

Ludomir R. Lozny *Editor*

Comparative Archaeologies

A Sociological View
of the Science of the Past

 Springer

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For Magda

*Le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne
connaît point*

Foreword

Archaeology is not about the past. For a substantial part of my life as an archaeologist, I have assumed that archaeology *was* about the past. When I decided to devote my life to it, I was convinced that archaeology was not only the world's most entertaining outdoor activity, but also that it was about studying societies from the past on the basis of their material remains. And after completing my studies, during the next step in my career, supported by a grant for a number of years, that is what I thought I was doing. Then came the practice of work outside academia, and I found out that in fact my profession comprised two distinct branches. On the one hand there was the archaeological research that I had been involved in, and apart from that there were also the sites and monuments that had to be taken care of, the archaeological heritage or resource management. Managing archaeological resources has little to do with the past and, by definition, is in the present. I learned that the purpose of this work was primarily to preserve archaeological sites as a source of information about the past.

The value of archaeological resources to society is of course considerably wider than that, and I have been finding out about value-based approaches to heritage, stakeholder involvement, and multiple interpretations of the past ever since. Nevertheless, I have long believed in the dichotomy between archaeological research that produced knowledge of the past and archaeological resource management that dealt not just with the archaeological fabric but with the heritage values ascribed to it and that was inherently political as a result.

I now know that such differentiation is not a useful distinction. It can be used to explain certain phenomena and ways in which the discipline has developed, for example as related to commercialization. But investigations in the history of archaeology have made it abundantly clear that our discipline is like the other social sciences and humanities in that all research is directly related to social and political development and current themes and tendencies. In fact, the birth of modern archaeology itself can be directly related to major social and political developments in Europe around the beginning of the nineteenth century at the end of the Enlightenment, when Napoleon had been defeated and Europe was being transformed. The new nation-states needed to create or redefine their national identities and found themselves in a need of national past and shared heritage.

Antiquaries had been studying the classical world for centuries before, but it is not a coincidence that the first professorship in the world to explicitly include nonclassical, prehistoric archaeology, dates from 1818 in The Netherlands and was followed rapidly by more such posts in other European countries.

What is studied about the past is thus directly related to what is relevant in the present. Moreover, it is also directly related to *how* it is studied and *where*. Different academic traditions are of crucial importance, for research, just as different legal and political systems determine how heritage resources can be managed. Local communities and native populations alike are claiming direct involvement not only in heritage resource management, but also in archaeological research. The new concepts of value-based management and value-centered conservation of archaeological resources have brought fundamental changes to the role of the archaeologist. From an expert uncovering truth he has now become an interpreter of changing meaning and significance.

It obviously do not want to imply by all this, that all archaeology is only about the present. There are many archaeologies and they can certainly bring us valuable insights about the foreign country that is our past, and its physical remains that survive all around us and below our feet. That is why the present book is so important. Its editor has brought together an impressive number of case studies from all around the world that testify to the different ways of how the past and the present interact in the different traditions that have developed around the world. Even in the age where Anglo-American models of studying the past and managing heritage are seemingly dominant, this has changed relatively little and diversity remains. In many contributions, little distinction is made between research archaeology and heritage management, and the discipline as a whole is set in its national context. Where archaeological heritage is strongly contested, either because neo-colonial agendas persist such as in Africa and the Near East, or because the colonizers never left and appropriated the land, such as in the Americas and Australia, it becomes especially clear that archaeology is not neutral. The arguments and interpretations of archaeological research can reinforce political arguments of the day just as they are being inspired or even explicitly used by those arguments. And by defining what heritage is to be valued and what not, archaeological stewardship is linked to political choice.

It is fortunate that the present collection of papers has been assembled, so that we have not only the possibility for international and cross-cultural comparison, but we also have the benefit of viewing some very different perspectives and vantage points from a diversity of authors, which makes reading of this book all the more interesting.

Leiden, The Netherlands
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Willem J.H. Willems

Contents

Introduction	1
Ludomir R. Lozny	
Archaeology in the Age of Globalization: Local Meanings, Global Interest	21
Ludomir R. Lozny	
Part I Archaeology in Europe	
Toward a Historical Sociology of German Archaeology	53
Ulrich Veit	
A Social History of Danish Archaeology (Reprint with New Epilogue)	79
Kristian Kristiansen	
Being Through the Past: Reflections on Swedish Archaeology and Heritage Management	109
Johan Hegardt and Anna Källén	
Oscillating Between National and International: The Case of Finnish Archaeology	137
Visa Immonen and J.-P. Taavitsainen	
Contemporary Polish Archaeology in Global Context	179
Arkadiusz Marciniak	
Polish Archaeology in Retrospective	195
Ludomir R. Lozny	
Archaeology in a Middle Country	221
Silvia Tomášková	

A Panorama of Social Archaeology in Russia	243
Nikolay N. Kradin	
Dig Up–Dig in: Practice and Theory in Hungarian Archaeology	273
László Bartosiewicz, Dóra Mérai, and Péter Csippán	
Archaeology in the New Countries of Southeastern Europe: A Historical Perspective	339
Predrag Novaković	
The Archaeology of Israel and Palestine	463
David B. Small	
Part II Archaeology in South America and the Caribbean Region	
Archaeology and Politics in Argentina During the Last 50 Years	495
Gustavo G. Politis and Rafael Pedro Curtioni	
“Silent and Alone”: How the Ruins of Palenque Were Taught to Speak the Language of Archaeology	527
Irina Podgorny	
The Past and the Revolutionary Interpretation of the Present: Our Experience of Social Archaeology, 33 Years Later	555
Mario Sanoja Obediente and Iraida Vargas-Arenas	
Peruvian Archaeology: Its Growth, Characteristics, Practice, and Challenge	569
Izumi Shimada and Rafael Vega-Centeno	
The Agency of Academic Archaeology in Colombia	613
Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo and Alejandro Dever	
Colonialism and the History of Archaeology in the Spanish Caribbean	641
L. Antonio Curet	
Part III Archaeology in Asia and the Pacific Region	
Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan	675
Fumiko Ikawa-Smith	
Contemporary Archaeology as a Global Dialogue: Reflections from Southeast Asia	707
Rasmi Shoocongdej	

Contents	xi
Pacific Islands Archaeology	731
Frank R. Thomas	
Part IV Archaeology in Africa	
The Status of Archaeology and Anthropology in Southern Africa Today: Namibia as Example	769
Beatrice H. Sandelowsky	
Excavating the History of Archaeology in Malawi	785
Yusuf M. Juwayeyi	
The Practice of Archaeology in Nigeria	807
C.A. Folorunso	
Afterword	827
Index	829

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Introduction

Ludomir R. Lozny

Goals and Scope

What will the role of regional archaeologies be in the twenty-first century globalized context of information exchange? Will they continue as data-providers or domains for testing ideas developed elsewhere, or should we view regional archaeologies as significant contributors to the world's cultural heritage? These questions outline the guiding principle behind the presented book in which its contributors offer sociological and historical overviews of archaeology in non-English-speaking countries worldwide. There are significant regional differences in theorizing about the past and in practising archaeology and the aim of this book is to identify and explain those differences, as well as point out the existing similarities. Different goals have been assigned to archaeology in order to fulfil local expectations. These goals are entrenched in local politics and/or social expectations behind the research on cultural heritage. In some cases, archaeology was propagated through economic or political interdependence and contributed to a phenomenon identified here as intellectual colonialism. The chief goal of this book is to compare and contrast the presently existing various models of archaeology and see how regional archaeologies contribute to the currently globalized interest in the past.

Archaeology, as all the social sciences, has always been characterized by competing theoretical propositions based on diverse bodies of data. However, locally acquired facts do not always accommodate the explanatory models that originated elsewhere and which have been tested on data obtained through the use of specific methods. This issue relates to one of the most significant problems in theory-building. The common ground among theorists is to discuss how ideas and approaches, especially the “appropriate theory,” are matched to the various research agendas and problems with which archaeologists have to deal locally. Theoretical schools have arisen and claimed to have a privileged status in determining what constitutes valid explanation in archaeological research, and the

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recent literature shows that this still continues to be the case. In historical perspective, such schools were seen not only as grounded in partial bodies of empirical material, but also as reactions to preceding theoretical positions. The focus of the presented book is not just on theoretical aspects of alternative theoretical paradigms. Regions such as Latin America and Europe, especially Eastern Europe, but also Asia and Africa have developed strong archaeological traditions outside of, and in contrast to, the commonly accepted as leading Anglo-American schools. However, little attention was paid to these “alternative archaeologies” due to a variety of linguistic, social, and political barriers. This book presents regional archaeologies and their relationship to geographic, socioeconomic, and political settings and provides a forum for much needed dialogue among archaeologists from different parts of the world.

The idea for this book came about as the result of personal observations. I spent the last 30 years practising archaeology in Europe and the USA and also observing archaeologies in Asia and Africa and became interested in identifying similarities and differences among diverse methodologies that archaeologists in those regions follow. For instance, my European experiences suggest that archaeologists rarely discuss such anthropological topics that relate to the past like “power,” “leadership,” “social complexity,” and “social structure,” but spend most of their time cataloguing masses of artefacts and creating endless typologies. Many graduate-level theses in Europe are in fact extended catalogues of sets of artefacts lacking basic theoretical contexts. These are strong empirical studies, but rarely extend beyond the level of description. Such tradition of material studies is strong and is practised in many European countries. On the other hand, I also noticed that British and American scholars eagerly theorize on sometimes very limited set of data and their generalizations are at the edge of becoming scientific misrepresentation (see the current discussion on the elusive concept of chiefdom¹). Such methodological differences have been previously argued, for instance, in a lively discussion between Lewis Binford and Francois Bordes. I would like to take this discussion to another level, however, and go beyond just European (culture-history) vs. mainstream American (processual) archaeology. Among the questions that shape the theme of the presented book are: What variations in theory, practice, and structuring of archaeology exist elsewhere and what goals do they serve? Do these variations contribute to better understanding of the past? What methodologies archaeologists in different regions of the world follow? What do they want to learn? Can they learn what they want? How do archaeologists and others use what they know about the past? Why study the past in the first place? What can we learn from the past? Can we use what we learn about the past to better ourselves? Do we study the past to reconstruct the past or to understand it and learn from it?

¹ Yoffe (2005), Pauketat (2007). A discussion on this problem has also been presented in the journal *Social Evolution and History* and a special issue on this subject is forthcoming.

Several publications appeared within the past 15 years in the English language in which authors presented local archaeologies to a larger audience. Among the recently published works close to the subject of the presented book, the most known are: Jaroslav Malina and Zdenek Vasicek (1990) *Archaeology Yesterday and Today*, which considers mostly Eastern Europe with the emphasis on archaeology in Czechoslovakia (before the split of the country into the Czech and the Slovak Republic). Bruce Trigger's (1989) *A History of Archaeological Thought* offers an account of archaeological ideas, theories, and methodologies with little attention to the practice and organization of archaeology. In Ian Hodder's (1991) *Archaeological Theory in Europe. The last three decades*, the intention was to present the currently followed theories in Western and Eastern Europe and limited references were made to the socioeconomic and political contexts of practising archaeology. The closest in scope and geographic coverage to the presented book are the two sets of papers, one published in two volumes of *World Archaeology* in 1981–1982 under the editorship of Bruce Trigger and Ian Glover (1981, 1982), in which the contributors discussed theories and practices of archaeologies worldwide, and the second set consists of a number of papers published in *Antiquity* in the early 1990s, in which authors described the status of archaeology in the former Soviet Bloc countries at times of the systemic transformation. Also, the book edited by Peter R. Schmidt and Thomas C. Patterson (1998), *Making Alternative Histories. The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings*, offers a similar outlook on regional archaeologies to the presented volume by focusing primarily on archaeological methodology and political impact on the study of the past.

All the mentioned books are primarily histories of archaeology. None attempts to compare archaeologies and identify similarities and differences by asking contributors to elaborate on certain issues common to the practice of archaeology worldwide. Some are either of limited scope (theory) or geographic coverage (for instance Eastern Europe). The presented book offers a global reporting on the current status of archaeology and its scope is not limited to discussing theories, but includes other pressing issues that concern archaeology worldwide, like methodology, structuring of archaeology, funding, public outreach, etc.

The main goal of the book is to offer a comprehensive discussion on the current status of archaeology worldwide by contesting the following questions (the presented discussions are not limited to these questions):

1. How is the field of archaeology structured in different parts of the world?
2. What elements constitute archaeology as an academic and non-academic discipline in different parts of the world? Is archaeology just an academic discipline?
3. Is archaeology for archaeologists or do we have something more to accomplish? How can we reach out beyond the purely academic and administrative to ethical and moral aspects of the field?
4. How the Anglo-American model of archaeology is perceived outside of the English language sphere and what are its alternatives?
5. Does standardized model of archaeological theory and methodology present scholarly justified intellectual colonialism?

Structure and Method

Archaeologists who write histories of the discipline usually present chronologically organized descriptions of events which contributed to the acceptance of certain theoretical or methodological approaches. The contributors to this book also offer historical accounts on regional archaeologies, but in addition use the synchronic scale as an analytical platform for a comparative perspective. The comparative method is widely used in sociology and anthropology to research various social phenomena. In order to create a comparative analytical background for studying regional archaeologies, I asked the contributors to follow certain guidelines in their writings. They were, however, free to add or emphasize a topic they identified as significant to the region they discuss. In effect, the reader may compare sets of facts provided by the contributors who focused on the key points and issues that characterize local archaeologies. For instance, one of the issues discussed was a question about the use of archaeological data for regional ethnic histories, another on the impact of British or American archaeology, etc. The idea was to encourage the contributors to write essays in which they address the following generally designated three groups of topics (problems):

1. Historical aspect of archaeology

In this group of topics, the authors were asked to address the following questions: How did archaeology originate in your region? Was archaeology a local invention or was it imported from another place (socioeconomic and political context)? What sort of evidence suggests local, region-specific contribution(s) to archaeology? How do you see the future of archaeology in your region? Will it decline, prosper, or neither?

2. Theory and methodology

The second group of problems related to theories and methodologies of archaeological research. The contributors were asked to consider the following questions: What are the key interests (questions) about the past that archaeologists in your region investigate? For instance, in North America the key archaeological question is about the peopling of the Americas. In Mexico, it is about the formation of great civilizations, while in Poland archaeologists still debate ethnogenesis of the Slavs. Can you pinpoint the most common theory (theories) archaeologists apply to explain local phenomena from the past? Is it culture-history, functionalism mixed with evolutionism, Marxism and the emphasis on material culture, positivism, processual or post-processual approach, other? What methodology archaeologists follow in your region: is it material culture and typology, anthropological archaeology and the use of ethnological data (ethnoarchaeology), culture-history, other? Do archaeologists in your region apply an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the past cultures? By interdisciplinary I mean the utilization of a set of disciplines and methodologies which are not part of the social sciences or history (for instance, biology, geology, demography, historical ecology, etc.). Is archaeology in your region considered a part of the social sciences or a field auxiliary to history? What do you think is the key objective of archaeology: reconstruction of the past or understanding the past?

3. Structure of the field

The third group of problems related to the structuring of the field as it directly reflects on the present status quo and future developments of the discipline. It is also close to my interests about the conditions for sustainable archaeology. The contributors pondered upon several questions, like: How is archaeology organized in your region: is it exclusively an academic discipline or does it exist outside of the academia? Do other institutions regulate archaeological research, like the CRM structure in the US and the UK, or INRAP in France, with the emphasis on preservation and conservation of the past relics? In case where archaeology is organized as an academic discipline and non-academic practice, is this duality harmonious or does it cause conflicts? If conflicts, what kind (over funding, research priorities, decision-making on what to preserve, other?). What do you think is the future of archaeology? Should we focus on specific topics, like the emergence of complex societies, or are we under obligation to record all evidence of the past knowing that not all of them can be researched or preserved.

