MUSIC AND HUMANISATION AS LONG-TERM PROCESS

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MUSIC AND THE STUDY OF THE LONG TERM

For some time I have felt - and occasionally expressed dissatisfaction with an artefact orientated 'Archaeology of Music' (Buckley 1989; 1993). This is not because I question the fundamental importance of identifying, measuring and dating artefacts, but rather because I believe that there are many more questions which we should be addressing, around and about the artefacts and in particular around and about the human societies which produced them. What kinds of behavioural processes do they represent ? What signs do they give for long-term human history ? And although the title of this meeting - Prehistory of Music - suggests a broader framework for discussion, I am going to argue for a method of approach which transcends - though of course takes account of - both chronological and artefact-based approaches to the problem : that of long-term history (which of necessity includes 'prehistory'). This standpoint represents a particular application of arguments central to some of the most important debates in archaeology, anthropology and sociology over the past thirty years (cf. Wenke 1990, 29-33; Harris 1969; Ingold 1986; Goudsblom et al. 1989).

Robert J. Wenke described the goal of the so-called 'New Archaeology' as one of " ... reformulating archaeology as a mathematical, evolutionary, ecological science of complex systems" (Wenke 1990, 31ff). Applied to the materials of primary concern to us, those relating to music and dance, this model could provide a satisfactory framework for structuring and analysing all of our data. In terms of (i) mathematics : the measurement of artefacts, counting of artefacts and people, use of computer analysis; (ii) evolution : the nature and development of musical behaviour based on comparative study of human societies in their relative stages of simplicity or complexity; (iii) ecology : the relationship people-artefact-behaviour to their social setting; variability in climate, productivity, technology; (iv) systems : involving the study of the relationship between different types of musical behaviour and the social structure of societies; the investigation of causes; what types of organisation of sound-producers and sound-products result from particular types of social and cultural systems; what types of human-social processes give rise to particular expressions in music and dance behaviour. It is on the second of these categories that I wish to focus in this paper, namely, that of evolution or socio-cultural behaviour and development.

My endorsement of a process-orientated approach to the long-term history of music and dance is motivated not solely by a desire for more context-sensitive study of musical behaviour, but even more because I believe that the study of musical behaviour - of any society, past or present - provides an important (often missing!) link with many central issues in the human sciences. Like other mimetic arts - such as dance, drama, sport, poetry, painting and sculpture - music is a vehicle for the expression of human emotions, of group identity and solidarity, of imagination. Investigation of musical processes opens up areas for sociological, psychological and cultural study. It is not divorced from other activites and it complements other aspects of imaginative expression which together contribute to an important databank for the study of humankind.

There has been an impressive growth in the amount of data published and discussed over the past forty years; though some areas of the world are well represented, others hardly or not at all. Nevertheless, it is surely time to remake the general maps, perhaps taking as a starting-point the useful historical atlas by Collaer and his colleagues (see Collaer et al. 1968). Such a synthesis could now be integrated within the bigger map of knowledge about long-term human history and human-social behaviour. And while for obvious reasons Music Archaeologists have concerned

themselves largely, if not solely, with instruments[1], with 'sound tools' - in other words, extensions of the body in imitation or development of natural resources, used to produce organised, intentional sound - we need also to address ourselves once more to the body itself, not merely as sound producer (singing, body slapping, hand clapping) and medium of organised, intentional movement - in other words, dancing - but to include the way in which it registers emotional or cathartic responses and how these provide an index of social configurations. And while this issue undoubtedly begs one of the fundamental questions, that of lack of certainty about most of the artefacts and their social use in prehistory, this is all the more reason why we need to incorporate both singing and dancing into our theoretical debates, and also to shift our attention away from a strictly chronological or regionally bound approach in the direction of a developmental, phaseological one, in an examination of complex processes and systems all aspects of which make up a given whole[2].

A long-term overview of these processes appears to me to present a fruitful way of trying to understand human behaviour (see in particular Mennell 1989; Goudsblom 1989a). It is an approach which has not so far been systematically applied in any branch of the arts. Close-focus analysis of individual sites, artefacts, gestures or human-physical activity may contribute much to observation and interpretation of details (some of which will of remain hypothetical); long-term overviews are more promising in an effort to understanding processes, that continual state of flux which we recognise as human-social behaviour. The former approach tends to direct our attention towards static states, objects, structures; the latter breathes life into the past by emphasising movement and change.

