BALKAN ARCHAEOLOGY AS A LABORATORY

Vol. 8
2023

Edited by
Maja Gori
Daniela Heilmann
Kristina Penezić

EX NOVO

JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
Volume 8 - December 2023

Editors
M.Gori, M. Revello Lami
A. Pintucci, M. Fusco
J. Garcia-Sanchez
M. Crudo

Editorial Panel

Subscriptions
The journal is published once a year. For all subscription-based enquiries please contact: info@archaeopress.com

Instructions to authors
Authors who consider submitting an article to the journal are requested to contact the editors before sending in manuscripts. They can download a copy of the Editorial Style Guidelines to which they must conform as closely as possible. All manuscripts will be reviewed by external referees before acceptance. Manuscripts may be submitted to: m.revello.lami@arch.leidenuniv.nl

Cover Image
"Gm.gen.math" released on the Tribute to Herbert W. Franke ©Aleksandra Jovanic

ISSN 2531-8810
ISBN 978-1-80327-719-6

Published by ASSOCIAZIONE EX NOVO in association with ARCHAEOPRESS
www.archaeologiaexnovo.org
www.archaeopress.com

Ex Novo Journal of Archaeology
Volume 8, December 2023

CONTENTS

Reviews

Balkan Archaeology as a laboratory: Challenging old paradigms and experimenting with new ones.

Maja Gori, Daniela Heilmann & Kristina Penezić
CNR Italian National Research Council
Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich
University of Novi Sad

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.1-3

The present issue of Ex Novo originates from the session *Balkan Archaeology as A Laboratory: Challenging Old Paradigms and Experimenting with New Ones* that the editors (Maja Gori, Daniela Heilmann and Kristina Penezić) organized at the 28th European Association of Archaeologists meeting in Budapest (2022), within the theme "A Decade after the Third Science Revolution in Archaeology".

In archaeology, paradigms not only shape our understanding of the past but also reflect the socio-political contexts in which they are developed and applied. Paradigms in archaeology are dynamic entities, shaped and reshaped by socio-cultural, political, and intellectual contexts. We felt however the need to discuss such issue from a specific Balkan and not a generalist perspective. Indeed, the two main shifts that European (and world) archaeology has experienced and that have challenged traditional explanatory models – the emergence of processual versus traditional archaeology starting from late 1960s, and the emergence of postprocessual archaeology from the early 1980s – have not significantly influenced research in Balkan Late Prehistory. Consequently, a significant portion of Balkan archaeology continued to align with traditional perspectives, leading to the persistence of conventional interpretations of archaeological patterns. This is reflected in the enduring cultural-historical approach to the study of material culture, with a strong focus on typological sequences and relative chronologies to explain ethnogenies. The advent of the so-called third scientific revolution has brought forth a wide array of new methods and techniques to Balkan Prehistory, gaining increasing interest and evolving into a new standard in the discipline. However, relying solely on this approach is inadequate to address the stagnation in the current theoretical debate.

As mentioned, this issue of Ex Novo gathers papers stemming from some of the contributions presented at the EAA (Babić, Milosavljević, Giamakis), which have been complemented with an additional paper (Matić), and two thematically-related book reviews (Heilmann, Gori). A standout article in this collection is Staša Babić's *Plus ça*

CONTACT: Maja Gori - maja.gori@cnr.it

change? Balkan archaeology in search of identity, which offers crucial insights into the paradigm shifts within Balkan archaeology. Babić's work challenges the notion of a linear progression in archaeological thought, arguing against the conventional view that Balkan archaeology is perpetually lagging behind more 'developed' archaeological traditions.

Monika Milosavljević's paper, *Kuhn Fleck and Archaeological Evidence: An Omnivorous Strategy to Study the History of Archaeology*, critically examines the history of archaeology through the lens of Kuhn's concept of paradigm shifts. Her work highlights the post-World War II transformation of Yugoslav archaeology from a collection of individual efforts into a robust, collaborative field driven by a culture-historical approach.

Christos Giamakis's study, *Bridging the Gap(s) between 'European', 'Balkan' and 'Greek' Archaeolog(ies)y*, offers a profound reflection on the changing paradigms. He critically examines the relationship between 'European' and 'Balkan' archaeology, emphasizing the perceived 'backwardness' of the latter. His analysis reveals which factors contribute to maintaining certain stereotypes and power dynamics within the archaeological community.

An emblematic example of how archaeological paradigms are evolving is provided by Uroš Matić's *Queering Serbian Archaeology: Androcentrism, Heteronormativity, Gender and the Writing of (Pre)history*, especially in relation to gender and sexuality studies. Their work challenges the traditional androcentric and heteronormative perspectives that have long dominated archaeological interpretations in the Balkans. The author advocates for a more inclusive, critically informed approach to gender, contrasting this with stereotypical, often biased views that have previously shaped archaeological narratives.

The articles and reviews presented in this issue of Ex Novo represent a vibrant cross-section of innovative thought and scholarship in Balkan Archaeology. By challenging entrenched paradigms and experimenting with new perspectives, these works collectively highlight the dynamic nature of our field. They emphasise the need for a constant reassessment of our methodologies and theoretical frameworks, encouraging a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of the past. With this thematic issue we hope to contribute to the debate on theoretical development of Balkan Archaeology, with the ultimate goal of deconstructing the entrenched paradigms that are still widespread in archaeological interpretations. We firmly believe that Balkan archaeology and its rich material record provide a unique platform for discussion and can act as a laboratory to build new models, question old paradigms, and test innovative approaches.

Acknowledgements

The present volume would not have been released without the fundamental effort of all reviewers involved in the process, here listed in alphabetical order: Vasiliki Saripanidi, Robert Schumann, James Symonds, Adriana Zaharijević and one anonymous reviewer. In addition, we are deeply grateful to Aleksandra Jovanić, who let us use one of her works as cover of the present issue of Ex Novo.

Aleksandra Jovanić is an artist and programmer from Belgrade (Serbia), who holds a Doctorate in Digital Arts and a BSc in Computer Science. In her research and artistic practice, she combines various media, mainly in the field of interactive art, art games, and generative art. Jovanić's recent works focus on the aesthetic of data visualisation and optical illusions, as well as explorations of accepted concepts of truth and reality.

Her work has been exhibited internationally, and she has been included in exhibitions at Unit London, VerticalCrypto Art, FeralFile, Vellum LA / Artsy and ArtBasel with Tezos.

As an assistant professor, she currently teaches at all three levels of study, at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade, at master studies of the Faculty of Applied Arts and at art doctoral studies at the University of Arts in Belgrade.

You can find Aleksandra Jovanić's work following this link:
https://aleksandrajovanic.com/
Or follow her on Instagram and other social media https://bio.link/aleksandrajovanic

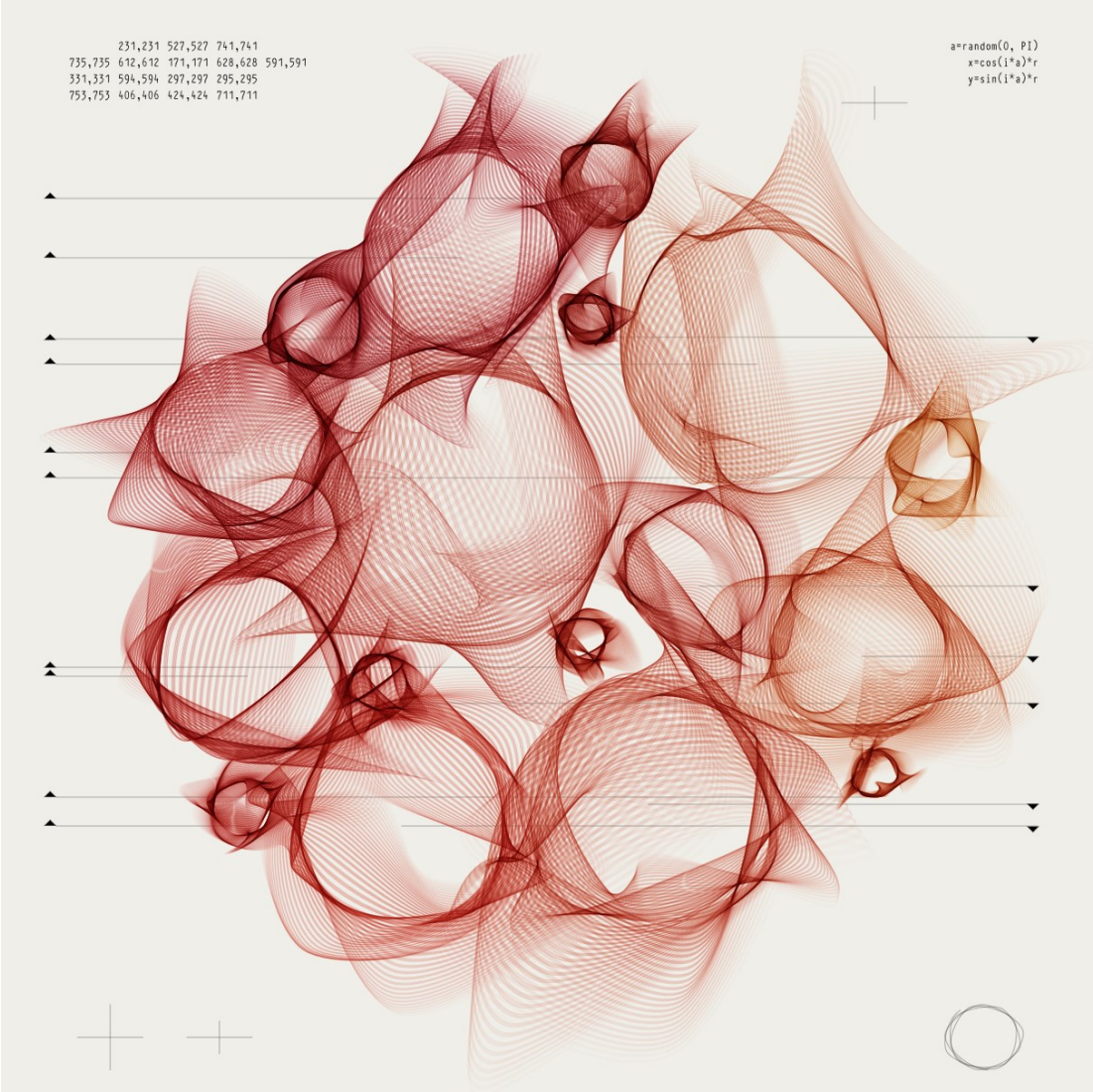


Figure 1. Gm.gen.math, released on the occasion of the Tribute to Herbert W. Franke (by Aleksandra Jovanić, author of this issue's cover).

Plus ça change? Balkan archaeology in search of identity.

Staša Babić
Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade (Serbia)

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.5-15

Abstract
Over the last decades, there have been numerous attempts to remedy the perceived delay in the development of archaeology in the Balkans, in the form of conferences, workshops or edited volumes. The frequency seems to testify that the progress is yet to be achieved. Two assumptions are common for these efforts: the archaeological record from the region is rich and highly relevant from the wider European and/or Mediterranean perspective; yet, the discipline itself is permanently petrified in the state of the outdated culture-historical paradigm. This assessment presupposes that the archaeological knowledge has been advancing along a unified trajectory and that at a certain point in time the entire research community operates under the same, universally accepted paradigm. Rather than to partake in the everlasting quest of catching up with the idealized mainstream of the discipline, it may be more productive to consider the ways in which the Balkan archaeology can contribute to the rich multivocality of the discipline, with distinctive experiences of the past and present.

Keywords: Balkan archaeology, paradigm shift, epistemic norms, knowledge transfers, standpoint theory.

Introduction [1]

The archaeological communities of the Balkan region have long been considered as petrified in the state of "arrested development", remaining prevalently devoted to the outdated approaches and largely hesitant to engage in the theoretical debate taking place

[1] The arguments developed in this paper were presented on two previous occasions: the session of the European Association of Archaeologists Annual Conference (Budapest, 31st August – 3rd September 2022), that generated the present volume, and the conference organized by the Center for Advanced Studies, Sofia, under the title *Looking at Things in Southeastern Europe: Regional Archaeology in Search of Viable Futures*, held online on April 17-18, 2021. The invitation to both these conferences was framed around similar premises, encapsulated in the statement: "*The two main shifts that European (and world) archaeology has experienced and that have challenged traditional paradigms of interpretation … have not had much impact on research in Balkan Prehistory*" (D. Heilman, M. Gori, K. Penezić, EAA Annual Conference, session abstract #362).

CONTACT: Staša Babić - sbabic@f.bg.ac.rs

in the disciplinary mainstream (Babić 2014: 288-290). Attempting to move forward from this bleak assessment, it may be productive to reconsider the overarching framework against which the particular conditions of the discipline in the region are estimated and the implied delay ("persistence of the cultural-historical paradigm") is inferred. Therefore, my aim here is to take a look at the ways in which archaeologists themselves make typologies of their own epistemic practices, the criteria involved and the outcomes of such systematizations.

From the last decades of the twentieth century, it has become customary to order the modes of archaeological knowledge into three distinct approaches: culture-historical, processual and post-processual. In this way, a pattern is created, presupposing some law-like force driving the development of the discipline on general level, resembling the mechanisms of unilinear evolutionary ladder of stages (Babić 2015: 899, 903-904). The units not corresponding to this universal pattern are perceived as anomalies, resulting from some inherent deficiency and/or inability of certain archaeological communities to comply to the overall laws of progress. The fact that the dangerous consequences of such simplified schemes of development have long been known to archaeologists (cf. Pluccienik 2005) has not, however, impeded us to adhere to this internal "three-age system". It is beyond doubt that two periods of intense debates on the logic of archaeological reasoning occurred – in the 1960s and again in the 1980s, and that some basic concepts have been re-evaluated in the process. The incommensurability of these strands of research has frequently been emphasized by labelling them as discrete paradigms (Lucas 2016), evoking the work of Thomas Kuhn and implying that the turning points induced such profound changes in the ways archaeologists gain knowledge of the past, so that the entire epistemological base of the discipline is fundamentally altered. Accordingly, plentiful overviews of history and theory of archaeology, too numerous to cite here, are framed around these three distinct pillars of our understanding of our own discipline.

There is certainly merit to this line of inference, since organizing our practices into discernible "typological units" enables us to identify and generalize about their internal logic. After all, naming and classifying observed phenomena is the bedrock of any structured attempt to understand and explain them (Babić 2018: 11-17). The endeavour of archaeologists to make sense of their own interpretive toolkit therefore justifiably rests upon this generalized systematization, according to which three discrete modes of inquiry are identified and arranged in temporal sequence. However, it has been convincingly argued that the conventional sequence: culture-historical, processual, post-processual, in fact reflects primarily the situation in one part of the European and, to some extent, North American archaeological communities, and that many practitioners around the globe have been experiencing different trajectories (e.g. Chapman 2003; see also: Babić 2009, 2014, 2018). Furthermore, when transfers of already developed approaches occur from one academic setting to the other, these processes sometimes result in idiosyncratic hybrid forms, adapted to local cultural, social, intellectual traditions (Milosavljević 2020; Palavestra, Babić 2016). Consequently, even on the European level, archaeology appears to be a much more diverse research practice than implied by the unified account of its three stages neatly and utterly superseding one another (Babić et al. 2016). This theoretical unevenness is not peculiar to archaeology, but a wide-ranging consequence of a long string

of causes, ranging from cultural and historical, to economic and political, and reflecting the current state of global affairs (Radakrishnan 2003). Most importantly, it is my strong conviction that it cannot be resolved by prescribing a single target and a predetermined road to get there. Academic communities, just like individuals they are made of, travel diverse paths on their quest to make sense of the past, heavily imbued by their diverse presents (Babić 2009, 2014, 2014b, 2018). This is possible precisely because the conventional systematization of archaeological epistemic strategies does not account for numerous irregularities and diverging paths to knowledge that have always marked the discipline, transecting the tripartite pattern. Again, archaeologists need not worry, since the positivistic ideal of unified science, levelling (up or down, depending on one's proclivities) all epistemic regulations, has been questioned even inside the stronghold of hard sciences (Wylie 2000), not necessarily from the extreme constructivist position (Fagan 2010; Longino 2002).

Archaeological paradigms?

So, when generalizing about the modes of archaeological reasoning, fitting them into the sequence: culture-historical, processual, post-processual, what are we missing and why? Firstly, we may be putting too much faith in Kuhn. His now famous Structure of Scientific Revolutions was first published in 1962 and soon gained significant esteem, particularly among the young progressive academics in the USA universities (Bourdieu 2004: 32). Since then, his ideas have been widely taken to elegantly summarize the ways in which science operates, through gradual acquisition of knowledge inside a paradigm, loosely understood as a disciplinary matrix encompassing the state of a particular field of research, or a shared set of ideas, concepts and procedures normalizing the state in the field (Bourdieu 2004: 28). At the same time, contradictions are also accumulated, only to be resolved by overturning the paradigm and entering the next stage of scientific development through fundamental, revolutionary change of its very basic premises. The heliocentric model of Copernicus is the classic example of the utterly capsized worldview of the new paradigm, nicely illustrating what Kuhn had in mind when structuring his model of scientific change, underlining the kind of observations and knowledge he scrutinized – no less than the laws of the universe. His subsequent critics rightfully stress that Kuhn syncretically selected the instances of profound changes, with the aim to create a coherent narrative about the history of scientific shifts, and, even more importantly for our present purpose, that he did not discuss at all the mechanisms of knowledge production in the sphere of social sciences or humanities (Fuller 2015: 131, 134, 144). It is therefore somewhat predictable that the first entrance of the concept of paradigm shift into archaeology is dated into the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the authors adhering to the then-new processual approach were articulating their position (Lucas 2016: 2). The idea of a revolutionary change, founded in reliance upon hard-science principles, must have been very appealing. On the other hand, there is a long tradition of thought, pointing to the differences between the constraints put before the researchers who observe phenomena in the natural world, and those attempting to understand human affairs (Babić 2018: 57-63, passim). So, when the next tide of theoretical debate swept over the West European archaeology, emphasizing its ties with humanities, the concept was already

appropriated by the processualists and lost its appeal. Be that as it may, over the next couple of decades, the paradigm concept "*became normalized in archaeology, but… rather as a somewhat elastic term to label theoretical approaches which, on the one hand, could be deployed to create simplistic historiographic divisions…, but, on the other, simply referred to competing and contemporary theories such as Marxism, structuralism, or behavioural ecology*" (Lucas 2016: 3). This migration of the concept of paradigm to archaeology may therefore be understood as one more example of trading in "*thin descriptions*" – relatively superficial borrowing from another field of knowledge, "*bypassing the presupposition that there is any agreement among the people exchanging things about the full signification (or thick description) of the objects exchanged*" (Galison 2010: 36). In other words, Kuhn was not in the least interested in theoretical shifts in archaeology, and his focus was in his own primary field of study, that of physics (Fuller 2015: 130). As his ideas gained traction, very much thanks to the social, cultural, and political settings of the time (Bourdieu 2004: 32), the concept of paradigm shift soon became a universal shorthand description of the development of archaeological theory, as well as for the ideas borrowed from other areas of research, with lots of the original details being lost in this "trading" (sensu Galison 2010).

Admittedly, Kuhn himself left quite a lot of ambiguity around the term paradigm, so that some of the later authors counted no less than twenty-one different ways in which he used the term (Lucas 2016: 6), enabling lots of "thin descriptions" of his structure of scientific change, surely not limited to its reception in the archaeological literature. The huge authority that his work still enjoys rests upon its perceived ability to explain the sudden leaps in science and radical shifts in worldviews in ways different from the conventional narrative of continuous accumulation of knowledge, so he is often cast as the pivotal figure in the constructivist philosophy of science (Babić 2018: 33-36). However, Steve Fuller offers an opposing view, asserting that Kuhn in fact presents science as a self-regulatory and self-sufficient system, divorced from the society, in which changes occur as the result of internal, "normal", and not intentional actions of the scientific community (Fuller 2015: 132, 136, 140; also: Bourdieu 2004: 29). The work of Ludwik Fleck (Milosavljević 2018), the not fully acknowledged inspiration of Kuhn, may bring us a little closer to understanding of the intricate interplay of scientists among themselves and the society they form an integral part of. Fleck's almost total decades' long invisibility and the subsequent rediscovery may serve as a suitable illustration of the tangled ways in which scientific knowledge is transferred, mislaid, or repossessed.

Among the many ways in which Kuhn's paradigm concept has resonated among the researchers into the mechanisms of science, two distinct aspects may be discerned: epistemological – stressing that scientific communities share a common mode of reasoning (heavily leaning onto Fleck's thought collectives), and historiographic – aimed at monitoring and explaining the changes in this shared pattern through time (Lucas 2016: 4). Although these two manners of deploying paradigm are undoubtedly closely related, the stress put on one of them may overshadow the other. More often than not, archaeologists have reached out for the tool to "*create simplistic historiographic divisions*" (Lucas 2016: 3), thus implying an unsurmountable epistemological distance between the three approaches identified in the history of the discipline. In this manner, a pattern is created, raising the expectations that this cycle of radical overturning of the basic epistemic premises of the discipline is bound to happen in regular intervals of several decades.

Following this pattern, some archaeologists indeed proclaim the advent of new paradigms (e.g. Kristiansen 2014), or turns (Olsen et al. 2012; Harris & Cipolla 2017), entirely overturning the epistemic norms of the discipline. The opposite, pessimistic reaction may be the proclamation of "the death of archaeological theory" (Thomas 2015) since no obvious contender is identified to mobilize the entire archaeological community.

Undoubtedly, the archaeological community of the first decades of the twenty-first century has not unequivocally endorsed any new paradigm, abandoning the old one(s). The Copernican Revolution did not shatter the very foundation of the archaeological reasoning. Quite the opposite, it may be argued that the landscape of archaeological theory is more fragmented than ever, and that at least several strategies are being developed simultaneously (Lucas 2016; Thomas 2015), from (renewed?) emphasis on hard-science allegiances (e.g. Kristiansen 2014), to shifts from epistemology to ontology as the main concern of the discipline (e.g. Olsen et al. 2012). Rather than take these developments as the sign of turmoil, there is reason to consider the current state as the potent multivocal environment in which multiple strands are being investigated, invigorating the discipline. However, the discussion is much more vivid in some parts of the global archaeological community, than in some others, such as South-eastern Europe, that may even be described as mainly forgoing the previous two shifts. There are certainly grounds for severe concern. The question is, though, how this unfortunate state of affairs can be overcome. If starting from the premise that the development of archaeological theory has been moving up the uniform and universal ladder of stages, from culture-historical (where some are still lingering), over processual and post-processual, to the current stage – however elusive it is at the moment, then indeed a very huge quantum leap is required in order to catch up. If, on the other hand, we abandon the idea that there is an inevitable force driving the discipline through discrete paradigms, each completely obliterating the previous one, we face much better prospects. This does not mean that we should disregard or minimize the importance of the fervent discussions of the 1960s or the 1980s, or the epistemic goods they produced. What we should take with much more caution, though, is the emphasis on the historiographic function of the concept of paradigm (Lucas 2016: 5) and its corollaries: that over almost a century and a half archaeological knowledge has been produced following three distinct sets of rules, perceived as mutually exclusive, each in its turn pervading the whole disciplinary practice and exhausting all possible paths. In this manner, at least two facets of our discipline are factored out, whose consideration may be invaluable for its future advance: its local manifestations, often adapted to local needs and intellectual traditions, sometimes even in deliberate and stark opposition to the mainstream order of the day, as well as the traits of archaeological reasoning that transcend the now conventional demarcation into discrete paradigms.

Archaeological reasoning

Regardless of the (professed or not) approach of individual researchers, all archaeologists produce narratives on human behaviour on the grounds of some material evidence. Although there are certainly significant differences in the ways culture-historical, processual and post-processual programmes conceptualize the link between humans and their material environment, we all start from the premise that there is some knowledge to

be gained by observing various materialities. Gavin Lucas (2012) discerns three ways in which these materialities have been understood in order to transform them into an archaeological record – a meaningful set of information, whose traits are prone to observation: they have been seen as historical records, as the result of formation processes, and as material expressions of meanings. Although at the first glance it may seem that these three modes are readily identifiable with the three paradigms, they may prove to be much more difficult to link to a particular time-frame, since they overlap and underwrite each other. In the course of the disciplinary history, particular aspects of archaeological record have been more emphasized, but none of them has ever been completely absent from our inferences, regardless of our particular research choices, or the "time zone" – both in terms of chronology and geography – in which the research is done. From this fundamental step – discerning the object of research, archaeologists move on to deploy a very wide range of theoretical and methodological tools, building scaffolding, quite often borrowing ideas and concepts from other fields of research and adapting them for our particular needs (Chapman & Wylie 2016; Currie 2018: 11). While engaging in this particular mode of evidential reasoning (Chapman & Wylie 2016), archaeologists often enjoy the benefits of opportunistic methodological omnivory (Currie 2018: 25, passim). However, this does not imply that we are not bound by any epistemic rules, since the internal and external coherence of arguments is ensured in this contrasting of multiple strands of evidence. The debates on the most reliable procedures have occasionally shaken the ground, and attempts have been made to prescribe a fixed framework. Yet, in spite of the avid debates of respective merits of deductive or inductive methods and their applicability in archaeological situations, it has been suggested that the logical structure of archaeological arguments, irrespective of the proclaimed (or not) theoretical position, has consistently been that of inference to the best explanation, or abductive reasoning (Fogelin 2007; see also: Campanaro 2021). Perhaps, after all, "*a common paradigm is not only difficult to discern, but even to look for one misses the point*" (Currie 2018: 313).

It may well be that all along archaeologists have been following the advice of Melinda Fagan (2010) and Helen Longino (2002), that good epistemic norms are generated through collective practices of scientific communities, rather than through abstract normative prescriptions. Their merit is assessed according to their usefulness, established in social interaction among researchers, so that the standards of epistemic justification (Fagan 2010: 93) are under constant reconsideration and prone to changes. The result is an "*enormous diversity and complexity of scientific practices past and present*" (ibid.), that cannot easily be subsumed under any clear-cut division into pure paradigms, globally governing the archaeological, or any other research at any given moment in time. The notorious turning points, when processual and then post-processual agendas have been articulated, may thus be seen more as the moments of exceptionally vivid debates among archaeologists about the usefulness of particular sets of epistemic standards, rather than the events comparable to the introduction of the heliocentric system. It is worth noting in this respect that the early programmatic texts of the leading post-processualist figure, Ian Hodder (e.g. 1982), in fact argue for the return of some of the elements of the culture-historical approach, previously severely criticized by the processualists (Lucas 2016: 3). When we insist on incommensurability of the solid epistemic units, we may be losing sight of the very reasons that made Hodder reconsider the state of the discipline two decades after the radical

propositions put forward by Lewis Binford. Furthermore, we may be building unnecessary obstacles for the newcomers to the game of archaeological theory, both individuals and collectives (Babić 2009, 2018: 131-135), urging them to choose among seemingly mutually exclusive options. Finally, we may judge that some have made hopelessly wrong choices in this game and remained outdated twice over. Hopefully, there may be another way to approach the situation in Balkan (and many other) archaeological communities that have not featured prominently in the theoretical discussions.