Archaeologists critically examine the social milieu in which knowledge is produced. The disciplinary academic context, or class background of particular scholars or schools to which they belong, impacts the way they think and argue. Knowledge is never absolute, nor certain, but must be contextualized, related to a particular time and space. It seems that any adequate conceptual and theoretical framework developed in studying the past must incorporate reflection upon archaeology as professional discipline in the present. We should not seek to reduce the past to the mechanical application of a naive positivism dressed up as scientific procedure (in which methodology is confused with theory); equally, we should not believe that criteria of testability and falsification should be abandoned in favour of speculations about unrecorded intentions in which anyone's opinion is as good as anyone else's. By presenting this book, I propose to identify those areas in which archaeological theory remains to be built and its practice improved, and what are the means we can get on with the job.

The Content

The book comprises four geographic areas: Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America. Europe is the most represented followed by South America, Asia, and Africa. Several colleagues who initially agreed to contribute chapters could not fulfil their promises. Especially missing are chapters on China, Mexico, Ecuador, Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Spain, The Netherlands, France, and Italy. Also, the Near East, especially Iraq and Iran, is not represented here and this region attracted many scholars from Europe and the US. Because the book is on archaeologies in non-English-speaking countries, it does not include discussions on archaeologies in the UK, USA, Canada, India, and Australia.

Ludomir Lozny opens the discussion by presenting the global context of current archaeology. I discuss the growing interest in archaeological research worldwide and suggest that while dissemination of archaeology in the twentieth century may be

explained through the use of the world-system model, current tendencies toward globalization of archaeological thought and practice advise a new phenomenon – archaeology as geoculture. Archaeology is now a worldwide operation and current tendencies regarding research and preservation of cultural heritage worldwide indicate a globalized approach to the past and archaeology as the only discipline to study historical societies not recorded through script. Such integration of interest about the past contributes to a shift of power thus far represented by academic centres produced through the socioeconomic and political constraints of the world-system. Their power was represented through abilities to control research worldwide by providing funds, setting research agendas, designing methodologies, and offering theoretical outlooks. The current integration is qualitatively different as archaeology becomes nationless and cultural heritage is understood as global rather than local patrimony. Despite its global context, however, archaeology is still governed by local politics. A look at this global scale allows for identification of problems and pressures inflicted on the archaeological research by overwhelmingly potent socioeconomic and political contexts.

The first section of the book presents archaeology in Europe. Ulrich Veit discusses German archaeology which made profound impact on other European and non-European archaeologies. Its significance cannot be underestimated and the author points out that the Great Tradition (German-led culture-history archaeology) and New Archaeology (British and American processual archaeology) contributed to the creation of two main archaeological traditions identified by Collin Renfrew as the Great Divide. Among significant contributions made by German archaeology are methodologies of settlements studies, especially the Jankhun's method seems useful in identifying settlement dynamics in the past. Veit also points out the political use of archaeology in Germany, especially during the Nazi era. The German approach to archaeology, in general, has been to view it as part of history or pre-history. Its reliance on history and the rejection of processual archaeology caused a divide still visible between German and other European archaeologies and the Anglo-American sphere. A more systematic approach to antiquities in Germany goes back to the early 1800s and was strongly linked to romantic nationalism. It is worth keeping in mind that Rudolf Virchow advocated a comprehensive approach to the human past, comparable with what is presently known as the four-field approach in North America (advocated by Virchow's student Franz Boas). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the nationalistically fuelled culture-history approach became the only paradigm in German archaeology. This was the time of Gustav Kossina and his ideas spread over a large portion of Central Europe. Presently, however, German archaeology is not a monolith and new trends are clearly visible. Despite being dominated by the culture-history paradigm, the influence from other European archaeologies is visible, for instance, the British Theoretical Archaeology Group inspired the establishment of German TAG.² There is also a strong presence of gender archaeology. German Biblical archaeology joins

²Note that other regions also introduced their specific theoretical conferences, like South American TAG and recently the US TAG.

the American and French traditions.³ The author also points out a wide range of outreach activities and strong status of public archaeology.

Kristian Kristiansen presents his earlier text, *A social history of Danish Archaeology (1905–1975)*, published in Glyn Daniel's (1981) volume *Towards History of Archaeology*, but with a new epilogue. He points out that 30 years ago when he wrote "*A social history of Danish Archaeology*," he concluded that archaeology was moving away from national history toward world history, and that this move was linked to the expansion of global economy. He also observed that professional archaeologists replaced former historical activists and amateurs in managing museums and archaeological societies, and that the audience for archaeology was expanding and consuming history more than ever. In a new epilogue to the previously published text, Kristiansen summarizes the current status of archaeology and concludes that nationalism still dominates European archaeology despite new political nationless entities, like the EU, within which it is practised. He also sees new expanding arenas for archaeological/historical consumption as traditional museums decline and new "realistic" re-enactments of both history and pre-history combined with cultural tourism are linked to the presentation of real archaeological and historical monuments and become the driving economic force behind interests in archaeological heritage. He concludes that the national framework for archaeology in Europe still dominates the research and perception of the past.

Anna Kallen and Johan Hegardt discuss the status of archaeology in Sweden and point out that the meaning of the past is only relevant in the present. They present a phenomenologically inspired approach to explain the significance of archaeology as a tool to create ideas regarding cultural heritage. The premise of their paper is that because cultural heritage contributes to the creation of identity, political groups might be consciously tempted to manipulate its research. The authors point out the rise of nationalistic sentiments, which becomes a real problem especially because the discussed case happened in Sweden, presumed to be one of the most tolerant among world's nations. After briefly sketching the history of Swedish heritage management and archaeology, they discuss the actors, the law, and the regulated practices of the field today, with particular reference to the recently published two reports on structural discrimination in the early twenty-first century Sweden. The authors emphasize that policies regarding preservation of cultural heritage precede the emergence of academic archaeology and go back to the seventeenth century. Archaeology and heritage preservation agencies are used to create and maintain national identity, but at the same time they contribute to racial sentiments and discrimination. Kallen and Hegardt point out the problem often dismissed by other archaeologists that our discipline contributes to the increase of nationalistic sentiments and provides arguments for designing discriminatory policies, and ask a significant question: "...if the students of archaeology and heritage management in Sweden to an extraordinary degree are of native Swedish decent and belong to a section of society that can be metaphorically described as children of teachers, and

³ See the chapter by Small in this volume.

we at the same time choose to avoid critical debate on matters of identity and belonging, what are then the consequences for the field of archaeology and heritage management and its relationship to structural discrimination in Swedish society today?” The authors conclude that the present regulations on archaeology and heritage preservation reinforce the traditional outlook on the past and argue that the changing multicultural (multivocal) Swedish society should be as such represented in the research on its past.

Visa Immonen and Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen discuss archaeology in Finland and suggest that the lack of publications in foreign languages (especially in English) could be the reason why Finnish archaeology is unknown to a wider audience. Their chapter is very thorough and presents a history of archaeology in Finland as well as its current status. The authors point out that Finnish archaeology has never been a contingent phenomenon, but closely, even if indirectly, entangled with the surrounding society and with wider international disciplinary currents. An essential characteristic of Finnish archaeology, write the authors, is its establishment and development in close connection with nationalism. Language has been central in Finnish nationalism, and this reflects on the understanding of Finnish archaeology. Consequently, the history of Finnish archaeology can be presented as a narrative of intra-disciplinary progress circling around the question of the origins of the Finnish people and their language. The institutional and economic support for archaeology in Finland, even before it was established as a modern academic discipline with a defined identity, was state-organized. Before the nineteenth century, the clergy was the most important social group studying ancient monuments, but in the course of the nineteenth century representatives of the middle class became the driving force of the nationalist movement and contributed to further social differentiation of Finnish archaeologists. The archaeological community grew during the decades after the Second World War, but is still rather small. Before the Second World War, Finnish archaeology was highly international, partly because of contacts with Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, but this ended due to the changes in international geopolitics and Finnish nationalism. The research has again become more international in the late twentieth century and the significance of archaeology for nationalistically oriented project weakened considerably.

Arkadiusz Marciniak titled his chapter *Contemporary Polish Archaeology in Global Context* to suggest that regional archaeologies should be seen in a wider global context. The author focuses on the last two decades, the time since the 1989 systemic transition to market economy and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. Marciniak points out that Polish archaeology generally belongs to the “Central European tradition,” which he defines as based on the German tradition but not equated with it (except for the language).⁴ According to my studies,⁵ at least three traditions are present in current Polish archaeology: the German-led

⁴For details on this tradition see also chapters by Veit, Bartosiewicz et al., Tomaskova, and Novakovic.

⁵See my chapter *Polish Archaeology in Retrospective* in this volume.

Central European tradition, the French tradition very strong in the research on the Stone Age, and the Marxist approach, all contributing to a very idiosyncratic Eastern European pattern of archaeological theory and methodology in that region. Similarly, Marciniak suggests that Polish archaeology is a *mélange* of methodological and theoretical approaches and suggests that such situation is typical elsewhere.⁶ He concludes that the most common in Polish archaeology are highly descriptive accounts with the emphasis on archaeological techniques and disregard for theory. The political system imposed after WWII further hampered theoretical discussion as Marxist-based historic materialism has been compulsory as the leading methodology. The author points out the nationalistic flavour of archaeology in Central Europe in general, and specifically a positivistic in essence outlook of Polish archaeology. He evaluates the general status of Polish archaeology as characterized by a chaotic approach to research with no set goals, no long-term agendas, no key research questions, and no clear theoretical direction. Marciniak rightly points out that Polish archaeologists should not aim at catching up with the Anglo-American perspectives, but rather develop their own (should avoid what he identifies as the “Pareto trap”). The author also discusses specific shortcomings of the Polish version of culture resource management by pointing out omissions in excavating techniques (like screening and sample taking) due to budgetary constraints.

Ludomir Lozny contributes a follow-up paper on Polish archaeology by offering a more historical account and discussion on theory and practice of archaeology. In 1989/1990, a systemic transition began in several Eastern European countries and prompted my interest in the condition of the social sciences and especially archaeology under new economic and political regimes. The primary goal of my paper is to offer a historic overview of the post-WWII Polish archaeology until the 1990. Theory and practice as well as the structure of the field are taken into consideration. I also briefly review educational systems, university curricula, research agendas, and job opportunities. I am interested in the period from 1945 to 1990 because it was marked by two milestone historical events: the end of WWII, which brought into existence new socioeconomic and political constellation, and the social revolution of 1989–1990, which complicated the region’s socioeconomic and politics even more.

Sylvia Tomaskova comments on archaeology in former Czechoslovakia. Her principle theoretical position is that the production of knowledge is relevant to the local cultural, linguistic, and political constrains. This rule shed light on the construction of archaeology in Central Europe, namely former Czechoslovakia, where several pan-European traditions collided. The author describes an interesting case how through a series of strategic publications in foreign language periodicals, local Czechoslovak archaeologists, and their country, gained political recognition

⁶Most authors contributing to this volume suggest that the culture-history is commonly followed around the world, while the processual approach gains ground especially in regions under strong American influence. Politis and Curtoni’s conclusions on archaeological theory in Argentina seem to go along with the suggestion offered by Marciniak.

in post-WWI Europe. The author points out an interesting difference in the use of archaeology in two parts of the newly established nation-state of Czechoslovakia, namely that in former Bohemia archaeology was used rather to establish the position of the new country in modern post-WWI Europe, whereas in Slovakia it was used for more nationalistic goals of establishing a history of the nation. Culture-history dominated until the 1950s when it was confronted with the Marxist-based historical materialism. The author does not discuss any other theoretical approaches, but points out that despite the new political context, older traditions persist especially in Slovakia.

Nicolay Kradin discusses current archaeology in Russia, but his enthusiasm for archaeological theory is obvious. After reading his chapter, it is clear that current Russian archaeology is not theory-free (like in the previous decades) and it is on the lookout for new ones. Russian (Soviet) archaeology is often positioned by western scholars as the Great Unknown (for instance Trigger 1978). For a long period of time, Soviet archaeology has been hidden behind the Berlin Wall and only few western archaeologists had visited the USSR and even fewer archaeologists from the USSR travelled abroad. This situation has caused many rumours and false impressions about the field behind the Iron Curtain. However, due to several striking reviews especially by Lev Klejn (1977), the curtain has been lifted. After perestroika, tighter contacts have been established between the Russian and foreign archaeologists. Since then many joint expeditions have been arranged, international conferences were organized, and books containing papers by Russian and foreign authors were edited in Russian and English. After the collapse of the USSR, new tendencies in Russian archaeology were noted as more papers were devoted to problems of ethnic constructivism and archaeology of nationalism in Russia. Kradin reviews some of those changes and innovations and focuses on social archaeology, which is used in the West as a synonym for new or processual archaeology. Russians relate the origins of archaeology in Russia to Peter the Great. Presently, archaeology in Russia is still a part of history (Central European tradition), but seems to be focusing on new methods and techniques. Among the most interesting research project is the one that involves the Late Palaeolithic sites which contains pottery. It seems that pottery was introduced to northern Asia before agriculture and sedentary lifestyle.⁷

László Bartosiewicz, Dóra Mérai, and Péter Csippán offer a very comprehensive account of Hungarian archaeology in the past 140 years. One of the analytical methods they used was to analyze publications presented in one academic journal during the last 140 years and their analysis offers a very good overview on the changing interests of archaeological research and publications. The data used by the authors clearly describe the status of Hungarian archaeology. The origins of organized interests in antiquities and numismatics in Hungary go back to the

⁷See also the chapter by Immonen and Taavitsainen in this volume.

mid-seventeenth century. In 1773, the first academic chair related to archaeology was established in Buda. The nineteenth-century archaeology served nationalistic goals (common European trend of the time) as part of the nation-building policies (search for roots of modern nation-states). The authors mentioned Oswald Menghin of Vienna as one of the influential regional archaeologists of the early twentieth century. Interestingly, this person also made some impact in Finland and Argentina.⁸ The authors confirm that culture-history was the dominating approach in Hungarian archaeology of the twentieth century. Bartosiewicz et al. point out that after WWII archaeology was a career choice because it was politically neutral. Simply, archaeologists did not have to comply with the communist dogma as much as historians or sociologists. But is archaeology really politically neutral? Are any of the social sciences politically neutral? Bartosiewicz et al. point out the structural dualism in how was archaeology organized in Hungary under communism, namely that the Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was responsible for research, whereas the key responsibility of universities was in teaching. A similar division existed in all Soviet-dominated European countries. The authors also demonstrate how archaeological data were manipulated to fulfil nationalistic sentiments when the 1907 classification of some early mediaeval cemeteries as typically Hungarian and others as enslaved local populations followed the popular idea that the Hungarians were the elite who conquered the locals. The relationship between archaeological practice and politics was also reflected in archaeological theory. The authors notice the eruption of culture resource management type of fieldwork due to infrastructural changes (motorways) and also comment on commercialization of archaeology⁹ manifested in numerous festivals, archaeological parks, etc. I disagree with the authors' assessment of CRM archaeology in the US, which is structured as compliance archaeology, but it also contributes to academic research.¹⁰ The authors not only point out popularization of archaeology, but also the emergence of what I label as populist archaeology. In conclusion they suggest that changes in Hungarian archaeology happened not because of scientific curiosity and the advancement of sciences in general, but due to changes in political and socioeconomic circumstances. The authors discuss the influence and use of the Soviet version of Marxism in Hungarian archaeology and conclude that Marxism was used as an analytical tool rather than theory.¹¹ They emphasize that a historical approach propagated as the culture-history paradigm prevailed. Marxist ideas were more successfully introduced by Childe than through the post-WWII political context.

⁸ See chapters on archaeology in Finland and Argentina in this volume.

⁹ A phenomenon observed in other developing nations; see discussion by Marciniak in this volume.

¹⁰ My own crm reports contributed to other research, for instance, usewear studies presented at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris.

¹¹ Lev Klejn (2010) made a very similar remark in his recently published autobiography (see Lozny 2010).