What was the nature of the 'spurts' which led from chimpanzees via ancestral hominids through *Homo habilis, Homo erectus, Homo sapiens* to modern humans in the form of *Homo sapiens sapiens* ? and from various stages of hunter-gathering bands to settled agrarian communities, the subsequent rise of priestly and warrior rule to city states, court societies and empires?

In looking at the vast chronological spectrum, stretching over three million years and much further beyond to 225 millions, into the dark shadows of footprints and fossils, one is struck by these spurts, these changes in cellular formation and increased complexity which generated new species of plants and animals. For spurts they were, changes in certain species caused by inexplicable forces, while some species became extinct and others evolved more slowly if at all, as in the case of the relative consistency of insects from their beginnings up to the present day. Fossil evidence exists for these various stages and spurts, charted systematically now for over a century. The long-term evolutionary processes involved warming up of blood, the development of mammals, a shift from belly to feet with emergence from the water and the mud, the development of fins, wings and legs leading to habitation on and above the ground, the development of forearms and bipedalism, habitation in trees and the eventual grounding of ancient hominids. With later hominids came other physiological changes such as an enlarged skull, increased brain size and concomitant brain capacity, together with the change from heavy brow ridges, no chin and protruding lower jaw to a high, flat forehead, chin and enlarged oral cavity (Wenke 1990, 141, fig. 4.3;), flatter face, high profile nose, stereoscopic eyes, and fleshy, muscular cheeks. All of these processes have a direct implication for behaviour patterns, including basic means of survival such as hunting and gathering, bonding and mating, as well as intra-species communication.

Archaeologists identify evidence of human activity by features such as advanced tool-making, the use of fire, and other types of activity requiring foresight such as medium- or long-term dwelling patterns, and the development of imaginative or abstract thought, as is manifest in cave paintings and other symbolic representation (carvings, ornament, etc.), or in ritual remains such as grave goods accompanying a human burial. Other animals, that is, most higher animals, settle only during the mating season, but otherwise live 'in the wild', as it were. They may store food for short periods, but not from year to year. They may use primitive tools - as in the case of Neanderthals, and indeed chimpanzees - but not fully fashioned and worked in a refined way; they may share

1 We have avoided vocal practices because they leave no artefactual residue; iconographic representations are often allowed to remain at the level of mere description.

2 It is equally non reality-congruent to separate the mind from the body, psychological from physical/biological activity, as it is to separate music from society, or instruments from behaviour.

food, but only with their young and perhaps immediate 'family'; they do not increase in social-behavioural complexity. In their communication patterns they certainly use organised sound, for signalling to one another at times of danger, for purposes of mating, or in the sense of general muscular release : frogs croak, birds chirp or whistle, wolves howl, chimpanzees chatter, etc., but not in the developed sense of organised, syntactical, symbolic structures capable of expressing abstract thought or foresight.

What seem to set the species *Homo* apart, therefore, are : food-sharing (and hence the organisation into permanent social groups), more advanced use of tools, the control of fire, the development of complex language and other symbolic systems of communication, memory and psycho-emotional expression. Precise points on an imaginary line of development are not possible to identify; but indeed that hardly matters, since the important question is not one of zero-points or of absolute origins and beginnings, but rather one of observable processes (cf. Elias 1986, 51-2, and *passim*). How did humans develop ? What behaviour patterns emerged at different times and in different places ? What distinguishes human beings from other forms of life ? Indeed, in what ways are humans characterised by their uniqueness in the animal world ?

There are countless examples to draw upon, but the first, most noticeable process is the speeding up in behavioural-developmental spurts with the arrival of *Homo sapiens;* and a pointer in that direction is afforded by Upper Palaeolithic settlements some 40,000 years BC. The earliest evidence for an ancestral hominid, known as 'Lucy', dates back 3 million years. Between 2 and 1 million years ago *Homo* became the dominant hominid[3]; but the relative speeding-up of the behavioural-evolutionary process with the arrival of *Homo sapiens sapiens* is remarkable : between 10,000 and 5,000 BC, hunter-gatherers became transformed into agriculturally-based societies; with the earliest use of pottery in Syria-Palestine before 7,000 BC; the development of writing in Mesopotamia and Egypt from shortly before 3,000; long-distance trade in Mesopotamia, Iran and Syria-Palestine also from about this time; and the use of metals after 3,000 BC in Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine, Anatolia and the Aegean and Cyprus (cf. Wenke 1990, 136ff). From the earliest evidence for modern human settlement, the Upper Palaeolithic Cro-Magnon groups of c. 34,000 BC, there is accompanying evidence for intentional symbolic sound provided by flutes, whistles, and bull-roarers (cf. Bahn and Vertut 1988, 68-69; Dauvois 1989) - in the case of whistles, it may be that such practices were also cultivated in the Mousterian period (100,000-35,000 BC) by Neanderthal groups (cf. Dauvois 1989).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETIES

A primary distinction in the development of modern humans, therefore, is that evolution is no longer one of species but of behaviour. Once this point was reached the next stage was a cultural one, and it is this which becomes the focus of study of all human groups up to the present. This is not to argue that culture as a concept enables us to isolate one type of human activity, what we might loosely call 'behaviour', from the rest of physical humankind, but rather to examine it interconnectedly, dynamically, recognising that parts and wholes of any field under observation possess explanatory functions of a biological, social and psychological nature. Thus the structures and functions of making music and dancing are part of this long-term history of human-social behaviour. They cannot be isolated from other processes such as social bonding, interpersonal communication and the development of emotional attenuation. All such issues are matters for extensive study on their own, but unless we attempt to re-integrate them into associated development and change in patterns of behaviour, we cannot begin to tackle questions such as the rise of *Homo musicus*, or *Homo cantor*.

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3 Evidence for Homo habilis (east Turkana and other sites) dates from 2 to 1.5 million years BC; Homo erectus from 1.5 million to 250,000 (with Java man at c. 1.5 million, Peking man at 500,000), archaic Homo sapiens from c. 500,000 disappearing somewhere around 100,000 after the arrival of 'Eve, Mitochondrial Mother' around 150,000 and the Neanderthals, and Cro-Magnon around 34,000 BC, overlapping with modern Homo sapiens. The point at which Neanderthals split from the main human line remains controversial (Wenke 1990, 167).

In recent studies of the long-term development of human societies, both Goudsblom (1989a, 1992) and Wenke (1990) stress the processual point that when hunter-gatherers began to form social bonds and permanent homes, the work of foraging became the responsibility of teams of males, necessarily involving food-sharing (with females and young, perhaps also with elderly males) and division of labour. Together with permanent settlement came the possibility of food storage. If there is enough food for survival over a period of days, then the hunters can rest; hence the development of leisure time. With longer-term storage, such as is provided by agriculture and an annual harvest, comes increased differentiation in social roles and the development of a hierarchical social structure - literally hierarchical, meaning priestly rule, since the primary élites were priests whose intercession with the deities gave them a monopoly of power to control times of planting and harvesting (cf. Goudsblom 1989b, 65ff). The authority thus acquired also extended to controlling the distribution and consumption of stores, and so priests also assumed administrative and overall political responsibility.

The greater the degree of differentiation in social roles, the more specialisation increases, and with it human interdependence. Thus, as agricultural workers and tool-makers require the guidance and protection of priests and warriors, the latter require the services of peasants and craftsmen to provide food, clothing, buildings, tools etc. And so diversification of human activities increases intensively as well as extensively (cf. Jones 1989, *passim*).

In Goudsblom's opinion, the rise of priests (the First Estate) and religion preceded that of warriors (the Second Estate), with peasants and artisans forming the two other major groups. His hypothesis is based on the presumption that when groups of people were at first learning the skills of agriculture they needed guidance and coordination of the annual cycle for planting and harvesting. Knowledge about the timing of sowing and reaping had to be acquired; it was not innate. And so certain individuals from within the group acquired a power surplus by acting as mediators between people and supernatural forces. These priests, with their superior knowledge and authority, would announce the right moment for sowing or reaping according to the weather and the position of the sun and the moon. This spurt in social differentiation and monopolisation of power led soon to another spurt with the rise of a warrior group whose role was essential to the protection of the community's food store. Warriors were not necessarily full-time, though eventually some were, and so another phase was marked by the consolidation of a warrior class. This at times involved struggles for the monopoly of power and control of violence within the group and beyond as other groups were brought under subjection. Such power-struggles between priests and warriors, between representatives of supernatural and secular power, have remained an important configuration in the history of humanity up to and including the present day.