Archaeological standpoint(s)

The history of science is a long quest for the most appropriate ways of producing knowledge that enables humans to make sense of the world. One of the main aims of this quest has been to ensure the mode of observing and explains the world truthfully. Particularly with the advent of the modern age, truthfulness has been equated with objectivity, which in turn puts before the observer the request to be neutral in relation to the object of his/her observations. However, it has long been argued that even the most rigorous observation inevitably includes the observer with his/her abilities, expectations, and limitations, highly dependent on the standpoint from which the observation is being made (Babić 2018: 44-46). This line of argument has reached its explicit expression in the second wave of the feminist critique, in the form of standpoint theory (Harding 1986; Longino 1999; Wylie 2003). Although originally aimed at redressing the gender imbalance, the concept has been applied to any other socially and/or politically marginalized position, the other in relation to the dominant one. Our knowledge is structured by the social and material conditions of our lives, shaping our individual experiences. If these experiences are critically reflected upon, including the conditions under which the knowledge is produced and authorized (cf. Bourdieu 2004), the outsider's position enables a different insight and ensures an overall epistemic advance. Instead of the ideal of "a view from nowhere" (Wylie 2003) as the most objective and therefore truthful point of observation, this strategy aims to objectify the position of the observer (Bourdieu 2004: 128) and to articulate specific knowledge, shaped by specific socio-political circumstances. Thus, the inclusion of the underprivileged positions ensures a more comprehensive, and therefore a more epistemically relevant observation (Longino 1999), and ultimately produces useful knowledge, attuned to diversities of present positions.

Furthermore, along with epistemic relevance, archaeology is an exercise in creating the narratives about the past that are socially relevant for the present. Although this stance has been specifically articulated in many forms since the 1980s, and therefore taken to be one of the hallmarks of the post-processual outlook, even Gordon Childe – the very epitome of the culture-historical approach, deliberately and explicitly worked towards relating the archaeological knowledge to the social, economic, political problems of his contemporaries (Patterson 2003: 33–ff.). Almost a century later, some recent overviews of the state of the discipline assert that "*the growing attention to the present is a pressing practical, ontological, and epistemological concern for archaeologists today*" (Rosenzweig 2020: 284), and urge us, faced with ecological, social, political, and economic problems, to "embrace an archaeological agenda geared towards the future rather than the past" (Dawdy 2009: 131).

To meet the challenge, we are required to produce useful knowledge, relating our particular disciplinary skills to our present experiences and concerns.

If approached from this angle (standpoint), the variety of local epistemic situations may be considered, not as a problem of tardiness, to be solved by rushing along the strictly prescribed set of stages, but as a situation of otherness, and an opportunity to enrich the whole discipline by other insights and experiences. The call to produce useful knowledge of the past in order to partake in better present and future echoes the raising awareness that we are all afflicted by the current global crises, above all the climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic. At the same time, our particular local positions in relation to these overarching perils vary significantly, since they are the consequence of a long string of previous events, creating and maintaining social and economic inequality, both in terms of individuals and whole regions. These previous events are the very basic object of archaeological research, so it is worth bearing in mind that "*there is very little an archaeologist can do that is epistemically, ethically, or sociopolitically innocent*" (Wylie 2002: 22). Our standpoints matter, because they inform our epistemic choices. There are certainly universal archaeological concerns and agreed-upon procedures to conduct research. However, even the most basic topics of our disciplinary endeavours, such as the Roman Empire (Babić 2014b), can be observed from different positions, both past and present, producing new aspects of our narratives. On the other hand, the instances of transfers of predominant narratives from their original academic location to other settings have produced some dramatical misunderstandings, and delayed, rather than accelerated the development of the regional archaeological scholarship (Babić 2014; Palavestra & Babić 2016). This is not to argue that it is impossible for archaeological ideas to travel and migrate from their source to other academic communities, quite the contrary. However, the process is not straightforward, but may include a lot of experimentation and adaptation, in order to achieve meaningful results, rather than superficial mimicking of the mainstream ideas (Babić 2009, 2018: 131–ff.). In other words, there are no ready-made templates, suitable and applicable in all situations. Rather, an auto-reflexive exercise (*sensu* Bourdieu 2004) is needed to discern the internal logic, background premises and implications of particular approaches advocated in the epicentres of disciplinary debate. The field of archaeological epistemology is in constant flux, and it can only be enriched with insights derived from testing the suggested epistemic solutions from various standpoints. More often than not, the concerns addressed will not be identical across the globe. It may therefore be prudent to bear in mind that: "*The question is not… whether a theory is grand or small, or whether it is universal/global or particular/local, but what function a theory plays and whose interest it serves*" (Kang 2013: 2).

Consequently, there is little doubt that Balkan archaeologists have been much less prominent in the disciplinary debates than their colleagues from the western parts. This situation needs to be addressed, both for the benefit of the archaeological practice in the region, but as well for the wider scholarly community. However, the manner in which this (dis)integration (Babić 2014) of the archaeological practices is resolved depends on the way the problem is framed in the first place. If approached from the point of view of three paradigms, taken to represent discrete and self-contained units arranged in time sequence, governed by universal laws of growth, the archaeological communities not vividly partaking in the mainstream theoretical debate are expected to comply to the existing

pattern and to adopt the already formulated epistemic "packages" without hesitation. Conversely, acknowledging the diversity of practices of archaeologists throughout time and space, that transcend this pattern, may enable us to refine our theoretical toolkit, by challenging mainstream propositions, rather than working hard at adopting them. As suggested by Adrian Currie (2018: 290): "*the scaffolded, opportunistic and omnivorous character of historical investigation means that empirically grounded speculation is the way forward*". Introducing various standpoints into this vigorous epistemic environment may contribute to its general advance in fresh and unexpected ways. This, of course, does not mean that the archaeologists from the Balkans are abolished from engaging in meticulous theoretical research, but exactly the opposite. However, in order to contribute to the general disciplinary debate with our particular insights, along with learning to navigate the epistemic obstacles in approaching the past, we need to reflect upon our present diverse conditions, their sources and consequences. This may be the most efficient way to take part in the efforts to build a more diverse and yet less unequal future.

Acknowledgements

Aleksandar Palavestra has been a constant and invaluable companion on my travels through the complexities of archaeological reasoning. Monika Milosavljević and Zorica Kuzmanović reassure me that the travels will continue.

References

BABIĆ, S. 2009. Jezik arheologije II, ili: Kako sam preživela promenu paradigme (The Language of Archaeology II, or: How I survived the paradigm shift). *Etnoantropološki problemi (Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology)* 4/1: 123–132.

BABIĆ, S. 2014. Identity, Integration and Power Relations in the Study of the Iron Age, in: POPA, C. & STODDARD, S. (eds), *Fingerprinting the Iron Age – Integrating South-Eastern Europe into the Debate,* Oxford: Oxbow: 295–302.

BABIĆ, S. 2014b. Afterword – When Empires Collapse, in: M. A. JANKOVIĆ, V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ & BABIĆ, S. (eds), *Imperialism and Identities at the Edges of the Roman World.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 252–256.

BABIĆ, S. 2015. Theory in Archaeology, in: WRIGHT, J. D. (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences,* 2nd edition, Vol 1, Oxford: Elsevier: 899–904. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8

BABIĆ, S. 2018. *Metaarheologija. Ogled o uslovima znanja o prošlosti (Metaarchaeology. An Essay on the Conditions of Knowledge about the Past).* Belgrade: Klio

BABIĆ, S., KARL, R., MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M., MIZOGUCHI, K., PALUDAN-MÜLLER, C., MURRAY, T., ROBB, J., SCHLANGER, N. & VANZETTI, A. 2016. What is 'European Archaeology'? What should it be? *European Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 20, issue 1: 4–35. https://doi.org/10.1017/eaa.2016.12

BOURDIEU, P. 2004. *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Cambridge: Polity Press

CAMPANARO, D. M. 2021. Inference to the Best Explanation (IBE) and Archaeology: Old Tool, New Model. *European Journal of Archaeology,* vol. 24, issue 3: 412–432.

CHAPMAN, R. 2003. *Archaeologies of Complexity*. London, New York: Routledge

CHAPMAN, R. & WYLIE, A. 2016. *Evidential Reasoning in Archaeology*. London: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing

CURRIE, A. 2018. *Rock, Bone and Ruin. An Optimist's Guide to Historical Sciences.* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press
DAWDY, S. L. 2009. Millennial archaeology. Locating the discipline in the age of insecurity. *Archaeological Dialogues* 16(2): 131–142.
FAGAN, M. 2010. Social Construction Revisited: Epistemology and Scientific Practice. *Philosophy of Science*, vol. 77, No. 1: 92–116.
FOGELIN, L. 2007. Inference to the best explanation: A common and effective form of archaeological reasoning. *American Antiquity* 72(4): 603–625.
FULLER, S. 2015. *Knowledge. The philosophical quest in history*. London, New York: Routledge
GALISON, P. 2010. Trading with the Enemy, in: M. E. GORMAN (ed.), *Trading Zones and Interactional Expertise.* Cambridge MA: The MIT Press: 25–52.
HARDING, S. 1986. *The Science Question in Feminism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press
HARRIS, O. J. T. & CIPOLLA, C. 2017. *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: Introducing Current Perspectives.* London, New York: Routledge
HODDER, I. 1982. Theoretical Archaeology. A reactionary View, in: I. HODDER (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1–16.
KANG, N. 2013. *Cosmopolitan Theology: Reconstituting Planetary Hospitality, Neighbor-Love, and Solidarity in an Uneven World.* St. Louis: Chalice Press
KRISTIANSEN, K. 2014. Towards a New Paradigm? The Third Sceince Revolution and its Possible Consequences in Archaeology. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 22: 11–34.
LONGINO, H. E. 1999. Feminist Epistemology, in: J. GRECO & E. SOSA (eds), *The Guide to Epistemology*, Oxford: Blackwell: 325–353.
LONGINO, H. E. 2002. *The Fate of Knowledge.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
LUCAS, G. 2012. *Understanding the Archaeological Record.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
LUCAS, G. 2016. The paradigm concept in archaeology. *World Archaeology* 49(2): 260–270 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2016.1252688
MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2018. How Archaeological Communities Think? Re-thinking Ludwik Fleck's Concept of the Thought-Collective According to the Case of Serbian Archaeology, in: ROBERTS, J., SHEPPARD, K., HANSSON, U. & TRIGG, J. (eds), *Communities and knowledge production in archaeology.* Manchester: Manchester University Press: 14–33.
MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2020 – *Osvit arheologije. Geneza kulturno-istorijskog pristupa u arheologiji Srbije (The Dawn of Archaeology. Serbian Archaeology and the Genesis of its Culture-historical Approach).* Belgrade: Dosije
OLSEN, B., SHANKS, M., WEBMOOR, T. & WITMORE, C. 2012. *Archaeology – The Discipline of Things.* Berkeley: University of California Press
PALAVESTRA, A. & BABIĆ, S. 2016. False Analogy: Transfer of Theories and Methods in Archaeology (The Case of Serbia). *European Journal of Archaeology* 19(2): 316–334.
PATTERSON, T. C. 2003. *Marx's Ghost. Conversations with Archaeologists.* Oxford: Berg.
PLUCCIENIK, M. 2005. *Social Evolution.* London: Duckworth
ROSENZWEIG, M. S. 2020. Confronting the Present: Archaeology in 2019. *American Anthropologist* 122(2): 284–305.
RADAKRISHNAN, R. 2003. *Theory in an Uneven World.* Oxford: Blackwell
THOMAS, J. 2015. Why 'The Death of Archaeological Theory'?, in: HILLERDAL, C. & SIAPKAS, J. (eds.), *Debating Archaeological Empiricism. The Ambiguity of Material Evidence.* London: Routledge: 11–36.
WYLIE, A. 2000. Questions of evidence, legitimacy, and the (dis)unity of science. *American Antiquity* 65(2): 227–237.
WYLIE, A. 2002. *Thinking from Things. Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

WYLIE, A. 2003. Why standpoint matters, in: R. FIGUEROA, S. G. HARDING (eds), *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology*. London, New York: Routledge: 26–48.

Kuhn, Fleck and Archaeological Evidence: An Omnivorous Strategy to Study the History of Archaeology

Monika Milosavljević
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Archaeology

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.17-30

Abstract
The majority of the current histories on the social facets of scientific work rely theoretically on Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, whose 'paradigm' has since become limited due to a rethinking of the epistemology of knowledge creation. Accordingly, Ludwik Fleck, whose notions allow for better micro-historiographies to surface as a supplement to the paradigm, have come to the fore with their applicability stemming from his *The Genesis and Development of Scientific Fact*. A hybrid omnivore strategy between them may be further supplemented by the contemporary philosophy of science of evidential reasoning in archaeology.
Applying this theoretical background, specific attention in this paper is paid to the archaeology of the former Yugoslavia, in which a monumental shift occurred. Prior to World War II, it consisted of lone individuals; however, with the introduction of a culture-historical approach, considerable growth occurred in archaeology after World War II, emerging as an emancipatory force in the service of ideology. Through an omnivore perspective, an examination of the archaeology of the former Yugoslavia presents a broader picture of the mechanisms of scientific development.

Keywords
History of archaeology, Paradigm, Evidence, Evidential reasoning, Yugoslavia

Introduction

Although presented as a layering of a series of theoretical approaches, the history of archaeology is not singular but rather pluralistic in nature (Currie 2019). It is regularly represented, in stark contrast, as the historical development of three consequent paradigms of culture-historical, processual and post-processual archaeology (Babić 2018: 141). However, while such a sequence may be applicable to certain major archaeologies, it becomes quickly apparent that it is not equally valid as a means to examine historical progression when utilizing the same historical structure on marginal archaeologies. Based on the methodology for the history of archaeology applied, the fruits of research achieved may be various in nature; consequently, the

CONTACT: Monika Milosavljević - monika.milosavljevic@gmail.com

aim of this article is to propose a more suitable methodology through an omnivorous strategy to examine the history of archaeology as transdisciplinary in its foundations. Thomas Kuhn, who examined the historical development of physics and chemistry, purported the concept of paradigm shifts as determined by changes to world views. His theories of examining historical progression, although stemming from the natural sciences, may be applied in a limited fashion to examining the history of archaeology (Kuhn 1996; Lucas 2016; Milosavljević 2020a: 14). The concepts of paradigm shifts are represented in the history of science today so frequently that their meaning is rarely questioned (Praetzellis 2015: 9–25). Kuhn's concept of the structure of scientific revolutions has been so simplified that his notion of paradigm has been largely decontextualized in relation to the process of change in science. The idea of paradigm today, due to its frequent usage in the history and philosophy of science, has lost its initial radicalism (Lucas 2016). Nevertheless, Kuhns' approach to introducing a new worldview into science is essential for the history of archaeology which this work here tries to present in its full complexity by seeking to supplement Kuhn's approach with a Fleckian perspective (Milosavljević 2020: 19–24) and combining evidential reasoning in archaeology (Chapman & Wylie 2016).

Although still unknown outside of medical history circles, Ludwik Fleck's concepts of development have been increasingly applied to the history and philosophy of science. Similar to Kuhn, Fleck argued that the strength of science is its collective nature (Löwy 1998: 133–155; Brorson & Andersen 2001:109–129; Condé 2016: 46–51; Binney 2016: 101–115). Fleck puts forward the idea that what is considered to be scientific fact is a social construct shaped by a thought-collective. The Fleckian perspective, therefore, removes the Kuhnian idea of pure paradigm-shifting, by which archaeology may be better understood when examining archaeologists who have developed their science under non-ideal circumstances. Using Fleck's conceptual toolbox, changes in the history of archaeologies may be better examined through the incorporation of Fleck's basis of scientific fact (Milosavljević 2016: 88–100; Palavestra & Babić 2016: 316–334; Matić 2018: 19–44). As Robert Chapman and Alison Wylie have pointed out, knowledge production in archaeology is not just an intellectual process, rather scientific outcome: "[...] *depends not only on holding the conceptual and technical elements of scaffolding from evidence open to critical appraisal but also on interrogating the ecologies of practice – the disciplinary culture, the training and funding system, the institutional infrastructure – that sustain (or confound) these practices.*" (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 135). Borrowing from Adrian Currie's work *Rock, Bone and Ruin: An Optimist's Guide to the Historical Sciences* (2018), the methodological omnivore strategy permits the use of multiple heterogeneous concepts into one research program substantiated by essential pillars of paradigms, thought-collectives, scientific facts and archaeological evidence. As Currie has stated, methodological optimism is still possible in difficult, non-ideal settings when evidence is fragmented and the interpretative target complex and multi-layered, as it still poses opportunistic strategies for problem-solving (Currie 2018: 138). Such a methodological strategy for the histories of archaeology, however, necessitates a flexible and transgressive mindset, limited to cases when the trading zone of ideas and methods is under the umbrella of epistemological exchange (Ribeiro 2022: 93–105).

By following the evidential reasoning put forward by Robert Chapman and Alison Wylie, the archaeological material record challenges our understanding of the human past. It poses that evidence is not simply a physical discovery as with the excavation of artefacts (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 1–12). To illustrate, archaeological records differ should an archaeologist be observing with the naked eye, magnifying glass or electronic microscope (Edgeworth 2012: 76-92).

Raw data itself does not exist by its mere nature and is generated; rather, all data interpretation calls for a theoretical pluralistic scaffolding to analyse the past. Chapman and Wylie try to refocus on archaeological practice through a "practical turn" allowing for the incorporation of ambiguity and removes the necessity of the ideality of science (as purported by Kuhn). According to evidential reasoning, the paradoxical nature of archaeological interpretation is that it necessitates theory but material traces are capable of resistance. Instead of lamenting the fragmented nature of archaeological evidence, objectivity could be reconceptualised and a pragmatic alternative for situated knowledge and reflexivity explored. Cross-filled communicative skills permit the transformation of our understanding of the history of archaeology based on new knowledge exchanged between the philosophies of science and archaeology as well as archaeology itself. In this approach, the birth of the "fact" created in fieldwork is essential to perspective on archaeology's historiography. Although Kuhn and Fleck tantamountly surmise science as unified, Chapman and Wylie focus on the epistemology and history of one particular field – archaeology (Chapman & Wylie 2016).

In order to better illustrate the change within knowledge, this paper will use the shifts in archaeology in the former Yugoslavia after the Second World War as a brief but concrete example (Palavestra & Babić 2016: 316-334; Milosavljević 2020a; 2020b; Lorber & Novaković 2020: 689–715). The change that took place in Yugoslav archaeology is intellectual (i.e., the introduction of a Kunian paradigm), social (i.e., the creation of Fleckian thought-collectives and institutions/circles) and change in the scientific standards of collecting evidence (i.e., the power of legacy data, as according to Fleck as well as Chapman and Wylie). In this regard, this work seeks to suggest a recommendation for the omnivorous strategy for the history of archaeology. The examples provided merely serve to illustrate theoretical points from their perspective of marginal archaeology and are not comprehensive for the purposes of the paper; instead, the example itself serves to stand as proof of concept in applicability as well as illustrative to demonstrate the underlying theory of an omnivore strategy as is here elaborated.

Kuhn, paradigms and crisis

Tracing back the introduction of the paradigm into science from Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), it follows from Kuhn's history as a physicist as it had shaped his ideas on how science functions. Kuhn, who earned his BSc, MSc and PhD in physics from Harvard, decided to reorient himself to the history of science (Sardar 2001: 24–28). Kuhn's ideas also arose in the context of questioning what the goal of science is in general. After World War II, during which science was explicitly

instrumentalized for political purposes, the rationality, objectivity and progress of science were all called into question. Ultimately, Kuhn's importance is largely attributed to his theories overthrowing the logical positivism of the 'Vienna Circle' (Peri 2000: 590–595) and paving the way for post-positivism in the observation of science (Eichmann 2008: 19–20).

The Structure of Scientific Revolutions was a turning point in the history of science (Heking 2018: 18). Kuhn's paradigm implies a generally accepted framework for the production of scientific problems and solutions. Such an approach implies that the paradigm is equated with a corresponding theory of knowledge (Olsen 2002: 25–27). Although best known through its addressing paradigms in scientific thought, it is a disservice to merely encapsulate Kuhn's work into the paradigm as a singular concept. Indeed, Kuhn goes further in the definition of the concept of paradigm as he tries to narrow the meaning of its concept to universally accepted achievements, which provide models for scientific problems and explanations within a group over a time frame (Kuhn 1996; Kun 2018).

Kuhn accords that changes in science occur due to revolutions whose structure he describes through the following neatly organised phases: 1) the "Pre-paradigmatic state", 2) "Normal science", 3) "Anomaly and the emergence of new scientific discoveries", 4) "Crisis and the emergence of new scientific theories", 5) "Revolution in response to the crisis". Based on these, the state of science develops from a pre-paradigmatic state to a paradigmatic one (Sardar 2001: 23–36; Kuhn 1996; Kun 2018). Nevertheless, Kuhn's pursuant paradigm fails to account for specifics of a particular science (such as archaeology and other historical sciences) which is transdisciplinary and flexible in its phases of development (Milosavljević 2020a, 14).

According to Kuhn, the goal of "normal science" is the articulation and understanding of phenomena important from the paradigm as based on facts (Eichmann 2008: 21–22; Kuhn 35–42; Kun 2018: 73–79), with the paradigm thus contributing both to the expansion of the framework through cumulative credibility and to the accuracy of scientific knowledge. The characteristics of all discoveries are determined by any previous awareness of the anomaly, the gradual emergence of a new conceptual perception, and, finally, changes in categories and procedures. The novelty thus appears with aggravating factors, by which resistance has its own role (Heking 2018: 23–24).

As the paradigm blurs, the crisis itself resolves following the loose rules of 'normal science', in which the crisis is characterised through a 'desperate' willingness at the attempt for the novel to express explicit dissatisfaction. For Kuhn, new scientific discoveries are established by either young scientists or newcomers to the field. As a consequence, when paradigms do change, the view of the world also changes. A revolution is, therefore, a changed view of the world. Resolving the revolution may initiate through few supporters, but if a paradigm is accurate, it will be victorious and the number of supporters and arguments in its favour will also grow with subsequent new experiments, instruments, articles and books appearing (Heking 2018: 24–26; Kuhn 1996: 136; Kun 2018: 162).

Despite the multitude of criticism, a detailed analysis of the paradigm concept should not be outright rejected (Lucas 2016: 4–6); instead, it may be supplemented by Ludwik Fleck's concepts on thought-collectives and facts as they treat social and non-social elements of knowledge together.

Fleck, facts and the thought-collective

Born in 1896 in the city of Lvov (then Austria-Hungary), Ludwik Fleck was a microbiologist of Polish-Jewish origins. Published in Basel in 1935 in German, his seminal work is titled *The Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact: An Introduction to the Theory of Thought Style and Thought Collective*. Representing a scientist who was equally actively involved in the biomedical research of his time as well as the history and philosophy of science (Škorić 2010, 340), Fleck is intriguing as a marginal scholar of his time. He has only been recently rediscovered due to translations of his work into English. Fleck was bilingual, writing in German and Polish (Jarnicki 2016: 1). He operated in the intellectual environment of the 'Vienna Circle' as well as within the Polish Lvov-Warsaw School of Philosophy (Eichmann 2008: 27).

The title of his seminal publication refers to the genesis and development of scientific fact, since it is precisely the understanding of fact which Fleck's conceptions revolve around (Milosavljević 2020: 16–21), Fleck used the main concepts of thought-collective, thought-style, and passive and active elements of knowledge to base his epistemology. Fleck's scientific philosophy of the margin is more than useful for understanding science on the periphery (Condé 2016: 46–51).

Fleck's concept of a thought-collective can be defined as a community of individuals who exchange ideas with one another and maintain intellectual exchange. The thought-collective is reflected in the process of cognition which Fleck claims to not merely be related to the individual but the result of social activity. For Fleck, discovery is always a social event, although it is commonly understood as something done by a genius among many (Fleck 1979: 38–39). The facts are never completely independent of one other, which is why 'discovery' is a re-creation of the whole world constructed by a thought-collective. For Fleck, power relations and hierarchies are consequential aspects of the communal mode of scientific work (Fleck 1979: 99-100). Albeit these phenomena are analysable through a Foucauldian lens, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Thought-style, in synergy with the thought-collective, is a readiness for directed perception, accompanied by the mental and objective assimilation of what is perceived. Stylised thinking represents what is considered true in a given context. For Fleck, truth is neither relative nor subjective, but neither absolute nor objective. A change in the style of thinking opens the possibility for new discoveries and new facts. Great transformations of style, according to Fleck, most often occur in times of social crisis, when there is rivalry between differing options (Eichmann 2008: 31). According to Fleck, facts are not objectively given; on the contrary, they are categories conditioned by the thought-collective, and, as such, subject to interpretation. Facts appear as a signal of resistance in chaotic initial thinking, then as a barrier to maintaining previous views and, finally, as a form that can be directly

perceived. The fact always arises in the context of the history of thoughts and is the result of the thought-style. Science has no end in truth; knowledge exists in the collective and is continuously re-examined (Fleck 1979: 95). There are no raw facts - evidence conforms to conceptions as often as conceptions to evidence (Lucas 2023: 23–25).

Facts are often popularly perceived as definitive, constant and independent of the subjective interpretation of scientists. However, Fleck notes that facts are as changeable as theories (Fleck 1979: xxvii–xxviii). The source of thinking is not in the individual, rather the social atmosphere that the individual breathes in the scientific community (Fleck 1979: 44 Fleck 1979: 44–51).

Fleck separates passive and active elements of knowledge. The scientist asks questions, which are active elements of knowledge, while empirical verification is a passive trait. Passive elements of knowledge resist the will of the scientist. To illustrate, no matter what our perspective on the phenomenon of gravity is, the force of gravity will always act. Active elements are, therefore, necessary but insufficient to produce passive elements of knowledge. Oddly, active elements are insufficient to produce facts, with facts themselves not fully socially, historically and culturally determined (Binney 2016: 103–113). Bearing this in mind, Nicholas R. Binney believes Fleck's epistemology to rely on Kant, thereby positioning it between relativism and realism due to its so-called 'middle way' (Binney 2016: 112–113; Binney 2023). Although his work stems from natural sciences, Fleck himself highlighted the importance of active elements in knowledge of the scientific communities that produce them, stating that: "*Every epistemological theory is trivial that does not take this sociological dependence of all cognition into account in a fundamental and detailed manner. But those who consider social dependence a necessary evil and an unfortunate human inadequacy which ought to be overcome fail to realize that without social conditioning no cognition is even possible.*" (Fleck 1986: 155). However, due to misunderstanding, the active aspect is often inadequately characterised as subject to interpretation which itself is only partial (Harwood 1986: 184; Binney 2016: 107–109). The content of knowledge, in addition to the empirical corpus, always implies the assumptions that Fleck called active connections. Passive aspects of knowledge are solid elements that limit the infinity of imagined possibilities in science, yet are also a logical necessity dependent on the active aspects of knowledge (Binney 2023: 19–20). In other words, passive connections arise from active connections (Eichmann 2008: 31–32). There is no scientific statement that is based only on passive aspects of knowledge; both aspects are always in relation to each other. It is usually understood that the facts are fixed and the perspective is changeable. However, fundamentally new facts can only be discovered through a new way of thinking (Fleck 1979: 46–51).

Evidential reasoning

As a third pillar of a hybrid program for the history of archaeology, the ideas presented in *Evidential Reasoning in Archaeology* (2016) by Alison Wylie and Robert

Chapman are utilised to develop a clearer link between the Fleckian account of facts and the evidential reasoning specific to archaeology.

Alison Wylie is a professor of philosophy of social and historical sciences at the University of British Columbia and Canada Research Chair in Philosophy of Social and Historical Sciences. The author of the influential *Thinking from Things. Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology* (2002) as well as co-editor of *Material Evidence, Learning from Archaeological Practice* (2015), Wylie is known as the philosopher of archaeology. In addition, Robert Chapman is an eminent archaeologist and emeritus professor of archaeology at the University of Reading, who, in a collaborative project with Wylie, was the second editor of *Material Evidence, Learning from Archaeological Practice*. He more recently authored the book *Archaeological Theory: The Basics* (2023).