Predrag Novakovic offers a very comprehensive account on archaeology and its history in southeastern Europe. The length of this chapter is fully justified by its scope covering seven new countries of the region. The author points out a very complex nature of local archaeologies, which has to do with the fact that archaeology has been used for nationalistic gains, and discusses the political domination of larger ethnic population over others in researching the regional past.¹² Novakovic writes that awareness about extreme complexity of history of this region requires extensive knowledge and mastering of a number of linguistic, cultural, religious, and political intricacies in order to understand historical and cultural trajectories and contingencies in this region. As the author suggests, thus far only one similar attempt has been made in the archaeological literature (*Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*, 1966 (vol. 1) and 1969 (vol. 2)) and continues that while Filip's *Handbuch...* attempted to provide a concise information on archaeology and archaeological discipline in Europe in an encyclopaedic fashion, his chapter faces a much greater challenge – to put forward a coherent perspective and criteria for reflecting on the archaeological schools in the area of Europe that exhibits great differences in a number of fundamental cultural traits (e.g., language, religion, highly diverse courses of history, etc.), and consequently, also in the ways how archaeology developed within such differing contexts and circumstances. Antiquarians' interest in southeastern Europe dates back to the Renaissance, due to interest in Roman monuments. Archaeology practised in the region followed the culture-history approach until the 1980s when the British and American versions of processual archaeology were introduced (mostly in Slovenia). Political constrains of archaeology are clearly visible in the region (for instance in Kosovo). The author also discusses the involvement of archaeologists in local politics and points out that many Serbian archaeologists opposed the nationalistic uses of archaeology under the Milosevic regime, but offers no details. A significant change in the job market for archaeologists was made by the emergence of privately managed cultural resource management companies due to increase in infrastructure development.

David B. Small focuses on archaeology in modern Israel and the lands of the Palestinian Authority, including Gaza. The region, as the timeline presented by the author demonstrates, is one of the longest occupied by human beings, beginning with *homo erectus* ca 1.5 million years ago. Archaeological interest of the region dates from the mid-1800s and was ignited by the religion-inspired interest to confirm Biblical events. Modern archaeology was introduced by Flinders Petrie who researched several sites in the region and introduced the methodology common to the European school of archaeological research. Confronted with the scientific approach, the Biblical claims failed. Jewish interest in archaeology was initially limited to the sites containing evidence of early religious cults (synagogues).

¹²This situation resembles the condition described by Johan Hegardt and Anna Kallen in Sweden, where only ethnic Swedes (politically powerful) attempt to become archaeologists, whereas other ethnic "minorities" have no representation in the research on the past. In this context, the indigenous people of Argentina, as described by Politis, chapter "Archaeology and Politics in Argentina: The Last Fifty Years," have a much stronger representation in the research of their past.

American and British presence is well visible since the early twentieth century. Their interest at first was in Biblical studies (Albright). After 1948 (establishment of the state of Israel), Israeli archaeology served pure nationalistic purposes. Also Palestinian archaeology, which developed rather late in the 1970s, initially focused exclusively on the ethnic issues. The author concludes that archaeology of each of these current geopolitical areas is so intertwined that we cannot separate one from the other without reducing drastically our understanding of the whole.

The second part of the book is devoted to archaeology in South America and the Caribbean Region. Gustavo Politis and Rafael Pedro Curtoni relate the history of archaeology in Argentina to the local political conditions. The beginning of archaeology in Argentina correlated with the expansion of the discipline in Europe and was mostly crafted after the French and British models. In the early twentieth century, archaeology was used for nationalistic purposes to contribute data for the creation of the national identity. Two versions of the culture-history approach were present in Argentina, one similar to the British type, while the other followed the German model. It seems that, before 1958, Argentina was a testing ground for a variety of theoretical approaches, namely two models of culture-history which were confronted with the Boasian non-evolutionary historicism and Julian Steward's cultural ecology. Since 1958, archaeological practice and theory were strongly related to the political context in Argentina. 1958 is considered a turning point in the history of archaeology in Argentina because of two structural changes introduced to the teaching of archaeology and to the organization of scientific research in general. The first change relates to the inception of graduate-level courses in anthropology in two main universities, the University of Buenos Aires and La Plata University, while the second one is linked to the formation of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Investigation (CONICET),¹³ the key national research institution. Undoubtedly, these changes represent a context in which archaeology gained identity and recognition as an academic discipline very much like the natural sciences. Politis and Curtoni point out that current Argentine archaeology is a compilation of theoretical currents with no clear affiliation. Presently, one of the most significant uses of archaeology in Argentina is to unveil atrocities committed by the military junta. Special political circumstances existed particularly in Argentina, and also in the southern region of South America (the Southern Cone), where democratic governments (some fully while other partly democratic) alternated with strong military regimes over the past half-century and significantly influenced the development of sciences in the region, including archaeology. Such context provides interesting data to understand the political aspect underlying the origin and development of national archaeologies.

Irina Podgorny discusses how manipulation of information shaped the study of Central American antiquity and was intrinsically bound to commerce and communication with Europe. She discusses how politics interferes with history and how histories are being written to fit political and economic needs. Podgorny rereads

¹³ CONICET was organized in a similar fashion as the French CNRS and included archaeologists.

local histories using Palenque as example and presents an interesting discussion on how knowledge has been produced at the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Her research clearly shows the manipulation of data not just by scholars, but by politicians and other power brokers. We learn that the scheme of knowledge-building did not include just the scholar and the data, but also their socioeconomic and political contexts. She describes the transition from “armchair” type of research to field observations by stressing that publications and translations of certain reports on local antiquities sparked local and foreign interest and archaeologist who investigated the ruins framed them into local narratives of their own history. Interest in local antiquities also stimulated other activities including tourism, which in several countries of the region is the key economic factor.

Although Mario Sanoja and Irida Vargas represent Venezuela, their chapter “The Past and the Revolutionary Interpretation of the Present: Our Experience of Social Archaeology, 33 Years Later,” discusses a broader context of strongly Marxist in its narrative social archaeology, the theoretical movement in Latin America of the 1970s. Social archaeology, as the authors explain, is a multidisciplinary approach to legitimize the powerless. Since the second half of the last century, social archaeology has been based on the Marxist paradigm of historical materialism and dialectic materialism as substantive theories used to consider the scientific study of the past as the basis for transforming the present. At that time, the work of Latin American social archaeologists was considered to be a subjective movement of political resistance against the positivist or neo-positivist “scientific” “objective” judgments issued by the American academia, unopposed in its domination. The authors reflect on the last 33 years since the *Manifiesto of Teotihuacán* (1976) when the knowledge created by Latin American social archaeology began to be transformed into the foundation of a social theory and a method for constructing socialist humanism of the twenty-first century. The authors, therefore, emphasize the political role that archaeology may play in explaining the present status quo of nations in Latin America. Sanoja and Vargas are among the key proponents of Latin American social archaeology and, because of their political outlook on the social sciences, they propose that the past must be related to the present in order to be coherently explained. This is no doubt a very significant text to understand current theoretical trends that oppose the existing Anglo-American processual models.

Izumi Shimada and Rafael Vega-Centeno discuss archaeology in Peru, one of the hottest spots of archaeological activity in the world. They point out that one of the major problems in the region is the polarized dichotomy presented as Peruvian vs. Peruvianist interests in the regional past. This dichotomy resembles what other authors have identified as the colonial/postcolonial relationship. The origin of archaeology in Peru should be attributed to the pioneering work of Uhle at the end of the nineteenth century. The authors point out that German antiquarianism and subsequent archaeological scholarship is by far the longest tradition of cosmopolitan Peruvianist archaeology and one of the most influential with its long-standing effort to establish comprehensive, referential collections of images, maps, and artefact specimens. Present Peruvian archaeology seems to be a blend of theoretical approaches in which American-induced cultural ecology (Steward) and the local

version of the Marxist-based social archaeology are mixed with other theoretical currents, like culture-history or processual and post-processual approaches. Political events thwarted archaeological research in Peru due to instability and violence in certain regions. The new trend in Peruvian archaeology is the focus on culture resource management (it seems to be a global tendency), and at the same time, a decline in academic-driven research is noticeable. The authors point out a strict Peruvian law regulating access to archaeological monuments including permits to excavate. Archaeology in Peru has been linked with tourism and state agencies are responsible for facilitating revenues from major archaeological sites. Shimada and Vega-Centeno make a significant point regarding the politics of archaeology by criticizing the biased policies enforced by funding institutions to favour certain sites which contribute to the production of distorted knowledge of the past. This is a global problem that needs to be seriously taken into consideration by all stakeholders.

Oyuela-Caycedo and Alejandro Dever discuss the structure of archaeological research in Colombia and suggest that decentralization of archaeological research is the right move toward the introduction of modern research on the past in the region. The authors point out that archaeological knowledge is produced within certain socio-economic contexts and the quality of such contexts determines research agendas. They link the origin of archaeology in Colombia to nationalistic goals and write that modern Colombian archaeology was born with the arrival of European escapees from the Nazi-occupied Europe.¹⁴ Because of European influence on local archaeology, culture-history paradigm dominated Colombian theoretical approach to the past. Although the beginning of academic archaeology in Colombia was clearly European-influenced, it is presently dominated by North American scholarship. The Michigan school of thought and practice is especially visible there. Among new trends, the archaeology of repression seems to be a common phenomenon in South America, as Politis and Curtoni also mentioned the involvement of Argentinian archaeologies in recovering data on atrocities committed by the junta at different times. The past of the region of present-day Colombia seems to the authors like a foreign country literally, not figuratively, because it is researched and explained through the applications of foreign-induced ideas and methodologies.

L. Antonio Curet discusses archaeology in three Caribbean countries: Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. His discussion is limited to the Spanish colonial Caribbean and does not include Haiti, Venezuela, and Guyana. Caribbean archaeology is viewed as the remnant of colonial regimes imposed by Europeans and North Americans. The emphasis is, however, on local archaeologies and local interests, heavily influenced by the American (US) scholarship. Archaeology originated as an interest expressed by the upper class individuals who became antiquarians. In consequence, the image of the past has been crafted according to interests expressed by American, British, French, and German scholars and what they

¹⁴ A similar point was made by Politis and Curtoni regarding Argentine archaeology, where both escapees and archaeologists involved in the Nazi politics influenced local research.

wanted to know, and not necessarily what indigenous people would like to know about their past. In this context, Curet asks a significant question: *Do scholars educated elsewhere contribute to or damage local scholarship?* Impact by foreign archaeologists including eastern Europeans, is clearly visible in the region, especially in Cuba. The author provides a very critical evaluation of Puerto Rican archaeology. The region serves as another example of ill-advised funding policies to support research of well-known sites in Mesoamerica and the Andes but not dirt archaeology of the region. In effect, we have more expeditions working on well-known sites, re-establishing their glamorous past, while none is interested or funded to pursue the research on ordinary people. Glamour and fame seem to attract both scholars and their supporters, while a significant chunk of human history is unknown and will perish without any record. Curet shows how local perception of the past changed due to political constraints. Scholars active during the colonial times were seeking European cultural context, while with the spread of independence movements a new idea emerged to fuse the indigenous and the colonial heritage. Curet specifically discusses Irving Rouse, an American scholar who was very influential in shaping Caribbean archaeology during his 70 years of involvement in the region and who introduced the evolutionary approach to classify local culture histories. He also emphasizes the colonial aspect of local archaeologies (political and economic domination contributed to intellectual colonization). One of the key problems Caribbean archaeology presently faces is its structure, namely the lack of educational institutions offering graduate-level programs, which puts local archaeologies in a service-like context and hampers independent development. Another problem relates to the lack of funding as funds are being allocated to the research of well-known regions, like Mesoamerica or the Andes, where spectacular results are guaranteed (or there is a good chance), while less known regions lose their chance of becoming known.

The third part of the book is devoted to archaeology in Eastern Asia, Southeastern Asia, and the Pacific Region. Fumiko Ikawa-Smith points out that archaeology in Japan was used to create national identity and culture-history and nationalistic in essence goals still prevail in contemporary Japanese archaeology. The interest about the past in Japan dates from the early 1600s, and it seems to predate such interests in Europe, but the pick of antiquarianism and early archaeology in Japan was at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Modern archaeology was introduced to Japan in a purely colonial style by British and American scholars. Except for Edward Morse, who also published in Japanese, they published their findings in the English language not available to most Japanese of the time, and the local scholars as well as the public did not know about the results of research on their past. Heritage preservation policies and academic archaeology originated at the end of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the professorship of archaeology at Tokyo University, fashioned after the Anglo-American model. Interestingly, archaeology was a part of the natural sciences, hence its multidisciplinary outlook. Ikawa-Smith points out that state ideology based on myths and legends thwarted archaeological research to the point that some archaeologists of the early twentieth century were prosecuted for not following it

(or questioning it in the light of empirical evidence). Only after WWII, the empirical approach to the past was allowed. During the 1960s and 1970s, many Japanese archaeologists were educated in the US, but the author suggests that the settlement studies, although inspired by the Marxist theory, turned out to be indigenous invention. American-conceived new archaeology made practically no impact in Japan. Presently academic archaeology is structured in history departments. The author also discusses the significance of public archaeology in Japan. People are proud to live among archaeological remains. The scale of culture resource management type of archaeology in Japan is overwhelming (7,000 administrative archaeologists!). Only recently, private CRM-oriented companies emerged in Japan and they employ a great number of archaeologists. The outreach programmes in Japan seem exemplary and the scale of public archaeology is impressive.

Rasmi Shoocongdej discusses archaeology in several countries of southeastern Asia. She points out that archaeology has initially been used for nationalistic gains in the process of nation-building and nationalist sentiments still dominate the research. The origin of archaeology dates back to the colonial times, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Early archaeological attempts by European-led research were biased to showing the backwardness of indigenous people of the region compared with European cultures. The results contributed to the creation of a discriminatory approach toward the indigenous populations. Because of the European influence, culture-history was the key approach to explain and understand the past of the region. The author also points out that presently culture resource management type of archaeology dominates, especially in Thailand, where major industrial projects require archaeological testing. Archaeology is also a part of tourism industry.¹⁵ Rasmi Shoocongdej concludes that archaeology is very unevenly developed in the region, from well-established, like in Viet Nam, Indonesia, and the Philippines, to very insignificant, like in Singapore or Brunei. There are attempts to unify research methodologies to study the past of the whole region. There is also an anthropological approach introduced by the Americans working in the area. The practices of professional archaeology in Southeast Asia have generally been inherited from and influenced by western archaeologists and amateurs since the eighteenth century. Later, Southeast Asian archaeology has clearly developed by incorporating western theories and methodologies into its own archaeological practices. At the same time, the search for indigenous archaeological knowledge has been important in the post-modern world era. Evidently, a number of Southeast Asian archaeologists face many challenges. Increasingly, they have been examining the history of archaeology in local contexts and how these contexts have impacted the development of archaeological knowledge and practices in the present. These contributions reflect self-awareness and help us to gain a better understanding of the current situation in the region.

¹⁵ A similar situation has been reported by C.A. Folunso, Podgorny, Shimada and Vega-Centeno this volume. European contributors also alluded to the connection between archaeology in tourism, see chapters by Veit, Bartosiewicz et al., and Marciniak this volume.

Frank Thomas focuses on the Oceania and his key point is the involvement of indigenous people in researching their past. Public archaeology and the heritage preservation policies may contribute to achieving that goal. The region was recently decolonized. Culture-history is preferred by indigenous archaeologists, but the key theoretical approaches are Anglo-American-conceived processualism and western-developed postmodernism (historical ecology and environmental archaeology are also present). The author points out the role of the US in founding local culture resource management programmes and design laws that regulate preservation and conservation of the local cultural heritage. The introduction of compliance archaeology caused similar problems and tensions with academic archaeologists as elsewhere. Thomas points out the need to preserve the intangible aspects of indigenous culture, which is a very pressing issue in cultural heritage preservation.¹⁶ Especially interesting to me is Thomas' point on the ecological outlook on archaeology and its contribution to understand global change and to create "sustainability" programmes.

In Part IV of the book, three authors discuss archaeology in regions of Africa. Beatrice Sandelowsky discusses archaeology in Southern Africa and specifically in Namibia and suggests that, if archaeology is a worldwide operation, it should also be known to indigenous people whose past archaeologists study. The author points out the poor structure of archaeology in southern Africa, and reflects on the role of NGOs in general education in South Africa. Consequently, Sandelowsky is very critical about the status of archaeology in the region and especially the lack of public involvement. The key point seems to be that the African past is not shared with Africans; it is of interests to others, especially those who represent postcolonial powers. The most common threat to Namibian archaeological heritage is industrialization along with the lack of rules and practices to mitigate its adverse effects. The Rehoboth Museum was the hallmark of Sandelowsky's dedication to teaching and presenting archaeology to the public until it was taken over by the government and declined in its education role. I view Beatrice Sandelowsky's role as exemplary in sharing the knowledge of the past with indigenous peoples.