With the growth of more complex administrative units such as chiefdoms, urban centres, city states, court societies, long-distance trade, 'cultural' behaviour or social configuration also became more complex in terms of group bonding, reinforced by rituals and the specialisation of human activity, including the rise of craftsmen, artisans and traders. In examining such behavioural systems cross-culturally and cross-temporally, one is able to observe similarities in processes which give pause for thought about prehistoric societies, and activities without written records. Long-range overviews reveal much about the nature of human behaviour under specific ecological-administrative systems, irrespective of time or place.

The development of permanent settlements, food-sharing and role differentiation must also have included teamwork - in the hunt, in agriculture, in tool-making, in building, in the preparation and sharing of food, etc. And just as symbolic systems such as language must have developed from grunts and shouts in a long-term process of interpersonal symbolic communication, so also is it likely that muscular bonding in work and warfare will have produced their symbolic projections in religious and other rituals. The social benefits of physical and mental teamwork also required the foresight of preparation, exercise and improvement of technique in the form of symbolic practice and drilling in order to be the more effective in `real life' situations of defence and attack, and heavy physical labour.

When work was complete, with a surplus of grain in the granary (which initially was also the priest's temple), the carcass of a large animal promising regular meals for several days, and

security against violence guaranteed by priestly and warrior protection, energies could be given over to imaginative and symbolic expression such as singing, playing on musical instruments, dancing, drawing, painting, self-adornment (body painting, body ornament), carving, decorated pottery, stonework, etc. All of these things go beyond the essentials of survival, and yet seem very early on to have formed part of the 'humanising', socialising and civilizing processes of human development. Leisure, 'free time', or time not spent in hunting, gathering, agricultural labour and self-defence, is a time for expending surplus energy, for play, and for indulging in pleasurable activity. It is likely that this enabling possibility is what contributed to the imaginative spurt which resulted in ever more sophisticated tools, and to non work-related activities such as the development of subtle, syntactic language and singing[4].

It is important to understand leisure in a broader sense than that associated with self-indulgence or 'non-productive' activities. I use the term 'leisure' in a wider, more neutral sense than that of its somewhat negative associations in our economy-orientated, profit-driven, twentieth-century western society. The Greek word for leisure is *schola* - a term which was applied to the occupations of men of leisure, those citizens who, when they could afford time away from management of their estates, civic affairs and military service, liked to involve themselves with better and more meaningful things such as conversation, learned disputations, lectures. It was thus a deliberate and high-minded activity, a time for personal enrichment (cf. Huizinga 1970, 185; Elias & Dunning 1986a, 77).

Increase of specialised roles leads to professionalisation of other activities in the development of state societies. More and more complex administrative structures give rise in turn to more complex and far-reaching interpersonal behaviour; expansion and greater concentration of political and economic power, centred in temples and palaces, are reflected in the more elaborate official rituals, liturgies and ceremonies, for example, in Old World civilizations such as Sumer, India, Egypt, China, Greece and Rome, and later on in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. The professionalisation of artists and craftsmen is a universal consequence of this process, with the development of schools for approved training in specific techniques and styles, and other 'civilizing' controls and refinements.

> Specialist skills were passed on from master to apprentice, gradually broadening the range as a result of work executed on commission or sold on the market. Those practising the same profession banded together in organizations that aimed to supervise training, the practices in workshops, quality assessment, modes of conduct and participation in collective rituals. After several generations, writings started to appear that discussed the skills acquired and went on to formulate certain generalizations or theories.
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> Kempers 1992, 7.

4 Far from being a secondary development, Lieberman (1991) believes that the development of language was a primary strategy in saving the human species from extinction on grounds of the position of the epiglottis and larynx deep in the throat. The epiglottis cannot reach the top of the roof of the mouth to seal off food from the windpipe, as it does in the case of other mammals, resulting in a risk of choking since humans are unable to breathe and swallow simultaneously. The enlarged oral cavity resulting from the low position of the larynx enables human beings to modify sounds to a greater extent than can any non-human mammal (or indeed the newborn human). And so the greater risk from choking caused by the evolution of the human mouth and throat - hence a physically weak species - was compensated for by the development of an advanced system of linguistic communication. Lieberman's conclusion is that humans were speaking from the time that the vocal tract was in place. While this thesis appears logical, it is important to remember that all of these processes—physical and symbolic must have developed over a very long time. Hence they must be interlinked. In other words, did the development of more complex linguistic behaviour cause the gradual shift of the vocal tract? And if not, at which point in this shift did the linguistic spurt save the species? Did it have any connection with walking upright, altering, as it must have done, the posture of the head and the base of the neck ? One might similarly hypothesize a gradual process of linguistic-symbolic development, in tandem with developing brain size and relative growth in social-behavioural complexity.

