Between History and Archaeology

Papers in honour of Jacek Lech

edited by

Dagmara H. Werra and Marzena Woźny

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY

Scientific Reviewers:

Prof. dr hab. Stefan Karol Kozłowski
Prof. dr hab. Romuald Schild

Linguistic consultation:

Dr Beata Kita (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology PAS) and Archaeopress

Contents

iii

The Cucuteni – Trypillia 'Big Other'
– Reflections on the Making of Millennial Cultural Traditions

John Chapman and Bisserka Gaydarska

Durham University, Department of Archaeology, Durham DH1 3LE, United Kingdom
e-mail: j.c.chapman@dur.ac.uk
e-mail: b_gaydarska@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract: The second methodological revolution for Trypillia mega-sites is leading to an interpretative shift from the study of entire mega-sites to the study of their constituent Neighbourhoods and Quarters. We are now in the process of developing the theoretical implications of this shift, which should lead to a parallel change in social interpretations from the classification of the political structure of an entire mega-site to a more nuanced study of the nested levels of the settlement – person, household, neighbourhood and entire settlement. We begin this theoretical work in this chapter which we take pleasure in dedicating to John's friend Jacek Lech. It focuses on a neglected, but key, aspect of the research agenda: the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other'.

Keywords: Cucuteni, Trypillia, 'Big Other', houses, figurines, pottery

Introduction

The time-place distribution of the Cucuteni–Trypillia groups – two millennia (4800–2800 cal BC) and 250,000km^2 – makes them one of the largest and most long-lasting groups in 'Old Europe' (Fig. 1). Three key points stand out from the long history of Trypillia and Cucuteni studies since their respective discoveries in the AD 19th century (for full histories, see Videiko 2012; Monah and Monah 1997): the apparent utter predominance of the domestic domain over the mortuary sector in both groups, the closely related near-absence of the materialization of hierarchies in either group and the differential development of massive sites (the so-called 'mega-sites') in certain zones of the Trypillia group but not in others and not at all in the Cucuteni sites. In recent international projects such as the Kyiv–Durham and the Kyiv–Frankfurt–Kiel collaborations, the second methodological revolution has occurred in our understanding of mega-sites, through which we have begun to understand much more clearly the spatial components of mega-sites and their combinations and re-combinations in neighbourhoods (Chapman *et al.* 2014a, 2014b). But there has been little or no concurrent development of the Trypillia mega-site theoretical research agenda. The ultimate aim of this work is clearly the identification of explanations for the origins, maintenance and decline of the largest settlements known in 4th millennium BC Europe. However, there is much to be done before we can approach these fundamental questions.

If we were to ask 'What are the key current problems for the Cucuteni–Trypillia theoretical research agenda?', two areas for discussion are immediately apparent: (1) the characterization of the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other' based upon the ideology of houses, figurines and decorated pottery – a theme that will relate the domestic domain to the mortuary domain; and (2) an explanation for the paradox of Trypillia exchange – how was it that so few prestige goods were exchanged across the Trypillia world? In this chapter, we begin by discussing the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other'.

The Cucuteni – Trypillia 'Big Other'

The Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek has discussed Jacques Lacan's idea of the 'Big Other' – something which is sufficiently general and significant to attract the support of most members of society but, at the same time, sufficiently ambiguous to allow the kinds of localized alternative interpretations that avoid constant schismatic behavior (Žižek 2007a, 2007b). The notion is discussed by Sheila Kohring (2012) as a link between the structuring of a group's symbolic world and its creation of material traditions; it also maps onto Peter Jordan's (2003) ideas of the ways that community values are etched onto the landscapes by routines of movement, exploitation and consumption and Stephen Gudeman's (2001) notions of the economy as a set of non-monetary values, with an emphasis on the formation of the 'commons' as a community value. How can we define the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other'?

In harmony with the dominance of the settlement domain in narratives of both life and death, it is clear that one core element of the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other' is the house (Burdo *et al.* 2013; Fig. 2). Cucuteni–Trypillia houses materialised an entire worldview for their occupants, creating a warm, safe, comfortable, decorated, ritualised and monumental place (Fig. 2a) which could be endlessly reproduced and indeed was, over an estimated 70 successive generations. The house also symbolised a widespread aesthetic principle – the
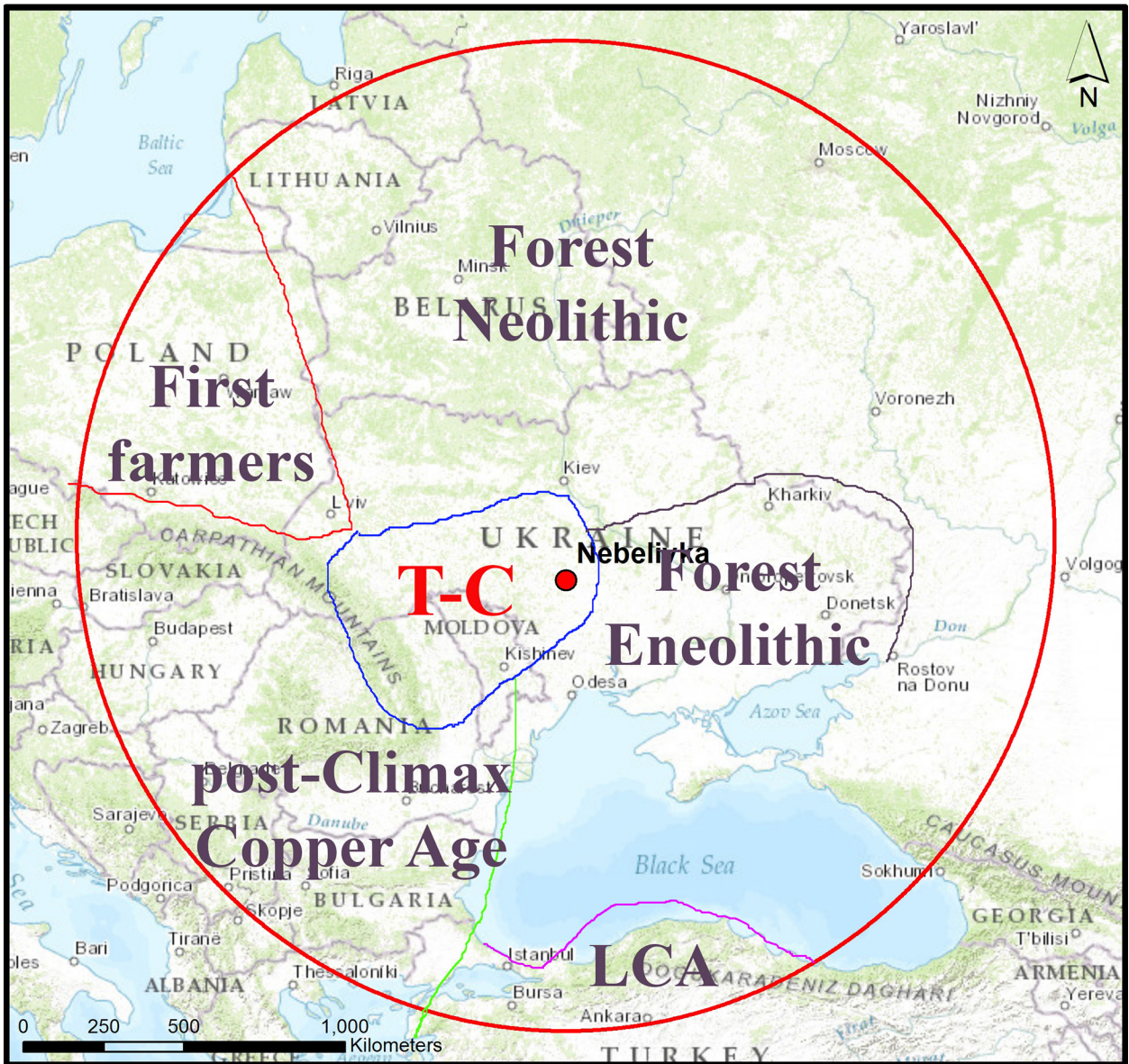
Fig. 1. Location map of Cucuteni–Trypillia group. Graphic designer: B. Gaydarska.