Yusuf M. Juwayeyi writes on archaeology in southeastern Africa, especially Malawi. Archaeological interest in Malawi dates from colonial times and the arrival of European settlers. As in Mexico,¹⁷ also in southern Africa the European interest in the Great Zimbabwe, which was initially considered not to be a legacy of indigenous people, ignited archaeological interests of the region. The author writes about Malawi but presents a wider South African context including Zimbabwe, Zambia (former Rhodesia), and South Africa and references are made to other eastern African countries like Kenya and Tanzania. As Robert Drennan in Colombia,¹⁸ J.D. Clark was instrumental to the development of archaeology in southern African countries. Beatrice Sandelowsky was among members of the Clarke's team and she later animated archaeology in Namibia. The author points out that the protection

¹⁶ See King 2006 and Lozny 2006 who pointed out this problem.

¹⁷ See the chapter by Podgorny in this volume.

¹⁸ See the chapter on archaeology in Colombia in this volume.

of local cultural heritage in Malawi dates from the 1960s. Malawi's government established programmes to train local archaeologists abroad.

C.A. Folorunso discusses archaeology in Nigeria and points out culture-history as the most common theoretical approach in the country. The author presents the status quo of archaeology by contrasting two archaeologies, academic and non-academic, and suggests that such structuring is problematic. Archaeology in Nigeria originated during the colonial times. Salvage archaeology started in the late 1920s and focused on recovering of artefacts found in the tin mines, while professional archaeology originated in the 1940s. From the beginning, it was used for political and nationalistic gains to end colonization. The author points out the lack of law on cultural heritage preservation, which endangers a number of archaeological remains due to the increase in construction and infrastructure. Another danger to the field is in commercialization of archaeology by academic archaeologists including attempts to change department names to Department of Archaeology and Tourism.¹⁹ Folorunso is very critical in describing the status of archaeology in Nigeria. Archaeological poaching seems common there. He points out the misconception in interpretation of African finds which produced racial theories about inferiority of Africans who were presumed to be incapable of inventing domestication or use metal independently of the Asian or European centres. The University of Ibadan serves as a very good example of modern, interdisciplinary approach to archaeological investigations. Folorunso provides interesting arguments on how archaeology confirms or clarifies historical claims and points out the need to educate the public on archaeology and its contributions.

The book is not meant to be just a history of regional archaeologies worldwide. It is rather a compilation of statements on the status of archaeologies outside of the Anglo-American sphere. Therefore, the book can be used in classes on archaeological methods and theory as well as history of archaeology. It might be of interest to archaeologists and anthropologists, but also historians, historians of ideas, and political scientists as it provides insights on intellectual contributions to study the past, on decision-making, and socioeconomic developments; it may also attract interests of conservationists, heritage preservationists and planners, etc. Archaeologists who pursue international cooperation may benefit from this book as it discloses major differences and similarities in theory and practice of archaeology in different regions where we seek an answer to the question: What happened in (pre)history?

¹⁹Several contributors to this volume (Politis and Curtoni, Curet, Sandelowsky, Kristiansen, Shoocongdej, Juwayeyi, Veit, Bartosiewicz et al., and Marciniak) commented on the relationship between archaeology and tourism and pointed out worrisome policies by local governments to compromise archaeological research in favour of developing tourism and present significant sites as tourist rather than historical attractions. The most critical is Folorunso in his discussion of this problem in Nigeria. The tendency is also visible in Eastern Europe, where key archaeological sites serve as backgrounds for archaeological festivals to attract tourism and not necessarily historical knowledge; where dubious re-enactments of ancient lifestyles (see Marciniak, chapter "Contemporary Polish Archaeology in Global Context") attract thousands.

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Archaeology in the Age of Globalization: Local Meanings, Global Interest

Ludomir R. Lozny

Introduction

Archaeology is now a worldwide operation. A look at this global scale allows for identification of problems and pressures inflicted on archaeological research by the overwhelmingly potent socioeconomic and political contexts. Political environment stimulates our thinking and creates conditions for our professional engagement. Hence, a basic principle must be invoked: our understanding of the past relates to our understanding (and acceptance) of the present. A world in which meanings and cultural differences play only inconsequential, secondary role is incomprehensible. Thus far we have been able to suggest that a satisfactory explanation for the various trends in archaeology must incorporate a sociological analysis of the way the discipline is structured, the knowledge is produced, and the purpose to which it is put.

Current tendencies regarding research and preservation of cultural heritage worldwide¹ indicate a globalized approach to the past and archaeology as the only discipline to study bygone societies not recorded through script. Such integration of interest about the past contributes to a shift of power thus far represented by academic centers produced through the socioeconomic and political constraints explained by the world-system model. Their power was represented through the abilities to control research worldwide by setting research agendas, distributing and controlling funds, designing methodologies, and offering theoretical outlooks. The current integration is qualitatively different as archaeology becomes nationless and cultural heritage is understood as global rather than local patrimony. It is assumed that interests in the past represented at the nation-state level will be replaced with a more global approach. The point is that national agencies will no longer have decisive control over the

¹Protection of Cultural Heritage Worldwide, UNESCO, and the Malta Convention serve as examples of international (supranational) organizations which control research and preservation of cultural heritage.

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research of the past. Archaeology may become more democratic and decentralized as power will be allocated to agents on regional, national, and international scale, private and public, as political space will no longer be identified with specific administrative boundary of a nation-state.² The key problem is how such globalized approach should be crafted, what theory and practice to follow, and more generally, what do we want to know about the past and how we are going to answer these questions.

As in all sciences, competing theoretical propositions are also present in archaeology. Since the inception of archaeology as an academic discipline,³ the British, German, and French schools of thought competed and were followed by many. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Anglo-American-devised approach, “New Archaeology” or processual archaeology, later counterbalanced by the elusively labeled postprocessual archaeology, entered the competition and impacted academic centers worldwide. The common ground among theorists is to discuss how ideas and approaches, especially the “appropriate theory,” are matched with the various problems archaeologists deal with locally as locally acquired data do not always fit the explanatory models that originated elsewhere (Lozny 1995). Theoretical schools have arisen and claimed to have had a privileged status in determining what constitutes a valid explanation in archaeological research, and the recent literature shows that this is still the case (Trigger 1989, 2006; Johnson 1999⁴; Hodder 2001; Klejn 2001, 2004). In historical perspective, such schools were seen not only as grounded in partial bodies of empirical material, but also as reactions to preceding theoretical positions.⁵ My research contributes to understanding of the interconnection among the social sciences, economy, and politics. Specifically, it explains why certain theoretical aspects of archaeology are resilient and new ideas leisurely penetrate local scenes.

Archaeology and Its (Changing) Intellectual, Socioeconomic, and Political Contexts

Social sciences are strongly influenced by three factors: (1) intellectual tradition, (2) socioeconomic conditions, and (3) political stress. Scientific theories and practice are not free of political and socioeconomic constraints⁶ and this bond is reinforced through a variety of means, especially financial sponsorship of research,

²For discussion on global power structure see Held et al. (1999); Grewal (2008); de Blij (2008); also see discussion on the idea of complex interdependence put forward by Nye and Keohane (1977) and Keohane and Nye (2000).

³Here I refer to archeology as a modern science and not just human interest in the past which is discussed in any good textbook of archaeology, for instance Chazan (2007).

⁴See review of Johnson by Klejn (2006).

⁵They develop in cladogenetic rather than anagenetic manner, to use a biological metaphor.

⁶See the World View column in *Nature* for a range of issues underlying interactions between science and politics; also Guston (2000) who thoroughly analyzed this uneasy and troubled relationship. The Kennewick Man controversy serves as a good example of how politics and science related to human past intersect.

whether private or state-controlled.⁷ Such constraints create extreme conditions for the social sciences and their general paradigmatic outlook. My studies conducted in Eastern Europe⁸ show that this relationship is especially strong in transitional societies.

Intellectual Tradition

Hodder (1991) wrote that *...the failure of New Archaeology to take an equally firm hold throughout Europe suggests the possible existence of European perspective in archaeological theory which is diverse and different from the North American view.* And further suggested that *...the European rejection of theory derived from particular political context of the recent political manipulation of history and prehistory, and from theoretical perspective that was deeply historical...* Both statements imply the existence of politically inspired, European-specific model of archaeological theory, rooted in local intellectual traditions. A historical review of archaeology in Eastern Europe confirms this suggestion. For the past 50 years, social theories in that region have been influenced by western writers such as Marx, Gramsci, Hegel, Croce, Levi-Strauss, Dumezil, Elide, Braudel, Wittgenstein, Feyerband, Weber, Habermas, Althusser, Sartre, Collingwood, Breuil, Leroi-Gourhan, to name just those whose works were available on both sides of the Cold War divide. Local theoreticians⁹ presented original ideas in their native languages not commonly read in the West, and most showed intellectual affinity with the mentioned scholars. Obviously, local intellectual traditions are permeable, but the outside influence has been limited as Eastern European scholars traditionally favored two foreign languages: German and French.¹⁰ It has been a long-lasting tradition among Eastern European *intelligentsia* to learn German or French, and not English. Many scholars were efficient in Russian which, from the end of WWII until the systemic transformation of the 1989–1990, was a mandatory second language at school in the Soviet Bloc countries.

Analyzing the post-WWII intellectual tradition in Eastern Europe, it becomes clear that the traditional culture-history approach has been widely followed. There are also theories rooted in Marxism¹¹ that have been mixed with the elements of

⁷Using early functionalism by Malinowski as example, Eric Wolf (2001[1999]:72) emphasized that funding was available not necessarily for interesting research, but for the one the money-controllers liked for different reasons, usually political (to study colonized areas).

⁸Throughout the text, I use Eastern Europe in the political pre-1990 sense. Presently, most of the former Eastern European countries, especially the EU members, would be labeled as Central Europe or Southern Europe. The data regarding Eastern and Central Europe quoted throughout the text were collected while on a Fulbright fellowship in Eastern Europe 1996–1997.

⁹For instance, in Poland works by Topolski, Kmita, Nowak, Tabaczynski and Kolakowski – his latest works are available mainly in English.

¹⁰French and German were very common among older generations, while younger scholars are more sympathetic toward the English language.

¹¹History of material culture was the leading methodology.

other theoretical approaches adopted from the West, and such blending resulted in a “vernacular” outlook of archaeological theory pointed out by Bursche and Taylor (1991), who suggested that East European Marxism was fused into the western form of positivism in, as they put it, ...*an alliance which many in Anglo-American archaeology would abandon*. This hypothesis certainly deserves further elaboration.

Other authors reported on a similar phenomenon concerning the elements of the processual approach blended into local methodologies. In Poland and the Czech Republic (Kobylinski 1991; Neustupny 1991 respectively), the methods of New Archaeology were integrated within the problem orientation provided by Marxism, while in other Eastern European countries, Marxism was never rejected but used as an analytical tool and mixed with other ideas. In fact, a range of Marxist viewpoints developed in European archaeology of the last 50 years rejected the intellectual values of positivistic in its foundation’s processual approach in archaeology. Instead, complex dialectical and critical approaches have been proposed (for instance Palubicka and Tabaczynski 1986).

Obviously, the post-WWII politics was essential in sharpening the division between European archaeologies on both sides of the Iron Curtain, but political isolation may have been secondary to affect regional archaeological theory and practice (for a contrary view see Marciniak and Raczkowski 1991). Local intellectual traditions are critical in understanding regional approaches to archaeological explanation. Marxism, positivism, and scientific methodology were all linked and, among others, this blend can be seen as a distinctive idiosyncrasy of Eastern European archaeology of the past 50 years. Naturally, because of political constraints, there was quite a different perception of Marxism in West European countries than in Poland or the Czech Republic. Despite these diverse reactions to Marxism, it is interesting to notice a phenomenon of quite similar response in terms of adopting (or rejecting) Anglo-American ideas.¹²

Whose Idea: Yours, Mine, Theirs?

As might be expected, the rhetorical appeal of scientific developmental policy is aimed at western academic institutions. Knowledge is treated as valuable commodity to be sold or otherwise transferred. The evaluation of the effectiveness of methodologies has been slow to develop, for criteria of success are problematic to determine. My approach focuses on how knowledge, western or not, is used in practice. I treat knowledge not as an abstract conceptual system, but as situated practice. Such practice shapes local approaches to knowledge, although this does not imply that there are no

¹²Archaeological theory in Eastern Europe still awaits serious study. An attempt has been made in Poland in the three-volume publication titled *Theory and Practice of Archaeological Research* (Hensel et al., 1986–1998), but this publication is not tightly focused on theory and presents mostly methodological discussions. Strangely, one volume of this set has been published in Polish and two in English.

written general canons (for discussion of several case studies see Hobbart 1993). Local approaches should be considered as sensible to the particularities of place, occasion, and circumstance. The stress is on the value of treating local approaches seriously and examining their potential contribution to intellectual and general welfare. Scientific knowledge as observed in developmental practice generally represents the superior knowing expert as agent and the people being developed as ignorant passive recipients or object of this knowledge. Such knowledge requires the homogenization and quantification of what is potentially qualitatively different. Homogenization, however, underwrites a linear evolutionary view of history by ignoring the discontinuities and differences in discursive construction of the economic and political conditions. Whatever its merit, scientific knowledge applied to development is not neutral, nor is the implications of its use, and is generally constituted around a metaphor (see Salmon 1982 for discussion).

The criteria of what constitutes knowledge, what is to be excluded, and who is designated as qualified to know involve acts of power (Foucault 1971). The nature of knowledge is metaphoric, for it reflects our perception of reality (truth is a mixture of facts and their intellectual, symbolic comprehension). As Rorty (1980) has pointed out, the assumption of western epistemology is that the human mind is like a mirror, which reflects reality and problems with accurate knowledge boiled down to preparing the mirror. Knowledge is positivistically conceived as true propositions about the world being treated as a valuable resource. Both the mirror and commodity metaphor exclude criticism. Criticism, if appears, is limited to telling other scholars about their ignorance and not used as the means to understanding or, more realistically, reducing the degree of misunderstanding.

Ironically, the growth of knowledge entails the possibility of increasing ignorance (through selective learning). It might practically happen as local approaches to science become devaluated or simply ignored in favor of foreign-induced scientific practice and theories. It has to be pointed out, however, that historical and anthropological knowledge are dialectically related similarly to the relationship identified between scientific and philosophical knowledge (see Collingwood 1933:26–53). This relates directly to a more serious problem on the nature of understanding of the parties involved. The naïve implication is that if both sides improve communication, a major obstacle will be removed. Its naivety is twofold, it rests in a possibility that people may not want to communicate but prefer to dissimulate, and in an optimistic assumption that knowledge as communicable proposition presumes rationality to be shared.

Socioeconomic Constrains

Socioeconomics is about the bilateral relationship between economic conditions and social life. Socioeconomic data concern a range of variables from demographics to income level, employment, and overall status of sciences. The impact of a wider socioeconomic context on theory and practice of science is obvious (for instance

Cottle 2002). In such context, histories of science can be presented as a discourse of development intended to show that local socioeconomic conditions contributed the most to creating the background for the social sciences. Development is a political and economic concept and is recognized through a dialectical confrontation with underdeveloped. The usual thinking is that politically or economically underdeveloped regions will also be considered as such in all other aspects of social life, science included. The problem of identifying and describing development is enormously elusive, however, for it has been thought of as more or less planned change. Bringing together anthropological and sociological theories concerned with development allows for a debate on development, developmental priorities, patterns, and projects and the social and cultural implications and consequences of developmental programs. These include practice and policy transformation in development, local knowledge and the creation of ignorance, the analysis of power relations and resources distribution between interest groups, participants, institutions, and organizational linkages, and the “translation” of meaning and policy.

I am interested in how local socioeconomic conditions may have impacted the development of archaeological thinking at times of systemic transition (cf. Lozny 2002), and in my view, changes observable in some Eastern European countries since 1989 should be characterized as a spontaneous patchwork of ideas rather than coherent agenda. In consequence, I see a potential danger in that as scientific knowledge on archaeological theory and practice grows, so will grow the possibility of ignorance about local knowledge. Ignorance, however, is not antithesis of knowledge. It relates to moral judgment (see Hobbart 1993:1) and, ironically, also local authors participate in such ignorance.