Among the questions considered in *Evidential Reasoning in Archaeology*, the most important here is how archaeologists induce old evidence to arrive at new interpretations (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 93–136). It is posited that should only post-positivist approaches in archaeology be acceptable and every fact theory-laden, then the data constructed under the old paradigm is worthless or incommensurable with a new one (Lucas 2023: 11). However, according to Alison Wylie and Robert Chapman, there is a paradox of material evidence in archaeology so that even partially untrusted primary data may catalyse new data recovery (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 95–108). Data can be recovered by understanding empirical and conceptual factors that construct the scaffolding of an argument. Nevertheless, though much of the old data be useless for reinterpretation, archaeologists may still find it achievable to extract new knowledge from the old (Wylie 2017: 203–225).

As a theoretical basis for the analysis of old evidence, Chapman and Wylie elaborate on how new techniques may be implemented to shed new light on old data. As in other sciences, in archaeology, the conditions for conducting novel research are based on the process of gradual iterations. Old data or legacy data created within an outdated paradigm can still, under certain conditions, be reliably reinterpreted (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 135–136). Understanding something excavated or found in the scientific process is to learn to see it as something worth documenting. The assumptions and procedures in this process occur due to scaffolding, which disappears upon completion. Even though the concept of scaffolding comes from construction, the metaphor is utilized as Chapman and Wylie framed it for evidential reasoning in archaeology. Scaffolding may emerge from theoretical foundations, implicit knowledge, technical skills, social cohesion, institutional support or frameworks of reflective criticism (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 55–67).

Chapman and Wylie also utilize the metaphor of the 'bootstrap' method, a term they use for the re-sampling of data from the original data set. It follows then that when it is no longer possible to return to the field or reconstruct all and especially not the conceptual 'scaffolding' of researchers, it is worth considering attempts at reinterpretation. Yet, doing so is only possible if the emergence of old records is contextualised and the pitfalls of the implied neutrality of the archaeological record are avoided (Chapman & Wylie 2016: 5–6; 93–141). Chapman and Wylie articulate elements such as theory-ladenness, background knowledge, technical equipment and

skills, networks, institutions as well as, similarly to Fleck, the power of traces to resist theoretical or other appropriations.

A culture-historical approach in the Former Yugoslavia through a new lens

Archaeology in Yugoslavia largely had consisted of lone individuals working separately prior to World War One; yet, in the immediate years following World War II it became an emancipatory force in the service of the ideology of the state (i.e., socialist 'brotherhood and unity'). Notwithstanding, a revolution in Kuhnian terms, considerable growth did occur in archaeology in the former socialist Yugoslavia through the introduction of a culture-historical approach (Novaković 2011). Its introduction was a complex process that took place in its own local context influenced by multifactors. Not only was there a change in the social system following the experience of World War II but a generational shift in academia occurred as well in line with this new paradigm (Palavestra & Babić 2016: 316–334). During the first half of the twentieth century, the archaeology of Yugoslavia was mostly marked by regional lone authorities and individuals who actively blocked scientific debate. Miloje M. Vasić, one example, was a classical archaeologist educated in Germany in the late 19th century who excavated the archaeological site of Vinča. Through his iterative interpretation, he came to the conclusion (in 1934) that Vinča had indeed been an Ionian colony on the Danube dating from the sixth century BC by claiming to find the presence of Neolithic figurines as hoplites. After the Second World War, Vinča's interpretation changed to it belonging to the Neolithic (although multi-layered) (Palavestra 2020: 236–237). Vasić's interpretation was critiqued as having destabilized the field of archaeology in Yugoslavia and may be seen as a Kuhnian anomaly. Although there were proto-ideas of a cultural-historical approach in Yugoslav archaeology prior to World War II they were generally accepted. However, the presence of such ideas may be defined as a pre-paradigmatic state according to Kuhn (Bandović 2019).

Paradigmatic changes primarily occurred in the subfield of prehistoric archaeology in Yugoslavia through the influence of the general concepts of Gordon Childe related to the ideas of archaeological culture, social evolution and the determination of a culture-chronological framework. So wieldy was his influence, the change in Yugoslavian archaeology itself is made better evident through reading Childe's books and reviews of them in local contemporary journals as well as meeting with Childe in person in Yugoslavia (Milosavljević 2020b, 77–111). In establishing a new world of ideas, much of the existing implicit knowledge and conceptual overlaps were carried over from the interim to the post-World War II period. Some of the transfers from the old to the new world forged a conceptual palimpsest. Nevertheless, while the theory may have come from Childe, the practices of archaeological fieldwork research specific to the region were generally standardized in accordance with German academic tradition of 'archaeological practices' (Lorber & Novaković 2020: 697). Here the paradigm is seen to have stabilized producing new knowledge through novel practices that had not been actuated before.

Theories present within, the culture-historical paradigm may stem into functionalism, cultural materialism and ethnic determination that allow it to persist - its presence apparent when dissecting archaeological production in the last seventy years in the Former Yugoslavia (Milosavljević 2020b: 44; Lorber & Novaković 2020: 66). This relationship between theory introduced and practice changed is how the culture-historical approach became resilient in the region despite emerging novel archaeological perspectives that challenged it.

Turning from the Kunian to the Fleckian perspective, the basic mechanism imparting a degree of scientific standards to archaeologists after the Second World War (as opposed to the sacralization of individual authority in science prior to World War II) was a collective effort in socialist Yugoslavia composed of multiple individuals all doing research themselves. A step forward in terms of the quality of work and results was achieved due to cooperation, criticism and the control of standards in place (Milosavljević 2020b: 111).

After the Second World War in Yugoslavia, the main young figures of archaeology who had studied in the 1930s formed thought-collectives. Immediately after the war, the united crew mainly arose following the lines of communications between the academic centres Belgrade, Ljubljana and Sarajevo (Palavestra 2020: 287–288; Milosavljević 2020a: 23–29). Not only was there a systematic introduction of a new approach to archaeology, but the archaeologists throughout Yugoslavia grew into a network that included joint work, sometimes in conflict and at other times on solidarity (Lorber & Novaković 2020: 693–694). Milutin Garašanin, for instance, played a key role in the systematic introduction of the culture-historical approach into the archaeology of Serbia, introducing completely new standards for collecting archaeological facts through fieldwork. However, he could not accomplish it without the help of the Yugoslav thought-collective, which included Milutin Garašanin (1920-2002) and Draga Garašanin (1921-1997) from Belgrade and, among others, Alojz Benac (1914–1992) from Sarajevo and Josip Korošec (1909–1966) from Ljubljana (Palavestra 2020: 287–288; Milosavljević 2020a: 23–29). Part of the process of establishing a new worldview was to overcome previous field practices through thought-collectives and new networks.

These collectives lead to multiple inputs to arrive at varied decisions within fieldwork. With the modernization of Yugoslav society as a whole, archaeology also began to develop more sophisticated techniques to maximize its performance (Novaković 2015). Culture-historical foundations based on prehistoric archaeology resulted in the remnants of the past, artefacts and contexts becoming understood as evidence. Careful excavation led to monumental structures not being treated as of singular importance; smaller finds in archaeological contexts were also included. Moreover, the evidence itself grew to be better in terms of its nature as based on the meticulous work undertaken at the time (Milosavljević 2020b: 110).

Since archaeologists collect their primary data quite differently from controlled experimental conditions in other sciences, the established awareness of the uniqueness of the archaeological context has decisively influenced the change of practice towards more careful and thorough work during excavations. Archaeological fieldwork, perceived as an immediate practice and experience,

changed the perspective on prior knowledge and provided room for its revision and reinterpretation of old evidence (Witmore, Shanks & Webmore 2012: 58–78).

In Serbian archaeology, after Vasić's mistake with Vinča, it was absolutely clear that one and the same archaeological record can cause numerous interpretations, as well as that fieldwork is not merely mechanical data collection performable by just anyone. Consequently, passive and active elements of knowledge are always present. Namely, Vasić used his meticulous recording and excavation during several decades of work to create an interpretation that now merely serves as a footnote in the history of ideas. Neolithic material quality in artefacts and contexts recognisable in his work are passive elements, although his questions and interpretations are active elements of knowledge, reflecting his background and social origin of his ideas. The relation between standards of excavation and practice of interpretation transformed the identity of the professional community of archaeologists strengthened in opposition to the 'older' generation. Consequently, new thought-collectives were formed (Palavestra 2020: 290–294).

The advent of the paradigm of the culture-historical approach to the former Yugoslavia after the Second World War brought with it meticulous (for its time) fieldwork of collecting and documenting evidence in its archaeological context. Doing so was a sea change in comparison to the state of archaeology in Yugoslavia prior to the Second World War (Novaković 2015). Archaeological fieldwork's standardization was a more than merely significant factor contributing to the quality of archaeology work conducted and its recognition, it was the bedrock with which archaeology came to be practised and institutionally recognized through the former Yugoslavia (Milosavljević 2020b).

The standards of archaeological fieldwork were made to be explicit such as may be found in the *Handbook of Archaeological Excavations* (1953). Milutin and Draga Garašanin criticize the tendency to look at archaeological finds only from an aesthetic point of view, promoting a thorough contextual recording of the archaeological site as it was excavated instead. They also distinctly criticized the common unprofessional practices carried out by their predecessors, such as paying local people to merely 'dig up' an area and return anything they may have found (Garašanin & Garašanin 1953).

The novel culture-historical approach also transformed the language of archaeology, in the sense of insisting on objectivity (as conceived at the time) and technical vocabulary. In practice, excavations were conducted by at least two excavation directors sharing in the decision-making process. The *Handbook* makes an effort to specifically note: "[...] *an objective archaeologist is obliged to adjust his work in such a way that everyone can control his arguments and documentation*" (Garašanin & Garašanin 1953: 73).

Archaeological evidence and the manner it is collected are complex. Archaeological traces can be seen as incomplete and fragmented, but also less lamentably as survivors and witnesses of the past (Lucas 2023: 23–25).

The nature of archaeological evidence in Yugoslavia came to be perceived differently following the Second World War. When Vasić erroneously interpreted the Neolithic village of the Vinča site as an Ionian colony on the Danube River, he had not

eliminated the potential for constructing evidence from his original findings at a later date in the future. Bootstrapping may then be found in the culture-historical reinterpretation of Vinča's archaeological site, particularly in the reanalysis of the very remains of material culture as well as the archaeological contexts and documentation on them. Implicitly, among the archaeological community of the time in Yugoslavia, there was an implicit awareness that old evidence may yield new results through re-interpretations (Palavestra 2013: 685–693).

A shift may be seen in the thought-collective which had reflected on the practices and conclusions of procedures done in the past, actively realizing where the interpretation was made. This change in Yugoslav archaeology is but one example of how paradigms may be seen through transformation of the thought-collective and respect for evidence collecting.

Awareness of the contextual nature of knowledge construction and the possibility of reinterpretation based on background knowledge has created the need for transparent insight into the construction of archaeological evidence, similar to the examples that Chapman and Wiley analysed through scaffolding. Numerous reinterpretations of old archaeological records have been enabled as such, which not only have limitations but supra-paradigmatic potential as well. The approach to data is demonstrated as being able to bear fruit and have value even after the conceptual basis of the culture-historical approach has long been rejected.

Concluding remarks

What this case study reveals, is what changes took place in Yugoslav archaeology after the Second World War and what sparked them off. In an attempt to understand this complex change in science development, one may also look for the causes of the longevity and permanence of the culture-historical approach. Doing so helps to better understand the nature of the culture-historical approach as well as how this hybrid methodology Kuhn-Fleck-Chapman-Wiley is applied. It is evident that there was a breakthrough in the manner in which archaeological fieldwork was conducted in Yugoslavia prior to and post-World War Two in terms of meticulous excavation and collective manner of all fieldwork done. One of the main reasons why the culture-historical approach has been resilient in the Former Yugoslavia is due to archaeologists being successful in excavating old and new datasets and utilizing them in their examination. When the hybrid and omnivore strategy to the history of archaeology is utilized and analysis is placed into a concrete context, there may be unusual concluding remarks made. Indeed, the paradigm shift in the Former Yugoslavia after World War II is mostly evident through the perspective on evidence and fieldwork standards based on meticulous 'German fieldwork norms'. This change might have affected a wide circle of archaeologists due to the standardization of fieldwork and publications, the network of connections and solidarity. Although the shift should not be romanticized, much can be learned from it for the future.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express her thanks to the reviewer for providing fruitful criticism allowing for the article to be redrafted and improvements made to its clarity for the reader. Moreover, the author also wishes to express gratitude to Uros Matić for his review of an earlier draft and Radmila Balaban for providing additional necessary references, as well as Timothy Johnston for assisting in revising the language and composition of the work.

References

BABIĆ S. 2018. Metaraheologija. Ogled o uslovima znanja o prošlosti. Beograd: Clio.

BANDOVIĆ A. 2019. *Miodrag Grbić i nastanak kulturno-istorijske arheologije u Srbiji*. Dok. Dis. Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu.

BINNEY N. 2016. Ludwik Fleck's 'active' and 'passive' elements of knowledge revisited: Circular arguments in the medical literature on inflicted head injury in the light of Fleck's epistemology. *Transversal, International Journal for Historiography of Science* (Dossier Ludwik Fleck) 1: 101–115.

BINNEY N. 2023. Ludwik Fleck's reasonable relativism about science. *Synthese* 201: 40.

BRORSON, S. & ANDERSEN, H. 2001. Stabilizing and Changing Phenomenal Worlds: Ludwik Fleck and Thomas Kuhn on Scientific Literature. *Journal for General Philosophy of Science* 32: 109–129.

CHAPMAN, R. & WYLIE A. 2016. *Evidential Reasoning in Archaeology (Debates in Archaeology)*. London: Bloomsbury.

CHAPMAN, R. 2023. *Archaeological Theory: The Basics*. Routledge, Abingdon.

CONDÉ, M. 2016. Ludwik Fleck's reception in Brazil: from an anonymous visitor to a renowned thinker. *Transversal, International Journal for the Historiography of Science* (Dossier Ludwik Fleck) 1: 46–51.

CURRIE, A. 2018. *Rock, Bone and Ruin: An Optimist's Guide to the Historical Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

CURRIE, A. 2019. *Scientific Knowledge and the Deep Past: History Matters (Cambridge Elements, Philosophy of Science)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EDGEWORTH, M. 2012. Follow the Cut, Follow the Rhythm, Follow the Material. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 45(1): 76–92.

EICHMANN, K. 2008. *The Network Collective. Rise and Fall of Scientific Paradigm*. Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag.

FLECK, L. 1979. *Genesis and Development of Scientific Fact*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

FLECK, L. 1986 [1960]. Crisis in Science, in: COHEN, R. S. & SCHNELLE, T. (eds.), *Cognition and Fact, Materials on Ludwik Fleck*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company: 153–158.

GARAŠANIN, M. & GARAŠANIN, D. 1953. *Priručnik za arheološka iskopavanja*. Beograd: Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

HARWOOD, J. 1986. Ludwik Fleck and the sociology of knowledge. *Social studies of science* 16: 287–307.
HEKING, I. 2018. "Uvodni esej." *U Struktura naučnih revolucija, Tomas Kun*. Beograd: Evoluta: 7–33.
JARNICKI, P. 2016. On the shoulders of Ludwik Fleck? On the bilingual philosophical legacy of Ludwik Fleck and its Polish, German and English translations. *The Translator* 22(3): 1–16.
KUHN, T. 1996. *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
KUN, T. 2018. *Struktura naučnih revolucija*. Beograd: Evoluta.
LORBER, Č. & NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2020. Internationalisation as a long-term strategic project of the post-war renewal of the Yugoslav archaeology (1950-1971). *Etnoantropološki problemi* 15(3): 689–715.
LÖWY, I. 1988. Ludwik Fleck on the social construction of knowledge. *Sociology of Health and Illness* 10(2): 133–155.
LUCAS, G. 2016. The Paradigm Concept in Archaeology. *World Archaeology* 49(2): 260–270.
LUCAS, G. 2023. *Archaeological Situations. Archaeological Theory from the Inside Out*. London: Routledge.
MATIĆ, U. 2018. De-colonizing historiography and archaeology of ancient Egypt and Nubia Part 1. Scientific racism. *Journal of Egyptian History* 11: 19–44.
MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2016. Ludwik Fleck's concepts slicing through the Gordian Knot of Serbian Archaeology. *Transversal: International Journal for the Historiography of Science* 1: 88–100.
MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2020a. How archaeological communities think: re-thinking Ludwik Fleck's concept of the thought-collective according to the case of Serbian Archaeology, in: ROBERTS, J., SHEPPARD, K., HANSSON, U. R. & TRIGG, J. R. (eds.), *Communities and knowledge production in archaeology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press: 14–33.
MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2020b. *Osvit arheologije: geneza kulturno-istorijskog pristupa u arheologiji Srbije*. Beograd: Dosije.
NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2011. Archaeology in the New Countries of Southeastern Europe: A Historical Perspective, in: LOZNY, L. R. (ed.), *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past*. New York: Springer: 339–461.
NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2015. *Historija arheologije u novim zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope*. Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu.
OLSEN, B. 2002. *Od predmeta do teksta. Teorijske perspektive arheoloških istraživanja*. Beograd: Geopoetika.
PALAVESTRA, A. & BABIĆ, S. 2016. 'False Analogy': transfer of theories and methods in archaeology (the case of Serbia). *European Journal of Archaeology* 19(2): 316–334.
PALAVESTRA, A. 2013. Čitanje Miloja M. Vasića u srpskoj arheologiji. *Etnoantropološki problemi* 8(3): 681–715.
PALAVESTRA, A. 2020. *Usamljeni arheolog. Terenski metoda Miloja M. Vasića*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik.

PERI, M. 2000. *Intelektualna istorija Evrope*. Beograd: Clio.
PRAETZELLIS, A. 2015. *Archaeological Theory in a Nutshell*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.
RIBEIRO, A. 2022. Methodological Anarchism Against Interdisciplinary Archaeology. *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 11: 93–105.
SARDAR, Z. 2001. *Thomas Kuhn i ratovi znanosti*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski & Turk.
ŠKORIĆ, M. 2010. *Sociologija nauke. Mertonovski i konstruktivistički programi*. Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.
WITMORE, C., SHANKS, M. & WEBMORE, T. 2012. Digging Deep: Archaeology and Fieldwork, in: OLSEN, B, SHANKS, M., WEBMOOR, T. & WITMORE C. (eds.), *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press: 58–78.
WYLIE, A. 2017. How Archaeological Evidence Bites Back: Strategies for Putting Old Data to Work in New Ways. *Science, Technology and Human Values (Special Issue on "Data Shadows: Knowledge, Openness and Absence")* 42(2): 203–225.

Bridging the Gap(s) between 'European', 'Balkan' and 'Greek' Archaeolog(ies)y.

Christos Giamakis
York Museums Trust (United Kingdom)

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.31-51

Abstract
The present paper examines the relationship between the terms 'European' and 'Balkan' archaeology and the way this is reflected on archaeology in Greece. More specifically, it discusses three main factors, most notably the seemingly sequential progress of archaeology, access to funding, and university rankings and publishing schemes all of which contribute to the perceived 'backwardness' of 'Balkan' archaeolog(ies)y when compared to 'European' ones. The chasm between these two, and the way this influences archaeological practice in Greece is then studied by comparing archaeology in Northern Greece, an area traditionally perceived as the link between the wider Balkans and Southern Greece, a region regarded as the cornerstone of the 'Western' world. The role of the foreign archaeological institutions and the Greek state in this divide is studied, arguing that the approaches of both towards Northern Greece are hindering the region from reaching its full archaeological potential. The paper concludes by providing some preliminary thoughts on future steps moving beyond dualisms and towards a more inclusive archaeology.

Keywords: Balkans, Macedonia, Northern Greece, colonialism, nationalism.

Introduction[1]

How should a Greek citizen whose ancestors came as refugees to Greece from the Black Sea region, educated at a British University, currently living in post-Brexit Britain, self-define? Is this person Greek given their nationality? Do they feel European living in an

[1] The present paper stems from my presentation in the session Balkan Archaeology as a Laboratory: Challenging Old Paradigms and Experimenting with New Ones at EAA 2022. I would like to express my gratitude to Maja Gori, Kristina Penezić and Daniela Heilmann for giving me the opportunity to present my research as well as to the participants for the stimulating discussions. The paper has also benefited from various discussions with Artur Ribeiro, Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, Matt Lester, Filip Franković and Gregoris Kasseropoulos all of whom provided useful insights. Any errors and misunderstandings are of course exclusively mine.

CONTACT: Christos Giamakis christosgiamakis@gmail.com

in-between part of Europe, as Britain currently feels like? Or is it Balkan, given its wider cultural influences, that shaped them into an adult? This identity crisis that many people are currently experiencing due to ever-shifting political circumstances, far from being an abstract theoretical construction, is rather a lived reality, the effects of which are evident in every aspect of our lives.

Archaeology, being an inherently political discipline, is not immune to contemporary political developments. 'European' archaeology, 'Balkan' archaeology, and 'Greek' archaeology are all terms connected to different yet frequently overlapping approaches linked to specific regions and archaeological materials. If one was to follow a geographical-based approach, then a straight-forward link starting with the smallest region, that is Greece, and moving towards the largest one, i.e. Europe, could be established with the Balkans acting as an intermediate stage between these two. However, even twenty years after Maria Todorova's (1997[2009]) book, this 'intermediate' stage is often overlooked since Greece, which is often viewed as the cornerstone of 'Western' civilization, is not typically associated with the same notion of 'backwardness', traditionally link to the Balkans. The same disassociation holds true in regard to 'Greek' archaeology which is typically not classified among 'Balkan' archaeologies.

This is of course not to argue that these categories are fixed and rigid but instead that they are fluid since they are the outcomes of complex historical circumstances. The present fragmentation of the archaeological communities within Europe further complicates things as it creates a situation in which all archaeologies within Europe are 'European' but some are more 'European' than others (Babić et al. 2017: 8–15). Furthermore, the term 'Balkan' archaeology traditionally refers to the archaeologies of the Balkan countries with the notable exception of Classical Greece primarily due to sites found in Southern Greece (Babić et al. 2017: 13). Nationalistic political agendas typically utilising 'ethnogenesis' as their main device have long shaped 'Balkan' archaeologies (Gimatzidis 2018a; Novaković 2021), frequently leading to their perception by Western Europeans and Americans alike as outdated (Todorova 1997[2009]) despite recent efforts focusing on translocality (e.g. Gori & Ivanova 2017; Gavranović et al. 2020). The heterogenous historical circumstances specifically within the Balkan Peninsula and the strong influence of different archaeological schools of thought, particularly of the German one, are all often perceived as signs of backwardness (Babić 2014; 2015; Palavestra & Babić 2016; Novaković 2021).

As for the term 'Greek' archaeology this too is far from strictly defined. Even within such a small field temporal and geographical divisions do exist. Prehistoric, Classical, Byzantine and Ottoman archaeologies have all followed different trajectories (e.g. Kotsakis 1998; Fotiadis 2001; Kolovos & Vionis 2019; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou 2020). Moreover, the way 'Greek' archaeology – or to be more precise archaeologies – came to be practised both within the modern Greek state and outside of it gave rise to different colonialist and indigenous archaeologies (Hamilakis 2008; 2009).

Yet, the underlying causes of the 'omission' to classify 'Greek' archaeology alongside other 'Balkan' ones are more closely linked to both past and contemporary socio-political situations than to the archaeological material itself. The fact that most of the area making up the Balkan peninsula was a region of the Ottoman empire for many centuries, along with the relatively recent creation of the modern states now occupying this region created numerous problems within the wider region. The presence of communist regimes in most

of these states following World War II, the Yugoslav wars during the 1990s and the financial crisis of 2008 with the surrounding discussions of a possible 'Grexit', all contributed to two very turbulent centuries. It is within this context that various 'Balkan' archaeologies were born and practised with a very specific agenda and through equally specific means (Gori & Ivanova 2017; Gimatzidis 2018a; Novaković 2021). It is therefore easy to see how in this sequential narrative, especially regarding archaeological theory – usually documented in stages from cultural-historical approaches to processualism, followed later by a shift to a post-processual paradigm (Trigger 1989 [2006]; Barrett 2021: 39–74), with more posthumanist-based theories recently being added to the mix (e.g. Olsen 2010; Witmore 2007; 2014) – can cast a negative shadow on 'Balkan' archaeology, as this is yet to catch up to the latest developments in European archaeological discourse (Babić 2014; 2015).

The aim of this paper is twofold: first to examine the intricate relationship between 'European' and 'Balkan' archaeology, and second to emphasise the peculiar role of 'Greek' archaeology as a field perceived in different ways depending on the audience. The first part of the paper discusses the reasons behind the seemingly 'backwardness' of 'Balkan' archaeology compared to 'European' archaeology by focusing on the myth of the perpetual progress of European archaeology, funding politics, and university rankings and access to publishing schemes. Subsequently, it is argued that the chasm between 'European' and 'Balkan' archaeology is reflected in 'Greek' archaeology which is traditionally linked to sites in Southern Greece, largely ignoring Northern Greece and its Balkan connotations. Data driven from the work of the foreign schools in Greece and the way state archaeology treats the area are combined to further demonstrate this chasm within 'Greek' archaeology. Finally, in the last part of the paper, a few preliminary thoughts are provided in order to bridge the different gaps and truly diversify archaeology as a discipline.

Europe and the Balkans or Three contributing factors in the perpetuation of the 'backwardness' of 'Balkan' archaeology

The relationship between Europe and the Balkans has always been both a turbulent and a tainted one. Owing to the peculiar political circumstances mentioned above surrounding the Balkan states, the region as a whole is frequently perceived as the 'other' of the rest of Europe. This alterity of the Balkans and its equation in Western imagination to a somewhat 'backward' or 'primitive' region (Todorova 1997 [2009]) is of course multifaceted and aspects of it are unavoidably echoed in archaeological discourse. By analogy, 'Balkan' archaeology is equally 'backward' since it rarely makes use of the latest theoretical models, nor does it apply the fanciest new scientific analyses (Babić 2014; 2015; see also Barrett 2016; Ribeiro 2016; 2021). Additionally, the fact that 'archaeological culture' is still the most dominant approach in 'Balkan' Archaeology does not really create an ideal context in which the sub-field that is 'Balkan' archaeology could reach its full potential (Gori & Ivanova 2017: 5–8). Granted, from a Western European perspective, 'Balkan' archaeology, with its seemingly outmoded theories and practices might indeed be perceived as outdated despite warnings against such approaches (Hamilakis 1996). Yet,

there are three main factors behind this perception, which greatly contribute to the perpetuation of 'Balkan' archaeology as a somewhat 'backward' one.

The sequential progress of archaeology

The first of these contributing factors is the myth of the sequential progress of both archaeological theory and the scientific methods employed both in the field and especially in the lab. Both of these large sets of approaches are frequently organised in a chronological order, from those proposed in the early 20th century to the latest ones. In this linear progress of theories and methodologies, 'new' is the new sexy, while earlier concepts are often viewed as outdated (Babić 2014; 2015). Consequently, anyone not adopting the latest methods is typically seen as not having familiarised themselves with those, leading to their work to also be regarded as outdated. However, this seemingly endless invention of new theories and scientific analyses is not always a real advancement from past approaches. In other words, progress for the sake of progress is not a real advancement that promotes innovative approaches which in turn create new knowledge (Ribeiro 2016). It is rather the ambition of typically tenured, white, male, academics of mature age and with a privileged socio-economic background to 'dethrone' the leading scholars of the past generations in order to assert their dominance within the field (Sherratt 2011: 14).