creation of monumental geometric order through the construction of essentially rectangular spaces. The cultural importance of geometric order can be seen in painted pottery as well as in many prestige objects but the monumental scale of houses projected its visual cultural symbolism onto the rolling loess landscapes. Another key contribution of the house was its potential for variations on its long-term theme of cultural continuity. The rectangular form allowed for different house sizes, as well as additions and extensions, sub-divisions and spatial re-combinations. Thus, architectural responses to social or family changes could be managed within the vernacular tradition. The second, flexible trait of houses is their almost limitless capacity for combination and re-combination into groups of houses, whether two dozen or two thousand (Fig. 2c).

This flexibility implies the existence of households that are partly individual (relatively 'independent' of each other) and partly dividual – inextricably linked to neighbouring houses and street-based groupings. The apparent lack of any architectural materialisation of hierarchy in the mega-sites suggests that there may be local community structures organising the logistical provisioning of these huge sites. It is hard to see how households did not play an important role in these community groupings, at the very least through shared ritual practices and also with household leaders forming local 'councils' for the resolution of disputes and decision-making. The identification of 'shrines' in what otherwise looked like dwelling-houses suggests that public ritual was one of the practices connecting local households. In addition to this possibility, there is

268
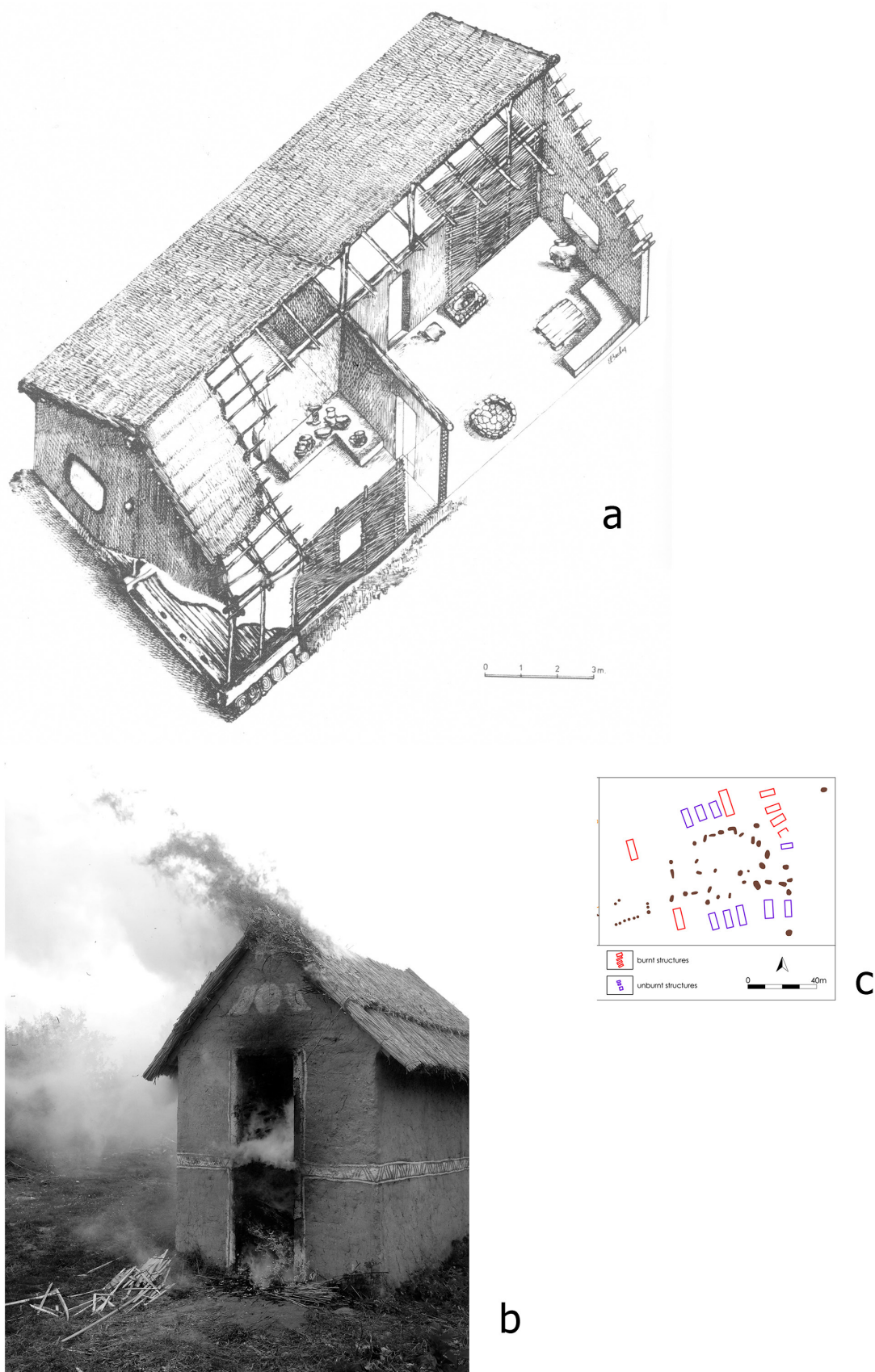
Fig. 2. The Cucuteni – Trypillia house: (a) reconstruction of a Cucuteni house (source: Monah and Monah 1997: 62); (b) the burning of an experimental 'Neolithic' house, Nebelivka village, Kirovograd Oblast, May 2015: 35 minutes after start of the burning (photo: Marco Nebbia); (c) Nebelivka Square, with houses on 3 or 4 sides of the square and pits in the central space (Source: ASUD, re-drawn by Y. Beadnell)