There is also another reason why development (change) may not be welcomed, which relates specifically to the control of development; who decides what to change, when, how, and why? The centralization of political and economic decision-making includes centrally controlled science. Such structural relationship between politics and science materialized, for instance, in the idea of national academies of sciences propagated in all the Soviet Bloc countries. The academy was a flagship institution to the centralized structure of academia.

Dissolution of the Soviet Bloc order has launched massive and unmatched scale changes in social, economic, and political structures. As the old system crumbled, new problems surfaced abruptly. With no ready-to-use solutions and well thought-out remedies, the new social and economic arrangements constitute a patchwork of ideas and wishful thinking rather than well-structured systems. Such socioeconomic instability and constant uncertainty reflect poorly on the status quo of sciences, education, and culture in general. As the transitional period extends into the third decade now, the future of these social aspects does look bleak as other socially more sensitive areas will be given full priority. Such situation may create a dangerous vacuum for the social sciences, with many fields regressing and remaining well behind the (Anglo-American?) mainstream. Such pessimistic scenario, neither unusual nor unexpected, may, ironically, turn into a situation, which eventually will force the necessary changes in the right direction.

Social policy which encompasses culture and education is perhaps among the most important areas neglected by postcommunist reformers. Liberals who came to power throughout much of Eastern Europe after 1989 initiated radical structural changes in macroeconomic policy, property ownership, corporate governance, tax laws, market regulations, and many other areas, but social policy has ranked relatively low on the policy agenda (see Ringold 1999). Observers of the early transition period noted that the first days following the collapse of communism provided a unique opportunity for policy innovations and substantive reform. The absence of a coherent and coordinated approach to social policy reform has left an unfinished agenda for successive postcommunist governments to address. It seems that many changes in education policy can take decades to affect educational outcomes. No doubt, social policy making in the postcommunist countries has been shaped by the inheritance of communist institutions and processes (Barr 1994). The achievements of the communist regimes in social policy provision were notable, including education and culture. On the other hand, institutional and organizational weaknesses were significant. When transition began, spending on the social sectors in the region ranged from 15 to 25% of GDP, but little of it went to sponsor culture and education. Poland was the most dramatic case where the share of GDP devoted to social expenditure expanded from 17% in 1989 to 32% in 1995. Even if the social spending has not been cut by many governments, there was no significant increase in expenditure on education and culture in 1996 when real GDP surpassed its 1989 level. Ringold (1999) estimated that the real expenditures on education in the region declined by as much as 70% of the pretransition level. Without exception, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe inherited education systems that provided full and equitable access to education at the preschool and primary levels. However, the legacy of central planning distorted patterns of access, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels. Education was tailored to the demands of the socialist state and, as a result, was biased toward highly specialized vocational training at the expense of more flexible programs. Two decades into the transition process, there is increasing evidence of deterioration in quality and access to education, particularly in the poorer countries of the region.

Political Stress

Another principal factor of my analysis relates to political conditions inspiring archaeological theory and practice. Archaeologists should critically examine the political environment in which knowledge is produced. Knowledge is never absolute, nor certain, but must be contextualized and related to a particular time and space. It seems that any adequate conceptual and theoretical framework developed to study the past must reflect upon archaeology as professional discipline in the present. The political context and theoretical school to which archaeologists subscribe impact the way they think and argue. I propose to identify those areas in which archaeological theory and practice are profoundly influenced by specific

political conditions. We should not seek to reduce our thinking about the past to a mechanical application of naïve positivism dressed up as scientific procedure (in which methodology is confused with theory); equally, we should not believe that criteria of testability and falsification should be abandoned in favor of speculations about unrecorded intentions in which anyone's opinion is as good as anyone else's.

The principal factors of the analysis are specific political conditions which contribute to answering questions like: How is archaeology administered? What conditions inspire research agendas? Who sponsors projects? If the research topics are designed outside of the professional circles, what are the consequences of such an approach for both scientific and social spheres? The perception of archaeology and its findings by the public should certainly be one of major concerns. We have created enormous public interest about the past and the majority of projects are currently publicly funded (tax payers).

Political agendas affect all of the social sciences and can be seen in research themes, theoretical perspectives and methodology, project designs, structuring of the field, (for instance, academic vs. applied archaeology, the role of national academies of sciences), etc. Communists' governments lavishly sponsored archaeological research, but the results have often been used for political gains (this is not inherent to communists regimes alone). Just the name of the discipline, archaeology, anthropological archaeology, prehistory, history of material culture, etc., suggests certain political orientations. The past is viewed, researched, and interpreted according to a perspective the scholar follows. I am suggesting here that we should be after understanding the past, but also after understanding how we understand the past.

The Common Traits of Archaeology Worldwide

I view current archaeology as part of geoculture (Wallerstein's term) and identify the most common characteristics of its social history. It seems that the nineteenth century German-devised culture-history is the most common archaeological paradigm around the globe and contributes to the use of archaeological data for nationalistic purposes, while other approaches, like processual studies or historical ecology, are far less popular. Its popularity might be in the fact that it answers the most basic questions about the past like: who, when, and where, but not necessarily how or why.¹³ A quick review of histories of archaeology around the world also suggests that the most common practice is to use archaeological data for political and nationalistic gains.

Trigger (1984:358) pointed out that most archaeological traditions are probably nationalistic in orientation, especially in Europe where the past has been romanticized

¹³Synchronic in its essence culture-history approach is not evolutionary and therefore certain questions which require diachronic approach will not be asked (cf. Steward 1972).

and used in official governmental propaganda as part of nation-building ideologies (see also Kohl and Fawcett 1995 for more detailed discussion). A quick historical review strongly suggests that archaeology was keenly supported by oppressive, totalitarian regimes (see Klejn 1997 for Soviet Russia; Chang 1981 for Communist China; Arnold 1992 for Nazi Germany; Lech 1997–1998 for Communist Poland). Glyn and Renfrew (1988:109) pointed out that in 1939 courses in prehistory were given in about 25 German universities and archaeological research was generously supported by the Nazi government (also see Arnold 1990). Less oppressive regimes also used archaeological data for political gains. In Scandinavia, there was a notion of ethnic continuity and archaeologists were in fact discovering the Bronze and Iron Age ancestors of, for instance, modern Danes (Trigger 1984). Fowler (1987:234) discussed the use of archaeological data to build nationalistic sentiments in Britain from the early 1500s until the nineteenth century, when history and archaeology were used to glorify the Britain's past.

The two volumes of the journal *World Archaeology* published in 1981–1982 (Trigger and Glover 1981b, 1982) contain idiographic summaries of archaeologies in several regions of the world and some authors also discussed wider social and theoretical contexts. Here, I briefly review some of the points presented in those volumes to give the reader a chance to confront them with arguments offered by the contributors to this book. In case of regions not represented in this book, like China or the Middle East, I provide a more detailed synopsis.

Chang (1981:166) pointed out that all major aspects of traditional antiquarianism and modern archaeology were present in China after 1949. However, under the new political regime, significant new changes occurred: Marxist historical materialism inspired the theoretical frame and the state-controlled archaeology financially and ideologically by structuring it within state-run bureaucracies. Since 1949, Chinese archaeology has occupied a privileged political position stimulated by a governmental policy to “include archaeology as an important part of the political education” (Chang 1980:497). Chinese archaeology has also been politicized in other ways by redirecting its focus from studying the past to researching class conflict. As Chang (1981:167) pointed out, Mao's policy was to “let the past serve the present,” and therefore archaeologists attempted to justify their work in terms of its current applicability. Chang also pointed out (ibid. 157) that, despite its scientific outlook, Chinese archaeology remained a tool serving Chinese historiography. The nationalistic outlook was introduced through the emphasis on the cultivating national dignity and confidence (Trigger 1984:359).

Jose Lorenzo (1981) reflected on the history of archaeology in Mexico and pointed out that the positivistic approach in archaeology was present since the days of the Commission Scientifique du Mexique established by Napoleon III in France to direct researchers who were a part of the French Expeditionary Force of 1862. The research was ignored in Mexico as being related to the invaders, but the positivistic approach to archaeology lasted until the early twentieth century when modern archaeology was introduced in Mexico.

Lorenzo's (ibid. 201) statement on the goals of archaeology in Mexico is clearly motivated by the state ideology:

We archaeologists of Hispano-America have a historical and social commitment in our work and obligation to our people. This includes not only those of us who practice in regions which held the splendid high civilizations and where the Indians are in the majority, but also the others, in countries where these are not great architectural monuments, rich tombs or pieces of exceptional esthetic interest. To us archaeology must be history.

Lorenzo pointed out that in the National School of Anthropology and History, the key academic center in Mexico to train archaeologists, students were generally taught in similar way as in the United States, but at the same time the school maintained its historical orientation (as emphasized in its name). Although Boaz and Kroeber's influences were clear, the historical approach prevailed. Nationalistic tendencies of Mexican archaeology were reinforced throughout the twentieth century when archaeologists focused on demonstrating links between modern Mexican society and the pre-Hispanic civilizations (for discussion see Trigger 1984:359).

Abdullah H. Masry (1981:222–239) discussed archaeology in the Near East and pointed out that the older generation of local archaeologists in Arabia (term used by AHM) was strongly influenced by the historic significance of the region during the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. He further suggested that the emphasis on the historic glory of the region was triggered by two conditions: the Ottoman rules and colonial context. This tendency to acknowledge cultural identity through archaeological data also endured among the younger generation of local scholars (ibid. 228). The traditional historic approach continued into the 1940s and 1950s, while new approaches oriented toward historical ecology and paleoenvironments infiltrated the region in the 1960s and in later times. The new approach to archaeological research included methodological innovation like problem-oriented research designs and more anthropological outlook of archaeological research. Works on the Ubaid period in the 1970s serve as an example of ideas propagated most likely by foreign scholars working in the area. Since the mid-1970s, archaeology was again redefined as science of the past, when a comprehensive survey of sites with no regard to their historical significance or problem-oriented research was conducted in Saudi Arabia. During the 1980s, a tendency to relate archaeological research to problems and questions relevant to contemporary societies emerged and local archaeologies were flavored with nationalistic sentiments (in the appearance of pan-Islamic or pan-Arab orientations, see Trigger 1984:359) as the culture-history approach was entrenched in the local tradition of practicing archaeology.

European evolutionist ideas mixed with American influence are very clearly seen in the practice of archaeology in Japan (Ikawa-Smith 1982:299–301) since the Tokugawa Period, which marked the openness of Japan to western influence. The nationalistic interest of Japanese archeology was propagated through the activity of the Archaeological Society established in 1895 and the Tokyo National Museum. The key interest, as pointed out by Ikawa-Smith (ibid. 301), was to research the Japanese cultural patterns of the past. Two schools of archaeological practice emerged: the “ethnic archaeology” dedicated to nationalistic objectives, and the “museum school,” also labeled by Ikawa-Smith as “fine art archaeology,” or “antiquarian school,” oriented toward studying the material objects of the past. It contributed to the creation of meticulous typologies and enforced interest in the

history of material culture (clearly a Marxist-influenced approach). Within the last century, archeology in Japan was strongly related to local politics with periods of nationalistic objectives giving way to more liberal approaches. As pointed out by Ikawa-Smith, Japanese colleagues were primarily interested in culture-history and typology, and in the 1980s, archaeology in Japan was in its post-WWII beginnings.

Bulkin et al. (1982:272–295) took on the Soviet archaeology and pointed out that prehistory was considered a part of history that filled the gap between natural and social history. They (ibid. 287) wrote that:

The unity of the various branches of archaeology, together with their common ties to history and emphasis on a historical approach helps archaeologists to understand better from the holistic perspective the culture-historical process and the evolution of culture and society.

This quote suggests that the Soviet archaeology followed two key principles: culture-history was the focal point of interest and the evolutionary outlook on cultural change served as its explanatory device. The authors emphasized that socioeconomic conditions heavily influenced Soviet archeology of the 1920s and later, when a new generation of archaeologists found themselves in a very different social environment founded on Marxist dogmas. Since the 1930s, Soviet archaeology was also heavily nationalistic. In the 1950s, certain attempts were made to ensure archaeological research for areas of adverse effects due to infrastructural changes. Dialectically understood historical materialism became the key methodological principle of Soviet archaeology used to analyze data from seven different perspectives (ibid. 279–282), which included: archaeological history, archaeological ethnogenesis, archaeological sociology, descriptive archaeology, archeotechnology, archaeological ecology, and theoretical archaeology. Traces of these trends are also visible in the Soviet satellite countries in Europe, and Soviet-influenced countries in Asia, and Central and South America. Very recent examples of nationalistic sentiments concern sites related to the Indo-European ancestors, like the one at Arkhaim (see Medvedev 1999; Shnirelman 1995; Lamberg-Karlovsky 2002), and the Slavs (Chesko 1998).

A clear nationalistic outlook of archaeology is visible in Israel (Bar-Yosef and Mazar 1982:310–325; Trigger 1984:358–359). Archaeology was employed to justify the antiquity of the Israeli state and nation. Archaeology there is understood as historic field providing evidence to support a blend of religious and political claims. Archaeology is considered a part of the humanities and generations of archaeologists were trained within this tradition. As pointed out by Bar-Yosef and Mazar (ibid. 318), the anthropological approach was not common in the early 1980s.

The beginning of archaeology in India is dated to the late eighteenth–early nineteenth century when the Asiatic Society and a museum were formed in Calcutta. The outlook of archaeology was strictly historic, to inquire on the history of antiquities of Asia (Chakrabarti 1982:226–343). Nationalistic in nature, Indian archaeology followed an evolutionary approach to investigate changes observable through material evidence. The British colonial influence is clear.

Waterbolk (1981:240–254) did not see any specific characteristics of Dutch archaeology, which seems to be a blend of several European traditions, namely

German, French, and British, but he pointed out that there was a nationalistic context in the history of archaeology in this country (Waterbalk 1981:245).

A historic approach to the past is also visible in Australia (Murray and White 1981:255–263), where the term “prehistory” is favored over ahistoric sociocultural anthropology in relation to studying the past. Australian archaeology, as the authors point out, was initially (the early twentieth century) devoted to tracing the colonial past.

A very strong relationship between history and archaeology existed traditionally in Scandinavia (Klindt-Jansen 1975; Moberg 1982:209–221) and contributed to the nationalistic flavor of archaeology since its inception. The typological approach was the key method to see changes of Scandinavian cultures over time and also to claim the longevity (continuity) of those cultures. Moberg (1982:213) pointed out that in the beginning of the 1980s Scandinavian archaeology refocused its key interests from meticulous chronology to other aspects of the past.

In France, a new approach to archaeological research identified as “ethnographic digging” (Auduze and Leroi-Gourhan 1981:172) surfaced in the 1960s. The authors pointed out that the Soviet archaeology and the Marxist notion of archaeology as the history of material culture played a part in this new development.

It seems that nationalism fueled especially European archaeology (and European-inspired archaeologies elsewhere) by the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and ethnicity, even if not stated *expressis verbis*, became one of the key research topics guided through the culture-history approach. Certain explanatory approaches emerged throughout Europe to identify “others” (see Harris 1968:100–102) and scholars focused on tracing histories of modern ethnic groups in the past. Archaeology in the US appears to be free of nationalistic sentiments (see Fowler 1986:151), or at least, it is not as nationalistic as in other countries around the world.

The three most common characteristics of social histories of archaeology worldwide are:

- Culture-history approach as the key methodology and basis for locally generated theories (with strong nationalistic flavor).
- Use of archaeology for political (nationalistic) goals.
- Tendency to relate topics of archaeological research to the existing political conditions and demands.