Furthermore, these methods are not even unanimously accepted within 'European' archaeology since even the term itself is a vague and problematic one (Babić et al. 2017). Accordingly, a lot have been written especially over the last couple of years either in 'defence' or 'against' things (e.g. Olsen 2010; Harman & Witmore 2023 cf. Barrett 2016; Ribeiro 2016) while a similar critique has been voiced against new scientific analyses (Maran 2019; 2022). For instance, while material-wise both British and German archaeologists might be interested in similar themes, their approaches can significantly vary. This does not necessarily mean that one is inherently superior or inferior to the other but rather that they stem from different academic traditions. In regards to 'Balkan' archaeology, most of it is still largely influenced from the German school of thought which only seemingly appears atheoretical. In reality, these approaches are influenced by the tradition of positivism, a school of thought which frequently makes non-Western archaeologists reluctant to participate in theoretical debates (Babić et al. 2017: 14).

Rather than passively accepting the latest theory or scientific analysis that is frequently conceived and subsequently applied to a completely different context (Palavestra & Babić 2016; Ribeiro 2016; 2022), archaeologists working in the Balkans should employ a more critical model, one which will take into consideration both the latest advancements but also the nature of the material and the socio-cultural circumstances attested in the Balkans. This means that a more critical stance should be adopted towards concepts developed elsewhere before applied to material from the Balkans. A reconciliation is therefore indeed much needed between more 'conservative' and 'progressive' approaches, one that will make use of the vast array of concepts and analyses that we now have at our disposal before creating models appropriate to the study of each individual site. However, there is an important obstacle which greatly hinders this reconciliatory approach, one which often acts as a mechanism of power: funding.

Funding from Europe

Funding is among the main reasons behind the seemingly backwardness of 'Balkan' archaeology. New technologies, especially the ones that are lab-based often do not come cheaply and the considerable lack of funding for those in countries with less resources creates a particular power dynamic within the continent. Given that the Balkan countries could be classified among those with less resources available to archaeologists, people working on material from sites located there typically seek external funding. Funding for research is in many cases limited in Balkan countries which were hit hard by the financial crisis of 2008. European grants which might have been used to kickstart a more inclusive archaeology are unfortunately unevenly distributed among the European countries. It is telling that during the Horizon 2020 programme (2014-2020) the three largest economies of Europe, United Kingdom, France, and Germany, received over 40 percent of the total funds, amounting to 22 billion euros, while countries like Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania combined received less than 1 billion (Schiermeier 2020). Moreover, Greece, Croatia and Bulgaria – the only Balkan countries that are EU members – collectively received less than 2 billions.

This uneven distribution of funds greatly contributes to the perpetuation of the notion of 'backwardness' in regard to 'Balkan' archaeology, as its practitioners simply cannot afford to use the same techniques as their counterparts in other parts of Europe. This funding-based inability is often perceived as lack of awareness or familiarisation with the latest techniques which in turn positions 'Balkan' archaeology at an earlier, outdated stage in the supposedly sequential development of archaeological theory and technologies. In light of this conundrum, Balkan archaeologists either pursue collaborations with foreign institutions or ship their material to labs based in other countries for analysis. What therefore frequently develops over time is dependencies and not truly meaningful collaborations, given that the involved parts are not participating on an equal basis (Niklasson 2013; 2016: 235–250). Instead, their relationship is typically characterised by a very specific power dynamic tilting in favour of the most well-funded party, which holds both the knowledge and the means to apply this knowledge to the material (Ribeiro 2022; Ribeiro & Giamakis 2023).

In turn, this situation further complicates things within each Balkan country as what is essentially created is a two-tier system between well-established archaeologists working on well-known sites and others working on lesser-known sites (Heath-Stout & Hannigan 2020). The first group is often able to use the social status of their site in order to develop their networks and their international contacts in order to gain access to the latest technologies. In contrast to that, the second group which typically operates in what is often perceived as lesser-known sites, but arguably of equal importance to both the scholarly and the wider community, has a hard-time gaining access to the latest methodologies due to the lack of funding. This fragmentation can also take a geographical form as in the case of Greece in which the South is the primary part of the country where the foreign schools mostly operate, while the North is usually overlooked, a phenomenon which is further discussed later in the present paper.

University Rankings and Access to Publishing Schemes

A third major contributing factor in the perceived 'backwardness' of 'Balkan' Archaeology which to a large extent stems from funding is the reproduction of stereotypes through university rankings and differential access to publishing schemes. Starting with the first one, it should not come as a surprise that universities found in richer economies tend to occupy the top places in world rankings. For subjects like archaeology according to the QS (2023) the only universities located in the Balkans that made it into the top 250 list were the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece (51-100) and the University of Belgrade, Serbia (201-240). At the same time, the top ten universities for archaeology were all but one (Leiden, the Netherlands) North American and British institutions with the top three being Cambridge, Oxford and UCL. Similar to this, the Times Higher Education (2022) ranks the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece between 301-400, the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece at 401-500, the University of Belgrade, Serbia at 501-600, and the University of Zagreb, Croatia at 601+. Once again, the top ten spots are taken by North American and British institutions this time with no exception till the thirteenth position which is occupied by the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany.

The problems with those rankings and the arbitrary nature of the evaluation criteria have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere (Ribeiro & Giamakis 2023). At this point it will suffice to stress the fact that Balkan universities score so low in lists created based on criteria conceived elsewhere does not reflect the quality of work produced in these universities. Given that the evaluation criteria are closely associated with access to resources it is perhaps unsurprising that the universities that top these lists are primarily North American and British ones. Contrary to most Balkan countries where higher education is free (Brajković 2016), these institutions support themselves through hefty fees due to the adoption of a neo-liberal model of organisation (Moshenska 2021). An obvious correlation can be suggested here – students who can afford to attend those universities are upper and middle class and can participate in summer schools, international conferences and excavations therefore further enhancing their inherited economic and social capital. In contrast to that, given that education in the Balkans is free the student body could afford to come from a more diverse socio-economic background. Students there are however more limited in their career developing choices as there are socio-economical limitations in regards to both their personal and institutional circumstances.

Nowhere else are these institutional limitations so evident than from publishing (Heath-Stout 2020). As discussed elsewhere, open access publishing is a great way to increase your visibility through multiple outputs and attract more funding to your projects (Ribeiro & Giamakis 2023: 11). Yet, the unreasonably high costs traditionally associated with open access schemes are contributing to the perpetuation of gatekeeping. For example, the cost of an open access article in the Journal of Archaeological Science is $3,920, while in the Journal of Archaeological Research $2,890. Researchers based in Balkan universities are therefore facing a significant barrier to publishing in those journals not due to the quality of their work but due to the financial resources available to them which are significantly lesser compared to their counterparts based in North America and Western Europe.

Moreover, it is not just the financial limitations that researchers from the Balkans have to overcome but also language barriers, and status and affiliation biases. A recent study focusing on the American Journal of Archaeology revealed that the majority (56%) of authors were nationals of the United States (154), followed by the United Kingdom (32), Greece and Canada (tied at 17), Italy (12), and Australia (11), making Greece the only Balkan country represented in this list (Heath-Stout et al. 2023: 157). All of these metrics, especially in regards to the so-called 'high' impact journals, are usually drawn for journals based in the English speaking world based on criteria of dubious quality and consistency. For instance, in the Scimago Journal and country rank (2022) in the field of archaeology, the highest ranked journal is Radiocarbon. On the same ranking the European Journal of Archaeology occupies the thirtieth position. Does this really mean that Radiocarbon's impact and prestige are that much higher than the European Journal of Archaeology's? What about the fact that eight out of the top ten journals are focused on archaeological science or that the only Balkan-based journal (Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry - Greece) occupies the forty-third position in the same table? How feasible really is for a researcher based in a Balkan country where financial resources and infrastructure are both limited to publish their paper in one of those 'high' impact journals especially the ones focused on archaeological science? Of course, for a selected few, academia might seem a truly meritocratic place because one is usually surrounded by peers of a similar background. Yet, the truth is that meritocracy in academia is a myth that favours specific parts of the society in specific parts of the world (Sandel 2021; Shott 2022; Ribeiro & Giamakis 2023) with the Balkan countries definitely not among those.

The peculiar case of a century-old chasm in 'Greek' Archaeology

In a much-publicised (and heated) debate in the Greek parliament going as far back as in 1976, the then conservative prime minister Konstantinos Karamanlis argued that 'Greece belongs to the West', only for the leader of the opposition and Greece's newly established centre-left party Andreas Papandreou to reply to him that 'Greece belongs to the Greeks' (I Avgi 1 Mar 2022). This decades-old debate (Herzfeld 1982; Zacharia 2008; Calotychos 2013; Steiris et al. 2016) is constantly lurking in the background in the Greek political scene, and every so often an incident will once again bring it back to life.

In relation to archaeology, it is often argued that Greek archaeology as practised in the Western World is primarily a product of western modernism (Shanks 1996; Hamilakis 2007; 2008; 2013). Greek antiquity, and by consequence archaeology, found significant support in the intellectual salons of nineteenth century Europe while it still largely remains a child of its time. Especially after the Greek War of independence and following the rise of the intellectual movement of Philhellenism, Greek antiquity was increasingly perceived as the foundation stone of nineteenth century Europe (Voutsaki & Cartledge 2017; Harloe et al. 2018). Soon after this, the excavations by Heinrich Schliemann and Arthur Evans further increased the grandeur of Greek Antiquity as evidenced by the archaeological remains. The material evidence significantly strengthened the centrality of Greek antiquity in the European collective consciousness. 'Greek' Archaeology therefore gradually came to be seen as an integral part of 'European' Archaeology in the same way that Greece came to be seen as an integral part of Europe. This is something that is still being

capitalised by Greece as it is telling that the country has been awarded 1.7 billion euros though Horizon 2020, while at same time the other two Balkan countries participating in the programme, Croatia and Bulgaria only received 138 and 161 millions respectively (European Commission - Funding and Tender Opportunities 2023). Yet, what is fascinating is that despite this somewhat central position of Greece within the European social imagination, the divide between 'European' and 'Balkan' Archaeology as described above is reflected in the microcosm of 'Greek' Archaeology itself.

More specifically, discussions featuring 'Greek' Archaeology are usually centred around southern Greece, while the northern part of the country typically consisted of Greek Epirus, Greek Macedonia and Greek Thrace is frequently absent from those. These regions are often either completely omitted, or only briefly discussed in archaeological syntheses contributing to the perpetuation of the perception of these areas as backward ones (Coldstream 1977 [2004]; Osborne 1996 [2009]; Lemos 2003; Knodell 2021). Northern Greece is therefore typically treated as an area peripheral to the ancient Greek world, both within archaeology but also in politics. In relation to ancient Macedonia in particular, the fact that for quite some time Philip II and Alexander III were perceived in very negative terms as the 'barbarians' who ended democracy in the Classical World certainly casted a shadow over the historiography of the region (Kotsakis 1998; Xydopoulos 2006: 31–46; Hamilakis 2007). Moreover, one could further attribute this exclusion of northern Greece from mainstream archaeological narratives to the political circumstances under which these regions, conventionally named the 'New Lands', were unified within the Greek Kingdom following a series of successive wars starting with the Balkans Wars of 1912–1913. With the exception of the Macedonian Front of 1915–1918 (Stefani et al. 2014; Shapland & Stefani 2017), these areas, for reasons not necessarily related to archaeology, were only excavated to a very limited degree up until the 1950s (Kotsakis 2017). It is precisely because of this seeming lack of sites comparable to those at Mycenae, Olympia or Delphi that Northern Greece remained largely underexplored and therefore absent from grand archaeological narratives. The influence of archaeological sites over the socio-political circumstances is further exemplified in the case of Crete which was also unified with Greece around the same time as the northern parts of the country in 1913. Yet, what is worth noting here is that Crete was never considered a somewhat backward region in the same way that northern Greece and Greek Macedonia in particular were, nor was it excluded from the main archaeological discourse. This recognition can largely be attributed to the excavations by Arthur Evans which predated the events of 1913 and made the site widely known.

Eventually all these socio-political disparities led to the creation of a regional chasm between southern and northern Greece. Southern Greece is usually perceived as the cornerstone of 'Greek' Archaeology and consequently inherently 'European'. Unfortunately, this perception led to the adoption of a 'purist' approach to antiquities which tried to eradicate its Ottoman monuments especially in Athens (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1999; Giannakopoulou 2015). In contrast to that, northern Greece is seen as a peripheral region to the core of Greek Antiquity, a region somewhat backward, which belongs to the Balkans. It is worth noting that despite the recent turn to the region's Ottoman past (Kolovos & Vionis 2019; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou 2020; 2022), these narratives have provoked a sense of almost resistance led by Greek authorities and certain

archaeologists typically based in Greece, who in certain instances approach the area as one which has to prove its 'Greekness' through its material culture to fend off any claims against this (e.g. Despoini 2009; Kottaridi 2014; 2016; cf. Gimatzidis 2018a; 2018b; Gori et al. 2017). The fact that this chasm was created and is still sustained by the complicated relationship between archaeology and politics is further evidenced by its perpetuation through primarily two channels. The first one is the way foreign archaeological schools operate within Greece, while the second is the way in which the Greek state manages archaeological projects in the northern part of the country.

Foreign schools and northern Greece as terra incognita

Foreign archaeological institutions are still primarily operating in southern Greece despite the fact that the recent excavations from at least the past three decades in northern Greece have uncovered an unprecedented breadth of archaeological discoveries. Therefore they, perhaps unconsciously, reproduce the same kind of narratives and ideas that were prevalent in the intellectual salons of 19th century Europe in regards to what can be classified as 'Greek' Archaeology, and consequently act as the foundation stone for Europe. Data drawn from the websites of the four major archaeological schools in Greece, the British School at Athens (BSA), the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCA), the École française d'Athènes (EFA) and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen (DAI Athen) further showcase their preference towards projects in southern Greece. It is telling that only one of the nine recent projects funded by the BSA took place in northern Greece in Olynthos (British School at Athens - Research 2023), while only two out of the eighteen total projects organised by ASCA were in roughly the same region in Molyvoti, Thrace and on the island of Samothrace (American School of Classical Studies at Athens - Affiliated Projects 2023). EFA-sponsored excavations seem a little more evenly spread out as four of the seven projects are located in the north part of the country (Thasos, Philippoi, Dikili-Tash, Terpni) (École Française D'athènes - Sites De Fouilles 2023). In contrast to that, the DAI has no active projects in Northern Greece even though it is currently funding at least seven excavations in Greece (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Projekte 2023). Admittedly, the fact that the number of permits that each foreign school can receive for fieldwork is limited to three permits for independent projects and another three for collaborations with the Greek Archaeological Service hinders their capacity in regards to the number of active projects (Law No 3028/2002). However, their fascination and insistence with specific parts of the country is far from incidental. All these schools have long been associated with specific sites in southern Greece ever since their establishment in the nineteenth century. The BSA are still actively involved in Knossos and generally in Crete, ASCA in the Athenian Agora, EFA in Delphoi and Delos, and DAI in Olympia and Kerameikos. Yet, in some instances as for example in the case of the Athenian Agora, the circumstances under which permits were given could at the very least be characterised as dubious (Hamilakis 2013). Despite that, it is telling that these close links which were the outcome of certain political circumstances evident in the newly founded kingdom of Greece in the nineteenth century combined with ideas on what could be identified as 'ancient Greece' cultivated in the European intellectual salons, are still present. The foreign schools are still actively engaged

in these locations, essentially continuing a centuries-old tradition associating themselves with certain prestige-bearing locations found in southern Greece. Of course, this is not to say that foreign schools and the allure of the well-known sites in southern Greece are the ones to blame for the absence of archaeological projects associated with them in northern Greece. The treatment of this part of the country almost as a *terra incognita* from the foreign institutes is only one side of the coin, with the other one being its treatment as a contested territory by the Greek state, a region which has to re-affirm its 'Greekness' at any given opportunity.

State and archaeology in northern Greece

As already discussed above, most of the archaeological syntheses on ancient Greece exclude territories such as Northern Greece, placing them on the periphery of the ancient Greek world (Coldstream 1977 [2003]; Osborne 1996 [2009]). When they do refer to these areas they only do so briefly, without going into much detail about either the sites or the archaeological material discovered there (Whitley 2001; Lemos 2003; Hall 2007 [2014]). Of course, archaeological reasons do exist behind this tendency as historical ones do too. Most of these syntheses typically start with the Mycenaean civilisation, then proceed to the so-called Dark Ages, and from then to the tripartite distinction between Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic, all of them placed within certain centuries. Given the fact that Greek Macedonia does not follow the exact same chronological development (Gimatzidis 2020; 2022; Gimatzidis & Weninger 2020), the area is typically viewed as a backward one. This archaeology-based misconception which is also tied to the current socio-political circumstances prevalent in the area is of course nothing new. What is interesting here is the way the Greek state has managed this situation and communicated with the wider public though the media. The most high-profile archaeological news, including discoveries, usually attracts a lot of media attention while politicians, particularly conservative ones, frequently take advantage of this in order to promote their political agendas. The area is still treated by the state as an in-between territory that needs to prove its 'Greekness' to the outside world, a narrative which in turn unavoidably affects the archaeological narratives and reinforces already present stereotypes (Sakellariadi 2021: 56). The significance of the archaeological discoveries and their close association with the political scene is evidenced by the prime ministers' visits to them. The most well-known example is of course the case of Amphipoli which attracted the world's interest in 2012-2014 (Christidis 2014). This is not the place for an in-depth analysis of the excavations and the circumstances under which this was carried out (Hamilakis 2016; Plantzos 2017; Giamakis 2022). What is of relevance here is the phrases that the then prime minister Antonis Samaras used to describe the discovery to the Greek public. During his visit to the excavation in August 2014, he exclaimed that the "*land of our Macedonia continues to move us and impress us*" while he proceeded by saying that this discovery, which is described as a "*unique treasure*", "*weaves a unique mosaic of our Greek history, for which all Greek should be proud*" (Proto Thema 12 Aug 2014). A month later, at the annual Thessaloniki International Fair, he further mentioned that the excavations at the Kasta tumulus at Amphipolis, provide "*yet another confirmation of the Greek identity of our Macedonia*". He further expanded by accusing the Republic of North Macedonia that "*at the same time that some people are building modern*

folly statues and to appropriate our history, ancient Macedonians and the Macedonian land themselves are speaking out" (I Efimerida 6 Sep 2014).

Following the Prespa Agreement in 2018, the bilateral treaty between Greece and North Macedonia relationships between the two countries were supposedly smoothened. Yet, nationalistic overtones in public speeches did not completely disappear from the public sphere. A recent case in point is the new museum at Aegae, the first capital of the ancient Macedonian kingdom which was officially opened in 2022 by the current Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis. While it is not uncommon for politicians to open such institutions, his presence there was of rather symbolic value as was his opening speech. The Prime minister stated that "*the burials at Vergina are of artistic, historical but above all national importance*" while continuing by encouraging all of the Greeks to visit them in order to feel proud and see the "*unity of the Greek civilisation*". He later continued his speech by emphasising that further research in the wider area is much needed in order to substantiate the continuation of the ancient values through Christianity, implying the strong and uninterrupted continuation of Hellenism throughout the ages (Prime Minister's Office 19 Dec 2022).

Beyond dichotomies OR against the chasm itself

What this paper has shown so far is that 'European' and 'Balkan' archaeology are usually seen as polar opposites rather than closely intertwined terms, and that this chasm is also reflected in Greece, a country frequently torn between its geopolitical position and its cultural capital. Naturally this situation is reflected in archaeology, deeply influencing its practices and approaches, given its character as an inherently political discipline. Different theoretical frameworks, access to funding and publishing schemes, the work of the foreign archaeological schools and the role of the state in communicating archaeological research to the wider public, are all enmeshed in the same system in which various types of archaeologies emerge (Sakellariadi 2008; 2011). It would be naïve to assume that there are easy solutions to complicated situations in which archaeology is but a mere constituting factor among many others. Yet, if archaeology is really sincere about diversifying its practices and tackling its endemic inequalities, then it is worth trying to move beyond labels and dichotomies.

That is of course not to say that there is something inherently wrong with labels, categorisation and classification. Labels can be useful in helping us better understand the material we are studying, but more often than not they are deeply embedded in contexts carrying a particular ideological load. Unfortunately, despite Trigger's (1984) cautious warnings against taking labels too literally, archaeologists are still typically keen to put theories, techniques, and the material itself into tight little boxes. Therefore, labels such as 'European', 'Balkan', 'Classical' have certain connotations based on the contexts in which they first emerged. The question here should not be how to get rid of those labels or to change the context in which they emerged but rather on influencing the current narratives around them. In other words, we should stop reproducing contexts that perpetuate the ideological load that these terms carry. Different steps could be taken at different levels if archaeology is really to diversify its practices and ultimately have a viable future in an increasingly neo-liberal and technocratic world.

The first step would be to encourage truly meaningful collaborations between foreign institutions and Balkan-based ones, especially in terms of field projects. Taking the example of Greece as described above, most of the foreign excavations typically consisted of foreign participants. If local archaeologists did take part in those, this was in limited numbers. This is harmful to both the foreign institutes and the Balkan-based ones (Ribeiro & Giamakis 2023). Foreign archaeologists miss out on the chance to experience a different kind of archaeology, therefore expanding their knowledge of how the discipline is perceived and subsequently practised in the country in which they are working. Having this context will help them move beyond stereotypes such as 'backwardness' while greatly enhancing their understanding of the people currently residing in the area in which they are excavating. As for local archaeologists, these too miss out on the opportunities to receive training on the latest techniques or familiarise themselves with the latest theories, thus excluding them from the international academic debates.

This is of course not to say that the current situation is what it used to be 20 or 30 years ago or that the number of collaborative projects has not increased in the last 10 years. No one denies that change has been happening. However, the most pertinent question here is for whom have things really changed over this past decade. As Heath-Stout and Hannigan (2020) have shown, due to the hefty fees that these projects typically have, especially for their field schools, a large number of students are being excluded from these. The only way for students from disadvantaged backgrounds to participate in these field schools is to either pay the participation fee which is frequently estimated at around a few thousands of euros or by knowing the 'right' people (Ribeiro & Giamakis 2023). It follows that the point here is not to create an oversimplified chasm between foreign archaeologists using the latest developments in the field and local archaeologists who simply cannot afford these techniques but rather to adopt a more ethical approach. However, archaeologists should always be mindful of the fact that familiarisation does not automatically equate to adoption. While local archaeologists should be given the chance to familiarise themselves with the latest techniques, this has to be done in a respectful manner. Local practices might still be preferable in local contexts for multiple reasons (Palavestra & Babić 2016). Mutually respectful interactions, hybridity and flexibility should be at the core of this approach for new narratives to emerge.

To what extent the latest techniques could be applied to the Balkans is a matter of context that might differ between sites and regions (Palavestra & Babić 2016). Regardless of that, familiarisation with new techniques could potentially increase the possibilities of securing funding for projects proposed by archaeologists working in the Balkans. As already discussed above, Balkan countries are receiving a tiny fraction of European funding. One of the possible contributing factors in this is that their proposals might often be considered as less attractive, especially when these do not always involve the latest techniques or theories coming out of, primarily, West Europe and North America, a movement aptly named the Third Science Revolution (Kristiansen 2014; Ribeiro 2019). Familiarisation with these theoretical and methodological frameworks, with adjustment and adoption to an extent suitable to the material and archaeological contexts found in the Balkans, could hopefully contribute to 'bridging' the gap between the funding received by Balkan countries and the rest of Europe.

This is of course not to suggest that Balkan countries need to fully adopt theories and technologies conceived in completely different environments, but rather to suggest a two-way constant dialectic process between archaeological practice in Balkans and the rest of Europe. Balkan archaeologies will always have a region-specific character. There is nothing inherently wrong with that, in the same way that Iberian or Scandinavian archaeology will always have a distinct character too. Yet, what these archaeologies do not have is the prerogative connotation of backwardness usually associated with the Balkans. Familiarisation with the latest advancements in the field outside of Balkan therefore does not mean that 'Balkan' archaeologies should be practised in the exact same way as other archaeologies. Which brings us to the next step – multivocality (Gimatzidis 2018a).

The need for immediate results based on hard evidence is increasingly becoming commonplace in a neo-liberal world. Yet, a discipline as varied as archaeology, a methodological and theoretical meeting point of hard science, humanities, and social sciences, should embrace its inherently dialectic nature. Multivocality stemming from different origins, approaches and interpretations should be accepted as a main constituent of our discipline. It is under this light that the differences between Europe and the Balkans should be understood. While 'European' archaeology might be strongly influenced by colonialism, 'Balkan' archaeology largely emerged in a nationalistic environment (Trigger 1989 [2006]; Gosden 2005; Hamilakis 2007; Voutsaki & Cartledge 2017; Giamakis 2022). Balkan nations started gaining their independence mainly from the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Many of them were subjugated by the Ottomans for nearly four centuries. Therefore, one of the main aims of archaeology as practised within these newly established states was to provide evidence of a continuation of each given nation throughout the ages (Hamilakis 2007; Damaskos & Plantzos 2008; Tziovas 2014; Novaković 2021).

No state archaeology is innocent of this. Slovenes were linking themselves to Venetians and Etruscans, Albanians and Bosnians to Illyrians, Serbs to the neolithic Vinča, while Croats were searching for evidence of their supposedly Iranian origin. The common denominator between all of these is the fact that all of these populations were seeking to link themselves to pre-Slavic peoples in order to trace back their origin during antiquity and not just in medieval times, when Slavs came into the region (Novaković 2021: 301). Greece, being in a favourable position given its ancient monuments, was among the first Balkan nations to suggest this diachronic continuation of the nation throughout the ages. The monumental work of Konstantinos Paparigopoulos was the first to bring forth a tripartite system of historical periods starting with ancient Greece to the Byzantine Empire and, from there, to modern Greece, therefore implying the unbreakable continuation of the Greek nation through the ages (Hamilakis 2007). This process is not just a historical reality but rather a multifaceted fact which influences the way archaeology is being practised, history is being taught, and bilateral relationships between nations are formed (Papakosta 2017; Skoulariki 2020; Sakellariadi 2021). One has to look no further than the political scene within the Republic of North Macedonia to see similarities between this and the phenomena mentioned here in regards to the rest of the Balkans states (Gori 2017).

Of course, all of this is not to say that since the origins are different, one should be content with the way 'Balkan' archaeology is currently being practised. As it has been noted,

nationalism, as primarily expressed through cultural historical approaches, is still the primary theoretical model dominating 'Balkan' archaeology (Maran 2017; Tsirtsoni 2017; Gori 2017; 2018; Gavranović 2018; Gimatzidis 2018a). Therefore, no-one denies that 'Balkan' archaeology is in dire need of moving beyond nationalism, but no more than 'European' archaeology needs to go through a more rigorous decolonisation process. Both have plenty of room for improvements and changes in their narratives owing to the particular historical circumstances in which they were conceived. It was the historical circumstances behind the conception of 'European' and 'Balkan' archaeologies that affected archaeological narratives, museums and heritage management, and the teaching of history, albeit in a different way. This does not mean that one system is inherently inferior or superior to the other, but rather that they are just different with aspects of them overlapping and interacting with one another. Overcoming this misconception, especially the one where 'European' archaeology is viewed as the pinnacle of the discipline, would be truly instrumental if archaeologists are really interested in diversifying their field (Marín-Aguilera 2021).