strong evidence for shared practices at the household level, with the entire household – residents, visitors, ritual occupants and ancestors – playing their parts in ceremonies. The wide spatial and temporal distribution of similar domestic ritual practices, often involving figurines and house models, suggests that this action was very important for the social integration of community groups in mega-sites and other large sites.

The most dramatic practice involving houses was the deliberate burning of the house at the end of its use-life, which included as one of a sequence of death-of-house rituals the deposition of a 'dead house assemblage' of objects in the house before it was set alight. It is widely recognized that the mortuary domain of Cucuteni–Trypillia groups was weakly developed until the final, C phase of the Trypillia group (Kruts 2012: Fig. 10.1; Bailey 2005, 2013; Popovici 2010: 105–106). Volodymyr Kruts has explained the absence of inhumations by suggesting that the principal mortuary practice was cremation without placing the ashes in urns – both for persons and for houses (Kruts 2003). Within all Cucuteni–Trypillia settlements, as in many groups in South East Europe, a large number of houses had been burnt down as their final act.

For present purposes, we shall take as fundamental Mirjana Stevanović' (1997) argument that it was impossible to reach the temperatures at which the daub of most houses burned from the materials of the house itself – the timber posts, wattle-and-daub walls, daub floor and thatched rooves. Hence, the addition of additional fuel meant that, in the majority of cases, house-burning was a deliberate act to terminate the life of the house. A recent house-building and-burning experiment at Nebelivka, Kirovograd Oblast, showed that many times the amount of firewood was required to burn the house than the timber needed to build it (Johnston *et al.* in press; Fig. 2b). Ruth Tringham (2005: 105) has proposed that, after the Early Neolithic, the burning of houses, without the deposition of the dead person in the house, and intramural burials on dwelling sites were probably mutually exclusive practices (Chapman 2015). There are several implications of Tringham's striking idea. First, house-burning and intramural burial were, in some sense, structural equivalents of each other. Secondly, one sense of this structural equivalence is that house-burning materialized the death of an important household or community member, replacing the performance of an intramural burial by the more spectacular performance of a house-burning. Thirdly, the absence of the body of the deceased household leader from both the house and the site meant yet a third extra-mural place linked to house and settlement in the sequence of mortuary practices, and possibly other places. Fourthly, the death of a household or community leader in groups who

practiced house-burning was celebrated by a long and complex, multi-stage sequence of mortuary practices, including the deposition of an often large number of 'grave goods' in the burnt house. The practice of the deposition of house 'grave goods' somehow removed the personal link between the objects and the newly-dead, creating a household assemblage rather than a personal tribute. The effect was the limitation of personal accumulation of potentially prestige goods. This meant a cap on the materialization of individual differentiation in favour of household variability. We suggest that this was an important aspect of Cucuteni–Trypillia social structure.

The second key component of the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other' – closely related to the house and often to its burning – was the fired clay anthropomorphic figurine (Fig. 3). The late Dan Monah made two monumental studies of the anthropomorphic corpus – the larger part of the total of 30,000 anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines (Monah 1997, 2012). Monah's study of the contexts in which the figurines were deposited shows that sets of complete figurines were rarely found, in structures thereby interpreted as shrines, while fragmentary figurines – often deliberately broken in mid-life and re-used 'after the break' (Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007; Gheorghiu 2005) – could be deposited in houses, pits or the occupation level (Monah 2012: 41–49). The re-fitting of fragments from the same figurine in different burnt house assemblages on the same site (e.g., Majdanetske: Shmaglij and Videiko 2002–3) shows that there is more to figurines than a simple dichotomy between living contexts (complete figurines used in sets) and contexts of deposition (fragments of figurines deposited after their use-life was over; e.g., Marangou 1996). There is strong evidence for the use of both complete and fragmentary figurines in ceremonies, especially in various stages of the 'death-of-the-house' rituals. Moreover, there is good evidence that figurines were made so as to be easily broken (Chapman 2000).

The small size of the image of the human body and its relative ease of making offered the possibility of enormous diversity of forms – a potential that was certainly exploited (see the over 3000 figurines published by in Monah 2012). A skilled figurine-maker could model a variety of human forms, denoting individuality and other aspects of identity[1] (Fig. 3).

