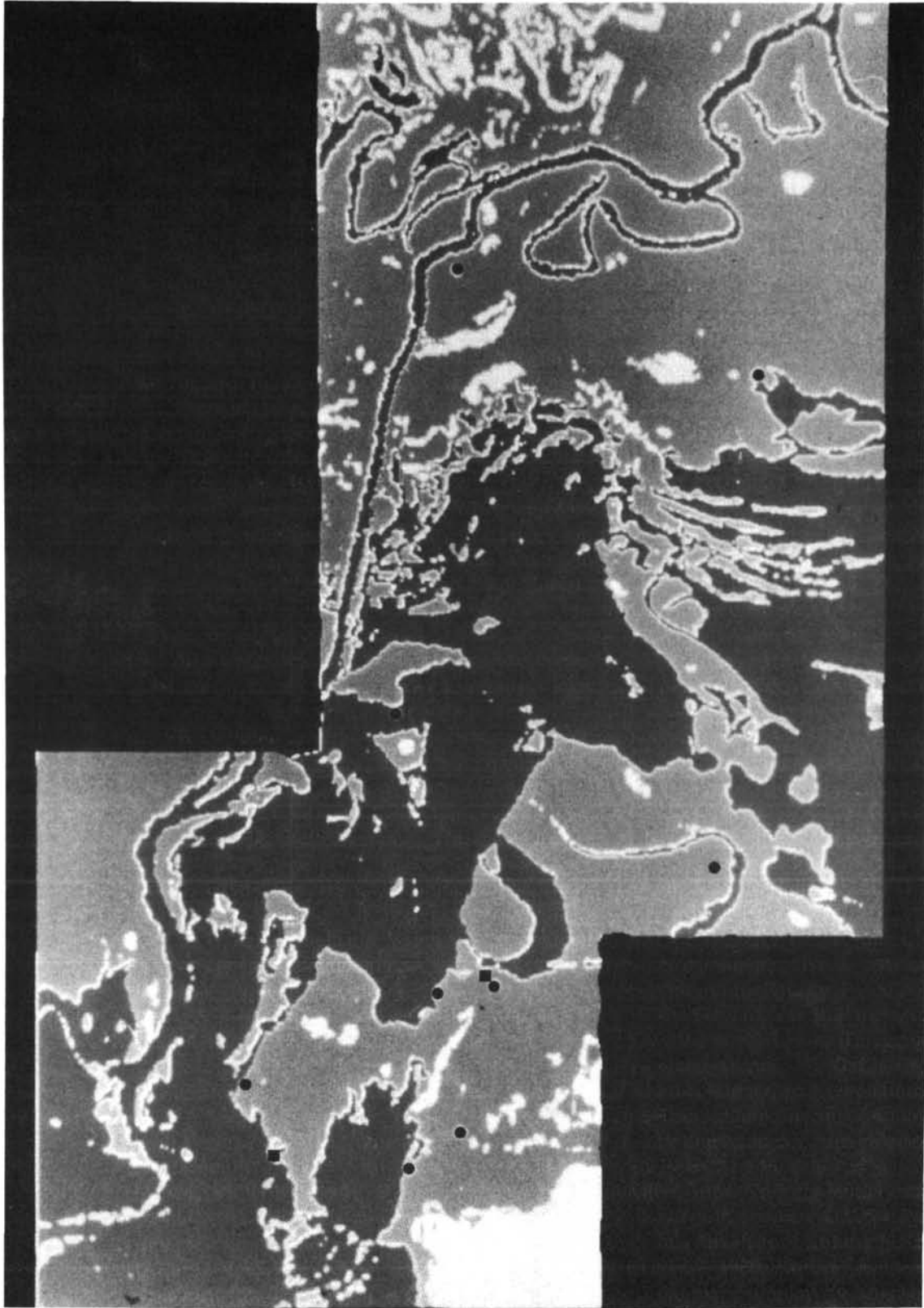


Fig. 5 Distribution of Late Neolithic sites in the Polgár Block. Squares — tells. Circles — flat sites. Dark grey — flooded up to 92 m. Light gray — permanently dry areas. White — potentially flooded areas.

5. kép Késő neolit lelőhelyek megoszlása a polgári blokkban. Négyzetek — tellek. Körök — egyrétegű lelőhelyek. Sötétszürke — 92 m-ig elöntött terület. Világosszürke — állandó szárazulatok. Fehér — árvízveszélyes területek.



Fig. 6 Distribution of Early-Middle Copper Age sites in the Polgár Block. Triangle — Tiszapolgár-Basatanya cemetery. Circles — flat sites. Dark grey — flooded up to 92 m. Light gray — permanently dry areas. White — potentially flooded areas.