As for the reflection of the chasm in the microcosm that is Greece, this can only be abated once wider processes towards eradicating existing inequalities are in place. In order for archaeological sites in northern Greece to reach their full potential, their Balkan connotations should not be perceived nor treated as a drawback but as a byproduct of the historical processes evident in the region throughout history. Yet, this can only happen when the term 'Balkan' will itself stop being used in a pejorative way. Additionally, bilateral diplomatic relationships between Greece and its northern neighbours, especially the Republic of North Macedonia, will be crucial in the development and management of archaeological sites in the north part of the country. The recently signed Prespa Agreement between the two countries was conceived as a step towards this direction but has unfortunately also contributed towards political polarisation in both countries (Skoulariki 2020; Heraclides 2021). Given the firm grip that politics has over archaeology, the political situation is one that has to be smoothed out before state archaeology in Greece makes any significant effort to change the current narratives regarding northern Greece. Only then can the latter finally stop being treated as a contested region that has to prove its 'Greekness'.

Granted, significant steps towards an 'internalisation' of the research currently carried out in the region have been made, as the participants' background in this year's annual meeting for the archaeological work in Greek Macedonia and Thrace so lucidly demonstrated. According to the official programme (AEMTH 2023), from the 68 number of papers presented there, 11 had contributions from foreign researchers, an ever-increasing number especially over the past decade. However, what is telling is that, with the exception of the American excavation at Samothrace and the Canadian one in Argilos, none of the remaining projects were officially under the auspices of any of the foreign archaeological institutions in Greece. Consequently, even though individual researchers have recognised the significance of the area for the discipline, archaeological institutions are reluctant to truly move beyond their founding ideas regarding the 'splendour' of Classical Greece. It therefore seems that the shadow of the context in which archaeology was perceived as a discipline in the nineteenth century still lies heavily – either consciously or unconsciously – on current archaeological thinking.

Conclusions

'European', 'Balkan' and 'Greek' archaeolog(ies)y are all labels created within specific historical contexts. Given that each of these terms carried a certain ideological load, our responsibility should be to first recognise and subsequently face this by empowering traditionally sidelined groups of people involved in them. If archaeology is really sincere regarding its declarations on equality and diversity, then a first step towards this should be to tackle these phenomena still present within its practices. As long as labels provide us with useful tools to categorise, analyse, and better understand the archaeological material, their use is beneficial to the discipline. However, the moment people start using them to compile official or unofficial rankings, they are perpetuating stereotypical notions associated with the regions linked to these terms. A reconsideration of their context is therefore much needed if the discipline is to move beyond past divides. As this paper has hopefully shown, the reproduction of stereotypical notions and relationships between different regional archaeologies is not only harmful to the discipline, but it also has wider implications given that archaeology is intrinsically linked to politics. Notions such as the continuous upwards trajectory of archaeological theory and science, the 'backwardness' of the Balkans, and the regional divide in 'Greek' archaeology, are all more than just some abstract theoretical constructs as their constant and multilevel reproduction leads to the emergence of phenomena such as funding politics. While there are no easy solutions to these issues, identifying, addressing, and ultimately tackling those issues whilst promoting a culture of multivocality would be of paramount importance in bridging the various gaps that are still shaping the discipline's methods and practices.

References

AEMTH 2023. Το Αρχαιολογικο Εργο Στη Μακεδονια Και Τη Θρακη 9 Mar 2023. https://www.aemth.gr/. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS - AFFILIATED PROJECTS 21 Apr 2023. https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/excavations/ascsa-affiliated-field-projects. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.

BABIĆ, S. 2014. Identity, Integration and Power Relations in the Study of the Iron Age, in: STODDARD, S. & POPA, C. (eds.), *Fingerprinting the Iron Age: Integrating South-Eastern Europe into the Debate*. Oxford: Oxbow: 295–302.

BABIĆ, S. 2015. Theory in Archaeology, in: WRIGHT, J.D. (ed.), Intern*ational Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 2nd edition, Vol 1. Oxford: Elsevier: 899–904.

BABIĆ, S., KARL, R., MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M., MIZOGUCHI, K., PALUDAN-MÜLLER, C., MURRAY, T. J., SCHLANGER, N. & VANZETTI, A. 2017. What is 'European Archaeology'? What Should it be? *European Journal of Archaeology* 20: 4–35.

BARRETT, J. C. 2016. The new antiquarianism? *Antiquity* 90: 1681–1686.

BARRETT, J.C. 2021. *Archaeology and its Discontents. Why Archaeology Matters*. London: Routledge.

BRAJKOVIĆ. L. 2016. Higher Education in Western Balkans: Recent Trends and Challenges. *International Higher Education* 87: 27–29.

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS - RESEARCH 21 Apr 2023. https://www.bsa.ac.uk/research-2/. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.

CALOTYCHOS V. 2013. *The Balkan Prospect: Identity, Culture, and Politics in Greece after 1989*. New York: Palgrave.

CHRISTIDES, G. 2014. Greeks captivated by Alexander-era tomb at Amphipolis. British Broadcasting Corporation, 14 September 2014. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-29239529 Accessed 21 Apr 2023.

COLDSTREAM, N. 1977[2004]. *Geometric Greece 900–700 BC*. Second edition. London: Routledge.

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT - PROJEKTE. Accessed 21 Apr 2023. https://www.dainst.org/en/dai/meldungen. 21 Apr 2023.

DAMASKOS, D. & PLANTZOS, D. (eds.) 2008. *Archaeology and the Hellenic Identity in the Twentieth Century*. Athens: Benaki Museum.

DESPOINI, A. 2009. Gold Funerary Masks. *Antike Kunst* 52: 20–65.

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES - SITES DE FOUILLES 2023. https://www.efa.gr/en/recherche/sites-de-fouilles. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION-FUNDING AND TENDER OPPORTUNITIES 21 Apr 2023. https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/horizon-dashboard. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.

FOTIADIS, M. 2001. Imagining Macedonia in Prehistory, ca. 1900-1930. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14: 115–135.

GAVRANOVIĆ, M. 2018. No Group, no People? Archaeological Record and Creation of Groups in the Western Balkans, in: GIMATZIDIS, S., PIENIAZEK, M. & MANGALOGLU-VOTRUBA, S. (eds.), *Archaeology across Frontiers and Borderlands*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press: 427–447.

GAVRANOVIĆ, M., HEILMANN, D., KAPURAN, A. & VERČÍK, M. (eds.) 2020 *Contacts and Relationships between the Balkans and Adjacent Regions in the Late Bronze / Iron Age (13th–5th Centuries BCE). Proceedings of the Conference held between 15–17 September, 2017 Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade*. Rahden: Westf.

GIAMAKIS, C. 2022. The role of ethnicity in Greek Archaeology: A postcolonialist approach, in: DOĞAN, E, KAERCHER, K, ANTCZAK, O., ALDAY, C., PINTO LEITÃO PEREIRA, M., HASSLER, P., SHAKHMURADYAN, M., THOMPSON, P. & LIN, M. (eds.), *Diversity in Archaeology. Proceedings of the Cambridge Annual Student Archaeology Conference 2020/21*. Oxford: Archaeopress: 101–110.

GIANNAKOPOULOU, G. 2015. Modern Athens: Illuminating the 'Shadows of the Ancestors'. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 33: 73–103.

GIMATZIDIS, S. & WENINGER, B. 2020. Radiocarbon dating the Greek Protogeometric and Geometric periods: The evidence of Sindos. *PLoS ONE* 15://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0232906.

GIMATZIDIS, S. 2018a. Claiming the Past, Conquering the Future: Archaeological Narratives in Northern Greece and the Central Balkans, in: GIMATZIDIS, S., PIENIAZEK, M. & MANGALOGLU-VOTRUBA, S. (eds.), *Archaeology across Frontiers and Borderlands*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press: 27–54.

GIMATZIDIS, S. 2018b. Northern Greece and the central Balkans, in: HASELGROVE, C., REBAY-SALISBURY, K. & WELLS, P. S. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Iron Age*. Oxford: University Press.

GIMATZIDIS S. 2020. The economy of early Greek colonisation in the northern Aegean. *Journal of Greek Archaeology* 5: 243–262.
GIMATZIDIS S. 2022. Early Greek Colonisation in the Northern Aegean: A New Perspective from Mende, in: COLOMBI, C., PARISI, V., DALLY, O., GUGGISBERG, M. & PIRAS, G. (eds.), *Comparing Greek Colonies: Mobility and Settlement Consolidation from Southern Italy to the Black Sea (8th – 6th Century BC)*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter: 52–67.
GORI, M. & IVANOVA, M. (eds.), 2017. *Balkan Dialogues: Negotiating Identity between Prehistory and the Present*. London: Routledge.
GORI, M. 2017. Stories From a Changing City. Heritage Places and Identity Performances in Former-Yugoslavia, in: VON HESBERG, H., KUNOW, J. & OTTEN, TH. (eds.), *Stadt – Erinnerung –Denkmal. Positionen zur Validierung des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. Worms: 50–56.
GORI, M. 2018. Bronze Age and the embedded Macedonian Question, in, in: GIMATZIDIS, S., PIENIAZEK, M. & MANGALOGLU-VOTRUBA, S. (eds.), *Archaeology across Frontiers and Borderlands*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press: 391–440.
GORI, M., LERA, P., OIKONOMIDIS, S., PAPAYIANNIS, A. & TSONOS, A. 2017. Practicing Archaeology and researching present identities in no man's land: a view from the Tri-National Prespa Lake, in: GORI, M. & IVANOVA, M. (eds.), *Balkan Dialogues: Negotiating Identity between Prehistory and the Present*. London: Routledge: 254–270.
GOSDEN, C. 2005. *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cambridge and New York*:* Cambridge University Press.
HALL, J.M. 2007[2014]. *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200-479 BCE*, 2nd Edition. *Malden and Oxford*: Wiley Blackwell.
HAMILAKIS, Y. & YALOURI, E. 1996. Antiquities as Symbolic Capital in Modern Greek Society. *Antiquity* 70: 117–129.
HAMILAKIS, Y. 1996. Through the looking glass: nationalism, archaeology and the politics of identity. *Antiquity* 60: 975–978.
HAMILAKIS, Y. 2007. *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
HAMILAKIS, Y. 2008. Decolonizing Greek Archaeology: Indigenous Archaeologies, Modernist Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique, in: DAMASKOS, D. & PLANTZOS, D. (eds.), *Archaeology and the Hellenic Identity in the Twentieth Century*. Athens: Benaki Museum: 273–284.
HAMILAKIS, Y. 2009. Indigenous Hellenisms/Indigenous Modernities: Classical Antiquity, Materiality, and Modern Greek Society, in: G. BOYS-STONES, B. GRAZIOSI & PH. VASUNIA (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 19–31.
HAMILAKIS, Y. 2013. Double Colonization: The Story of the Excavations of the Athenian Agora (1924–1931). *Hesperia:* 153–177.
HAMILAKIS, Y. 2016. Some Debts Can Never be Repaid: The Archaeo-Politics of the Crisis. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 34: 27–64.
HARLOE, K., MOMIGLIANO, N & FARNOUX, A. (eds.), 2018. *Hellenomania*. Abingdon: Routledge.
HARMAN, G. & WITMORE, C. 2023. *Objects Untimely: Object-Oriented Philosophy and Archaeology*. Cambridge and Hoboken: Polity Press.
HEATH-STOUT, L. 2020. Who Writes about Archaeology? An Intersectional Study of Authorship in Archaeological Journals. *American Antiquity* 85: 407–426.

HEATH-STOUT, L. & HANNIGAN, E. 2020. Affording archaeology: How field school costs promote exclusivity. *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 82, 123–133.
HEATH-STOUT, L. E., ERNY, G. & NAKASSIS, D. 2023. Demographic dynamics of publishing in the American journal of Archaeology. *American Journal of Archaeology* 127, 151–165.
HERACLIDES, A. 2021. *The Macedonian Question and the Macedonians. A History*. London: Routledge.
HERZFELD, M. 1982. *Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*. Austin: Berghahn Books.
I Avgi 1 Mar 2022. https://www.avgi.gr/parapolitika/409244_i-ellada-anikei-stoys-ellines-itan-synthima-toy-kke-1945. Accessed 18 Apr 2023.
I Efimerida 6 Sep 2014. https://www.iefimerida.gr/news/169219. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.
KNODELL, A. 2021. *Societies in transition in Early Greece. An Archaeological History*. Oakland: California University Press.
KOLOVOS, E. & VIONIS, A. 2019. Ottoman Archaeology in Greece: A New Research Field. *Archaeological Reports* 65: 145–156.
KOTSAKIS, K. 1998. The Past is Ours: Images of Greek Macedonia, in: L. MESKELL (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*. London: Routledge: 44–67.
KOTSAKIS, K. 2017. Trenches, Borders and Boundaries. Prehistoric Research in Greek Macedonia, IN: SHAPLAND, A. & STEFANI, E. (eds.), *Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines: The Macedonian Campaign (1915-19) and Its Legacy*. London and New York: Routledge: 58–68.
KOTTARID,I A. 2014. The Macedonians and the Bottiaeans, in: ANDREAKI-VLAZAKI, M & BALASKA, A (eds.), *The Greeks: Agamemnon to Alexander the Great*. Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sports: 208–223.
KOTTARIDI, A. 2016. Παλιές προκαταλήψεις και νέα ευρήματα: «Μακεδόνες ή Βοττιαίοι;», in GIANNOPOULOU, M & KALLINI, C (eds.), *Τιμητικός τόμος για την Στέλλα Δρούγου ἠχάδιν I*. Αθήνα: ΤΑΠΑ: 612–638.
KRISTIANSEN, K. 2014. Towards a New Paradigm? The Third Science Revolution and its Possible Consequences in Archaeology. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 22: 11–34.
Law No 3028/2002. Accessed on 21 Oct 2023.
https://www.culture.gov.gr/DocLib/g_1950.pdf
LEMOS, I. 2003. *The Protogeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
MARAN, J. 2017. Later Balkan Prehistory: A transcultural Perspective, in: GORI, M. & IVANOVA, M. (eds.), *Balkan Dialogues: Negotiating Identity between Prehistory and the Present*. London: Routledge: 17–37.
MARAN, J. 2019. Not 'cultures', but culture! The need for a transcultural perspective in archaeology, in: ABU-ER-RUB, L., BROSIUS, CH., MEURER, S., PANAGIOTOPOULOS, D. & RICHTER, S. (eds.), *Engaging Transculturality. Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge: 52–64.
MARAN, J. 2022. Archaeological Cultures, Fabricated Ethnicities and DNA Research: 'Minoans' and 'Mycenaeans' as Case Examples, in: DAVIDOVICH, U., YAHALOM-MACK, N. & MATSKEVICH, S. (eds.) *Material, Method, and Meaning Papers in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology in Honor of Ilan Sharon*. Münster: Zaphon: 7–26.

MARÍN-AGUILERA, B. 2021. Ceci n'est pas un subalterne. A Comment on Indigenous Erasure in Ontology-Related Archaeologies. *Archaeological Dialogues* 28: 133–139.
MOSHENSKA, G. 2021. Degrowth and archaeological learning beyond the neo-liberal university. *Archaeological Dialogues* 28, 19-21.
MOUDOPOULOS-ATHANASIOU, F. 2020. The Ruins of Others: Cases from the Ottoman Heritage of Konitsa (NW Greece). *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 38: 371–397.
MOUDOPOULOS-ATHANASIOU, F. 2022. *The Early Modern Zagori of Northwest Greece: An Interdisciplinary Archaeological Inquiry Into a Montane Cultural Landscape*. Leiden: Sidestone Press.
NIKLASSON, E. 2013. 'And we would like to thank …' The role of funding in Archaeology, in: KÄLLÉN, A. (ed.), *Making cultural history. New Perspectives on Western Heritage*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press: 151–161.
NIKLASSON, E. 2016. *Funding matters: archaeology and the political economy of the past in the EU*. Malmö: Holmbergs.
NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2021. *The History of Archaeology in the Western Balkans*. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press.
OLSEN, B. 2010. *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the ontology of objects*. Walnut Creek (CA): AltaMira.
OSBORNE, R. 1996 [2009]. *Greece in the Making 1200-479 BC*. Second Edition. London: Routledge.
PALAVESTRA A. & BABIĆ S. 2016. False Analogy: Transfer of Theories and Methods in Archaeology (The Case of Serbia). *European Journal of Archaeology* 19: 316–334.
PAPAKOSTA, K. 2017. Teaching ancient Greek history in Greek compulsory education: textual and ideological continuities and discontinuities. *Paedagogica Historica* 53: 477–489.
PLANTZOS, D. 2017. Amphipolitics: Archaeological Performance and Governmentality in Greece under the Crisis, in TZIOVAS, D. (ed.), *Greece in Crisis. The Cultural Politics of Austerity*: 65-84. London and New York: I.B.Tauris: 65–84.
Prime Minister's Office 19 Dec 2022. https://www.primeminister.gr/2022/12/19/30914. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.
Proto Thema 12 Aug 2014. https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/402026/tin-arhaia-amfipoli-episkeptetai-o-prothupourgos-adonis-samaras/. Accessed 21 Apr 2023.
QS 2023. https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/university-subject-rankings/2023/archaeologyrankings. Accessed on 21 Oct 2023.
RIBEIRO, A. & GIAMAKIS, C. 2023. On Class and Elitism in Archaeology. *Open Archaeology* 9. https://doi.org/10.1515/opar-2022-0309
RIBEIRO, A. 2016. Archaeology will be just fine. *Archaeological Dialogues* 23: 146–151.
RIBEIRO, A. 2019. Science, Data, and Case-Studies under the Third Science Revolution: Some Theoretical Considerations. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 27: 115–132.
RIBEIRO, A. 2021. Revisiting the Chinese Room: Looking for Agency in a World Packed with Archaeological Things. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 31: 533–541.
RIBEIRO, A. 2022. Methodological Anarchism Against Interdisciplinary Archaeology, in: RIBEIRO, A. & ION, A. (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Contentions in Archaeology*. Forum Kritische Archäologie 11: 93–105.
SAKELLARIADI, A. 2008. Public Challenges and the Private Ways of State Archaeology: The Case of Greece. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 10: 320-329.

SAKELLARIADI, A. 2011. *Archaeology for the People? Greek Archaeology and its Public: An Analysis of the Socio-Political and Economic Role of Archaeology in Greece*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University College London. Available online: http://hdl.handle.net/10442/hedi/35120.
SAKELLARIADI, A. 2021. Public Archaeology in Greece: A Review of the Current State of the Field. *Ex Novo: Journal of Archaeology* 6: 45–65.
SANDEL, M. J. 2021. *The tyranny of merit: What's become of the common good?* London: Penguin.
SCHIERMEIER, Q. 2021. Horizon 2020 by the numbers: how €60 billion was divided up among Europe's scientists. *Nature* pre-print (https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-020-03598-2).
SHANKS, M. 1996. *The Classical Archaeology of Greece: Experiences of the Discipline*. London: Routledge.
SHAPLAND, A. & STEFANI, E. (eds.), 2017. *Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines: The Macedonian Campaign (1915–19) and its Legacy*. London and New York: Routledge.
SHERRATT, E. 2011. Between Theory, Texts and Archaeology: Working with the shadows, in: DUISTERMAAT, K. & REGULSKI, I. (eds.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean. Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25th-29th October 2008*. Leuven: Peeters: 3–29.
SHOTT, M. J. 2022. Merit and placement in the American faculty hierarchy: Cumulative advantage in archaeology. *Plos One* 17.
SCIMAGO JOURNAL AND COUNTRY RANK 2022. https://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?area=1200&category=1204. Accessed on 21 Oct 2023.
SKOULARIKI, A. 2020. Political Polarisation in Greece: The Prespa Agreement, Left/Right Antagonism and the Nationalism/Populism Nexus. *South European Society and Politics* 25: 411–439.
STEFANI, E., MEROUSIS, N. & DIMOULA, A. (eds.) 2014. *A Century of Research in Prehistoric Macedonia 1912-2012*.Thessaloniki: Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.
STEIRIS, G., MITRALEXIS, S, & ARABATZIS, G. (eds.) 2016. *The Problem of Modern Greek Identity: From the Ecumene to the Nation-State*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION 2022. https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2023/subject-ranking/arts-and-humanities#!/length/25/subjects/3129/name/zagre/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats. Accessed on 21 Oct 2023.
TODOROVA, M. 1997[2009]. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
TRIGGER, B.G. 1984. Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist. *Man* 19: 355–370.
TRIGGER B.G. 1989 [2006]. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
TSIRTSONI, Z. 2017. Let's stop speaking of 'cultures'! Alternative means to assess historical developments in the prehistoric Balkans, in: GORI, M. & IVANOVA, M. (eds.), *Balkan Dialogues: Negotiating Identity between Prehistory and the Present*. London: Routledge: 64–84.
TZIOVAS, D. (ed.) 2014. *Greece in Crisis. The Cultural Politics of Austerity*: 65-84. London and New York: I.B.Tauris.

VOUTSAKI, S. & CARTLEDGE, P. (eds.), 2017. *Ancient Monuments and Modern Identities. A Critical History of Archaeology in 19th and 20th Century Greece*. London and New York: Routledge.

WHITLEY, J. 2001. *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WITMORE, C. 2007. Symmetrical archaeology. Excerpts of a manifesto. *World Archaeology* 39: 546–562.

WITMORE. C. 2014. Archaeology and the new materialisms. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 1: 203–224.

XYDOPOULOS I. K. 2006. *Social and Economic Relations between Macedonians and the Other Greeks*. Thessaloniki: Society For Macedonian Studies.

ZACHARIA K. 2008 (ed.) *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*. London: Routledge.

Queering Serbian Archaeology: Androcentrism, Heteronormativity, Gender and the Writing of (Pre)history

Uroš Matić
Institute for Classics, University of Graz

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.53-75

Abstract
In scholarly backroom discussions, archaeologies of the Balkans are often labelled as conservative and ignorant of gender studies, their impact on archaeology, and how it deals with gender in the past. Indeed, androcentrism and heteronormativity are commonly found in archaeological interpretations throughout the Balkans, but not there alone. In this paper I will analyse how gender and sexuality in the past have been approached by some archaeologists in Serbia, a west-central Balkan country, and argue that, although some positive changes can be detected more critical gender and queer archaeologies are direly needed for two reasons. First and foremost, theoretically informed approaches to gender, in contrast to approaches based on gender stereotypes and heteronormativity, can lead to better thought-through and more informed reconstructions of the past. I illustrate this with several examples from mortuary and settlement archaeology. Secondly, and no less importantly, self-reflexive and theoretically informed approaches to gender and sexuality should have an activist component, helping to build a more just and democratic society. Therefore, we are never really done with gender archaeology. The latter is particularly needed in the Balkans, including Serbia, where there is an ongoing struggle against patriarchal ideologies and homophobia. In this respect, a dialogue is needed between archaeologists and the marginalized and oppressed communities and organisations fighting for basic human rights in the region.

Keywords
Serbia, Balkans, (pre)history, archaeology, gender, heteronormativity, queer

Introduction

In autumn 2022, the Serbian Ministry of Culture accepted the decision of a working group formed by the Ministry to inspect the use of the terms 'sex' and 'gender' in biology handbooks for the eighth year of elementary school from seven different publishers (Danas 13 Oct 2022). The decision made was that the lessons dealing with sex and gender should be changed urgently, the result of a demand by the

CONTACT: Uroš Matić - uros.matic@oeaw.ac.at; uros_arheo@yahoo.com

Serbian Orthodox Church, which claimed that the content of these lessons propagates gender ideology (on 'gender ideology' ideology see Zaharijević 2019). Supposedly, the statement in these lessons that there is a difference between sex and gender caused serious commotion, and even more problematic was the additional statement that sex and gender sometimes do not match. The Serbian extremist right wing party 'Dveri' ('Doors' in Serbian) even claimed that these lessons are scandalous homosexual and transgender propaganda aimed at children. Thankfully, the reaction from professional bodies in Serbia was immediate. Professor of the Faculty of Biology of the University of Belgrade, Biljana Stojković, claimed that the actions of the Ministry were a direct attack on education in Serbia and that the supposedly secular state was being dictated to by the Church (Danas 13 Oct 2022). In fact, Serbia is not alone in this, as anti-gender politics has recently been propagated by the governments of some neighbouring European Union countries, such as Hungary (Fodor 2022).

Although Serbian archaeologists did not directly address this issue, the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade, where the Department for Archaeology is situated, did participate in this discussion, sending a strong message against the actions of the Ministry (Medija Centar Beograd 24 Nov 2022) and even organized a public debate (Nije filozofski ćutati 16 Jan 2023). The ethical policy of the Department for Archaeology has a strong stance against various forms of violence and discrimination, including those based on sex, gender, and sexuality (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za arheologiju 31 March 2022). Therefore, one would think that Serbian archaeologists should not be concerned about lessons on sex and gender in biology handbooks for elementary schools, but the question of difference between sex and gender does concern them too (cf. Palavestra 2011: 252). Furthermore, nothing guaranties that the Church would not one day interfere in the history handbooks in Serbian schools, the study program, syllabi etc. and that the Ministry of Culture would not support it. Thus, the positive changes in Serbian archaeology concerning questions of past gender in the last few decades could prove to be crucial for the defence of education, free speech, and democratic values in Serbia.

Gender archaeology papers and handbooks in international settings nowadays usually start by acknowledging the five-decades-long history of what some consider to be a subfield of archaeology. Indeed, the first criticism of androcentrism in archaeology, the invisibility of women in archaeological interpretations of the past and within the archaeological profession, were made in Scandinavia (Díaz-Andreu 2005: 13; Sørensen 2000: 16–23) and the USA (Conkey & Spector 1984), the UK following up quickly (Gilchrist 1999: 1–30; Sørensen 2000: 16–23), but also Spain (Montón-Subías & Moral 2020) and Germany (Gutsmiedl-Schümann, Helmbrecht & Kranzbühler 2021). Slowly but surely, gender archaeology found its place in other archaeological communities (Dommasnes, Hjørungdal, Montón-Subías, Sánchez Romero & Wicker 2010) and nowadays we even have several international organisations uniting researchers, mostly from the global West. These are, among others, the Archaeology and Gender in Europe (AGE) community of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), the FemArc-Network of women working in

archaeology in Germany, the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) and Gender, Methodology and the Ancient Near East (GeMANE) group. One could maybe dare to say that slowly but surely there was a paradigm shift from androcentrism to feminism, but this is and never was the case (Engelstad 2007). Even after numerous conferences, talks and published volumes, gender topics in archaeology are rarely found in international high impact journals (Back-Danielsson 2012). They are also rarely the focus of large-scale projects with considerable funding, such as those supported by the European Research Council (ERC), although gender balance seems to have been achieved (EAA 2020 Statement on Archaeology and Gender 27-29 April 2021). Among these, stereotypes about gender and gender archaeology are still omnipresent (Coltofean-Arizancu, Gaydarska & Matić 2021).

Where Serbian and broader Balkan archaeologies are concerned, the situation is entirely different in numerous aspects (Babić 2018). However, it is first necessary to clarify how 'Balkans' will be used as a reference term in this paper. It is clear that what is geographically and culturally considered to be Balkans depends on the observer (Todorova 1997; Žižek 1999). The region was named after the Balkan Mountains, which stretch across the whole of modern Bulgaria. Whether or not the northern border is drawn so that it includes modern Slovenia or Croatia, or the southern border is drawn so that it includes modern Greece, is defined by different ideologies. Ultimately, these will define what we consider to be Balkan archaeologies, but these are in no sense unified scholarly traditions and communities. They have their own local developments, which are close to each other in some aspects, but also quite different to each other in others, questions of gender in the past being among these. In this paper I will use the term Balkan archaeologies to include the archaeologies on the territory of modern Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Albania, and Greece. The scope of the paper does not allow the topic to be covered in detail for all these countries and their different archaeological traditions. For this reason, most of my examples will come from Serbian archaeology, a community in which I started my studies. Other authors have dealt with the issues with gender in archaeologies of Slovenia (Merc 2010), Romania (Palincaş 2008; Palincaş 2010), Bulgaria (Chapman & Palincaş 2013) and Greece (Hitchcock and Nikolaidou 2013). Where Croatia is concerned, there has been an increase in publications dealing with women in (pre)history (see the recent contributions in Dizdar 2022; Tomorad 2018) but none of these works deal with (pre)historic gender systems. The same can be said for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia.