---

[1] Figurines showed their individuality through facial expression (Monah 2012: Figs. 21/13, 118/7 [here Fig. 3e], 223/4), coiffure (2012: Figs. 118/1 [here Fig. 3d], 3, 8: 210/2), costume (2012: Figs. 50 – 56 (all) [here Fig. 3b]) or tattoes (2012: Figs. 96/4, 6; 165/10 [here Fig. 3g]; 187/10). Other identities denoted included age (2012: young female – Fig. 205/2 [here Fig. 3i]; old male – Fig. 175/1 [here Fig. 3h]; older female – Figs. 107/3, 182/2; younger female – Figs. 110/2, 183/10), gender (2012: male – Figs. 36/7 [here Fig. 3c], 140/9; female – Fig. 82/1; hermaphrodite – Figs. 39/4 – 5 [here Fig. 3a], 41/3; no gender – Figs. 59/3, 81/1), ritual status (through symbols: 2012: Figs. 27/2,
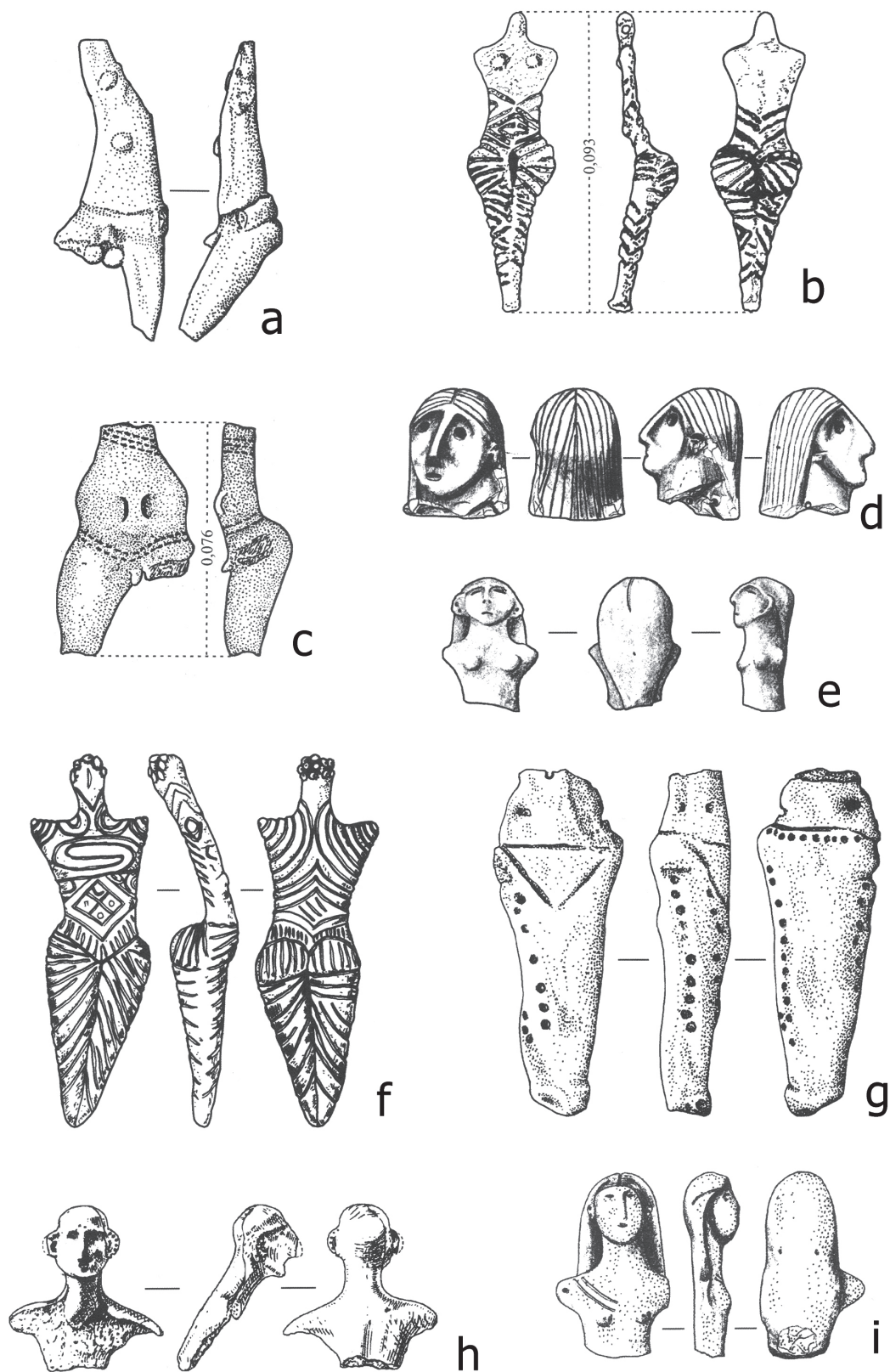
Fig. 3. Cucuteni – Trypillia figurines (source Monah 2012): (a) hermaphrodite, Scânteia, Iaşi district; (b) costumed female, Drăguşeni, Botoşani district; (c) male figure, Obârşia – Voineşti, Olt district; (d) female with coiffure and expressive face, Krinički, Nikolajevas district; (e) young female, Volodimyrivka, Kirovograd Oblast; (f) female figure with symbol on chest, Cucuteni – Cetăţuia, Iaşi district; (g) female figure with tattooing on legs, Moldova; (h) old male, Ruseni, Edineţ district; (i) young female, Rizino, Cherkassy Oblast.
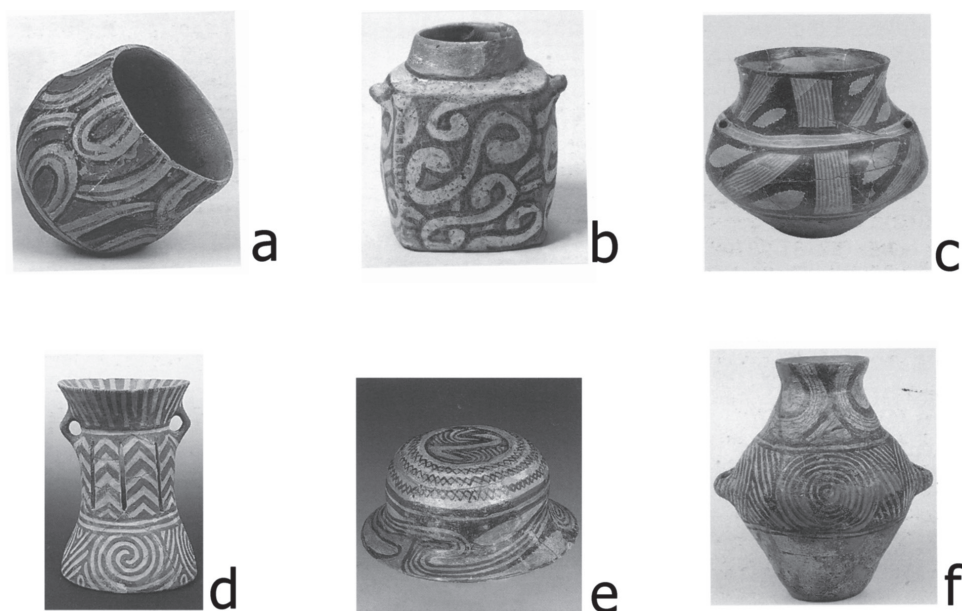
Fig. 4. Cucuteni painted pottery (source: Monah and Monah 1997): (a) white and black on red trichrome painted cup, Cucuteni A3, Costeşti, Argeş district; (b) white and black on red trichrome painted rectangular vessel, Cucuteni A2, Izvoare, Floreşti; (c) black, red and white on brown painted necked carinated bowl, Cucuteni B, Ghelăieşti, Neamţ district; (d) the 'Hora' of Drăguşeni, Botoşani district: red on white painted pot–stand with hollow body, Cucuteni A4; (e) white and black on red trichrome painted lid, Cucuteni B1, Ghelăieşti, Botoşani district; (f) white and black on red trichrome painted amphora, Cucuteni AB, Cucuteni – Dâmbul Morii, Iaşi district.