Archaeological theory correlates with the general outlook on science and scientific ideas offered at certain times. When evolutionism was introduced and the comparative method used to identify stages (types) in biological evolution, archaeologists employed the Three Age System (Thomsen in 1820) and typology as the key approach to systemize and manipulate data, which formed the basis for theorizing on the past human behavior. At times of the Cold War-related technological inventions of the 1950s and 1960s, scientists (especially natural scientists like geographers, but also archaeologists) concluded on the use of new methodologies, which included new data processing methods. By the end of the twentieth century, when the idea of sustainable development was introduced, archaeologists, along with most natural scientists, are more concerned about the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage. I therefore hypothesize that there is a correlation between overall socioeconomic conditions and intellectual outlook on things and this correlation

Table 1 Generalized correlations between innovations in archaeological research and socioeconomic and political conditions

Period	Innovation	Saturation point	Key figures/events
Industrial revolution; colonialism	Taxonomy and interest in evolutionary explanations; Linnaeus, Lamarck, Darwin	WWI (1918)	Engels, Boucher de Perthes, Breuil, Childe, Kidder, Morgan, Thomsen
Nation-building of the 1900s; Social revolutions	Historicism propagated by Boas and Kossina; development of social theories; nationalistic movements in Europe; culture-history approach; historical materialism	Cold War (1950s)	Boas, Bordes, Childe, Hensel, Kossina, Petire, MacNeish, Willey, International Congresses of Slavic archaeology in Eastern Europe, UISSP
Cold War technological progress of the 1950s–1970s; developmentalism ¹⁴	New Archaeology; processual approach; neoevolutionary outlook on culture change; remix of historicism; historical and dialectical materialism	Globalization (1990s until after 2000)	Binford, Clarke, Courbin, Flannery, Gardin, Hodder, Klejn, Kohl, Leone, Neustupny, Renfrew, Sanoja and Vargas, Steward, Shanks and Tilley, Tabaczynski, TAG
Globalization of the 20/21 c.	Sustainable development; world heritage conservation and preservation; nondestructive research methods; indigenous partaking	2050(?) what after globalization?	Cleere, Demoule, King, Kobylinski, Lipe, Politis, Ucko, Willems, WAC; UNESCO, Malta Convention

seems to follow a nomothetic path similar to what in history of economy has been labeled as the Kondratiev wave (Table 1, see also Barnett 1998; Devezas 2006; Grinin et al. 2006 for more discussion on K-waves and the explanatory value of this model). A much generalized look at the key developments in archaeology and overall scientific breakthroughs corroborate my claim. I do not concern here academic buzzwords and fads which are fickle and usually last but a decade or two; my interest is in durable ideas.

¹⁴As discussed by Wallerstein (2004a, b).

Modern anthropology and archaeology developed in Europe at the time of nation-building (Wolf 1999; reprint in Wolf 2001). History and archaeology were used to glorify the past, especially if there were glorious events and/or individuals in the past. Museums were considered the bastions of the war to win the past and first institutions to employ anthropologists and archaeologists as curators and research scholars. For most of the nineteenth century, there was no market for anthropologists as teachers or members of state administrations. The academic (scientific) research was limited to certain institutions for the elite, like the royal academies of sciences, or Napoleonic *grandes ecoles*, or the Stalinist's academies of sciences. Eventually, universities combined teaching and research in one institution.

At the end of the nineteenth century, two distinct approaches to human culture emerged: the evolutionist approach propagating gradual change and the diffusionist approach focusing on the distribution of cultures on the "space grid." Wolf (2001[1999]) points out that the rising tide of nationalism accorded increasing importance to space by propagating the idea of people's distinctive souls rooted in living landscapes, thus providing ideological fuel for the territorial aspirations of nation-states. This way of thinking about the past materialized after WWI when administrative boundaries of many European states have been reinterpreted and changed. For instance, in Poland which emerged as a sovereign country after more than a century of political nonexistence, archaeologists combined the "time grid" with the "space grid" and offered a mixture of evolutionist and diffusionist ideas to discuss the emergence of "archaeological cultures" and their distribution over the living landscape. This approach is still strong, especially among those who research the problem about the origins of ethnic groups (like the eastern European archaeological genre called Slavic archaeology). The debate between the two opposing views, *allochthonic* vs. *autochthonic*, suggests the fusion of evolutionary ideas with diffusionist way of thinking. It seems that one group (of *allochthonic* persuasion) accepted the view propagated in the nineteenth century by the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904 in Wolf 2001:68), who believed that each world region was originally populated by people with cultures of distinct origins and characteristics and that each culture was carried outward through mass migrations in search for living space. In this perspective, cultural integration preceded migration, which then carried whole cultural complexes integrally into lands of new settlement. The second (*autochthonic*) variant of the diffusionist approach, also of German origin, visualized a multiplicity of diffusionary mechanisms in which aggressive migrations were featured only as "crass instances of the process" (Kroeber 1948:427). In this perspective, culture complexes did not travel as integral wholes, but were only gradually assembled over time. Wolf points out (2001:69) that such diffusionism, relying on *Schlagkraft* (strike force) of its carriers in the process of migration, fits well into nationalist and imperialist ideologies, especially in the eastern borderland of Europe (Russia, Prussia, and Austria). Thus, German diffusionism was welcomed into Marxist *etnografia* after the Soviet revolution in order to emphasize local history and diffusion (pan-Slavic movement and the origin of the so-called Slavic archeology).

Archaeology as Geoculture

Archaeology as a global phenomenon is viewed as part of global culture (other elements of global culture include global economy and commerce, political system, patterns in teaching and education, etc). At times of globalization and the global impact of commerce, politics, and environmental stress on culture, it is interesting to see what effect those stressors made on archaeology worldwide. I am interested in the world of modern archeology seen as a part of geoculture (Wallerstein) or world culture (Meyer) and suggest that its present condition is a by-product linked to the spread of economic and political ideas identified by Wallerstein (1974, 1993) as the modern world-system.¹⁵ The spread of archaeology worldwide in the twentieth century is considered an aftermath of the capitalist world-system and not one of its elements. The world-system theory (Wallerstein 1974) suggests that economic conditions integrate labor forms within functioning division of labor. It is a dynamic social system organized according to certain rules and maintained through internal disparate relations. Although Marxist in its essence, it explains global economic constrains rather than just political imperialistic dominance and hegemony. In Wallerstein's (1974) terms, it is a "world economy," integrated through the market rather than a political center, in which two or more regions are interdependent with respect to necessities like food, fuel, and protection and two or more polities compete for domination without the emergence of one single center forever (Goldfrank 2000). Wallerstein (1974) also considered world-system as a "... multicultural territorial division of labor in which the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is necessary for the everyday life of its inhabitants." This division of labor refers to the forces and relations of production of the world-economy as a whole and it leads to the existence of two interdependent regions: *core* and *periphery*. These are geographically and culturally different, one focusing on labor-intensive and the other on capital-intensive production (Goldfrank 2000). The core-periphery relationship is structural. Semiperipheral states act as buffer zones between core and periphery and have a mix of the kinds of activities and institutions that exist on them (Skocpol 1977).

I see the world-system as the result of the increasing interdependence of cultures and ecosystems that were once relatively isolated by distance and boundaries. For instance, archaeologists trained in core countries propagate their ideas in semiperiphery and periphery countries either because they get jobs there or because they get funding in the core country which is limited or nonexistent in semiperiphery and periphery. In consequence, world-system theory argues that the present-day interconnectedness of the world has generated a global culture, wherein the trends

¹⁵A similar phenomenon has been observed in relation to the spread of certain models of education, especially with the use of modern communication tools (see Arnove 1980, 2009; Spring 2009); the idea of "world culture" introduced by John W. Meyer in the 1970s (1971; Meyer and Hannan 1979) was in a much simplified way and in a broader context discussed recently by Friedman 2005.

of complementarity and specialization are being manifested at international level. However, if from the economic point of view we could entertain the idea whether it is possible (desirable) for the whole world to attain a similar standard of living, such objective (similar standard of research) may not be preferred in regard to archaeological theory and methods simply because objectives behind researching the past may differ locally. Diversity in scientific approaches and methods to collect and manipulate data is needed, whereas any attempt to unify both will seriously limit our quest for knowledge (it would be comparable to ideology with all its limitations and shortcomings and will contribute to ignorance discussed above). It has been argued that objectivity in studying the past is limited (see Shanks and Tilley 1987 for more discussion) and meaningful explanations require specific approaches to studying cultural changes in the past and present.

I use the world-system approach to view the circulation of ideas within a global scientific community driven by similar rules as Wallerstein's "world's economy." The process is asymmetric with the core areas impacting periphery harder than periphery may retaliate. The impact might be of different scale, from minimal to full dependency. Peripheral people can at times negotiate effectively due to control of key resources and extensive local knowledge (Blackhawk 2006; Hall 1989, 2006; Kardulias 2007). The idea is that if countries with high export rate become economically dominant, also countries with high export rate of ideas become intellectually hegemonic. Since the Industrial Revolution and mass migrations of the nineteenth and the twentieth century, scientific community became interconnected. Archaeology also can be used to demonstrate such interconnectivity. Following Wallerstein's (1974) model of redistribution of resources, I suggest that ideas infiltrate from the (political, economic) core (developed) to the periphery (undeveloped) not because they are desired, but because they are propagated by political and economic dominants. Such dynamics is antagonistic by nature and might be seen as imperialistic or hegemonic. In effect, certain level of homogenization of ideas is achieved, which contributes to the creation of identities (memberships) necessary for affinities with certain "schools" of thought. The magnitude of such influence is changing and depends on the technological means and levels of communication (language, meetings, personal contacts, etc.). It is in the economic context that the *core* exploits the *periphery* through the market-regulated economy. Among the most important structures of the current world-system is a power hierarchy between *core* and *periphery*, in which powerful and wealthy *core* societies dominate and exploit weak and poor peripheral societies. The division of world-economy involves a hierarchy of occupational tasks, in which tasks requiring higher levels of skill and greater capitalization are reserved for higher-ranking areas. Similarly, there seem to be a hierarchy in the network of ideas, where those coming from a context of economic and political domination tend to be easier accepted than others if not simply preferred. A good example here would be the spread of processual archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s seen, for instance, through the number of grant proposals funded because they related to this methodology.¹⁶ The problem that should be examined is:

¹⁶The processual methodology was not uncritically accepted, however, as the Eastern European scenario discussed above demonstrates.

What characteristics of local archaeologies were diffused from elsewhere so their appearance can be explained through the world-system analysis (WSA), and which were home-grown products and emerged according to the rule discussed by Meyer et al. (1997) (see below).

A historic overview is necessary in order to understand the present condition of archaeology worldwide. Histories of archaeology are usually idiographic reviews aiming at presenting ostensibly objective accounts of ideas and practices. I am neither interested in a merely idiographic presentation of changes in archaeological thought, nor in a simplistic analysis of a bimodal opposition underlined by the existence of the dominating and dominated, which relates to the dependency theory (Gunder Frank 1969; see also Chirot and Hall 1982; Godsen 2004), followed by the proponents of the so-called colonial concept of archaeology. My goal is to look for a nomothetic context of the spread of archaeology worldwide and to see how socioeconomic realities inflict on the social sciences and especially archaeology.

I employ the WSA (Wallerstein 2004b; Kardulias and Hall 2007) to analyze specific conditions that stimulate social change on a global scale in order to see whether they may provide insights into the comparative study of social history of archaeology worldwide. The approach points out to two particular analytical contexts, European expansion and the rise of modernity, and helps in understanding of the global trends in theory and practice of archaeology. I consider two hypotheses here:

- More affluent and modernized countries enlarge access to cultural resources by generating public interest in archaeology.
- Interests in archaeology existing in more affluent countries also appear in other regions regardless of local socioeconomic and political conditions.

Ample evidence exists to test the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis is supported by an imaginary scenario discussed by Meyer et al. (1997:173–174) that an isolated society when confronted with modern world culture would adopt its basic constitutive patterns in more or less spontaneous manner. Both options justify the use of the world-system approach, which suggests import of ideas along with interests present in affluent regions combined with the availability of funds. In regions where local funds were limited and may have hindered local developments, archaeological theory and practice were diffused from other economically and politically more significant regions. Such diffusion commonly included scholars from the core countries conducting fieldwork and inspiring local colleagues with new ideas.

Since the Middle Ages, foreign education was significant in introducing ideas and creating international networks of followers. Italian universities created a network of users of the Latin language through which certain ideas were propagated onto foreign territories all over Europe. But those universities also produced such thinkers as Galileo and Copernicus who turned against the commonly accepted models of thinking. Since the Industrial Evolution, Germany and France dominated European education and were replaced by the UK and US-based academic centers in the aftermath of WWII. Russia served as an educational center for Eastern Europe before 1917, while from the late 1940s until 1990 the USSR had a more widespread impact in Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America. After 1991, which

marked the end of the Cold War, western academic centers gained exclusive power in dictating academic agenda. Currently, universities in the core countries educate foreign students who go home to spread out what they learned and they became significant elements of the WSA. Clearly, for the past 500 years, patterns of thinking were propagated along ideological lines supported by the economic and political supremacy.

Throughout the twentieth century, ideas were introduced via global communication networks to remote regions. Local practitioners may have not always accepted a new idea literally, but conceptualized it through their own cultural meanings to see whether the idea fits the local conditions. Eventually, it might have been rejected. Development of communication technologies at the end of the twentieth century caused a rapid increase in information flow and access to information became instantaneous.¹⁷ In consequence, archaeologists, regardless of their localization, have access to world archaeology journals, books (via the Internet), and online education. Such access raises few additional questions on regional and global scale about identity and cultural meanings (see Edwards and Usher 2000 for discussion), and also information control and manipulation, as information controlling agencies integrate in a hierarchically structured web. It also creates a base for global cultural homogenization as presently visible in several patterns of popular culture. The danger of cultural homogenization might be described using world-economy as example. Because capitalist world-economy rewards accumulated capital, including human capital, at a higher rate than “raw” labor power, the geographical maldistribution of these occupational skills involves a strong trend toward self-maintenance. The forces of the marketplace reinforce them rather than undermine them. And the absence of a central political mechanism for the world-economy makes it very difficult to intrude counteracting forces to the maldistribution of rewards. Hence, the ongoing process of a world-economy tends to expand the economic and social gaps among its varying areas in the very process of its development. A similar pattern can be noticed in regard to the network of ideas, where economically most dynamic regions produce new ideas, whereas other regions either followed them uncritically, create hybrid mix of local and foreign ideas, or remain unchanged (conservative).

The condition that contributes to the process of development of ideas relates to technological advances through which it is possible to expand the boundaries of the worldwide web of ideas.

Technology is central in the positioning of a region in the core or the periphery. Advanced or developed countries are the core, and the less developed are in the periphery. Peripheral countries are structurally constrained to experience a kind of development that reproduces their subordinate status (Chase-Dunn and Grimes 1995). In this case, particular regions of the world may change their structural role in the worldwide web. It is in order to observe this crucial phenomenon clearly that I have insisted on the distinction between a peripheral area of a given set of ideas and its external arena. The external arena of one century often becomes the periphery of the next – or its semiperiphery. But then too, core-states can become semiperipheral and semiperipheral ones peripheral. These tend to be called traditional rulers. The political struggle is often phrased in terms

¹⁷Information processing is seen as the key condition of cultural structures, see van der Leeuw (1981).

of tradition vs. change. Following the evolutionary approach, we might accept that qualitatively new data contribute to changes in archaeological theory as novel ideas about human behavior formulated within the social sciences (natural sciences also provide interesting insight into human behavior – see for instance Fisher 2009) might be more critical in theory-building. I therefore strongly disagree with the often postulated claim that intensification of archaeological research (quantity of data) will contribute to improved theoretical basis for archaeology (see Trigger 1989:7 ff for more discussion).

I feel it is significant to account for political and economic constraints of archaeology and its spread around the world as the world-system context may explain why certain tendencies in archaeological research, like nationalistic sentiments, appear. As Trigger noted (1984:360):

The primary function of nationalistic archaeology (...) is to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups. It is probably strongest amongst people who feel politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights by more powerful nations or in countries where appeals for national unity are being made to counter serious divisions along class lines.

Another term used by Trigger (1984:360), “colonial archaeology,” explains my approach more accurately. What he meant by it was archaeology that “developed either in countries whose native population was wholly replaced or overwhelmed by European settlement or in ones where Europeans remained politically and economically dominant for a considerable period of time.” This description applies especially to Africa and Asia, but certain elements of “colonial archaeology” are present in South America and, if we look closer, also in North America.