Gender Bias in Serbian Archaeology

Currently slightly under 50% of the teaching staff at the Department for Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade are women (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za arheologiju, Zaposleni Accessed 25 May 2023). One could say that a gender balance has been achieved. This has changed considerably since the beginning of archaeology as a research subject in Serbia in the late nineteenth century. From the time of Mihailo Valtrović

(1839-1915), the first professor of archaeology in Serbia (from 1881) and Miloje Vasić (1869-1956, lecturer from 1901, full professor from 1922) to the time of Milutin Garašanin (1920-2002, lecturer from 1957), Dragoslav Srejović (1931-1996, lecturer from 1958) and Sava Tutundžić (1928-2020, lecturer from 1971), lecturers in archaeology at the University of Belgrade were predominantly men (Milinković 1998). The first women who lectured at the Department for Archaeology were classical archaeologist Aleksandrina Cermanović Kuzmanović (1928-2001, lecturer from the mid-1950s) and Near Eastern archaeologist Vidosava Nedomački (1924-2011, lecturer from 1971). They were soon followed by the short employment of Bojana Mojsov (195?-) from 1982 to 1984 and Vera Vasiljević (1954-, lecturer since 1984). Slowly but surely the number of women lecturing at the department increased to the current numbers. In regional comparison, Tatjana Bregant (1932-2002) was the first woman to be employed at the Department for Archaeology of the University of Ljubljana in the mid-1950s (Novaković 2021: 431). Therefore, we can observe that the path for women in archaeology departments in ex-Yugoslavia was not as smooth as for men, but one should be careful not to confuse the reasons for this with socialism, as similar situations can be seen at other, non-socialist archaeology departments of the time (Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998).

Predrag Novaković (2021) was the first scholar to consider the role of women in western Balkan archaeologies. He stressed that Paola Korošec was the first female archaeologist to be employed as a museum curator (at the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo) in the whole of the former Yugoslavia in 1939 or 1940! (Novaković 2021: 431). This demonstrates that archaeology in the western Balkans was dominated by men for a more than half a century, something we find in other archaeological communities of the time too (Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998). Changes to this dominance seem to have started after the Second World War in socialist Yugoslavia. In 1944, Irma Čremošnik (1916-1990) started working for the Municipal Institute for the Protection of Antiquities in Belgrade and as curator of classical antiquities at the Prince Paul Museum in Belgrade. In 1947 she was appointed as curator for Medieval archaeology at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini (1919-1995) was appointed at the Archaeological Museum in Sarajevo, also in 1947 (Novaković 2021: 431). Dušanka Vučković Todorović (1912-1998) became a director of the Ancient Department at the National Museum in Belgrade and in 1949 director of the Archaeological Museum in Skopje. In the late 1940s, Draga Garašanin (1921-1997) was employed as director of the Municipal Museum in Belgrade. Blaga Alekseva became a curator at the Municipal Museum in Skopje in 1948. Nada Miletić (1925-2002) in 1950, and Ružica Drechsler Bižić (1921-2008) in 1952, became curators in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. Milica Kosorić (1928-1994) became a curator in the Museum of Požarevac in Serbia in 1955 and in 1962 she started working in the Museum of Eastern Bosnia in Tuzla, where she later worked as a director from 1967-1978. Kosorić worked for the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1979 to 1992. Novaković estimated that in the former Yugoslavia in the 1950s, at least 20% of some 60-80 archaeologists were women, and according to the exact figures published in Slovenian archaeological journal *Arheo* 1 from 1981, of 404 listed archaeologists, 165 (40%) were women. According

to the data from *Arheo* 8 from 1989, in the course of ten years the gender ratio became even more balanced, with 54% men and 46% women out of 535 archaeologists (Novaković 2021: 431).

Gender bias is also visible in some seminal publications in Yugoslavian archaeology. For example, a bibliometric analysis of the five volumes of the seminal *Prehistory of Yugoslavian Countries*, conducted by Vesna Merc, showed that male authors are significantly more cited than female authors. This is followed by a higher number of male than female authors within the volumes themselves (Merc 2005: 27–33; Merc 2010: 127–129). Novaković (2021: 431) highlights the effects of the emancipatory social environment for the gradual achievement of higher gender balance in Yugoslavian archaeology, but he nevertheless stresses that this does not concern leading positions (cf. Curta & Stamati 2021). Therefore, a critical gendered history of west Balkan or Yugoslavian and post-Yugoslavian archaeology is still to be written. Even the recent critical histories of archaeology in Serbia mostly focus on the life and works of men (Janković 2018; Mihajlović 2017; Mihajlović 2020; Palavestra 2020; exceptions are Milosavljević 2017; Palavestra 2015). This is in strong contrast with archaeological communities centred on gender outside Serbia, where the lives and works of women in archaeology have been recognized as marginal voices in dire need of visibility (Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998; cf. Novaković 2021: 431–432). Therefore, critical research histories should also focus on women in Yugoslavian and Serbian archaeology, among them prehistorians Draga Garašanin and Zagorka Letica, and classical archaeologist Aleksandrina Cermanović-Kuzmanović, or other women in Yugoslavian archaeology, such as prehistorians Ružica Drechsler-Bižić and Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini. Additionally, the critical research history of Serbian archaeology should finally come out of the closet and tackle the life and work of Dragoslav Srejović, whose sexuality remains the topic of backroom discussion (AngraMaina 7 Sep 2023).

Last but not least, gender bias is observable in an asymmetrical exposure to violence, since it should be stressed that women in archaeology in Serbia are more exposed to violence and various forms of harassment (including sexual) than men (Coltofean-Arizancu, Gaydarska & Plutniak 2020). This does not differ from the general higher exposure of women to violence in Serbia in general, including violence resulting in femicide (see Izveštaji o femicidu u Srbiji 7 Sep 2023 for reports from 2010 to 2022). Also, this is not to be confused with the lack of action by professional bodies, since the Department of Archaeology in Belgrade does not only have an ethical policy (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za arheologiju 31 March 2022) but also a mechanism to counter gender violence (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Sigurno mesto 7 Sep 2023). These followed relatively fast after the 2020 Gender Statement of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA 2020 Statement on Archaeology and Gender 27-29 April 2022). This demonstrates that the Department for Archaeology in Belgrade is in tune with the European archaeological community concerning issues of gender.

Furthermore, it should also be stressed that members of the LGBTQAI+ community in Serbia are frequently victims of violence (Coltofean-Arizancu, Gaydarska & Plutniak 2020), among them being students of archaeology and

archaeologists. I am aware of at least one incident of physical violence which involved a student of archaeology in Belgrade, and similar stories are abundant from other countries world-wide (Dowson 2006: 99–100). Again, as in the case of asymmetrical exposure to violence on the lines of gender, the cases of violence against LGBTQAI+ students of archaeology are only a drop in the sea of violence against this community in Serbia in general. Also, it must be stressed that this should not be considered the result of a lack of mechanisms from the professional bodies, especially not those at university departments. The Department for Archaeology at the University of Belgrade remains a safe space, with institutional solutions and allies present, and the problems it faces are the problems many societies in the world face.

Teaching Gender in Serbian Archaeology

I previously argued that the number of women employed at the Department for Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, gradually increased after the establishment of archaeology as a university subject in Serbia. However, the gradual rise in the number of employed women and the current gender balance at the Department for Archaeology in Belgrade has by no means led to more gender awareness in archaeological teaching and research (cf. Novaković 2021: 432). It is clear that gender archaeology was and still is a term used only by some lecturers at the department, but there are clear and positive signs of change.

Within the course Introduction to Archaeology, taught by Aleksandar Palavestra at the Department for Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade, gender and feminist archaeology are introduced to the students within the general topic of interpretative or postprocessual archaeology (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za arheologiju, Silabusi 7 Sep 2023). Palavestra is one of the few in the department to teach about feminist and gender archaeologies. Just like in his book *Cultural contexts of archaeology* (2011), in his lectures I had the opportunity to attend (2006-2011), he recognized the importance of feminist criticism of androcentrism in archaeology and the need to seriously consider past gender systems and their differences to modern ones. He also highlighted less considered cases of narratives in archaeology, argued to be based in feminism, such as that of Ruth Tringham (1994) told from a perspective of a Neolithic widow burning her house (Palavestra 2011: 255–256).

Gender archaeology in its bright spectrum was taught by Staša Babić at the Department for Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade as part of the doctoral studies plan from 2007 (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za arheologiju, Silabusi 7 Sep 2023). The recommended literature for this course included standard works in gender archaeology (Díaz-Andreu 2005; Sørensen 2000; Gilchrist 1999). It can even be said that Babić (2004: 118) initiated a critical approach towards "sexing graves" based on modern assumptions about the gender associations of material culture such as jewellery and weapons. Babić regularly includes gender themes in her courses and encourages students interested in gender archaeology. I was introduced to gender archaeology by Babić myself when, in my first year of BA studies in 2006-2007, she

lent to me the *Reader in Gender Archaeology* (Hays-Gilpin & Whitley 1997). Babić continued considering gender and sexuality themes in her other works too, devoting an entire chapter to eroticism in the discipline of Greek archaeology (Babić 2008: 103–117).

Gradual changes at the department introduced new courses, which have also included perspectives on sex, gender and sexuality in archaeology, like Monika Milosavljević's course 'Archaeology between nature and culture' that includes the works of Roberta Gilchrist and my own (Matić 2021) in the course literature (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za arheologiju, Silabusi 7 Sep 2023).

As far as I know, gender archaeology is a non-existent subject in the archaeology programs at other Balkan universities, but this does not differ from many international archaeology departments (Gaydarska & Gutsmiedl-Schümann 2024). During my BA and MA studies (2006-2011) at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, I was one of a few male students interested in gender archaeology, and female students showing similar interest were also only a few. Back then, the reluctance to deal with themes concerning women and gender among my colleagues was primarily based on fear of being labelled or outed as gay, something already noticed in other university environments of the global West (Dowson 2000: 162). Nevertheless, I have to stress that, alongside Palavestra and Babić, some professors of prehistoric archaeology, such as Dušan Mihailović, encouraged my women and gender-focused choices of seminar themes on their courses. As I already stressed above, there are clear signs that the situation has changed towards the better.

Although gender archaeology is not omnipresent in the study programs of archaeology departments across the Balkans, and elsewhere for that matter, the region has a much stronger tradition of feminist, women, gender, and queer studies outside of archaeology (Merc 2010: 117–120; Zaharijević 2008). One only has to think about influential figures such as Slovenian anthropologist, classical philologist and historian Svetlana Slapšak or Serbian social anthropologist and feminist theorist Žarana Papić (1949-2002), some of whose works being of much use to archaeologists (Papić & Sklevicky 2003; Slapšak 2013). Also worth mentioning is *Genero. Journal of Feminist Theory and Cultural Studies*, the only journal in Serbia explicitly tackling themes in women and gender studies, feminist, and queer theory. It publishes papers in both the Balkan languages and English, and thus presents a platform for scholarly exchange in the region and beyond.

Where archaeological publishing is concerned, Predrag Novaković stressed that the *Arheo* journal was the first archaeological journal in ex-Yugoslavia to publish texts on gender archaeology (Novaković 2021: 59). This is indeed true. As early as *Arheo* 7 from 1988 a paper on Antigone was written by Iztok Saksida, and a paper on Artemis and Greek women by Helen King was translated into Slovenian. In *Arheo* 15, Saksida (1995) wrote his critical treaty on the gender revolution and the paper of Salvatore Cucchiari (1981) on the origins of gender hierarchy. Tatjana Greif (2000) wrote a review of the *Reader in Gender Archaeology* (Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1997) soon after its publication, and Vesna Merc (2005) conducted the gender bibliometric

analysis of *Prehistory of Yugoslavian Countries* I referred to previously. Although sex-based differences concerning physical activities and social status in, for example, Early Bronze Age Mokrin have been considered by Serbian archaeologists (Porčić & Stefanović 2009), in Serbia, the first papers on gender archaeology have been published in non-archaeological journals *Genero* (Matić 2010; Matić 2011), mentioned previously, and *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology*. Being an author of two of these, I have to stress that the reasons behind my choice of *Genero* journal over 10 years ago were twofold. Firstly, back in 2010-2011, I enrolled on the *Women´s and Gender Studies* program at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade, and I was introduced to the journal *Genero* through my studies there. Secondly, I was aware that most archaeological journals in Serbia and their editorial boards would probably not be so keen to publish archaeological studies of gender, especially not from a final year undergraduate student. In fact, the only other paper in this direction was published in an anthropological journal, *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* (Porčić 2010), a journal that provided an intellectual safe-house for archaeologists writing with a theoretical and methodological background other than descriptive accounts of excavation results or culture-historical synthesis of cultures, diffusions and migrations (Babić 2018). A decade later, papers dealing with archaeological studies of prehistoric women appeared in *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* (Vuković 2021a). Other Serbian archaeologists have started including gender as an important factor in their studies, ranging from Middle Bronze Age burials in tumuli in Western Serbia (Ljuština & Dmitrović 2013) to cosmetic objects in provincial burials of Roman Moesia (Mihajlović 2011; Mihajlović 2022). It also took a decade after the first papers on gender archaeology appeared in Serbia for a doctoral dissertation written at the Department of Archaeology in Belgrade to focus on gendering of the burial record of Viminacium from the first to fourth century CE (Danković 2020). Prehistorians and bioarchaeologists in Serbia have also investigated differences in physiological stress for different sexes in Mesolithic and Neolithic communities (Penezić et al. 2020). Therefore, there are clear signs that much has changed towards the better in the last decade, not only in archaeological education but also within research. Some of my colleagues from Serbia have informed me that despite being very much aware of gender archaeology, the archaeological record they study limits them in their capacity to pose and answer questions concerning gender. This critical reluctance is certainly a better archaeological practice then the one based on assumptions.

I would like to stress that although gender archaeology may not be the scholarly focus of Serbian archaeology, it cannot be claimed that no Serbian archaeologist has seriously dealt with issues of gender in (pre)history. It is therefore somewhat surprising that their works (published both in Serbian and in English in international journals) are often not acknowledged by colleagues from other archaeological communities (for example most recently Robb & Harris 2018; but see their revised view in Gaydarska et al. 2023). A fun fact is also that, although often assumed otherwise, not all Serbian archaeologists interpret Neolithic figurines as evidence for the existence of a Mother Goddess cult. As early as the late 1970s, some chapters of

Prehistory of Yugoslavian Countries demonstrate that archaeologists in Serbia had also considered other interpretations (Garašanin 1979: 195).

It is also worth mentioning that a number of key publications in gender studies and feminist theory have been translated into Serbian and Croatian (Centar za ženske studije ZAGREB Knjige 7 Sep 2023), including the works of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler (for the latter see a recent seminal study by Zaharijević 2020). Even a paper by Spanish archaeologist Margarita Díaz-Andreu, who extensively dealt with gender in her earlier works, has been translated into Serbian (Dijas-Andreu 2003).

Therefore, literature from the fields of gender studies, feminist and queer theories, including anthropological, sociological, and philosophical studies of gender, have been available to archaeologists in the Balkans for decades (see also Merc 2010 specifically for Slovenia). The choice not to consult them is therefore deliberate, and not a consequence of unavailability or language barriers. This deliberate choice has consequences on how past gender and sexuality are represented in some archaeological research and writing in Serbia, to which I turn next.

How Queer are the Neolithic Vinča Culture Figurines?

In 2006, during excavation of Feature 03/03, archaeologists working on the site of Vinča-Belo Brdo near Belgrade, Serbia, found a pottery assemblage of the late Vinča culture (Pločnik phase), consisting of a conical drinking bowl decorated with eight modelled protomes, a carinated jug, and three amphorae. According to Nenad Tasić, the site director, the bowl with the protomes was the "*centrepiece of this set*" and was associated with "*a ritual which involves the male-female relationship*" (Tasić 2007: 203). This interpretation by Tasić is based on the shape of the protomes on the bowl. The vessel was made in a fine fabric of reddish-brown colour and had a flat base (diameter: 3.8cm), a simple rim (inner diameter: 10.3cm) and had a maximum height of 7cm. Its capacity was calculated to have been 0.2 litres (Tasić 2007: 204).

The protomes resemble the heads of contemporary Vinča culture figurines and include both those with horns and those without. These protomes are arranged in pairs on the bowl and placed on the rim symmetrically. To the exterior of the vessel there are two small plastic lugs placed ergonomically so that if the bowl is lifted with both hands, the lugs will be placed between the index finger and the middle fingers, allowing for an easy hold of the vessel. When the bowl is held in this manner, according to Tasić, it is directed towards the person holding it exactly to the point where the protomes are positioned more widely apart (Tasić 2007: 205). Therefore, pairs of identical heads are positioned left and right from the point of view of the vessel holder. The places for drinking are identical on both sides and have heads with horns on the left and those without on the right. According to Tasić "*the shape of the rim of the bowl and the disposition of the protomes, suggests that it could be used as part of a ritual involving two people*" (Tasić 2007: 206). He then argues that "*horns are almost exclusively associated with male individuals*" referring to a vast region extending from Anatolia to the Pannonian Plain. Tasić suggests that the bowl with protomes from Feature 03/03 at Vinča-Belo Brdo represents "*a male-female union, and that the ritual described above maybe some sort of a wedding ceremony*" (Tasić 2007: 208).

There are several issues with this interpretation, the first being the interpretation of horned protomes as male and those without horns as female, the second is the neglect of other Vinča culture bowls with protomes that have different iconographies, and the third issue is the assumed binary of the supposed ritual, a binary not convincingly argued. Where the first issue is concerned, according to the largest analysed sample of Vinča culture figurines (419 from 34 sites) of the late Vinča culture (Gradac and Pločnik phases) there is no statistically significant association between horns and the representation of primary sexual characteristics such breasts and vagina in the case of females, or penis in the case of males. This is because most of the figurines with horned heads do not have primary sexual characteristics depicted, and when they do, both male and female sexual characteristics can be depicted on figurines with horned heads (Milenković & Arsenijević 2009: 336-338). Therefore, there is no reason to accept the assumed binary gender interpretation of protomes as suggested by Tasić. Regarding the second issue, other Vinča culture bowls with protomes studied by Miloš Spasić and Adam Crnobrnja clearly demonstrate that in many cases the protomes are so stylized that they cannot be recognized as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. They also stress that horned protomes do not necessarily have to be representations of cattle horns, and that some zoomorphic protomes can be identified as birds or reptiles (Spasić & Crnobrnja 2014: 187).

Where the third issue is concerned, it is clear based on the evidence from Vinča culture figurines and other bowls with protomes, that there is no good reason to associate horned protomes with the 'male'. Consequently, there is no reason to accept that the presumed ceremony only involved male-female couples, as implied by Tasić. Since horned protomes could have belonged to male or female humans or animals, and protomes without horns could have also belonged to male or female humans or animals, other interpretations should be considered. Alternative interpretations could go in directions far beyond modern monogamous heteropatriarchal unions and wedding ceremonies. Maybe whatever these bowls were used for did not just concern relations among humans, but also with animals. Indeed, queer archaeology has criticised heteronormative assumptions behind archaeological interpretations for several decades (Dowson 2000). By making assumptions about gender and sexuality in their interpretations of the archaeological record, many scholars avoid other possible interpretations and provide their own assumptions with the aura of scientism. In the words of Thomas A. Dowson: "*Archaeologists excavate living spaces, huts and houses, among other things, and impose on those units families. They talk of 'owners' and their 'wives'. There is often no evidence produced or discussed that suggest that a male and a female, conjoined in some form of ritual matrimony, and their legitimate children lived in those structures. These 'families' are drawn from our own modern, Western notions of what a family should be*" (Dowson 2000: 162). It is striking just how many of these same assumptions criticized by Dowson more than two decades ago are found in the interpretation of the bowl with protomes from Vinča. Consequently, the modern heterosexual matrix is provided with a deep past, ranging back into the Neolithic, and comes forth as an ahistorical natural state of gender

relations and human sexuality. Numerous examples from the ethnographic, archaeological, and historical record demonstrate the contrary (Díaz-Andreu 2005). It is important to come back to Vinča figurines for a brief moment. Regarding late Vinča culture figurines, Milenković and Arsenijević have argued that figurines on which sexual attributes are not present are most frequent (214), and that those which have female sex representations, such as a vulva and breasts, are more numerous (193) than those with male genitals (8). Figurines with both breasts and male genitals are occasionally found (4) (Milenković & Arsenijević 2009: 344). However, whereas these two authors do not make judgements on the latter, others do. For Miroslav Lazić, "*hermaphrodites*" and "*so-called Siamese twins*" are classified as "*bizarre mythological figures*" (Lazić 2015: 104). Clearly, these are not emic categories of the Late Neolithic in the western Balkans, and as terms they are laden with meaning and prejudice. Furthermore, in the sample of Milenković and Arsenijević (2009: 344), 60% of the figurines are clothed and 40% are naked. Their results were confirmed by later analyses of figurines from five sites conducted by Jasna Vuković (2021a: 754), who also argued that figurines without primary sexual characteristics depicted are considerable in number, quantitatively sometimes even being the most dominant. However, whereas Milenković, Arsenijević and Vuković are careful in interpreting clothed figurines without clear depictions of primary sexual characteristics, Lazić groups the asexual figurines in the classification of Milenković and Arsenijević into male figurines (Lazić 2015: 100). Clearly, there is no obvious reason why this should be done.

Similarly, when another artefact category is concerned, Vuković writes that beads that may have been used for hair (Tasić 2008: 158–159) were used by women (Vuković 2021b: 28). But of course, men could have had longer hair and decorated it with beads too, since gendered patterns of beauty are cross-culturally diverse and what seems feminine to one society can be less feminine or even masculine in another (Matić 2022 with contributions). Similarly, in his paper on women in Roman provinces on the territory of Serbia, Miroslav Vujović points to finds such as jewellery (bracelets of bronze, bone or glass), hairpins made of bone, or glass beads in military forts along the Danube in Đerdap, eastern Serbia. According to him, these could with great probability be interpreted as the property of women, possibly reflecting the presence of wives of the high officers, servants or slaves (Vujović 2021: 41). Indeed, nothing excludes these possibilities, but one should also bear in mind that other possibilities are not excluded, since exactly the material culture mentioned here could be used by men who wanted to appear feminine and could have also visited the military forts, either providing sexual services or as entertainers (Sapsford 2022: 25–47). When the possibilities are many, archaeologists should try to consider them all equally seriously.

Gendered Spaces and Activities in (Pre)History of Serbia

Gender-based assumptions and stereotypes have a long tradition in western Balkan archaeology, just like in other archaeologies (Coltofean-Arizancu, Gaydarska & Matić 2021). In fact, the seminal *Prehistory of Yugoslavian Countries* is full of such

assumptions. For example, Dragoslav Srejović (1979: 67) assumed that mobile groups of Early Neolithic Lepenski Vir communities probably consisted of adult males, without explaining why. He also added that since some graves at Lepenski Vir demonstrated special respect towards elderly women, experience gathered over years was especially valued, leading him to conclude that in the older phases of Lepenski Vir some type of gerontocracy had been established (Srejović 1979: 67; for similar arguments see Vuković 2021b: 28). Similarly, Alojz Benac makes the assumption that a double pit-dwelling at the Neolithic site of Nebo, assigned to the Butmir culture, was a "*men's house*" in which unmarried young men spent part of their lives (Benac 1979: 446). Šime Batović (1979: 515) assumed that social relations in the Neolithic were based on "woman-mother" as the carrier of social and ruling relations, which he terms a matriarchy and to which he relates the Neolithic female figurines (Batović 1979: 663–664; for criticism of assumptions about a Neolithic matriarchy in recent Serbian archaeology see Vuković 2021b: 14–15). However, recent studies of 159 Early Neolithic Starčevo figurines have shown that pregnancy was not unambiguously depicted (Tripković, Porčić & Stefanović 2017), although studies of tooth cementum indicate that Neolithic women experienced a higher number of stressful life episodes than Mesolithic women, possibly including more pregnancies during their lifetimes (Penezić et al. 2020).

One of the commonly found gender stereotypes in archaeology is that of gendered labour division. For example, in their text for the catalogue *Vinča. The Prehistoric Metropolis*, Jasna Vuković, Milorad Ignjatović and Duško Šljivar (2008: 122) describe as "*certain*" the picture of an early evening at Neolithic Vinča-Belo Brdo "*when housewives prepared food, fishermen, satisfied with their catch repaired their nets, children set around the fire and listened to the stories of the elderly, and young female strutters enjoyed luxurious jewellery made out of shells, brought by traders from far away*". Unfortunately, there is hardly any way we can be "*certain*" about the gendered division of labour behind this picture. Since there is no cemetery associated to the settlement of Vinča-Belo Brdo, we cannot even use the burial record to strengthen the idea that "*young female strutters*" wore the shell-jewellery rather than male strutters or both. Even if we had a cemetery and a clear sex/gender division between those buried with or without jewellery, nothing can guarantee that this same division existed among the living. There is also no reason to assume that only men went fishing. The authors claim that knowledge from related archaeologies, primarily ethnoarchaeology, allow an assumption to be made that in the Neolithic female "*mistresses of the house fire*" produced pottery in single households (Vuković, Ignjatović & Šljivar 2008: 126). This is also hard to prove. There are certainly studies based on pre-firing fingerprints from other archaeological contexts, that pottery could have been produced by individuals of different ages and genders (Sanders et al. 2023; for forensic analyses of fingerprints on clay Neolithic Vinča culture artefacts see Balj 2017). The ethnographic record is equally diverse (Bolger 2013: 162–165) and actually cannot not support anything relating to past gendered labour divisions. Recently, Vuković (2021b: 18) has suggested that sex-based division of labour can be recognised with "*great certainty*" as early as the Neolithic. Supposedly, women did not move much, in comparison to men, so that "*their activities were probably tied to the house and its immediate vicinity*". Next to agricultural

work, women supposedly took care of the household, prepared food and took care of the offspring and the elderly. Vuković even assumes that at least two women processed grain using two stone querns found in a house in Vinča-Belo Brdo. Men supposedly did "*more physically demanding work*" such as production of stone tools or woodcutting work (Vuković 2021b: 18). However, we do not have written records nor iconography which could indicate some clear-cut labour division. Even if we did, we would still have to be source critical. The ethnographic record indicates that the degree of labour division concerning food preparation (Mauriello & Cottino 2022) and taking care of offspring and the elderly along gender lines differs from culture to culture. In fact, a new study of Neolithic bone spoons from the site of Grad-Starčevo indicates that new types of weaning food were followed by new types of motherhood, which could now involve other members of the community (Stefanović et. al. 2019).

It is also unclear why only men would conduct more physically demanding work. Yes, evolutionarily and historically speaking men are on average more strongly built than women, but this does not mean that all men and all women are physically built the same and that girls have been allowed to roam free and train their bodies only in some societies (Fausto-Sterling 1992: 214–215). It goes without saying that not all men are equally strong and able, just as all women are not. Another assumption Vuković seems to be certain of, is that pottery production was in the hands of women "*bearing in mind that work in relation to the preparation and keeping of food is traditionally female, it does not come as strange that pottery too belongs to the female sphere*" (Vuković 2021b: 19). Just as the ethnographic and historical record are diverse concerning the gendered division of labour concerning food, so are they concerning pottery production. For example, according to the written evidence (titles) and iconography, pottery production in Middle Kingdom Egypt (ca. 2040-1650 BCE) was predominantly in the hands of men (Stefanović 2013).