At the same time, and especially in the later phase (Cucuteni B – Trypillia C), many highly stylized figurines with few individualizing features at all (e.g. Monah 2012: Figs. 132/1, 189) were deposited on settlements, which were easy to make with a little standard manual dexterity.[2] This is not to deny the skill of figurine-makers, especially those who made tiny figurines and miniature chairs for sets perhaps used in practices designed to overcome problems of infertility (cf. Dumitrescu 2008 with Watson and Gaydarska 2014).

The ways in which figurines were used before their fragmentation offers a further vector of diversity, in which we can definitively transcend the Gimbutassian 'Great Mother/Earth Goddess' and her pantheon (Gimbutas 1982; Burdo 2008), while accepting Marija Gimbutas' idea of the active use of figurines in ceremonies (Gimbutas 1982). Since the vast majority of figurines were found in 'dead house' contexts, in pits and in the occupation level, it is difficult to identify the ceremonies in which figurines were used but their size and portability made them ideal and flexible aspects for settlement mobility and re-use in a sequence of

domestic and non-domestic rituals. Dragos Gheorghiu (2005, 2010) has provocatively linked the so-called 'dressed' figurines to mummies wrapped in shrouds, indicating a relational bond between figurines and house-burning mortuary rituals. Equally provocative is the discovery of cereal grains and small fired clay balls inside the hollow bodies of some figurines (e.g., Monah 2012: Fig. 22/6).

The third frequent component of Cucuteni–Trypillia lifeways was the decorated pottery, comprising both fine wares (painted in the Western part [Fig. 4]; incised in the East) and coarse wares (mostly incised and/or impressed; Tsvek 1996; Tsvek and Rassamakin 2005). The shapes and decorative motifs of painted wares have been used to classify and date Trypillia phases, sub-phases and regional groups in a complex, interlocking typological scheme (Ryzhov 2005, 2012). Pottery dominated the 'grave goods' deposited in mortuary house-burning ceremonies. The finely painted wares could easily be imagined as a prestige good in their own right. It could then be argued that the contribution by several households of pottery (or, more frequently, decorated sherds) to a house-burning ceremony was a kind of potlatch, in which fragments and, rarely, whole vessels were placed in the house before burning and/ or placed on top of the burnt mass of daub after the fire had died down.

67/3, 83/1 [here Fig. 3f]) and other social statuses conveyed through personal ornaments (2012: Fig. 47/3 and 7).
[2] In Dragoş Gheorghiu's Vadastra experimental session (Southern Romania) of 1999, children of junior-school age learnt in one day how to make these 'stylised' figurines, often producing ten per day.

Table 1: Characteristics of four ethnographic modes of pottery production (source: data in Peacock 1982: 13–43).
Characteristics in *italics* refer to those found in Cucuteni – Trypillia settlements.

Characteristics	Household production	Household Industry	Workshop Industry	Nucleated Industry
Replacement of broken pots	*Common*	*coarse vessels*	*coarse vessels*	*coarse vessels*
Imports from beyond the house	*Rare*	*specialised vessels*	*common*	*Rare*
Export beyond house	*Rare*	*common*	*common*	*essential*
Seasonal production	*Normal*	*normal*	*common*	*rare – can be year-round*
Local clays	*Common*	*common*	*high-quality > distance*	*high-quality > distance*
Surface or pit firing	*Common*	*common*	*very rare*	*very rare*
Wheel / turntable	*None*	*rare*	*essential*	*essential*
Kiln-firing	*None*	*rare*	*essential*	*essential*
Differentiated production areas	*None*	*rare*	*workshop +/- kiln*	*highly differentiated: specialised products*
Relation of potting to agriculture	Subsidiary	subsidiary	complementary	complementary

Linda Ellis (1984) has postulated the emergence of a higher scale of pottery production in the villages dating to the Trypillia BI – Cucuteni A phase. The basis for this change from household production to higher-level production was identified by Sander van der Leeuw (1977) in terms of variables such as the time involved, the scale of production, the location of resources for potting, the permanent loci of production, the range of distribution and the higher division of labour (Ellis 1984: Table 21). However, van der Leeuw (1977) does not distinguish between two levels of pottery production – workshop production and village industry.

A more detailed ethnographically-based study of pottery production was developed for comparisons with Roman pottery production (Peacock 1982) but the descriptors remain comparable for prehistory pottery. David Peacock distinguishes between household production, household industries, workshop industries and nucleated industries (Tab. 1). While Peacock emphasizes the problems in making sharp differences between these four 'ideal' types, it is clear that the Cucuteni–Trypillia evidence cited by Ellis is most consonant with production at the household industrial or workshop industrial scales but that there was little trace of characteristics most frequently associated with nucleated workshop industries.