6. kép A korai-középső rézkori lelőhelyek megoszlása a polgári blokkban. Háromszög — Tiszapolgár-Basatanya temetője. Körök — egyrétegű lelőhelyek. Sötétszürke — 92 m-ig elöntött terület. Világosszürke — állandó szárazulatok. Fehér — árvízveszélyes területek.

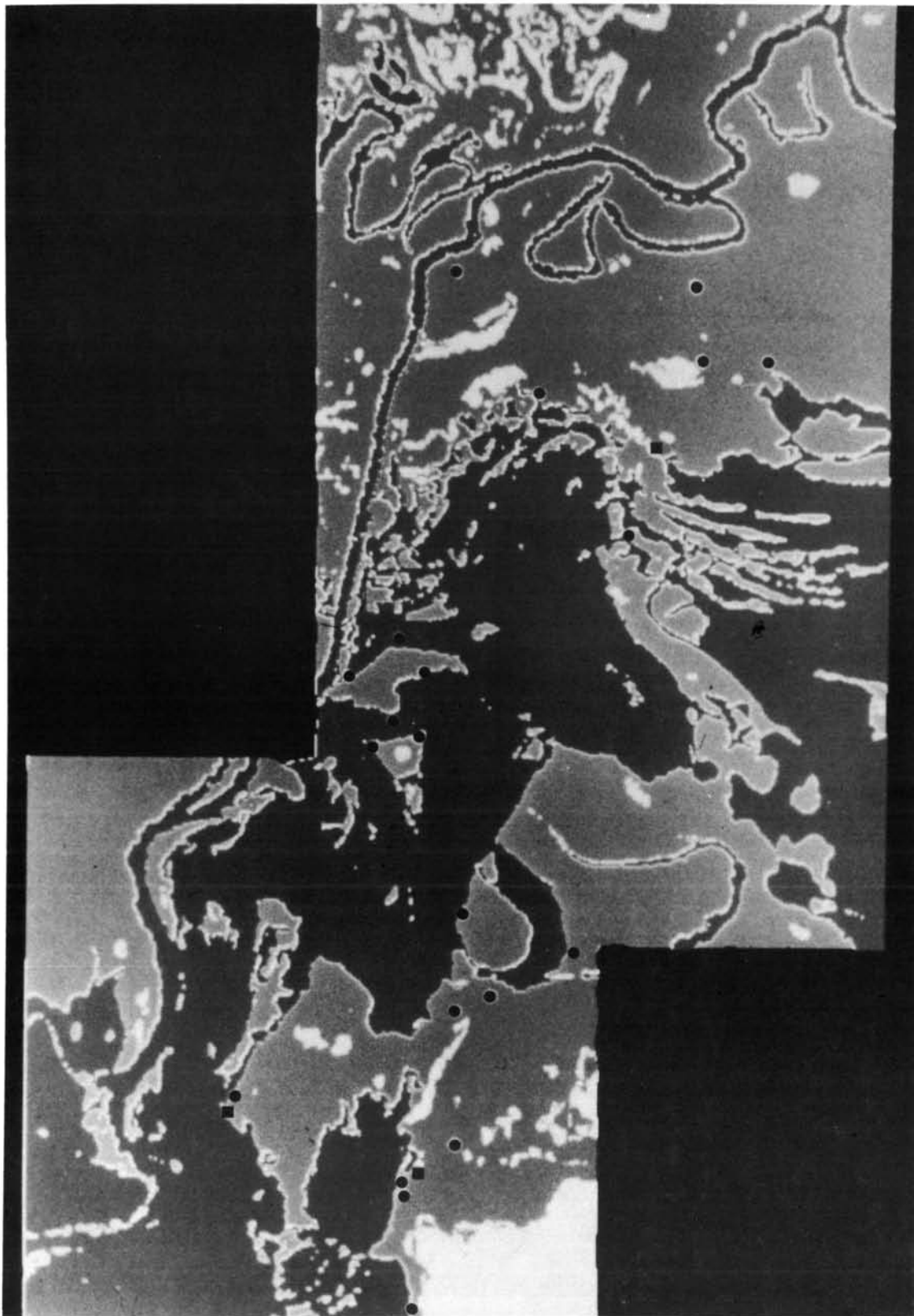


Fig. 7 Distribution of Late Copper Age sites and kurgans in the Polgár Block. Circles — flat sites. Squares — kurgans. Dark grey — flooded up to 92 m. Light gray — permanently dry areas. White — potentially flooded areas.
7. kép A késő rézkori lelőhelyek és kurgánok megoszlása a polgári blokkban. Körök — egyrétegű lelőhelyek. Négyzetek — kurgánok. Sötétszürke — 92 m-ig elöntött terület. Világosszürke — állandó szárazulatok. Fehér — árvízveszélyes területek.