A necessary point to bear in mind is that with increasing professionalisation comes increasing social differentiation, exclusivity, and a pressure to conform to certain standards of behaviour and execution, styles, repertories, instruments. And while this leads to a concomitant increase of power chances for certain professional élites, craftsmen and artists never can reach a point of power monopoly, being dependent on patronage and commissions from religious and secular rulers. Nevertheless, this is a matter of degree and we have a large topic for enquiry here. In the context of social differentiation and professionalisation of music and dance behaviour, there are many aspects which would repay detailed research - not least of which is the quasi-'priestly' role of members of cult groups who perform music and dancing, and at a wider level the magico-mythical associations of codified sounds and movements - vestiges of which remain even in western society in this advanced `scientific age', where the prestige of the performing arts and the at times mystical reverence accorded performing artists and their repertories are approved of by people whose attachment to organised religion is often non-existent.

But it is also important to remember that alongside the increasing complexity of ceremonies and of artistic representation within élite groups, other levels of society were changing more slowly. What went on at court was very different from what went on in the homes of the servants, at village fairs, or in herding circles. In archaeology, as in other fields, we risk giving a very distorted image by focusing on élites as though there were no other groups. The random nature of surviving sources, coupled with the fact that most records were by élites for consumption, tends to give a false picture which it is our responsibility to question, if only by raising these problems.

SYMBOLIC COMMUNICATION

Bound up with leisure activities such as play, sport, theatre, music and dance, are expressions of emotional and imaginative existence such as imitation and extension of nature, its colours, its sounds, its shapes. The pleasure principle involves indulging one's emotions through activities which give satisfaction and communicate interpersonally. The fundamental pleasure principle is sex, the reproductive urge, and with that, physical and emotional pair bonding, and bonding with the young. Pleasure of the senses is expressed through sexual activity, and in associated responses to touching and moving in pairs or in groups, to body vibrations resulting from vocal and rhythmic expression (music and dance, the coordination in games and competitive sport), aural pleasure (music and speech), visual pleasure (light and colour, human interaction), olfactory pleasure (humans and other animals, plants, food). All of these are media for human interpersonal communication, social bonding and heightened emotional expression. They can arise only in the context of shared memory and association; they are part of long-term learning processes which are meaningful only within groups which have been bonded over long periods. Similar systems may obtain over wide areas and among different groups, but without regular and long-term communication between respective groups, each will have its own symbolic code not necessarily understood by others.

The use of symbols is an important distinguishing feature of human behaviour. By symbols I refer to expression which goes beyond the innate or instinctual reaction such as a reflexive mechanistic response to pain or fear, or the 'fight or flight' response to attack. If an animal is threatened, it will either defend itself or run away. It will very likely squeal, roar or growl as part of its immediate reaction. Human beings may react similarly, but they may also control their responses and think about how best to deal with the situation. This element of self-control is a sign of foresight based on memory, i.e., on prior knowledge derived from personal experience as well as from experience learnt from other humans and passed on from one generation to the next.

For an insect a stone is simply and instinctively perceived as shelter; for a small animal a larger predator is instinctively perceived as danger. A human being may also perceive a stone in a primary function, such as a perch or seat, but will also have a more detached view of its 'stoniness', i.e., its essential property and its capacity to be shaped and worked into a refined tool, or from its weight to calculate its superiority as a missile (cf. Ingold 1986a & b, *passim*). Similar learning processes must have informed humans at an early stage of development about control of other elements, of fire (cf. Goudsblom 1992, 12-23), water and air : this last would include control and

manipulation of soundwaves to attract prey in the hunt, or to drive away predators, and the use of certain rhythmic cycles in order to induce psycho-physical or emotional excitement, imbuing the listener with a sense of pleasure, joy, sadness, fear, drowsiness - in other words, the control of sound as a symbolic system.