There is no question that Cucuteni–Trypillia potters in the Cucuteni A / Trypillia BI phase and later were more specialized than those of Pre–Cucuteni / Trypillia A communities, as demonstrated by the range of forming and firing processes in the later phases. However, it is one thing to propose workshop production at sites such

as Varvareuvka VIII, Mykolaiv Oblast (Ellis 1984: 162, Figs. 61–62 and Table 21) and Vesely Kut, Odes'ka Oblast (Tsvek 1994), as well as the numerous settlements with pottery kilns (Ellis 1984: 142–156; cf. Korvin-Piotrovskiy *et al.* 2016) but quite different to claim village-scale production as a distinctive specialisation for regional-scale pottery production. For this different idea, Ellis has far less evidence – in effect, restricted to van Stern's (1909, 1927) excavations on the outer ring of the Trypillia BII site of Petreni, in Moldova. Ernst van Stern found that the eight 'houses' were packed with pottery of all sizes, but contained very few animal bones or charred grain, little lithic debitage and scanty remains of other dwelling discard. He interpreted these features as 'houses of the dead', whereas Ellis (1984: 162–164) proposes that they indicate a 'pottery manufacturing district', with the likelihood that kilns would be found nearby.

The latest geophysical prospection of Trypillia mega-sites has identified particularly strong magnetic anomalies as the loci of pottery kilns (Rassmann *et al.* 2016). Indeed, the geophysical plan of Petreni, Drochia district (Rassmann *et al.* 2014: Figs. 38–39; cf. Ellis 1984: Fig. 69) indicates a series of 14 large circular anomalies on the periphery of the site, outside a perimeter ditch. Knut Rassmann *et al.* (2016) interpret these features as kiln-shaped anomalies, indicating a kiln: house ratio of 1: 35. Another research paper on Trypillia kilns cites 21 kiln-like anomalies at Petreni, with a kiln: house ratio of 1:25 (Korvin-Piotrovskiy *et al.* 2016). The various kiln: house ratios suggest specialized pottery production for on-site consumption rather than regional pottery production.

Our gloss on Linda Ellis' idea is that specialized workshop ceramic production would have been underpinned by communal co-operation, with individual households contributing to the workshop in a variety of ways, whether through the construction of the workshop, the collection of clay and firewood, the provision of manganese for paint through their exchange links, the building and maintenance of kilns, pottery design, the firing of vessels in kilns, the painting of the fine ware vessels, etc. The material effects of any sense of overall leadership would have been limited by the communal debts owed to all participants. The flexibility in house form allowed conversion of what looks like a 'normal' dwelling house into a pottery workshop. In this way, a specialized production practice combining the labour of many persons was itself integrated into one of the key aspects of Trypillia lifeways. The development of mega-sites enabled the creation of larger numbers of workshops in several neighbourhoods.

In summary, the three principal components of the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other' were indeed both generic and ambiguous – offering the potential for varied renderings of the house and figurine forms, while simultaneously providing the chance for varied readings of these forms. Part of their success was the combination of individual and dividual identities that both houses and figurines embodied. A house, a figurine or a vessel was conjointly an individual object with specific meanings and a dividual part of a class of entities, its meaning negotiated in relation to the wider whole. Another key element of the 'Big Other' was its reliance on ancestral values, materialized in the long-term traditions of houses, figurines and pottery. Such ancestral values were nested in a communitarian manner, emphasizing the settlement over the neighbourhood, the neighbourhood over the household and the household over the person. It was not that there was necessarily an anti-accumulation ethos in ancestral values – rather that these values could channel accumulation in different ways, often away from individual prestige gains (for a parallel case of ancestral values in tell settlements, see Chapman 1989).

Discussion

The characterization of the Cucuteni–Trypillia 'Big Other' has demonstrated the essential links between millennial cultural traditions and their materialization in houses, figurines and pottery. At this juncture, it is useful to relate the 'Big Other' to another major issue in Trypillian archaeology – the Trypillia exchange paradox. Put simply, this paradox states that, despite the expectation of social hierarchy at such massive mega-sites, there were remarkably few examples of prestige metalwork, such as gold and copper, in these large settlements. There would appear to be three possible solutions to this paradox: (1) social differentiation was important but was achieved in a hitherto undiscovered mortuary zone; (2) social differentiation was important but was achieved communally through the 'Big Other' rather than through copper and gold objects; and (3) there was no such social differentiation as we have hitherto imagined but that dwelling on Trypillia mega-sites was on a much smaller scale and possibly seasonal. In other words, two of the possible explanations for the exchange paradox are tightly focused on facets of the 'Big Other'.

The absence of a Cucuteni–Trypillia mortuary domain has been disputed (see above, p. 268) through the linkage of burnt house rituals to the death of important household members. Given the difficulty of proving a negative, the unseen presence of Trypillia A– and B– phase cemeteries cannot be excluded. However, it is important to note that the intra-mural graves at the Trypillia settlement of Chapaevka – for long the only known group of graves in Phase B settlements – have now been re-dated to a hitherto unrecognised Forest Neolithic phase of the site.

There is much to commend the second solution to this paradox – not least the overall importance of the materialization of the 'Big Other' as houses, figurines and pottery in Cucuteni–Trypillia lifeways. Instead of the accumulation of prestige metalwork, mega-sites constituted accumulations of the three aspects of the 'Big Other' – not least houses. Moreover, there was an intensification in the building of larger dwelling-houses as well as even larger structures – what we have termed 'Assembly Houses' – buildings which acted as public meeting spaces for different Quarters on mega-sites such as Nebelivka (Chapman and Gaydarska 2016). A comparable intensification can be seen in pottery production, with village workshops rather than entire villages producing sufficient pottery of all shapes and sizes for a mega-site neighbourhood.

However, the third, most radical solution posits a smaller number of permanent residents at a mega-site – perhaps two or three thousand – or a much smaller residential core with the majority of people making seasonal visits. These models would entail a dramatic reduction of resources, not least salt – something that seasonal visitors would bring with them – with a concomitant fall in scalar stress (Johnson 1982; Chapman 2017) and a less diversified social hierarchy. This minimal model also best fits the remarkably low level of human impact found in the Nebelivka pollen diagram from a core taken 250m from the edge of the mega-site (Albert *et al.* submitted). We are currently modeling the relationship between length of occupation, number of houses and

size of population for all of the scenarios currently envisaged.