The catalogue for the recent exhibition *First Kings of Europe* even boldly claims that Neolithic communities of south-eastern Europe are "*commonly assumed*" to have been egalitarian and that social status was based on age and gender or was achieved through personal skills and actions, rather than being passed on automatically to the next generation (Gyucha & Parkinson 2023: 7). However, neither is this commonly assumed (Vuković 2022 with further references), nor is it clear what the authors assume here with status based on gender division, since we do not know much about gender systems in Neolithic societies in the first place (Robb & Harris 2018).

Other authors have been more careful in making assumptions on gender in the Neolithic of the western Balkans. In his study of Neolithic households of Banjica in Belgrade, Boban Tripković (2007: 13, 27) uses the words man and woman once each, and not in relation to the primary research theme of his book. The author is indeed careful in avoiding gendering of the archaeological record based on assumptions, which is observable in his comment on the inductive nature of other author's interpretations of ovens as the zones of women who prepared food in them (Tripković 2007: 27). The author is equally careful not to make assumptions on the gender of family members and their relations in his more generalist study of late Neolithic households in the central Balkans (Tripković 2013: 247, 252).

Nevertheless, the choice of the image for the front cover of the book titled Household and Community. *House and Dwelling Histories in Late Neolithic of Central Balkans* (Tripković 2013) is revealing. A Serbian couple, a man and a woman, who worked on excavations at the site of Vinča Belo Brdo, can be seen seated on the remains of a Neolithic house. Was this really the natural state of things in deep history?

Towards an Activist Gender Archaeology in the Balkans

That the past serves as an identity anchor for various social groups and that archaeology has a strong role in construction of nationalist identities in Serbia has long been recognized (Milosavljević 2022 with further references). However, the past in the service of constructions of modern gender identities and ideals of beauty has only recently been explored in Serbia (Teodorski 2022).

Individual archaeological studies of gender in prehistory on the territory of Serbia (Matić 2010; Matić 2012b) attracted the attention of some members of the public in Serbia, for better or worse. As is to be expected, there were those who were negatively critical, on social media such as Facebook, but never in a scholarly journal subjected to peer review. Nevertheless, the criticism was without serious arguments and based on the interpretation of one of the paper's titles (Matić 2010) and not its content, and it was wholeheartedly defended online by one Serbian archaeologist, Jasna Vuković, to whom I am grateful.

However, what seems to have been a positive reception came from organisations fighting for the rights of the LGBTQAI+ community in Serbia, where on the website of Geten organisation, a link to my paper on the Dupljaja cart (Matić 2010) was posted (MJ Geten 17 Feb 2020). This is of course not coincidental, since the paper argues that the Middle Bronze Age communities of the Danube Valley in the region of modern Serbia had a non-binary understanding of sex/gender (Matić 2010). In this sense, I understand the reference by Geten to this paper as more than just informative for the local LGBTQAI+ community, but also as a form of legitimisation and empowerment. In fact, this is in my opinion one of the most important roles of archaeology for marginalized groups. Indeed, I support this move in the current climate of heteropatriarchal attacks on all forms of non-heteronormative identities in Serbia and the western Balkans in general. As I stated in the introduction, gender studies and feminist and queer theory are under attack by certain organisations and politicians in Serbia. They, just like those like-minded individuals in other countries, such as Hungary, claim that the West is introducing a sort of a 'gender ideology'. However, such claims neglect or deny decades of research in biology, anthropology, sociology, history and archaeology. Furthermore, the way these attacks are formulated is a form of heteropatriarchal ideology.

Studies of homophobia among high school students in Serbia from 2019 have shown that it is conspicuous but less present than in 2011. Only 24% of high school students support LGBTQAI+ rights, 31% is moderately homophobic, whereas 44% is homophobic. Girls have more tolerant attitudes than boys. However, 50% of the Serbian public is of the opinion that homosexuality is a disease, and this has not

changed between 2011 and 2019, and almost every third high school student is of the opinion that LGBTQAI+ individuals should be beaten up (Radoman 2020: 70–74). According to the same study, Muslim students in some cities, such as Novi Pazar, are more homophobic than students of other Serbian cities (Radoman 2020: 71). The same study has shown that attitudes towards trans people are even worse: 60% of high school students to not support sex change, 50% deny the statement that trans people are equally valuable and stable as parents as everyone else. All in all, the results show that even after more than three decades of movement for the improvement of the rights of sexual minorities, there is no significant improvement and social attitudes are changing slowly (Radoman 2020: 74). Therefore, biology and history teachers in Serbian high schools have a crucial role in forming the opinion of future generations. However, high school history handbooks do not deal with the prehistory and history of gender.

Furthermore, it is widely known that nationalist, homophobic and clero-fascist ideologies in Serbia rely heavily on an imagined Medieval Serbia which is understood as an ideal from which modern Serbian society has distanced itself under the pressure of Western ideologies. Bearing this in mind, the Serbian public and future generations such as high-school students should be educated on actual evidence for same-sex activities in the Medieval period (Bojanin 2014) and Ottoman and liberated Serbia of the nineteenth century (Jovanović 2014). Written evidence from Medieval Serbia suggest that same-sex practices were not singled out from other sexual practices that were considered sinful. Not all same-sex activities were judged the same way by Church authorities, so that passive participation in same-sex activities between men was considered to be a lesser sin (Bojanin 2014: 36). The fact that in other past and contemporary cultures one finds exactly the opposite, namely, a judgemental attitude towards the passive rather than the actively penetrating participant (Matić 2021: 113–123; Matić 2024), demonstrates that attitudes towards same-sex intercourse and the role one takes in it are not natural but socio-culturally negotiated and therefore subject to change.

The impact of imperial-colonial Ottoman rule in Serbia on formations of attitudes towards same-sex relations, especially among men, was of great importance. The conquering culture tolerated desire of men towards adolescent boys and younger men and practiced this desire to feminize the conquered side. Consequently, same-sex desire, which was already stigmatized by the Church, acquired the additional label of a condemned practice associated with the oriental Other (Jovanović 2014: 45–47). These complex queer histories could play a crucial role in destabilising homophobia among both Christian and Muslim communities in Serbia. Regarding this, archaeologists in Serbia also have to consider spaces in which non-normative sexual practices (male-male; female-female) could be carried out in secrecy, the Ottoman bathhouse being one of them (as evidenced in Ottoman sources for other parts of the Empire and in sources written by outsiders, Murray 1997a: 24, 46; Murray 1997b: 99–100; Semerdijan 2015: 259).

Therefore, archaeological and historical interventions in the content of high school handbooks are direly needed if Serbian high school students are to be confronted with a cultural diversity of gender systems with the goal of de-naturalizing the norms

that they take for granted in forming their homo- and transphobic attitudes. For this to happen, we first need change within the profession of archaeology in Serbia.

Conclusion

Archaeology in Serbia and Balkan archaeologies in general have made some important steps in the direction of epistemological maturity, critical awareness of different theoretical and methodological stands in archaeology, international co-operation and interdisciplinary research. This also includes changes to courses at the Department of Archaeology in Belgrade, which are increasingly acknowledging the importance of gender and sexuality in the past, feminist and queer theory, and gender studies. Alongside an ethics policy and clear institutional measures against gendered violence, the changes at the department in the last few decades have indeed brought improvement.

Still, much like many other archaeological communities, those in the Balkans struggle with heteronormativity in interpretations of the past. This is especially observable in prehistoric archaeology, where there is a lack of written sources that could provide insights into gender systems. Consequently, and this is the major issue, heteronormative pasts and modern Western heteropatriarchy are simply assumed as a logical and natural state. They are thus provided with deep history and legitimation, which can then be easily used by some groups with dangerous intensions. The case of a bowl with protomes from Vinča-Belo Brdo and its interpretation as a vessel used in matrimonial ritual for male-female couples, which relies on other equally problematic assumptions, is exemplary. It is ultimately a consequence of gendering horned protomes as male and those without horns as female, something not corroborated by the archaeological evidence. The underlying heteronormativity is also observable in the language some authors used to describe figurines with depictions of both breasts and male genitals as "hermaphrodites" and "bizarre." Not far removed are interpretations of prehistoric gendered division of space and activities that rely on assumptions or poorly supported arguments.

Numerous examples that illustrate different understandings of gender and sexuality to those rooted in heteropatriarchy are attested in the prehistoric societies who lived on the territory of modern Serbia. Nevertheless, they are not used to their full potential for activist purposes in combating homo- and transphobia. Bearing in mind that these examples are well known to professionals in archaeology, the first step towards unlocking their full educational potential is introducing these examples in history handbooks for high school students. Furthermore, bearing in mind that the LGBTQAI+ community follows the works of Serbian archaeologists on questions of gender (pre)history, archaeologists in Serbia should enter into a more socially responsible dialogue with them.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the editors of the journal and this issue for accepting my paper. Furthermore, my gratitude goes to Monika Milosavljević and

Ivana Živaljević for providing useful comments on the paper. I am also grateful to Amra Šačić Beća and Inga Vilogorac Brčić for providing useful information. To Susan Stratton, I am most thankful for proofreading the English. Finally, I thank those colleagues who provided me with information and reference suggestions, but chose to remain anonymous, only demonstrating further the necessity of writing this paper.

Bibliography

ANGRAMAINA Accessed 7 Sep 2023 https://www.gay-serbia.com/queer/srejovic-dragoslav/index.jsp

BABIĆ, S. 2004. *Poglavarstvo i polis. Starije gvozdeno doba Balkana i grčki svet*. Beograd: Balkanološki institut, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.

BABIĆ, S. 2008. *Grci i Drugi. Antička percepcija i percepcija antike*. Beograd: Clio.

BABIĆ, S. 2018. *Metaarheologija. Ogled o uslovima znanja o prošlosti*. Beograd: Clio.

BACK-DANIELSSON, I-M. 2012. Much Ado about Nothing? Gender Research in Journals during. the last 30 years within Archaeology, in: BACK DANIELSSON, I-M. & THEDÉEN, S. (eds.), *To Tender Gender. The Pasts and Futures of Gender Research in Archaeology*. Stockholm: Stockholm University: 17–32.

BALJ, L. 2017. Dečiji otisci prstiju na predmetima vinčanske kulture. *Glasnik srpskog arheološkog društva* 33: 149–173.

BATOVIĆ, Š. 1979. Jadranska zona, in: BENAC, A. (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II. Neolitsko doba*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauke i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja: 473–634.

BENAC, A. 1979. Prelazna zona, in: : BENAC, A. (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II. Neolitsko doba*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauke i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja: 363–472.

BOJANIN, S. 2014. Homoseksualnost u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji, in: BLAGOJEVIĆ, J. & DIMITRIJEVIĆ, O. (eds.), *Među Nama. Neispričane priče gej i lezbejskih života*. Beograd: Hartefakt Fond: 22–39.

BOLGER, D. 2013. Gender, Labour, and Pottery Production in Prehistory, in: BOLGER, D. (ed.), *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons: 161–179.

CENTAR ZA ŽENSKE STUDIJE ZAGREB KNJIGE 7 Sep 2023 http://zenstud.hr/izdavastvo/knjige/

CHAPMAN, J. & PALINCAŞ, N. 2013. Gender in Eastern European Prehistory, in: BOLGER, D. (ed.), *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons: 413–437.

COLTOFEAN-ARIZANCU, L., GAYDARSKA, B. & MATIĆ, U. (eds.). 2021. *Gender Stereotypes in Archaeology*. Leiden: Sidestone Press.

COLTOFEAN-ARIZANCU, L., GAYDARSKA, B. & PLUTNIAK, S. 2020. *Breaking the taboo: harassment and assault in Central-east and South-east European archaeology*. Paper presented at the 26th Virtual Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, Budapest, 24–30 August 2020. Available at: https://hal.science/hal-03287731 (last accessed on 25 May 2023).

CONKEY, M. W. & SPECTOR, J. D. 1984. Archaeology and the Study of Gender. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7: 1–38.
CUCCHIARI, S. 1981. The Gender Revolution and the Transition from Bisexual Horde to Patrilocal Band: The Origins of Gender Hierarchy, in: ORTNER, S. B. & WHITEHEAD, H. (eds.), *Sexual Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 31–79.
CURTA, F. & STAMATI, I. 2021. *Women Archaeologists Under Communism, 1917-1989*. New York: Palgrave.
DANAS 13 OCT 2022. Accessed 24 May 2023 https://www.danas.rs/vesti/politika/biljana-stojkovic-crkva-trazi-da-se-buduci-gradjani-drze-u-neznanju-upliv-u-prosvetu-protivustavan/.
DANKOVIĆ, I. 2020. *Inventar grobova ženske populacije kao odraz životnog doba. Studija slučaja viminacijumskih nekropola od I do IV veka*. Doktorska disertacija. Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu.
DIJAZ-ANDREU, M. 2003. Identitet roda i arheologija: sintetički pregled. Genero. *Časopis za feminističku teoriju i studije roda* 2: 67–92.
DÍAZ-ANDREU, M. 2005. Gender identity, in: DÍAZ-ANDREU, M., LUCY, S., BABIĆ, S. & EDWARDS, D. N. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge: 13–42.
DÍAZ-ANDREU, M. & SØRENSEN, M. L. S. (eds.) 1998. *Excavating Women: A history of women in European Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
DIZDAR, M. (ed.). 2022. *Iron Age Female Identities in the Southern Carpathian Basin*. Serta Instituti Archaeologici 19. Zagreb: Institute for Archaeology
DOMMASNES, L. H., HJØRUNGDAL, T., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M. & WICKER, N. L. (eds.) 2010. *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*. Archaeolingua Series Minor 29. Budapest: Archaeolingua.
DOWSON, T. A. 2000. Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction. *World Archaeology* 32(2): 161–165.
DOWSON, T. A. 2006. Archaeologists, Feminists, and Queers: Sexual Politics in the Construction of the Past, in: GELLER, P. L. & STOCKET, M. K. (eds.), *Feminist Anthropology. Past, Present, and Future*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 89–102.
EAA 2020 STATEMENT ON ARCHAEOLOGY AND GENDER 27-29 April 2022. Accessed 30 May 2023 https://www.e-a-a.org/EAA/Navigation_News/2020_Statement_on_Archaeology_and_Gender.aspx
ENGELSTAD, E. 2007. Much More than Gender. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14(3): 217–234.
FAUSTO-STERLING, A. 1992. *Myths of Gender. Biological Theories about Women and Men*. Second Edition. New York: Basic Books.
FERJANČIĆ, S., STEFANOVIĆ, D., RADIĆ, R. & NEDELJKOVIĆ, Z. 2013. *Istorija za prvi razred opšteg, društveno-jezičkog i prirodno-matematičkog smera*. Beograd: Freska.
FODOR E. 2022. The Gender Regime of Anti-Liberal Hungary. New York: Palgrave Pivot.

GARAŠANIN, M. 1979. Centralnobalkanska zona, in: BENAC, A. (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II. Neolitsko doba*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauke I umjetnosto Bosne I Hercegovine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja: 79–212.

GAYDARSKA, B. ET AL. 2023. To Gender or not To Gender? Exploring Gender Variations through Time and Space. *European Journal of Archaeology* 28(1). doi:10.1017/eaa.2022.51

GAYDARSKA, B. & GUTSMIEDL-SCHÜMANN, D. 2024. Gender education in archaeology, in: MATIĆ U., GAYDARSKA, B., COLTOFEAN-ARIZANCU, L. & DÍAZ-GUARDAMINO, M. (eds.), *Current Archaeological Debates from the Perspective of Gender Archaeology*. New York: Springer, forthcoming.

GILCHRIST R. 1999. *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*. London and New York: Routledge.

GREIF, T. 2000. Arheologija spolov. Arheo. *Glasilo Slovenskega arheološkega društva* 20: 62–67.

GUTSMIEDL-SCHÜMANN, D., HELMBRECHT, M. & KRANZBÜHLER, J. (eds.). 2021. *Feministische Perspektiven auf Gender und Archäologie*. Beiträge der Tagung zum 25-jährigen Bestehen von FemArc. Frauen – Forschung – Archäologie 14. Münster: Waxmann.

GYUCHA, A., & PARKINSON, W. (eds.). 2023. *First Kings of Europe*. Exhibition Catalog. London: UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press and The Field Museum of Natural History.

HAYS-GILPIN, K. & WHITLEY, D. S. (eds.). 1997. *Reader in Gender Archaeology*. London and New York: Routledge.

HITCHCOCK, L. & NIKOLAIDOU, M. 2013. Gender in Greek and Aegean Prehistory, in: BOLGER D. (ed.), *Companion to Gender Prehistory*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell: 502–525.

LAZIĆ, M. 2015. Prilog tumačenju antropomorfnih terakota iz Vinče. Arhaika 3: 89–110.

LJUŠTINA, M. & DMITROVIĆ, K. 2013. Middle Bronze Age Tumular Graves in the Kablar Range, West Serbia-Gender Perceived as Physical Condition and Social Construct. *Mousaios* XVIII: 105–129.

IZVEŠTAJI O FEMICIDU U SRBIJI 7 SEP 2023 https://www.womenngo.org.rs/publikacije/izvestaji-o-femicidu-u-srbiji#2022-godina

JANKOVIĆ, M. 2018. *Arheološke putanje i stranputice Adama Oršića*. Niš: Narodni muzej Niš, Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu.

JOVANOVIĆ, V. 2014. Homoseksualnost i srpsko društvo u 19. veku, in: BLAGOJEVIĆ, J. & DIMITRIJEVIĆ, O. (eds.*), Među Nama. Neispričane priče gej i lezbejskih života*. Beograd: Hartefakt Fond, 41–59.

MATIĆ, U. 2010. Dupljajska kolica i tela koja nešto znače. *Genero: časopis za feminističku teoriju i studije kulture* 14: 129–159.

MATIĆ, U. 2012a. Egiptologija, rod i seksualnost: kritička perspektiva. *Genero: časopis za feminističku teoriju i studije kulture* 16: 59–82.

MATIĆ, U. 2012b. To queer or not to queer? That is the question: Sex/gender, prestige and burial no. 10 on the Mokrin necropolis. *Dacia* LVI: 169–185.

MATIĆ, U. 2021. *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge.

MATIĆ, U. (ed.). 2022. *Beautiful Bodies. Gender and Corporeal Aesthetics in the Past*. Oxford: Oxbow.

MATIĆ, U. 2024. Sexuality in the systems of thought and belief in ancient Egypt, in: WIESNER-HANKS, M. E. & KUEFLER, M. (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Sexualities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

MAURIELLO, M. & COTTINO, G. 2022. Feeding genders: Introduction. *Anthropology of Food* 16: 1–10.

MEDIJA CENTAR BEOGRAD 24 Nov 2022. Accessed 30 May 2023 https://mc.rs/dogadjaji/o-promenama-u-udzbenicima-biologije-za-osmi-razred-osnovne-skole-odgovor-strucnjaka-na-cenzuru-nauke/2272.

MERC, V. 2005. Spol in arheologija. Bibliometrièna analiza "Praistorije jugoslavenskih zemalja". *Arheo. Glasilo Slovenskega arheološkega društva* 23: 27–34.

MERC, V. 2010. Looking behind the Dead Objects: Gender and Archaeology in Slovenia, in: DOMMASNES, L. H., HJØRUNGDAL, T., MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S., SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, M., WICKER, N. (eds.), *Situating Gender in European Archaeology*. Budapest: Archaeolingua: 117–136.

MIHAJLOVIĆ, V. D. 2011. Adultery in the mirror: Roman mirror from Viminacium, myth, moral, and rite(s) of passage, in: MARICKI GAĐANSKI, K. (ed.), *Antiquity and Modern World: Religion and Culture*. Antiquity and Modern World Vol. 5. Beograd: Društvo za antičke studije Srbije,Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet Univerziteta, Institut za teološka istraživanja: 178–192

MIHAJLOVIĆ, V. D. 2017. Borislav Jankulov, praistorija Vojvodine i kultura secanja I: Rasiološki pristup prošlosti, in: SAMARDŽI, Ć M. (ed.), *Kultura sećanja na vojvođanskom prostoru*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet: 71–99.

MIHAJLOVIĆ, V. D. 2020. Borislav Jankulov, kultura sećanja i tumačenje praistorije II: kulturni pojasi i struje u prošlosti Vojvodine, in: SAMARDŽIĆ, M. (ed.), *Istorija i interpretacija. Tumači i tumačenja vojvođanske prošlosti*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet: 183–211.

MIHAJLOVIĆ, V. D. 2022. Mirrors in the funerary contexts of Moesia Superior - Roman hegemony, beauty and gender, in: MATIĆ, U. (eds.), *Beautiful Bodies Gender and Corporeal Aesthetics in the Past*. Oxford: Oxbow Books: 177–230.

MILENKOVIĆ, M. & ARSENIJEVIĆ, J. 2009. Figurine kao reprezentacije tela: Analiza vinčanskih figurina gradačke i pločničke faze sa teritorije kosovske, južnomoravske i srbijanske varijante. *Petničke sveske* 67: 327–345.

MILINKOVIĆ, M. 1998. Odeljenje za arheologiju, in: MIHALJČIĆ R. (ed.), *Filozofski fakultet, 1838–1998, period 1963–1998*. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet: 425–440.

MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2017. Teorijsko-metodološke osnove u delu Fanule Papazoglu: Arheološka perspektiva. *Arhaika* (5): 121–142.

MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, M. 2022. Od etničkog determinizma do epistemičkog optimizma: kritička istorija nedavne prošlosti srpske arheologije. *Etnoarheološki problemi* 17(3): 1035–1060.

MJ GETEN 17 Feb 2020. Accessed 7 Sep 2023 https://www.transserbia.org/resursi/teorija/1662-dupljajska-kolica-i-tela-koja-nesto-znace

MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, S. & MORAL, E. 2020. Gender, Feminist, and Queer Archaeologies: A Spanish Perspective, in: SMITH, C. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Global Archaeology*. New York: Springer: 4471–4479.

MURRAY, S. O. 1997a. The Will Not to Know: Islamic Accommodations of Male Homosexuality, in: MURRAY, S. O. & ROSCOE, W. (eds.), *Islamic Homosexualities. Culture, History, and Literature*. New York and London: New York University Press: 14–54.

MURRAY, S. O. 1997b. Woman-Woman Love in Islamic Societies, in: MURRAY, S. O. & ROSCOE, W. (eds.), *Islamic Homosexualities. Culture, History, and Literature*. New York and London: New York University Press: 97–106.

NIJE FILOZOFSKI ĆUTATI 16 Jan 2023. Accessed 30 May 2023 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQ9NX0-I_OU&t=5039s, last accessed on 30 May 2023

NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2021. *The History of Archaeology in the Western Balkans*. Ljubljana: Univerya v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta.

PALAVESTRA, A. 2011. *Kulturni konteksti arheologije*. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.

PALAVESTRA, A. 2015. Zaboravljena naučnica i dobrotvorka Herijet Bojd Hoz. *Arhaika* 3: 191–204.

PALAVESTRA, A. 2020. *Usamljeni arheolog. Terenski metod Miloja M. Vasića*. Beograd: Filozofski Fakultet, Univerziteta u Beogradu.

PALINCAŞ N. 2008. Public patriarchy in contemporary Romanian archaeology and the image of women in the Romanian Neolithic and Bronze Age. Studii de Preistorie 5: 159–170.

PALINCAŞ, N. 2010. Living for the others. Gender relations in prehistoric and contemporary archaeology of Romania, in: L. H. DOMMASNES, T. HJØRUNGDAL, S. MONTÓN-SUBÍAS, M. SÁNCHEZ ROMERO, N. WICKER (eds.), *Situating Gender in European Archaeology*. Budapest: Archaeolingua: 93–116.

PAPIĆ, Ž. & SKLAVICKY, L. (eds.). 2003. *Anthropologija žene*. Beograd: XX vek.

PENEZIĆ, K. ET AL. 2020. Stressful times for women - Increased physiological stress in Neolithic females detected in tooth cementum. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 122 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2020.105217.

PLEŠE, M. A. 2018. A Trojan Horse? Sappho's poetry as the battleground of compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian emancipation. *Radovi-Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 50(2): 61–102

PORČIĆ, M. 2010. Antropologija roda praistorijskih populacija – slučaj 'pogrešno' orijentisanih grobova na mokrinskoj nekropoli. *Etnoantropološki problemi* 5(1): 165–182.

PORČIĆ, M. & STEFANOVIĆ, S. 2009. Physical activity and social status in Early Bronze Age society: The Mokrin necropolis. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28(3): 259–273.

RADOMAN, M. 2020. Vrednosne orijentacije srednjoškolaca u Srbiji. Istraživanje 2019. *Helsinške sveske* 38. Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, Institut za sociološka istraživanja, Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu.

ROBB, J. & HARRIS, O. 2018. Becoming gendered in European prehistory: Was Neolithic gender fundamentally different? *American Antiquity* 83(1): 128–147.

SAKSIDA, I. 1995. The Gender Revolution. *Arheo. Glasilo Slovenskega arheološkega društva* 15: 39–43.

SANDERS A. ET AL. 2023. Transformations in the roles of men, women, and children in the ceramic industry at Early Bronze Age Hama, Syria and contemporary sites. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 70:

SAPSFORD, T. 2022. *Performing the Kinaidos. Unmanly Men in Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
SEMERDIJAN, E. 2015. Sexing the Hammam: Gender Crossings in the Ottoman Bathhouse, in: OZYEGIN, G. (ed.), *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures*. New York: Ashgate: 253–274.
SLAPŠAK, S. 2013. *Zelje in spolnost: iz zgodovinske antropologije hrane: študija o kultni, ritualni in kulturni vlogi zelja*. Ljubljana: Študentska založba.
SØRENSEN, M. L. S. 2000. *Gender Archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
SPASIĆ, M. P. & CRNOBRNJA, A. 2014. Vinčanske zdele sa protomama. *Starinar* LXIV: 185–203.
SREJOVIĆ D. 1979. Protoneolit-Kultura Lepenskog vira, in: BENAC, A. (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II. Neolitsko doba*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauke i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja: 33–79.
STEFANOVIĆ, D. 2013. A Note on the Middle Kingdom Potters. *Göttinger Miszellen* 238: 99–106.
STEFANOVIĆ, S. ET AL. 2019. Bone spoons for prehistoric babies: Detection of human teeth marks on the Neolithic artefacts from the site Grad-Starčevo (Serbia). *PLOS ONE* pone.0225713
TASIĆ N. 2007. Ritual Pottery Set from Vinča. *Glasnik srpskog arheološkog društva* 27: 203–210.
TASIĆ, N. 2008. Nemi svedoci jednog vremena. Figuralna umetnost Vinče, in: NIKOLIĆ, D. (ed.), *Vinča. Praistorijska metropola*. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, Univerziteta u Beogradu: 139–164.
TEODORSKI, M. 2022. Achilles against Time: Of the Iliad, Social Networks and Gym. *Anthropologija* 22(1): 35–49.
TODOROVA, M. 1997. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
TOMORAD, M. (ed.). 2018. *Slavne žene stare povijesti: "Životi žena u društvima staroga svijeta"*. Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji.
TRINGHAM, R. 1994. Engendered places in prehistory. Gender Place and Culture. *A Journal of Feminist Geography* 1(2): 169–203.
TRIPKOVIĆ, A., PORČIĆ, M., & STEFANOVIĆ, S. 2017. Mothers and Figurines: Representation of Pregnancy in the Early Neolithic of Central Balkans? *Arhaika* 5: 79–98.
TRIPKOVIĆ, B. 2007. *Domaćinstvo i prostor u kasnom neolitu. Vinčansko naselje na Banjici*. Beograd: Srpsko arheološko društvo.
TRIPKOVIĆ, B. 2013. *Domaćinstvo i zajednica: Kućne i naseobinske istorije u kasnom neolitu centralnog Balkana*. Beograd: Flossie fakultet, Univerziteta u Beogradu.
UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU, FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET, Odeljenje za arheologiju 31 March 2022 Accessed May 2023. https://www.f.bg.ac.rs/files/akta/ET_Kodeks_ARH_FF.pdf
UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU, FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET, Sigurno mesto. Accessed 7 Sep 2023 https://sigurnomesto.f.bg.ac.rs
UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU, FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET, Odeljenje za arheologiju, Silabusi 7 Sep 2023 https://www.f.bg.ac.rs/sr-lat/arheologija/silabusi?IDK=373

UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU, FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET, Odeljenje za arheologiju, Zaposleni. Accessed 25 May 2023 https://www.f.bg.ac.rs/sr-lat/arheologija/zaposleni_od

VUKOVIĆ, J. 2021. Žene u rimskim provincijama na tlu Srbije, in: JANKOVIĆ PIVLJANIN S. (ed.), *Žene na tlu Srbije od praistorije do savremenog doba. Beograd*: HeraEdu: 32–71.