I quote from Karl Mannheim's 1922 essay, "Immanent and Sociological Considerations of Cultural Phenomena", in which he deals precisely with such a process :

> "What we understand by a pre-theoretical attunement to the functionality of a formation must be shown by an example. First, we want to show this pre-theoretical character of such attunement in the case of *individual* life. Take the following case : A stray shot strikes a sentinel in the woods; he is wounded and cries out loudly in pain. The first cry is not a communication, sign, or anything of the kind. The cry is rather a direct continuation of the uninterrupted psycho-physical changes brought about in this man by the shot: the cry pours from his throat like the blood from his veins. But it is possible that in a moment the same cry, quite likely without change in sound, turns into a call for help, a communication. A world divides these two phases of the same sound. The first phase is a natural occurrence; in the second, the alien self, society is posited as a premise. The cry now addresses itself to the human surroundings, no matter how far these may be removed, even if they are beyond the reach of any cry. The first phase of the cry is a biological-organic occurrence; the second, an occurrence in the domain of consciousness. It contains a `turning towards', a `need to be apprehended'.
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> And in this second phase of the cry (which has become a call and perhaps has already assumed the form of articulated speech and may consist in the sentence, 'I have been wounded') one can already phenomenologically distinguish two constituent elements : on the one hand, that which has been externalized from the inner life, the pure objectification, by virtue of which it does not comport itself centrifugally towards the experience but upholds and asserts its connectedness to the life situation and to the stream of life. The ultimate meaning of a call for help is so deeply embedded that, on cursory consideration, functionality seems to cover everything. But the seed of detachability from the situation, from the stream of experience, is nevertheless given in the call; the call bears the mark of a certain generality and accordingly of sociability".
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> Mannheim 1982, 66.

Thus, the cry of pain is indeed human - human-animal to be more precise-whereas the cry for help is intentional, involves foresight, and is based on a presumption of communication. It is therefore a symbolic act with several functional levels, and in its most developed form it is a linguistic or speech act. Furthermore, this knowledge exists only because it is transmitted and shared, accumulating experience from one generation to the next - again a specifically human property.

A similar distinction may be posited in order to explore the nature of what we in generalising western terms call 'Music'. Without wishing to come close to 'zero-points' in a fruitless and ultimately meaningless search for primeval origins or beginnings, one might posit a similar transition from instinctive vocal muscular spasms when in a state of pain, fear, or joy, to the structured, *conscious* expression of vocal melody, symbolic of a similar 'turning towards' in engagement with others, an expression of a particular emotional state (joy, sadness) or of a means of arousing such a state. Thus, to extend Mannheim's illustration, a shift from the level of communicating that 'I am happy/sad' to `I want to excite myself (or others) by singing a happy (or

sad) song' - based on shared association, memory and foresight and essentially a consequence of (because transmitted by means of) social engagement.

I shall return to a fuller discussion of this representational or 'mimetic' activity in the next section, but first of all I wish to consider other examples of a 'turning towards' (to repeat Mannheim's expression) which have a direct bearing on our topic. In activities such as hunting or communicating a danger warning, vocal sounds or whistling through the mouth or by means of an instrument or 'sound tool' are best defined as signalling devices. Animal decoys represent the human capacity to imitate and then plan how to ensnare, in other words, using foresight. We need to distinguish between this type of sound and that whose primary purpose is to induce emotional excitement and release, a sub-conscious but universal human need.

The hunter's whistle and the watchman's horn are signalling instruments. The primary purpose is to trick the animal-victim's instinctive response system by imitating one of its own kind, and so induce it to move towards a sound which apparently presents no threat. An unintended secondary function of this signal could be that it informs other humans in the area that someone is hunting, or indeed, depending on familiarity, the sound may even identify which individual is hunting. Similarly, the watchman sounding his horn will signal imminent danger, an oncoming storm, or time the periods of work and rest by marking the hours of the day.

THE QUEST FOR EXCITEMENT

Documentation of occasions of music-making and dance has assumed massive proportions, even if we as yet lack long-range syntheses of a developmental or processual nature. We have discussed the implications of the use of sound for signalling; and the use of music and dance for temple liturgies and court and palace ceremonial. A third aspect, which is perhaps the most neglected, is that of psycho-emotional behaviour and how it is influenced and manipulated in approved settings by the stimulus of music and dance, and other spectator rituals. In other words, the use of mimetic or representational arts[5].