Conclusions

The second methodological revolution of the Trypillia mega-sites (Chapman *et al.* 2014) has resulted in a mass of new data which, in and of itself, has created a new excavation and fieldwork agenda for the next 20 years (for a beginning, see chapters in Müller *et al.* 2016). However, without a comparable theoretical revolution integrated with the new field data, this methodological revolution has obvious limits, both technical and intellectual. In this chapter, we make a modest start to developing a new Trypillia theoretical landscape, open to hitherto unrecognised interpretative possibilities.

Central to the new landscape is Lacan and Žižek's concept of the 'Big Other' – those ideas which are sufficiently important to attract general consent yet ambiguous enough to avoid local schisms. We propose that the materialization of the 'Big Other' is seen in Cucuteni–Trypillia houses, figurines and decorated pottery – each of which persisted for almost two millennia through subtle transformations into local variations on the principal themes. There is a case that the central paradox of Trypillia exchange – the major logistical requirements for provisioning of the mega-sites are offset by an almost complete absence of the materialization of the requisite social differentiation for such logistical organization – can be explained by aspects of the 'Big Other'.

We propose three solutions for the Trypillia exchange paradox – the deposition of prestige metal objects in a hitherto undiscovered mortuary Trypillia zone; the materialisation of social differentiation through the 'Big Other', especially in the differentiated form and size of houses; and the scenario of mega-sites with much smaller, perhaps partly seasonal, populations. The Nebelivka research team is currently modeling these various explanations.

Acknowledgements

References

Albert, B., Innes, J., Krementskiy, K., Millard, A., Gaydarska, B., Nebbia, M. and Chapman, J. submitted. Decadal timescale palaeo-ecology at the Trypillian megasite of Nebelivka, Ukraine. (Submitted to Vegetation History & Archaeobotany).

Bailey, D. 2005. On the absence of burial ritual in Cucuteni–Tripolie communities. In V. Spinei, C.-M. Lazarovici, and D. Monah (eds), *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmboviţa oblata*: 319–340. Iaşi, Trinitas.

Bailey, D. 2013. Figurines, corporeality and the origins of the gendered body. In D. Bolger (ed.), *A companion to gender prehistory*: 244–264. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell..

Burdo, N. B. 2008. Sakralni svit *Tripolskoi civilizacije*. Kiev: Nash Chas.

Burdo, N., Videiko, M., Chapman, J. and Gaydarska, B. 2013. Houses in the archaeology of the Tripillia–Cucuteni groups. In D. Hofmann and J. Smyth (eds), *Tracking the Neolithic house in Europe. Sedentism, architecture and practice*: 95–116. New York, Springer.

Chapman, J. 1989. 'The early Balkan village'. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 2: 33–53.

Chapman, J. 2000._*Fragmentation in archaeology: People, places and broken objects in the prehistory of South Eastern Europe.* London, Routledge.

Chapman, J. 2015. Burn or bury? Mortuary alternatives in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Central and Eastern Europe. In A. Diachenko,F. Menotti, S. Ryzhov, K. Bunyatyan and S. Kadrow (eds), *The Cucuteni–Trypillia cultural complex and its neighbours. Essays in memory of Vlodomyr Kruts*: 259–278. Lviv, Astrolyabia.

Chapman, J. 2017. The standard Model, the Maximalists and the Minimalists: new interpretations of Trypillia mega-sites. *Journal of World Prehistory* 30(3):221–237.

Chapman, J. and Gaydarska, B. 2007. *Parts and wholes. Fragmentation in prehistoric context.* Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Chapman, J. and Gaydarska, B. 2016. Low-density urbanism: the case of the Trypillia group of Ukraine. In M. Fernández-Götz and D. Krausse (eds), *Eurasia at the Dawn of History: Urbanization and Social Change*: 81–105. Edinburgh, Cambridge University Press.

Chapman, J., Videiko, M., Gaydarska, B., Burdo, N., Hale, D., Villis, R., Swann, N., Thomas, N., Edwards, P., Blair, A., Hayes, A., Nebbia, M. and Rud, V. 2014. The Planning of the Earliest European Proto-Towns: A New Geophysical Plan of the Trypillia Mega-Site of Nebelivka, Kirovograd Domain, Ukraine. *Antiquity*

Gallery: http://antiquity.ac.uk.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/projgall/chapman339/.

Chapman, J., Videiko, M. Yu., Hale, D., Gaydarska, B., Burdo, N., Rassmann, K., Mischka, C., Müller, J., Korvin-Piotrovskiy, A. and Kruts, V. 2014a. The second phase of the Trypillia mega-site methodological revolution – a new research agenda. *European Journal of Archaeology* 17 (3): 369–406.

Dumitrescu, R. 2008. Neolithic codes – a different approach of Cucuteni woman (Para-archaeological and para-medical meditative essay). In: F. Coimbra and G. Dimitriadis (eds), *Cognitive archaeology as symbolic archaeology*. Oxford, Archaeopress. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1737.

Ellis, L. 1984. *The Cucuteni–Tripolye Culture: Study in Technology and the Origins of Complex Society*. Oxford, Archaeopress. British Archaeological Reports International Series 217.

Gheorghiu, D. 2005. The controlled fragmentation of anthropomorphic figurines. In Gh. Dumitroaia, J. Chapman, O. Weller, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola and D. Monah (eds), *Cucuteni. 120 years of research. Time to sum up*: 137–144. Piatra Neamţ, Cucuteni Culture International Research Centre.

Gheorghiu, D. 2010. Dragoş Gheorghiu. In D. Bailey, A, Cochrane and M. Zambelli (eds), *2010. Unearthed. A comparative study of Jōmon dogū and Neolithic figurines*: 62. Norwich, Sainsbury Centre for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures.

Gimbutas, M. 1982. *Goddesses and Gods of old Europe*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Gudeman, S. 2001. *The anthropology of economy*. Oxford, Blackwell.

Johnson, G. 1982. Organizational Structure and Scalar Stress. In C. Renfrew, M. J. Rowlands and B. Segraves-Whallon (eds), *Theory and explanation in archaeology: the Southampton Conference*: 389–421. London, Academic Press.

Johnston, S., Litkevych, V., Gaydarska, B., Voke, P., Nebbia, M. and Chapman, J., in press. The Nebelivka experimental house-construction and house-burning. (To appear in M. Spasić (ed.), *Neolithic houses*. Beograd, Gradski Muzej).