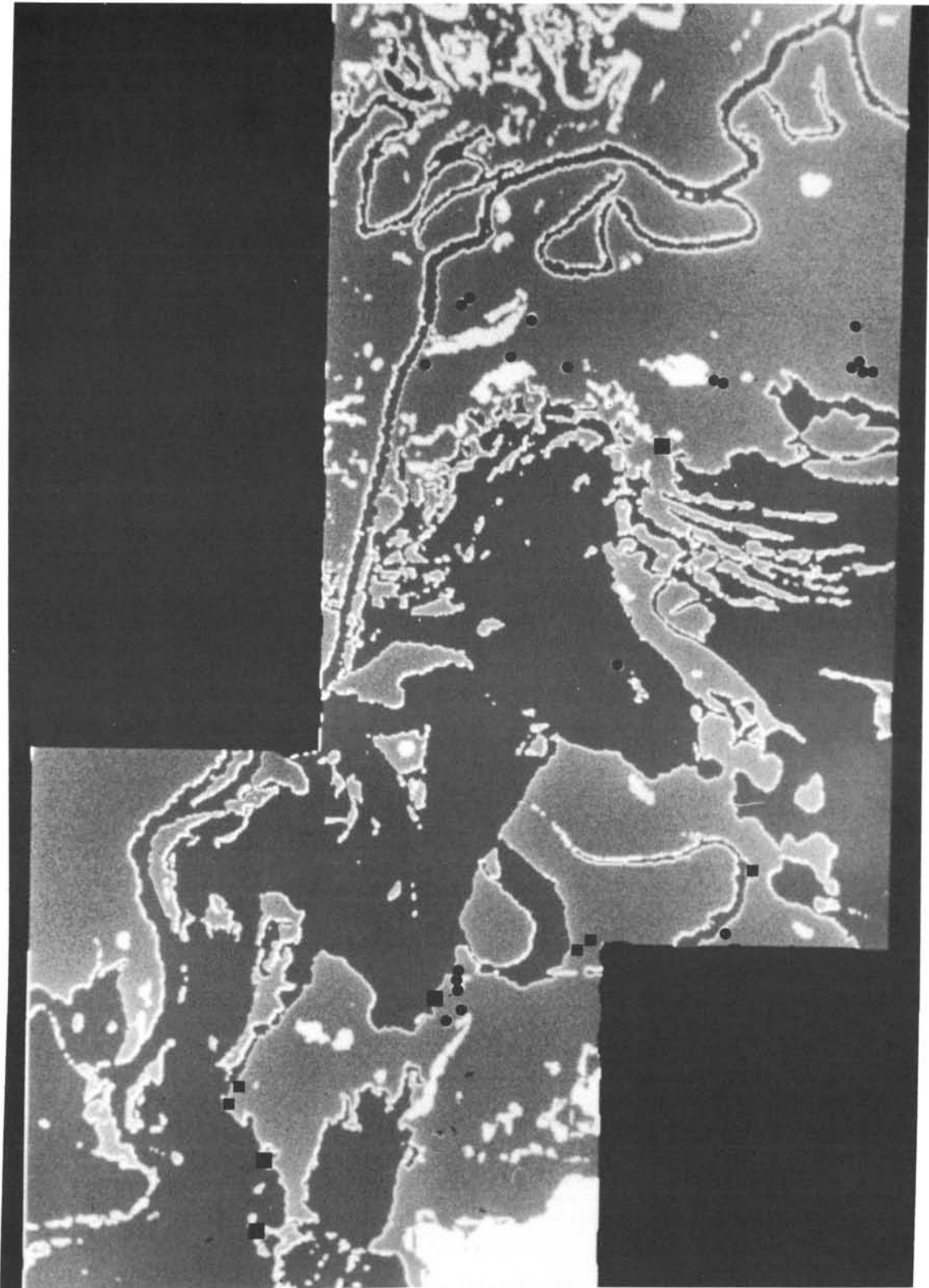


Fig. 8 Distribution of Early-Middle Bronze Age sites in the Polgár Block. Large squares — tells. Small squares — scatters. Circles — single finds. Dark grey — flooded up to 92 m. Light gray — permanently dry areas. White — potentially flooded areas

8. kép A korai-középső bronzkori lelőhelyek megoszlása a polgári blokkban. Nagy négyzetek — teltek. Kis négyzetek — szóródás. Körök — egyedi leletek. Sötétszürke — 92 m-ig elöntött terület. Világosszürke — állandó szárazulatok. Fehér — árvízveszélyes területek.