VUKOVIĆ, J. 2021a. Domination of Women? Gender Representation in the Corpus of Late Neolithic Anthropomorphic Figurines. *Etnoantropološki problemi* 16(3): 739–759.

VUKOVIĆ, J. 2021b. Vladarke ili potlačene?: Žene u neolitu, in: JANKOVIĆ PIVLJANIN. S. (ed.), *Žene na tlu Srbije od praistorije do savremenog doba*. Beograd: HeraEdu: 12–29.

VUKOVIĆ, J. 2022. Kasnoneolitske figurine kao izraz društvene nejednakosti. *Etnoantropološki problemi* 17(3): 827–846.

VUKOVIĆ, J., IGNJATOVIĆ, M. & ŠLJIVAR, D. 2008. Svakodnevni život na obali Dunava. Zanatlije i trgovci, ribari i zemljoradnici, in: NIKOLIĆ, D. (ed.), *Vinča. Praistorijska metropola*. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, Univerziteta u Beogradu: 121–138.

ZAHARIJEVIĆ, A. (ed.). 2008. *Neko je rekao feminizam? Kako je feminizam uticao na Zene XXI veka*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije i istraživanje roda, Rekonstrukcija ženski fond.

ZAHARIJEVIĆ A. 2019. Spaljivanje u 21. veku - šta stoji iza "rodne ideologije". *Kultura* 163: 28–45.

ZAHARIJEVIĆ, A. 2020. *Život tela. Politička filozofija Džudit Batler*. Beograd: Akademska knjiga.

ŽIŽEK, S. 1999. *Liebe deinen Nächsten? Nein, Danke! Die Sackgasse des Sozialen in der Postmoderne*. Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt.

Review of Greenberg R. & Hamilakis Y., *Archaeology, Nation, and Race: Confronting the Past, Decolonizing the Future in Greece and Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022 - DOI: 10.1017/9781009160247

Maja Gori
CNR Italian National Research Council

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.77-80

When this book was published, I had high expectations, first because I am a big fan of the scientific production of one of the two authors, who has inspired and deeply influenced my research on similar topics. Secondly, because I have a strong interest in the two countries subject of this work, Greece and Israel, mainly for professional, but also for personal reasons. Hellenism and Judaism are central in the modernist European project, and the comparative perspective adopted by the authors, is illuminating many key cultural aspects of our society. When I started reading, however, I was somehow sceptical about the choice of treating with a dialogue-comparative structure such themes. I feared that the full articulation of complex concepts like nationalism, colonialism, the intersection or archaeology and race, could have been mortified by such a choice. I had to completely change my mind, because the dialogue between R. Greenberg and Y. Hamilakis adds liveliness and strength to these difficult topics while at the same time it lightens the reading. This was also the aim of the authors, that chose the dialogic structure to be able to construct an autonomous space 'in-between' that could represent fertile ground for further discussions on these and related topics (p. xiv). The book stems from a seminar that the two authors taught jointly at Brown University in spring 2020 and discusses national identities and crypto-colonialism at the intersection between archaeological practice and Hellenism and Judaism. In *Chapter 1. Introduction* (pp. 1–7) the authors present a brief intellectual biography that helps the readers to understand the background of both scholars and the path that has led them to deal with the topics they address in the book. I am convinced that this kind of assessment should be done by all archaeologists at least once during their archaeological life. Even if it seems irrelevant, letting others (and yourself) know one's intellectual background serves to unravel the experiences that led us to choose one approach over another, or a particular research topic, and to be aware of the way we have chosen to carry out our profession. The book proceeds with a discussion on the colonial origins of archaeology in Israel and Greece (*Chapter 2. The Colonial Origins of National Archaeologies*, pp. 8–41), which results in an interesting dialogue on the nineteenth century background of the discipline in the two states, and the shared common features of integration of archaeology into statist project in both countries. Interesting is

CONTACT: Maja Gori – maja.gori@cnr.it

the reflection on the intersection of colonialism and nationalism at the origin of Greek and Israeli nationhood, the archaeologization of the land. This chapter, in my opinion could have been slightly more thorough in the part discussing Israel. *Chapter 3. Archaeology in the Crypto-Colony* (pp. 42–74) opens addressing the concept of crypto-colony by the anthropologist Michael Herzfeld (p. 43), and the contradiction between political independence accompanied by massive economic dependency. Within this discussion I found extremely interesting the argumentations on the role of foreign schools and foreign missions and the relationship to local archaeologists. Described as institutions that "*embody the impact of the Classical legacy and its glorification*", they also "*recall, materialize and sustain the colonial legacy of archaeology in Greece, as well as the crypto-colonial status of the county as a whole*" (p. 53). This western paternalism sees "*local archaeologists (Greek, Israeli or otherwise)*" as "*unable to transcend their locality, their passionate attachments, or their patriotism, to become rational and objective observers*" (p. 54). I take up the authors' invitation by enriching this review with observation that can be food for thoughts to investigate another crypto-colonial area, the Balkans, a liminal zone between the European Union and the yet untamed 'new lands' born out of the 1990s revolutions and conflicts, which fit into Herzfeld's definition (buffer state, massive dependence, aggressive nationalism) (p. 58). As an archaeologist working in the Balkans, it happened to me countless times to be looked upon with astonishment for not having any kind of Albanian roots despite working there for almost two decades. It was obvious to more than one foreign colleague that as a Balkan archaeologist I must necessarily have Albanian origins to specialize in such part of the world. I doubt that the same question would have been asked to the many non-Greek archaeologists working in Greece. This attitude reflects the perception of Aegean archaeology as a superior and naturally worthy scholarly subject, in comparison to other Balkan archaeologies. During a workshop in Vienna focusing on the Balkans I presented a provocative talk on the relationship between Balkan and Greek archaeologies in the interpretation of Late Bronze Age networks, and the intersection with German philhellenism (Gori and Ivanova 2017). Following a heated discussion, I was told by a non-Balkan colleague working at a German institution that since I did not come from the Balkans, I could not allow myself to openly criticize the theoretical approach used by my other Balkan colleagues. This remark betrayed a paternalistic approach as local Balkan archaeologists were perceived unable to discuss archaeological theory, an activity which is reserved to Western colleagues. The following *Chapter 4. Archaeology as Purification* (pp. 75–108) points to the purification process in archaeology, involving the cleaning of the sites from any elements that could be considered as disturbing the abstract and idealized archaeological landscape, doesn't matter if these elements are remains belonging to other epochs or humans. An example is Silwan's al-Bustan neighbourhood in Israel, which is related to another idea of purity, the one connected to order and rules. Unlicensed homes had to be demolished to make space for archaeological excavations and their plots confiscated for the benefit of foreigner and tourists and "*restored*" to the ancient pre-Palestinian state (p. 78). I found the process of sacralization of Greece extremely interesting. As Israel, Greece has become a holy land, not only for the sacralization of classical antiquity, but also for the merging of antiquity and Orthodox Christianity (p. 101). The discussion on nation, race and archaeogenetics occupies *Chapter 5. Whitening Greece and Israel. Nation, Race, and Archaeogenetics* (pp. 109–150). Perhaps also due to my scientific interests, this is the chapter that I consider to be one of

the most important and innovative in the book, as this theme is extremely topical and there is a heated debate going on in archaeology, at a methodological-scientific and interpretative level, as well as at a political one. One point that I find interesting is the way in which colonists become indigenous in Palestine, that is by providing a connection to the land based on archaeology (p. 114), and how Israel became at the same time "*indigenous and European through the trope of Judeo-Christianity, which makes the Jews in Israel constituents of Europe while relegating the Palestinians to the status of intruders*" (p. 115). The discussion on blackness and whiteness and the transformation of ethnic and religious diversity is approached through the lenses of national ideas. The whitening of the modern nation in Greece went hand in hand with the whitening of ancient Greece, and it rested on the fertile substratum of the notion of Greek superiority in respect to other nations which was expressed by Winckelmann (p. 126). The whitening of archaeology is an ongoing process that is rooted in the nineteenth century discourses on Greco-Roman sculptures, used to idealize a white superior race (p. 131). Interestingly, while Greece has been appropriated by Europe as vehicle of whiteness and occidentality, the antiquities of Palestine and Syro-Mesopotamia are utilized by Jews of European descent as vehicle for their own oriental indigenity (p. 131). The critic to ancient DNA studies and the reproduction of primordial sociobiological categories based on arbitrary and anachronistic ethnonyms such as Mycenaeans, Minoans Canaanites, etc. (p. 139–140) is addressed in relation to their use to construct a direct connection between the past and the present. Recent scientific publications are also openly criticized for their simplistic reconstruction of past groups dynamics and their impact on present day identity discourses. *Chapter 6. Decolonizing Our Imagination* (pp. 151–179) is a reflection on possible ways to go further and reimagine archaeology as decolonizing action. The decolonization of archaeological practice is regarded as part of the decolonization process of a country as a whole (p. 153). I appreciated the approach of this chapter that is structured in a way that avoids any kind of roadmap or 'to do list' but rather proposes a self-reflection on the issue, discussing their own work within the archaeological practice of Greece and Israel. Interesting is the strategy of archaeological ethnography to counteract the idea of absence: archaeologists encounter things but not people. Archaeological ethnography helps the archaeologist to see and recognize human presence other than the one of dead people (p. 168). It will be difficult to get archaeologists "*to change their concept of themselves, the way they are seen or presented, and the way they are valued in society*" (p. 171), and like the authors I am convinced that this is the only way to decolonize our discipline and imagine how archaeology and archaeologists should be. Archaeology is not about the past, neither is just about the present, it is about multitemporal existence (p. 172). The interest in things ("all *things*") does not lie in the glorious past that they embody, in their antiquity, but in their "*multi-temporality and agency, their sensorial and affective affordances, and their ability to intervene in the present, containing at the same time multiple pasts*" (p. 175). Chapter *7. Conclusion* (pp. 180–183) wraps up the main concepts dealt with in the previous chapter.

I wrote this review while I was working at the Freie Universität Berlin thanks to a scholarship offered by my own institute (ISPC-CNR), and in the same days the Forum Kritische Archaeologie has published a new theme Issue, exactly on *Archaeology, Nation, and Race*. I warmly invite all colleagues who come across this review to read all the seven critical responses to the book. The issue is available at this link:

https://www.kritischearchaeologie.de/en/current_issue.php

References

GORI, M., & IVANOVA, M. (eds.). 2017. *Balkan Dialogues: Negotiating Identity between Prehistory and the Present*. Taylor & Francis.

GREENBERG R. & HAMILAKIS, Y. (eds.). 2023. Theme Issue: Archaeology, Nation, and Race. *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 12 (2023): 106-148.

Review of Gyucha A. & Parkinson W. A. (eds.), *First Kings of Europe. From Farmers to Rulers in Prehistoric Southeastern Europe*. Cotsen Institute of Archaeological Press, The Field Museum of Natural History. Los Angeles, 2022. Hardcover, 235 pages, ISBN 781950446247

Daniela Heilmann
Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

DOI: 10.32028/exnovo-vol-8-pp.81-86

The monograph "First Kings of Europe – From Farmers to Rulers in Prehistoric Southeastern Europe" has a dual purpose. Firstly, it serves as a companion to an exhibition in the Field Museum (Chicago), targeting the general public, particularly those of Balkan origin in North America (see Preface, p. xiv). Secondly, it aims to provide a comprehensive synthesis of studies for scholars working on Balkan prehistory. At the exhibition in the Field Museum, open from 31 March 2023 to 28 January 2024, 26 museums and 11 countries take part, bringing together master pieces from Southeastern Europe from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age. The exhibition is the culmination of years of collaborative effort on Balkan Archaeology by the editors and their colleagues from Southeastern Europe. Its overarching objective is to bring the rich cultural heritage of the Balkans to a broad North American audience (see Preface, p. xiv).

Published in collaboration with the Field Museum of Natural History and The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, the entire volume is well-written and effectively caters to both the general public and scholars. The consistently high quality of the written content suggests meticulous editorial support. Additionally, the volume is richly illustrated, with the visual elements serving as valuable complements to the textual content. To engage this diverse audience, the editors of the volume have chosen a timely theme—examining the origins of political and economic inequality and the development of kingdoms. The topic of the emergence of institutional social inequality is well established in the current research landscape (see Beck & Quinn 2022). The factors and processes that led to social transformations continue to be the subject of lively debate, as demonstrated by Meller et al. 2016; Porčić 2019 or Bulatović et al. 2021. Although elites in general play a major role as a research subject in Balkan Archaeology, the underlying processes that produced social inequality are comparatively less well explored. Drawing on source material from Southeastern Europe, like gold objects from Varna cemetery, weaponry as well as the treasure from Borovo, the volume explores

CONTACT: Daniela Heilmann - daniela.heilmann@lmu.de

various facets of this topic, relating to technology and craftsmanship, trade and exchange, warfare and conflict, and rituals and ceremonies. The result of this exploration are nine essays by scholars from ten different countries, all actively involved in long-term projects related to Southeastern Europe.

The foreword to the volume (pp. xvii–xxi) is written by Gary M. Feinman, whose research focuses on the emergence of inequality. The topic of multinational cooperation is a critical link to the overarching issue of "kingship" explored in this volume. This connection is drawn due to the fundamental idea that kingship, in many respects, hinges on interpersonal interactions and cooperation. Kings cannot function in isolation as they rely on the support of a retinue and build lasting relationships, – comparable to the endeavour to organize an international exhibition. The foreword presents the project's theoretical framework, yet it predominantly leans on Anglo-American literature, which is somewhat surprising given the project's central theme of cooperation, leaving one to expect the inclusion of insights from southern European colleagues.

The book provides a strong foundation, with two introductory chapters (1 and 2) emphasizing the social processes that transformed egalitarian peasant villages into hierarchically structured states or tribal kingdoms.

Chapter 1, "From Farmers to Rulers in Prehistoric Southeastern Europe" (pp. 2–25) is written by the editors of the volume, Attila Gyucha and William A. Parkinson. The primary aim of the introduction is to emphasise the social processes that effected transformation while also examining the emergence of inequality by using the Balkans as a case study. It is assumed that these societies transformed from hunter-gatherer communities characterised by situational inequality and non-hereditary power, into permanent settlements, leading to a shift in the dynamics of social interaction. They emphasise how, during the Neolithic period, institutionalisation of power was only short-lived, with growing inequality becoming more pronounced from the Bronze Age onwards. The central question that drives the introduction is thus an exploration of the historical development of kingship and the origins of monarchs. However, the primary objective affecting the whole volume is not to describe linear developments or changes attributable solely to migration. Instead, the authors aim to present a new framework that focuses on the underlying processes, presents variations, and underscores the openness of human networks in shaping the emergence of kingship.

Chapter 2 "Social Change and Elites in the Prehistoric Central and Southern Balkans" (pp. 26–41) is provided by Goce Naumov and Eleonora P. Mitrevska. The authors supplement the first introduction with case studies from the Central and Southern Balkans tracing the development of social complexity from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age. For the period, the authors tend to assume supra-regional settlement hierarchies instead of an inner hierarchisation of the communities. Only from the Copper Age onwards, with the supposedly more intensive exploitation of resources, would new sources of wealth emerge. This is reflected in fortified settlements and richly furnished graves. The accumulation of goods continued during the Metal Ages, leading to the emergence of competitive groups that transformed into elites until the Iron Age.

In addition to the introductions (Section I), the volume is divided into three further sections (II–IV) covering the Neolithic period, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, each with 2 to 3 chapters.

The section II is titled "Neolithic and Copper Age: First Farmers, Herders, and Leaders".

Chapter 3 "Communities and Monuments in the Making: Neolithic Tells on the Great Hungarian Plain" (pp. 44–59) by Attila Gyucha, William A. Parkinson, András Füzesi and Pál Raczky delves into the examination of Neolithic Tells on the Great Hungarian Plain and explores the social and political organisation of Neolithic society through the analysis of three distinct case studies. Neolithic tells are conceptually understood as social arenas where competition and differentiation took place, but there is a notable absence of evidence supporting the existence of institutionalized and heritable inequality.

In Chapter 4 "The Emergence of a New Elite in Southeast Europe: People and Ideas from the Steppe Region at the Turn or the Copper and Bronze Ages" (pp. 60–77) by János Dani, Bianca Preda- Bălănică and János Angi, the focus shifts to the transition from the Copper Age to the Bronze Age and the emergence of a new elite in Southeast Europe. Here, the immigration of pastoral peoples from the steppe is identified as the primary driver of sociocultural change. This phenomenon is archaeologically reflected in the presence of kurgans and personal prestige goods, which indicate a shift towards a new understanding of personality and individual status within this context.

Section III, titled "The Age of Bronze: Warriors and Chiefs", examines an emerging warrior society, which is hypothesised based on various categories of evidence, including hoards, settlements, and weaponry.

In Chapter 5 "Treasures of the Warlords, Bronze Smiths, and Farmers of the Late Bronze Age; Hoard Deposition in Hungary and Transylvania" (pp. 80–107), Gábor V. Szabó and Botond Rezi, focus on various examples of hoarding practices in Hungary and Transylvania, using them as evidence to support the presence of distinct social roles, such as warlords. This chapter sheds light on the practices and artifacts that suggest the existence of individuals with significant military and leadership roles during this period.

Florin Gogâltan and Corina Borş center in Chapter 6 "Peace and War in the Bronze Age on the Eastern Frontier of the Carpathian Basin: The Evolution and Manifestation of Social Stratification" (pp. 108–123) on the development of social hierarchy and differentiation, primarily drawing insights from settlement evidence on the Eastern frontier of the Carpathian Basin. They explore how social hierarchies began to emerge and manifest themselves in the archaeological record.

In Chapter 7 "Weapons and Warriors in the Late Bronze Age of the Northern and Central Balkans" (pp. 124–143), János Gábor Tarbay and Jovan D. Mitrović take a close look at the analysis of weaponry and the appearance of warriors during the Late Bronze Age in the Northern and Central Balkans. This chapter explores the role of weaponry and the individuals associated with martial activities during this time, providing valuable insights into the social dynamics of the era.

Section IV, titled "The Age of Iron: Traders and Aristocrats", deals with the Iron Age, with regional focuses on the Southern Balkans, the Hallstatt world of Central Europe and the Balkans, and Bulgaria.

Chapter 8 "Tribal States or Stately Tribes? The Origins of the 'Barbarian' Kingdoms of the Southern Balkans" (pp. 146–159) by Michael L. Galaty and Rudenc Ruka examines the nature and development of political systems in Macedonia and how Balkan 'chiefs' could transform themselves into 'emperors'. Based on a diachronic analysis of the Metal Ages to Roman Period, it is assumed that no social changes can be observed at the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The authors note that even the Greek colonization did not bring about any transformation. Only the military conflicts from the fifth century BCE onwards would have acted as a stimulus for the formation of the Macedonian state. The chapter provides a solid overview of the history of Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Roman period.

Hrvoje Potrebica and Andrijana Pravidur propose a continuous developmental trajectory from the Bronze Age for Central and Southeastern Europe in Chapter 9 "Kings of Crossroads: Warriors and Traders of the Hallstatt World of Central Europe and the Iron Age Balkans" (pp. 160–179). They suggest that in the Iron Age, an elite class emerged with significant economic, political, military, and religious power. This elite group controlled crucial resources and communication routes, and their elevated status was evident in their burial practices. This section offers a comprehensive exploration of the changing sociopolitical landscape and the emergence of powerful elites during the Iron Age.

Peter Delev provides insights into the gradual consolidation of ancient Balkan nations during the Iron Age, with specific reference to Thrace in Chapter 10 "Arrayed in Gold and Silver: The Lavish Kings of Ancient Thrace" (pp. 180–195). The author gives an overview of the history of the Thracians from the Bronze and Iron Ages, during the Greek colonization up to the Odrysian Kingdom and the Hellenistic period. After the historical outline, he describes the Thracian culture based on its political organization, the settlement system, religion, and burial customs as well as the treasure finds.

Despite the undeniable amount of effort invested in the realization of this kind of exhibition and the composition of this kind of volume, the book raises several issues. The use of 'Southeastern Europe' in the book's title is somewhat misleading as it primarily focuses on the Hungarian Plain and Transylvania. However, (Northern) Greece, a region highly relevant to the topic, is conspicuously absent, despite its significance in current research. It would have been appropriate to address this geographical emphasis or reconsider using the term 'Southeastern Europe' in the book's preface.

The aim of the volume is clearly formulated at the very beginning to create a new framework for understanding the emergence of complex societies, namely kingdoms, using examples from Southeastern Europe. However, even by the end of the volume, readers may still struggle to pinpoint what precisely this new framework entails and how the identified processes contribute to the development of the proposed kingship model. Further clarification and exposition of the book's central

theoretical framework and the causal link between these processes and the emergence of kingship would have enhanced the reader"s understanding.

The social processes that led to social change might be summarized as follows: While the book effectively highlights the role of readily available resources in the sociopolitical development of the Balkans, it predominantly considers this development to have been driven by resource control and exploitation. The shift in settlement patterns during the Neolithic period, transitioning from small, dispersed villages to larger, centralized settlements known as 'tells', brought about transformations in coexistence and the corresponding societal norms. During the transition to the Bronze Age, the authors focus on a fundamental shift in the perception of the individual. The arrival of pastoralists from the steppe brought about a significant focus on the single individual, exemplified by single burials under kurgans and the presence of prestige objects connected with single individuals. Simultaneously, a male-centered worldview gained prominence, and patriarchal forms of coexistence were introduced. In the subsequent Metal Ages, these patriarchal households were characterized by sword-bearing leaders, while a warrior class emerged through conflicts and wars over resources. The societal framework retained a masculine ethos, with warlords continuing to serve as the backbone of the social order during the Iron Age. During this period, a cosmopolitan elite ideology evolved, incorporating Mediterranean goods to signify status and prestige. In general, the Southeastern European communities remained organized into tribes, while Macedonia and Thrace employed conflict and warfare as catalysts for state formation.

Within the volume, the emergence of a hierarchically structured society is notably marked by a strong gender bias, predominantly framing it as a male-driven endeavor. The prevailing perspective overwhelmingly spotlights men as the primary agents of change, overshadowing the contributions of other social groups, which are relegated to a peripheral role. Despite the existence of ample evidence, such as the opulent women's burials during the Iron Age in North Macedonia, which starkly contrast the relatively modest men's graves and conspicuously showcase wealth, discussions on the sociocultural development of Balkan societies in prehistory largely overlook the roles of women. The volume's overarching narrative seems to be heavily influenced by the paradigm of the mobile warrior hero, which consistently dominates the discussions. This perspective could benefit significantly from a more inclusive exploration of the diverse roles and contributions of various social groups within the dynamic and intricate sociopolitical landscape of the Balkans. It's worth noting that all the editors of this volume are men, and only four chapters are co-authored by women, and in those cases, they are not listed as the first authors. This gender disparity raises concerns about the diversity and inclusivity of perspectives presented in the book. A more comprehensive examination of concepts related to warrior ideologies, chieftains, kingdoms, and elites, along with a broader exploration of advanced and nuanced ideas, would have enriched the book"s depth and offered a more holistic view of the complex historical dynamics at play.

References

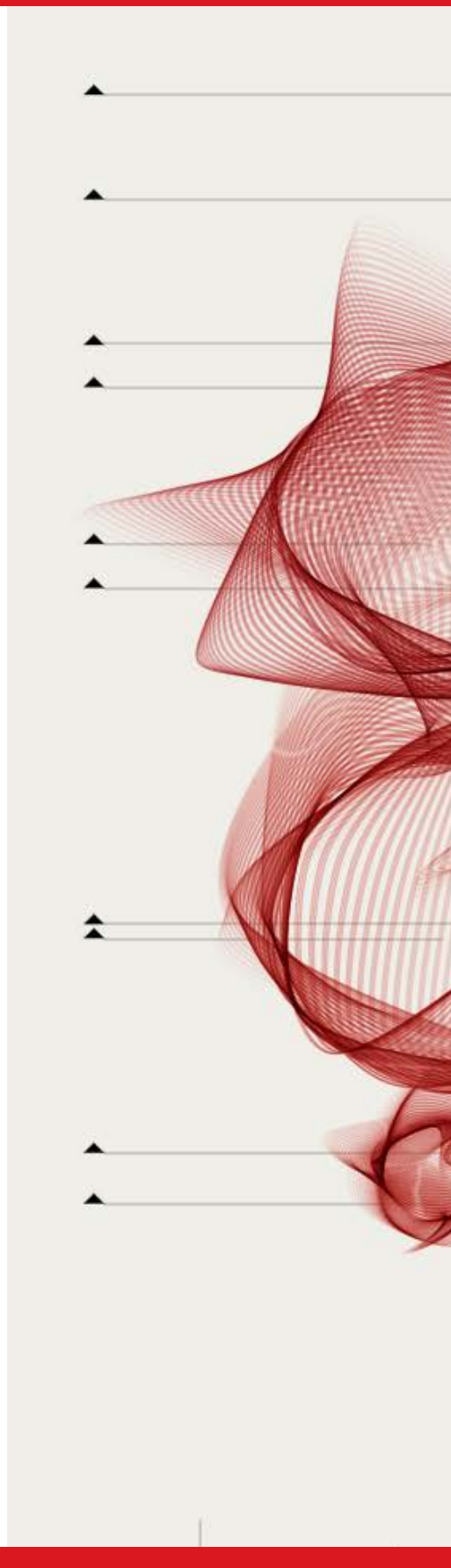
BECK, J. & QUINN, C. P. 2022. Balancing the scales: archaeological approaches to social inequality. *World Archaeology* 54(4): 572–583.

PORČIĆ, M. 2019. Evaluating Social Complexity and Inequality in the Balkans Between 6500 and 4200 BC. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 27: 335–390.

BULATOVIĆ, A., MOLLOY, B. & FILIPOVIĆ, V. 2021. The Balkan-Aegean migrations revisited: Changes in material culture and settlement patterns in the Late Bronze age Central Balkans in light of new data. *Starinar* 71: 61–105.

MELLER, H., HAHN, H. P., JUNG, R. & RISCH, R. (eds.), 2016. *Arm und Reich – Zur Ressourcenverteilung in prähistorischen Gesellschaften. Rich and Poor – Competing for resources in prehistoric societies*. 8. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2015 in Halle (Saale). Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle 14. Halle (Saale): Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte.

EX NOVO Journal of Archaeology
Volume 8 - December 2023



BALKAN ARCHAEOLOGY AS A LABORATORY

REVIEWS