Jordan, P. 2003. *Material culture and sacred landscape. The anthropology of the Siberian Khanty*. Walnut Creek, CA, AltaMira Press.

Kohring, S. 2012. A scalar perspective to social complexity: complex relations and complex questions. In T. Kienlin and A. Zimmermann (eds), *Beyond elites. Alternatives to hierarchical systems in modelling social formations*: 327–338. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt.

Korvin-Piotrovskiy, A., Hofmann, R., Rassmann, K., Videiko, M. and Brandtstätter, L. 2016. Pottery Kilns in Trypillian Settlements. Tracing the Division of Labour and the Social Organization of Copper Age Communities. In J. Müller, K. Rassmann and

M. Videiko (eds), *Trypillia–Megasites and European Prehistory, 4100–3400 BCE*: 221–52. Routledge, London.

Kruts, V. 2003. Tripol'skie ploshchadki – rezul'tati ritual'nogo sozhenya domov. In A.G. Korvin-Piotrovskiy (ed.), *Tripil'ski poselenya-giganti. Materiali mizhnarodnoi konferentsii*: 74–76. Kiev, Korvin–press.

Kruts, V. 2012. The latest stage of development of the Tripolye culture. In F. Menotti and A.G. Korvin-Piotrovskiy (eds), *The Tripolye culture giant-settlements in Ukraine. Formation, development and decline*: 230–253. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Marangou, C. 1996 Assembling, displaying and dissembling Neolithic and Eneolithic figurines and models. *Journal of European Archaeology* 4: 177–202.

Monah, D. 1997. *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*. Piatra Neamţ, Centrul de Cercetare a culturii Cucuteni.

Monah, D. 2012. *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*. Ediţia a doua. Piatra Neamţ, Centrul de Cercetare a culturii Cucuteni.

Monah, D. and Monah, F. 1997. The last great Chalcolithic civilization of Old Europe. In C-M. Mantu, Gh. Dumitroaia and A. Tsaravopoulos (eds), *Cucuteni. The last great Chalcolithic civilization of Europe*: 15–95. Thessaloniki, Athena Printing House.

Müller, J., Rassmann, K. and Videiko, M. (eds) 2016. *Trypillia–Megasites and European Prehistory, 4100–3400 BCE*. Leeds, Maneys.

Peacock, D. 1982. *Pottery in the Roman world*. London, Longman.

Popovici, D. N. 2010. Copper Age traditions North of the Danube river. In D.W. Anthony and J.Y. Chi (eds), *The lost world of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000 – 3500 BC*: 91–111. New York, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World.

Rassmann, K., Ohlrau, R., Hofmann, R., Mischka, C., Burdo, N. Videjko, M. Yu. and Müller, J. 2014. High precision Tripolye settlement plans, demographic estimates and settlement organization. *Journal of Neolithic Archaeology* 16: 96–134.

Rassmann, K., Korvin-Piotrovskiy, A., Videiko, M. and Müller, J. 2016. The new challenge for site plans and geophysics: Revealing the settlement structure of giant settlements by means of geomagnetic survey. In J. Müller, K. Rassmann and M. Videiko (eds), *Trypillia–Megasites and European Prehistory, 4100–3400 BCE*: 29–54. Routledge, London.

Ryzhov, S. 2005. The Tripolye BII–CI sites of the Pruth-Dniester region. In Gh. Dumitroaia, J. Chapman, O. Weller, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola and D. Monah (eds), *Cucuteni. 120 years of research. Time to sum up*: 193–208. Piatra Neamţ, Cucuteni Culture International Research Centre.

Ryzhov, S. 2012. Relative Chronology of the Giant-Settlement Period BII–CI. In: F. Menotti and A. Korvin-Piotrovskiy (eds), *The Tripolye Culture Giant-*

Settlements in Ukraine. Formation, Development and Decline: 79–115. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Shmaglij, N. M. and Videiko, M. Yu. 2002 - 03. Maidanetskoe - tripolski protogorod. *Stratum Plus* 2: 44–140.

Stevanović, M. 1997. Production of architecture in the age of clay. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 16 (4): 334–395.

Tringham, R. 2005. Weaving house life and death into places: a blueprint for a hypermedia narrative. In D. Bailey, A. Whittle and V. Cummings (eds), *(Un) settling the Neolithic*: 98–111. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Tsvek, E. 1994. Gončarnoie proizvodstvo plemen tripol'skoj kul'tury. In I.T. Chernyakiv (ed.), *Remeslo epokhi eneolita-bronzi na Ukraine*: 55–95. Kiev, Naukova Dumka.

Tsvek, E. and Rassamakin, Yu. Ya. 2005. The interactions between the Eastern Tripolye culture and the Pontic steppe area: some aspects of the problem. In Gh. Dumitroaia, J. Chapman, O. Weller, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola and D. Monah (eds), *Cucuteni. 120 years of research. Time to sum up*: 173–192 Piatra Neamţ, Cucuteni Culture International Research Centre.

van der Leeuw, S. 1977. Towards a study of the economics of pottery-making. In B. L. van Beek, R.W. Brandt, and W. Groenman-Van Waateringe (eds), *Ex horreo: IPP 1951-1976*: 68–76. Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Albert Egges van Giffen Instituut voor Prae- en Protohistorie.

von Stern, E. 1909. Die 'prämykenische' Kultur in Süd-Russland. (Die Ausgrabungen in Petreny, im Bielzer Kreis des Gouvernements Bessarabien: 1902–1903). *Trudy XIII Arkheologicheskogo Soyezda v Ekaterinoslave* 1905: 53–95.

von Stern, E. 1927. Südrussland. In M. Ebert, M. (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte. Volume 13*: 32–50. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.

Videiko, M.Y. 2012. Comprehensive Study of the Large Settlements of the Tripolye Culture: 1971–2011. *Stratum Plus* 2012(2): 225–63.

Watson, E. and Gaydarska, B. 2014. Little Cucuteni pots of hope: a challenge to the divine nature of figurines. *Studii de Prehistorie* 11: 1–10.

Žižek, S. 2007. *How to read Lacan*. New York, W. W. Norton.

Žižek, S. 2007a. *Cogito, madness and religion: Derrida, Foucault and Lacan*. http://www.lacan.com/zizforest. html