In the 1990s, various approaches to WSA were subsumed into the semantics of “globalization.”¹⁸ Applied archaeologists were engaged in evaluating the relationship between archaeology and globalization (see Appadurai 2001; WAC5 2003, session entitled: Archaeology and Globalization: Challenges in Education and Training for the twenty-first century; Willems and van den Dries 2007; Lapadi and Long 2010). What needs to be pointed out here is a tendency to unify rules and standards, a move toward isomorphic state of archaeology worldwide. I doubt, however, if we will be able to understand archaeology globally without paying attention to local contexts and meanings (Lozny 2002). Consider, for instance, introduction of a new idea to an intellectual context not ready to accept it. The point discussed elsewhere (Lozny 1995) can be summarized as follows:

The more serious problem, which is not emphasized by the critics, lays in the applicability of foreign theories and methodological concepts into a local reality. This profound omission refers to the problem of applying foreign concepts to the local empirical and epistemological tradition and to regional goals of the public. The problem, therefore, is not in the diversity of questions being asked. Rather it refers to the ability of answering these questions coherently. What would be the point of applying a theory that cannot be tested against the database at hand?

The conclusion from the above is that there is little connection between the theory of rationally planned development and the implementation of development policies. It points out to limitation of a paradigm which combines an idealist theory of

¹⁸See discussion presented by Wallerstein (2004a) in his keynote address at the conference, “Development Challenges for the twenty-first Century,” Cornell University, Oct 1, 2004.

rationality and naturalist epistemology. A prime example is the difficulty of coping with unintended consequences, the nemesis of so much elegant theorizing, when it encounters practice (for further discussion of the problem of unintended consequences see Fabian 1991:189–98).

We cannot expect any top-down reforms to produce similar results in different regions, but we should expect changes on local levels that will to certain extent follow global trends (similar argument was made by Anderson-Levitt 2004 regarding global tendencies in modern education). The United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU) agencies promoting cultural heritage preservation initiatives act upon the principle of world culture (neoinstitutionalists in Arnove's terms) and not world-system approach (realist in Arnove's terms). The realists point out to domination in spreading ideas, whereas world culture proponents view social change as a result of ideas introduced by rationalized others whose authority exceeds power and resources (Meyer et al. 1997:173). Ideology of multilateralism has been put forward by the EU agencies and UNESCO in terms of heritage preservation and conservation. But it is not certain how different nations will respond to such attempts to globalize archaeology and especially to globalize ideas about archaeological theories and practice. Also, how the position of a country in the world economy and its size, resources, and political strategic significance influence how much autonomy it has in responding to the policies and regulations imposed by such global institutions? To what extent will state control over the nationally important and culturally sensitive domains be compromised by joining the global organization? What are the implications for developed countries as compared with an underdeveloped and impoverished? The expected reactions range from resistance to accommodation (for comparison see Arnove's (2009:10) discussion of Calyton's (1998) argument about the need to study the various ways in which nation-states respond to globalization and specifically international educational assistance). There is also a growing interest in cultural heritage preservation from NGOs,¹⁹ a phenomenon which deserves its own study.

Following these arguments, I identify four conditions that in my view contributed to globalization of archeology:

- Europe (Great Britain, Germany, France, and to certain extent the Soviet Union) and USA as key players in the world-system became centers of archaeological thought and practice and long-lasting interests and practices contributed to the selection of most effective methods to investigate the past elsewhere.
- The use of German, French, Russian, and currently English made regional ideas global and global available regionally.
- Locally significant questions have been answered using ideas and methods available in the global pool of research and globally significant questions have been answered using the local pool of research (data).

¹⁹In 2006, Heritage Watch launched a series of workshops for NGOs on heritage preservation and conservation. In October 15th and 16th, 2007, the steering committee of the Inventory of Heritage Organizations in Europe (IHOE) organized an international Think Tank Meeting on the Role of Heritage NGOs in Europe attended by experts and representatives of important European heritage organizations to reflect and discuss the future of Heritage NGOs in Europe.

- The approach to cultural heritage research and preservation contributed to globalization of archaeology as an attempt to unify goals and direct actions toward preserving what counts as world heritage and not just national heritage.

These points outline archaeology as a part of world culture. A more detailed analysis should include a scrutiny of agencies promoting and imposing agendas for archaeology worldwide including academic curricula, governmental policy-making agencies, and state-controlled and private funding agencies which profoundly manipulate research agendas by promoting the use of certain methods and theories or focus on certain regions.

Restructuring Archaeology (A Quest for Sustainable Archaeology)

Despite its global scale, academic archaeology is at critical juncture. As state budgets shrink and private foundations focus on highly selected (and spectacular) projects, archaeologists are expected to produce more with less funding. These drastic conditions have challenged everyone with an interest in the past to develop creative ways to ensure protection and wise treatment of our cultural heritage. Changing legal and economic conditions present archaeologists with professional dilemmas unknown decades ago. Sustainable archaeology relates to the necessity of reevaluating the status of the discipline under economic and political pressure. Such reevaluation must include serious propositions on restructuring archaeological activities, insistence on tightly focused research agendas, and the inevitability to limit fieldwork in favor of salvage projects which stipulate an attempt to combine academic archaeology with the pragmatics of applied archaeology.

The key problems I examine here relate to issues of conservatism and innovation in decision-making. This dialectical opposition underlies the empirical background for the presented study and its political, economic, institutional, pedagogic, and financial elements. My interests focus on addressing the key question: In what shape will archaeology emerge from the deconstruction of social, economic, and political condition, which prevailed locally, especially in Eastern Europe, but also South America, Africa, and southeastern Asia? My goal is to sketch a scenario of a possible outlook of archaeology that changes under very specific socioeconomic conditions. Obviously, as a scientific discipline, archaeology is constantly undergoing changes, for the change is inevitable. As any academic discipline, it has to undergo changes, as new ideas are being introduced and turned into practice. The change itself is not as interesting, however, as the circumstances under which it occurs and consequences it causes. My research is guided by the following question: Under what socioeconomic and political conditions changes can be adopted and what innovations in archaeological thought and practice can we identify in the beginning of the twenty-first century?

The goal is to begin setting an agenda for archaeology in the twenty-first century by discussing the following three interrelated topics:

- Creative ways of joining academia and applied archaeology.
- Selective use of archaeological resources.
- Opportunities and challenges offered by the incorporation of indigenous perspective into archaeological undertakings.

Specific questions to be addressed include the following: What are the best methods for joining applied archaeology and academia to produce significant research outcomes while insuring the maximum protection of archaeological deposits? How can CRM companies and academic departments collaborate in student training to produce individuals qualified to undertake important research in CRM context? What approaches can we take to ensure the greatest public benefit from archaeology and the widest dissemination of archaeological knowledge to the interested public? Do we need to introduce fundamental changes to applied archaeology program or can significant restructuring take place within the existing structure?

With the fundamental socioeconomic transformation that countries around the world are undergoing, a shift in scientific theory, especially within the social sciences, as well as changes in the organization of science should be expected. Therefore, I propose to analyze the following groups of problems:

- Recent transformations in the socioeconomic sphere impact all the social sciences archaeology included. What impact will they make on the theory and practice of archaeology worldwide?
- It can be expected that the new economic conditions will force a structural change in archaeology and the new structural context will influence research designs and archaeological practice. What are current research topics and how projects are financed? Will new social settings also create a specific public awareness of how the taxpayers' money is spent?; how then is a current model of archaeology perceived by professionals and by the public? New socioeconomic conditions also require a change in the organization of archaeology, especially in the former Eastern Europe where expensive institutions like the national Academies of Sciences in many cases duplicate the work conducted at university departments and museums.
- Because of the global political change after 1990, more scholars than ever before can benefit from international contacts and ideas are being freely exchange. How is this situation perceived by scholars locally?

Historians of archaeological thoughts see changes differently depending on their accepted outlooks. My interests relate to the scope of changes observable in Eastern Europe after 1990. Archaeology there, as well as the rest of the social sciences, is changing due to systemic, socioeconomic transformation these countries are undergoing. Hopefully, my conclusions regarding this region will contribute to better defining and understanding the causes of changes in a global scale.

My preliminary assumption regarding archaeology in Eastern Europe was that despite new political and economic settings, in terms of theoretical concepts the traditional ideas prevail, while organization and practice of archaeology certainly requires major changes. As demonstrated (Kubik 1994; Hann 1993; Tarrow 1994), there are diverse versions of socialism that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s in Eastern Europe. If we suppose that all these versions somehow influenced the scientific paradigm in any way, there must be diverse versions of scientific approaches recognizable in those areas.²⁰ Intellectual diversity is an issue to be discussed here. Similar notion could be read in Gordiejew's (1995:794–796) review of the three abovementioned authors, as well as another significant characteristic of today's anthropology, and that is the making of what do we know about it, how do we create our knowledge, and how do we interpret it, hoping to explain a phenomenon. There are claims made by Eastern European scholars (cf. Kuna and Venclova 1995:7–10) that certain elements of processual archaeology, postprocessual archaeology, and many other shades of archaeological theory and methodology followed in the West were independently used and coherently presented by Eastern European archaeologists. It is interesting, however, to read in this context that most archaeologists in Eastern Europe favored the typological-chronological paradigm over any other more theoretical currents.

Although the socioeconomic and political changes observable in Eastern Europe seem to have been inevitable, they have not been introduced by archaeologists. Archaeologists act in this case like innocent bystanders, for they do not initiate socioeconomic changes. Obviously, a systemic change concerns alterations in all aspects of social life including the practice of science, but the scope of changes varies and depends on economic conditions of the country. Let us consider systemic changes that have lately taken place in some western European countries. Those that have taken place in Spain or Portugal in the 1980s, as an effect of the collapse of the right wing dictatorships, are not of the same scope as those in Britain after Thatcherism (Collis 1995:82), and certainly of different scale than those we observe in Eastern Europe. Furthermore, I argue that we are going to see more changes as Europe will adjust to common standards in politics and economy. These changes will be caused by new legislation on the heritage protection, with new aims, nature, and power structure.

John Collis (1995) argued that archaeologists must be clear about their methodology and its implications and in control of the use that is made of archaeological data and have a clear idea about what it is they are trying to achieve in studies of the past. These inevitably lead us on to the political and social implications of what we are doing. This we must confront head-on, and we cannot ignore what is going on politically around us, both in the narrowest sense of the word (pertaining to specific political beliefs and parties) or in the widest sense (that which is of concern to the citizen of any state). We must also understand the power structures which lie

²⁰Recently, I participated in a meeting of scholars from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, USA, England, and my observation provides evidence to argue that, for instance, the Marxian paradigm was, and still is, understood differently in those countries, and therefore there are various scientific accounts being produced by scholars operating under similar circumstances.

behind the teaching, practice, and dissemination of archaeology, within archaeology itself, and within society in general, to ensure healthy debate and discussion and to prevent individuals and interest groups from exerting undue influence on the detriment of our science. Kristian Kristiansen (1993:19) wrote that:

If one is personally or politically committed, this naturally colors what one sees, whereas those who are without such commitment as a rule are without insight into this type of problem and therefore act uncritically, merely as tools of tradition.

As it is unlikely that the developing countries will match the center in its economic status, it is also unlikely that developing countries will develop their own scientific theories that match the centers. I also doubt that the centers will be clearly distinguished from the rest. Ideas will infiltrate as they always do, but will be more carefully applied to local conditions. Locally followed theories and practices will change, but unevenly, with some regions progressing faster (for instance Russia or archaeology in South America) than others. But I do not consider scientific progress to be similar to infrastructural change. Infrastructure is expenditure on costly activities that cannot be attributed to a single producer.

Another problem with archaeology becoming sustainable relates to decommodification²¹ of social policies in general. Theorists of capitalism have long ridiculed decommodification, arguing that it is illusory, that it goes against some presumed innate social psychology of humankind, that it is inefficient, and that it guarantees lack of economic growth and therefore of poverty. All of this is false. If we look at one major institution of the modern world – universities – we realize that, at least up to 20 years ago, no one questioned that they should be run as nonprofit institutions, without shareholders or profit takers. And it would be hard to argue seriously that, for that reason, they have been inefficient, unreceptive to technological advances, incapable of attracting competent personnel to run them, or unable to perform the basic services for which they were created. And to address that seriously, we must first of all comprehend with some clarity the historical development of our present system, appreciate its structural dilemmas today, and open our mind to radical alternatives for the future. And we must do all this, not merely academically but practically, that is, living in the present and concerned with the immediate needs of people as well as longer-run transformations.

Conclusion

At times of globalization and global impact of commerce, politics, and environmental stress on culture, it might be interesting to see what sort of impact those stressors made on anthropology and archaeology. This book is an attempt to “globalize”

²¹People and their labor are commodified as labor is major commodity in the market; decommodification is about governments reducing people’s reliance on market for their well-being (stronger governmental interventions, see Esping-Andersen 1990 and critical discussions by Bamba 2006 and Scuggs and Allen 2006).

archaeology in a sense that archaeologists from around the world will learn about each other and their work. They will learn about their key interests and outlooks on subjects that might be researched by a larger group. Because these topics are usually published in foreign languages, many do not learn about them due to linguistic restrictions. An issue that may have been specifically local will become global. After all, although archaeologists act locally, they often impact a site or landscape that is a part of a global human patrimony. We all have the right to take part in this discussion.

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Part I
Archaeology in Europe

Toward a Historical Sociology of German Archaeology

Ulrich Veit

Introduction

It is not possible to present here a comprehensive historical sociology of German archaeology. For such a task, a substantial empirical research concerning different academic and non-academic environments of German archaeology would be necessary. I will only present an outline of the structure and organization of archaeological research in contemporary Germany with regard to both its history and its wider cultural context (for other brief reflections on the German tradition of archaeological research with special reference to prehistoric archaeology, see Eggert 1994, 2005; Härke 1991, 1994, 1995; Narr 1990; Veit 2001, 2006b).

Two further points are necessary to make in order to fully understand the scope of impact made by German archaeology on the discipline in general. Today archaeology is a worldwide venture, but in its beginnings in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it had been a distinctly European endeavor (Maier 1994:35). An integral part of the strong European tradition of archaeological research was formed in Central Europe. In this multinational area, the German language, at least up to the mid-twentieth century, was used as *lingua franca* for academic exchange among archaeologists of different nations. During this period, a multi-directional exchange of information and ideas among scholars from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia, Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland was common. For that reason it is – at least in a historical perspective – not easy to deal with German archaeology in isolation (see for examples Parzinger 2002).

On the other hand, important work by German archaeologists is to be found not only in Germany but also abroad. Nevertheless the following short overview will mainly focus on research conducted in Germany and disregard the work of German

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archaeologists in the Mediterranean (e.g., Olympia, Tiryns, Rome), in Asia Minor (e.g., Pergamon, Troy, Boghazköy), the Near East, and in other parts of the world.

Archaeology and Archaeologies: The Structure of Academic Archaeology in Germany

Archaeology in Germany comprises a wide area of activities which are not structured around a single idea and do not correspond to a master plan. This is especially visible in the academia, where several archaeological subdisciplines with their distinct histories, methodologies, identities, institutional settings and even textbooks co-exist (for an overview see Eggert 2006). For instance, there is only one textbook in German, written by a Near Eastern archaeologist educated in Germany and working today in the United States, which deals with archaeology in general, especially with archaeological theories, irrespective of disciplinary boundaries (Bernbeck 1997). Textbooks dealing with archaeological field techniques are quite often written from the perspective of one archaeological subdiscipline, mainly prehistoric archaeology (e.g., Gersbach 1989; Biel and Klonk 1994).

Educated in prehistoric archaeology, I will be dealing here mainly with this subdiscipline, which is called in German *Ur-und Frühgeschichte* or *Vor-und Frühgeschichte* (pre- and protohistory). It developed during the nineteenth century in countries like Germany, France, and Denmark, i.e., regions lacking the elaborate and well-preserved monuments of antiquity which are found for example in Greece or Italy. Working with sources like settlement remains, burial assemblages, and other kinds of voluntary depositions, a number of specific concepts and methods have been developed to present evidence in a wider historical perspective (see especially Eggert 2008).