Even if we have long-term evidence for this kind of human consciousness - perhaps even to the dawn of *Homo sapiens* - attempts at detached observation of these processes are relatively late, Aristotle's *Poetics* from the 4th century BC being the earliest surviving written source. As far as we know, it was the first attempt to codify emotional and mimetic expression (Elias 1986, 288). Such an agendum within our own field would provide an immense contribution to this type of enquiry.

In recent years, work on related questions has been advanced through the efforts of Norbert Elias, Eric Dunning and others, in extensive research on human beings' 'quest for excitement' in the context of spectator sports and leisure pursuits. The long-term history of observable psycho-emotional behaviour in these settings confirms and develops one of Elias's fundamental theses, that of the *Civilizing Process* as central to an understanding of human behaviour.

This thesis is set out in one of Elias's seminal works of the same title (cf. Elias 1939) and indeed all of his subsequent writing stems from that theory which is tested and applied to a wide range of data. Central to the theory is that of human figurations : the behaviour of people 'in the round', as it were, and in the plural; how they interact and effect one another in multiplex networks of interdependence, in their social, political, economic, psychic, emotional behaviour. A fundamental principle of Elias's was that none of these aspects of human behaviour can or should be

5 There is insufficient space here to discuss the inevitable crossover between certain aspects of liturgical or ceremonial rituals and mimetic rituals. Clearly there are moments in the former which are representational, and the role of intentional emotional excitement may be found in both. For the purposes of the present paper, however, I wish to simplify this by drawing a clear line between the two in an effort to concentrate on the essential importance of the presence of leisured spectators. While spectators may also be involved in liturgy and ceremony, they are not primary to its purpose. For further discussion of the quest for excitement, cf. Elias & Dunning 1986, passim.

isolated from the rest, since it is the whole spectrum of human-social involvement - of the 'society of individuals' - which needs to be investigated in order to understand and explain any one of them. The more complex the society, the more multiplex these configurations or involvements; and while we - both as scholars and as ordinary members of society - endeavour to explain the consequences of human actions (human history, in other words) retrospectively, Elias always emphasised planning and foresight, and the unintended consequences of human interdependence as the key to understanding the dynamic of human-social behaviour[6].

The combined examination of the human quest for excitement within the long-term processes of civilizing tendencies results in an increase in self-control in the sporting and leisure arenas, involving a reduction of violence and a gradual restriction of emotional release to those arenas and its discouragement and prohibition in all others. An account of such emotion-arousing activities provides an important index of somatic and social control mechanisms, for example : organ-playing at Byzantine and Roman circuses, and during the whipping of slaves; music and dance at the courts of Mesopotamia and Egypt, including the evidence for lovesongs and other expressions of private emotion; music for funerals and commemoration ceremonies; music at games and sporting contests in Ancient Greece and Rome; the singing of heroic epics at the courts of early medieval Europe; the special place of love-song in French and English court culture of the High Middle Ages.

The use of mimetic behaviour to stimulate emotional arousal on even those permitted occasions may sometimes lead to loss of control - as on many recorded instances in 19th-century concert-halls, at present-day pop and rock concerts, and - in the case of sport - at football matches (not that this is a particularly modern phenomenon). Use of drugs and other trance-inducing methods attested in many societies past and present also demonstrates such processes.

But to return to the wide-open and challenging questions of primary soundscapes raised and addressed in specialist detail at this conference, I hope I have gone some way to indicate how a processual or figurational approach can contribute much to helping us order our data, stimulate us to ask relevant questions and integrate our materials within a larger framework of enquiry. Such a theoretical standpoint in the study of humanly organised sound emphasises, I believe, the importance of going beyong the artefacts, beyond the primary sources, in an attempt to reconstruct actual social situations of human interdependence. Identification and formalistic classification of objects and structures is but a part of the whole, and must be complemented by identification - or well-argued hypotheses - of associated behaviour systems and psycho-social functions. Viewed in the longer term, this can only contribute to a clearer perspective on the social and psychological processes of human-social evolution.

6 For a recent summary of these 'Eliasian' emphases, see Dunning 1986, 10ff; also Dunning 1992,passim for further discussion of the arguments.

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