The activities in the field of prehistoric archaeology comprise all periods for which written records are missing or rare, ranging from the Paleolithic Period to Early Medieval Ages. Regions and periods with their own literary sources or historiography are usually dealt with by separate subdisciplines, like “classical archaeology” (formerly known simply as “archaeology”), which is mainly concerned with ancient Greece and Rome. This discipline originated in the eighteenth century as a kind of a history of classical antiquity and Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) should be prized as its founder in Germany. Today classical archaeology comprises a wide range of methodologies adopted from the arts as well as from other sciences including those traditionally practiced by prehistoric archaeologists (for details see Borbein et al. 2000).

A special field of research, where prehistoric and classical archaeology come together, is “Aegean Archaeology.” This subdiscipline originated with the excavations by Heinrich Schliemann at Troy and other sites in eastern Mediterranean in the late nineteenth century.

The “Archaeology of the Roman Provinces” has its roots in the so-called *Limesforschung* of the late nineteenth century. *Limes* (Latin for “border”) is the term

for the fortified border of the Roman Empire, which in central Europe separated the Roman provinces from the *Germania libera*. Research in this field deals with a broad spectrum of data, ranging from different type of artifacts and archaeological sites to historical analysis of ancient written sources (Fischer 2001). Traditionally, sites related to the military organization of the Roman Empire, including battle sites, receive special attention. For instance, in recent years, a renewed discussion on the location of the famous battle in the *Teutoburger* forest 9 AD, where Arminius defeated the Roman army under Varus has been carried out by the specialists of the field. These debates were caused by recent archaeological investigations on the site of Kalkriese near Osnabrück (Lower Saxony), which clearly represents a battlefield with traces that can be dated to those years of conflict between the Germans and Romans. But it is not clear at the moment whether the recent finds actually represent the famous battleground (for a summary see Wolters 2003).

Other German archaeological research traditions include Near Eastern archaeology (Nissen 1983), and the “archaeology of the Holy Land” (*Biblische Archäologie*) (Fritz 1985). Both are parts of two larger disciplines dealing mainly with written sources of certain regions (Near Eastern Studies and Theology). The same is true for specialized archaeological research which deals with the Middle and Far East, Egypt, and other parts of Africa and the Americas.

Another important development within German archaeology during the last decades has been the emergence of a distinct discipline called Medieval archaeology (Fehring 1987). Practitioners in this field do not hesitate to extend their interests into post-Medieval times. More recently, the term *Historische Archäologie* (historical archaeology) has been introduced in German archaeology as a general term for all archaeology dealing with times from which a substantial number of written records is available (see Frommer 2007). One of the main challenges for scholars is to present a coherent image of the past, which adequately combines the results gained through investigations relying on the use of archaeological and written sources. But the term “historical archaeology” has not yet been generally accepted in Germany. The main objection raised against this term is that all archaeology (at least in the German tradition) is “historical.”

Not included in contemporary German archaeology in its narrower sense is the so-called industrial archaeology, which deals primarily with still largely intact industrial buildings, plants, and machines of the last two centuries that should be restored, conserved, and made available for use in a new context (Slotta 1982).

A minor role within the current German academic archaeology is played by ethnoarchaeological studies (Vossen 1992; Göbel 1993). In Germany, ethnoarchaeology primarily means the systematic use of ethnographic data for better understanding of archaeological data (i.e., the use of analogies in reasoning finally leading to some form of model building) and less the systematic application of archaeological methods in ethnographic research (see Struwe and Weniger 1993). This branch of archaeology is not institutionalized as most other archaeological subdisciplines have been practiced by a small group of prehistoric archaeologists.

Similar problems apply to experimental archaeology (Fansa 1990, 1991, 1999; Keefer 2006), which is often practiced in open air museums. The key trouble is in

distinguishing between the scientific rigor of experimentation and marketable value of the experimentation process. Here we have to insist on a strong distinction between scientific experimental research conducted under controlled conditions and demonstrations of ancient techniques to museum visitors on other audiences. The latter is not experimental archaeology in its narrow sense, but a form of reenactment. This will be discussed later, when we look at the wider context of academic archaeology (see below).

All the subdisciplines that could be summarized under the heading “archaeology” in Germany refer to the idea that a special kind of history can and should be written from material relics. Archaeology therefore is seen not as a science on its own, but as a part of the humanities. Nevertheless, since the nineteenth century, scientific methods have been successfully applied by German archaeologists to all kinds of archaeological materials (bones, plants, pollen, mineral resources, metals, ceramics, glass, etc.) (for an overview see Mommsen 1986). These scientific methods played major role especially in interdisciplinary investigations of the prehistoric settlements and cultural landscapes; a number of specialized fields of research emerged from the use of those methods (e.g., archaeozoology, physical anthropology, palaeo[ethno]botany, archaeometry).

“Great Tradition”: The Theoretical Orientation of German Archaeology

German archaeology is an integral part of what Colin Renfrew (1980:289) called the “Great Tradition.” More than that, “German scholarship” according to Renfrew “has played arguably the greatest part” in it. Renfrew sees the archaeologists of the eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century as the inheritors of this rich tradition of learning, a tradition that originally focused very much on the writings of classical antiquity, which during the Enlightenment were liberated from their biblical and theological contexts. That meant that scholars working within this tradition were primarily concerned with investigations relating to the early civilizations especially of the classical world.

Later on, the archaeological record (besides the works of art admired by early archaeologists) was also accepted as historical evidence, and people of the early civilizations were included in the investigations of the “Great Tradition.” In the beginning of the twentieth century, an influential German archaeologist Carl Schuchhardt (1908:944ff) expressed that in the future “excavated prehistory” could be transformed into “real” history – and in this way prehistoric archaeology will be ultimately integrated into the realm of the “Great Tradition.” The works by scholars working within the “Great Tradition” were to a large extent descriptive, “since adequate explanation of events is seen as flowing rather naturally from their full description, to which imperfections in the archaeological record are an inevitable obstacle” (Renfrew 1980:290). Moreover, archaeologists working within the “Great Tradition” saw themselves primarily as culture historians and not as (cultural) anthropologists. The archaeologist in this sense is in the first place a scholar and

not a scientist. His main challenge is to offer (his students and the public) access to cultures that existed long time ago. Therefore, studies of ancient cultures are mainly focused on a demonstration of cultural (inter)connections and cultural diffusions. The results of this kind of research give the audience a sense for the unbroken continuity in which their own culture exists (Gombrich 1991:85ff).

This strong intellectual tradition is contrasted by Renfrew to a kind of archaeological research, which argues on a global scale and seeks to explain cultural changes by reference to law-like regularities. As he (Renfrew 1980:293) points out:

Archaeology thus, in its fundamental nature, has much in common with the sciences, or should I say the other sciences, which proceed by recognizing and then often solving problems, both great and small. It follows that most problems are best tackled in as wide as general an intellectual context as possible, that is, in a global context.

This new strategy also included the idea that new kinds of archaeological data should systematically be used in archaeological research. Especially environmental and subsistence data were thought to be just as much a part of the archaeological record as handsome artifacts. In the United States, the so-called New Archeology of the 1960s pursued such a program and thereby caused what Renfrew has called the “Great Divide” in archaeology. Environmental and subsistence data were made available for archaeological research in Germany before the advent of the New Archaeology, but the epistemological context in which such data were discussed for a long time largely remained in that of the “Great Tradition.”

Because the “Great Tradition” is associated so firmly with German archaeology and the New Archaeology with America and Great Britain, the Great Divide did not only mark a temporal but also a regional break within the world of archaeology. This is the main reason why German archaeology (as a whole and not only classical archaeology) for a long time remained surprisingly unaffected by those new ideas that came after the 1960s from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean to Europe. Substantial changes in this respect became only visible during the last two decades and did not affect all branches of archaeological research in Germany in the same intensity.

The Structure of Prehistoric Archaeology in Germany

What has been discussed thus far generally describes archaeological research in Germany. In order to be more specific I will for the rest of this paper focus on just one branch of archaeological research in Germany, namely prehistoric archaeology.

The name traditionally used by institutions which conduct research on prehistoric times in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland is *Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (or *Ur- und Frühgeschichte* – both having the same meaning). It could adequately be translated as “pre- and protohistory” which refers – as already mentioned – to those periods, from which written sources are unknown or seldom. Only in the last few years it has become customary among prehistorians to use the term *Archäologie* (archaeology) – or more accurate the term *Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie* (pre- and protohistoric archaeology).

Prehistoric archaeology in Germany forms a distinct academic discipline with its own cognitive identity, its own organizational settings, and its own history. To understand the structure and orientation of German prehistoric archaeology we have to ask for its “identity” – to use the term coined within the history of science (see Lepenies 1981; Veit 1995). The “identity” of an academic discipline is seen as being threefold, including a “cognitive identity,” a “social identity,” and a “historical identity.” “Cognitive identity” refers to a (more or less explicit) program that distinguishes a discipline (or a special field of research) from competing disciplines (or fields of research). It defines for example what kind of research has to be done, what kind of evidence is relevant within that research, and what kind of methods are to be used to generate new knowledge. “Social identity” refers to the institutional structure of a discipline, that is, the institutions which enable permanent work on the research program currently pursued. “Historical identity” refers to an acknowledged history of research concerning this research program. Especially it refers to a generation of founders which for the first time formulated problems which are still relevant for present research.

Cognitive Identity

At the heart of the “cognitive identity” of prehistoric archaeology in Germany (as German archaeology in general) lies what can be called a “culture history” paradigm. The hallmarks of the cultural history paradigm can be summarized in the following three points, which correspond with the premises of the “Great Tradition,” mentioned above:

1. Prehistoric archaeology is seen as part of a wider tradition of historical research. The aim of such research is to generate firm knowledge about the past – not for practical reasons, but to enrich our contemporary culture and to contribute to a historical orientation of our present culture. Archaeology is explicitly not seen as a (natural or social) science, which produces knowledge capable for application in the present.
2. Archaeological research is characterized by a strong empirical orientation. The focus is on facts and not on theories. And new facts primarily are generated by the collection of new evidence – mainly by the means of excavation.
3. The central aim of prehistoric archaeology is to reconstruct unique historical situations and sequences. Far-reaching concepts concerning the historical process (as to be found within evolutionism and Marxism) and the formulation of law-like regularities to explain early human history are rejected.

This “culture history” orientation (also more recently extended into the fields of environmental and social research) is to a large extent still dominant in German archaeology. Interestingly, historical materialism never played a dominant role in German archaeology. This is even true for the archaeology in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, 1949–1990), where Marxism became a kind of state

religion. Even in those times, a strong culture history orientation prevailed under the surface of the new ideology, which came to an end with German reunification in 1990.

Social Identity

Prehistoric archaeology in Germany is not a uniform organization. One of the reasons for this situation is that all decisions concerning the fields of education and culture in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) are traditionally dealt with not through a centrally organized structure, but separately by the 16 federal states (*Länder*) of which Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*) is composed. That is why decisions concerning the representation of archaeology at the universities or state museums (*Landesmuseen*) and the management of the archaeological heritage in the landscape (*Denkmalschutzämter* [state services for heritage management]) are made on the regional scale. Other decisions especially those concerning culture heritage management are made on even more regional or communal levels by archaeologists responsible for the heritage preservation in a specified area (*Stadt- und Kreisarchäologien* [communal and regional archaeological services]) or for communal and regional collections (*Städtische Museen* und *Heimatismuseen* [communal and country museums]).

Only very recently new structures emerged, which are devoted to promoting discussions on questions related to archaeological methodology and practice on a nationwide level. An association of state archaeologists (*Verband der Landesarchäologen*) and the presidency of the antiquarian societies (*Präsidium der Altertumsverbände*) have to be mentioned here. The foundation of the different antiquarian societies (each responsible for a part of Germany) goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century. More recently, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* has been founded. The main task of these societies is the organization of archaeological congresses on a regional scale and also nationwide to support information exchange among scholars. Since the inception, these congresses also attract participants from other nations, working on related topics (e.g., on wide-ranging prehistoric culture complexes like the famous Late Neolithic “Bell Beaker Culture” or in international fields like Germanic, Celtic, or Slavic archaeology). Discussions of more theoretical issues and epistemological problems (perhaps apart from discussions dealing with the aims and organization of heritage management) are still rare on these occasions.

Apart from the institutions mentioned so far, there are a few nationwide and international research institutions with a long history of existence, namely the *Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum* in Mainz and the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* (RGK) in Frankfurt/M. Both carry out their own research projects in Germany and abroad and also provide forums for information exchange especially in form of published periodicals and monograph series. Other important periodicals and monograph series are edited by the state services for heritage management, the state museums, and about two dozen university departments for prehistoric archaeology that presently exist.

To sum up, the organization of prehistoric archaeology in Germany rests on three pillars:

1. Large state-sponsored museums hosting archaeological collections, including traditional archaeological museums as well as a large number of open air museums.
2. State, regional, and communal services for cultural heritage management.
3. University departments and central research institutions.

Apart from these a number of societies and voluntary associations exist all with different aims. Some of them see their prime task in promoting exchange of information among archaeologists (*Verbände für Altertumforschung*, *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte*), while other societies (usually those organized on a regional scale) are devoted to the organization of a dialog between professional archaeologists and the public.

Historical Identity

Historical identity refers to an acknowledged history of research concerning the chosen topic. In German prehistoric archaeology, such history is firmly connected to two institutions, both having roots in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to scholars associated with them. I have mentioned both institutions already. These are the *Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum Mainz* (RGZM) and the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission* (RGK). The RGZM was founded in 1852 by Ludwig Lindenschmidt d. Ä. [“the older”] as a museum with the task to collect antiquities from all German regions and make them available for comparative studies (see also below). Lindenschmidt’s work was continued in the early twentieth century by other influential scholars like Paul Reinecke and Karl Schumacher (see Böhner 1978). The foundation of the RGK 1902 in Frankfurt/M. as a part of the German Archaeological Institute (Berlin) ultimately goes back to the establishment of the *Reichslimeskommission* by the historian Theodor Mommsen (Berlin) ten years earlier (see Krämer 1979; Becker 2001; on Mommsen: Rebenich 1999, 2002). I will mention only two among the scholars who worked there and whose work concentrated on the prehistoric periods: Carl Schuchhardt and Gerhard Bersu (von Schnurbein 2001; Krämer 2001).

But there clearly are other seminal figures and institutions who defined historical identity of German prehistoric archaeology. The famous pathologist and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow (Andree 1976/1986; Goschler 2002; Veit 2006a) and his “Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory” (*Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*), founded in 1869, should be mentioned as advocating a more scientific approach within prehistoric archaeology. Gustaf Kossinna and his *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Vorgeschichte* (founded in 1909), on the other hand, propagated a more culture historical approach to studying material culture. Kossinna’s concept of a “predominantly national” archaeology is criticized today because it was used as the basis for the misuse of archaeology for ideological

reasons during the Third Reich (1933–1945, for more details see below). It is not my intention to carry on a debate concerning the historical identity of German prehistoric archaeology, which started back in the 1930s, when Hans Gummel (1938) published a thick volume on the history of German prehistoric archaeology, covering the time from the seventeenth century on to the 1930s. From the historical context it is clear that Gummel's synthesis has to be seen in relation with contemporary attempts to transform prehistoric archaeology to what was regarded as a mature discipline. In the following pages, I will only provide some basic information on the development of prehistoric archaeology in Germany since its beginnings in the early nineteenth century. In my presentation, I rely on the work of different scholars who dealt with the history of prehistoric archaeology as a whole or discussed its selected periods (Wahle 1950; Kühn 1976; Hachmann 1987; Arnold 1990; Kossack 1992, 1999; Härke 2000; Leube 2002; Callmer et al. 2006; Gramsch 2006).

A Short History of Prehistoric Archaeology in Germany

The history of prehistoric archaeology in Central Europe is deeply linked with the political history of the relevant nations. This is especially true in Germany. The main junctures of German history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the foundation of the German Empire 1871, World War I and the end of the monarchy 1914–1918, the seizure of power by the national socialists and World War II 1933–1945, and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, all represent significant junctures in the development of prehistoric archaeology. With regard to the last 200 years, we may distinguish five major phases in the development of prehistoric archaeology.

The Beginnings

The first phase of development (1800–1871) is characterized by a steady growth of interest in prehistoric remains mainly on a local or regional scale. About 50 new associations, which dealt with antiquities of prehistoric and other ages, were established in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The first more systematic archaeological excavations took place during these decades. This phase, which was forced by a growing romantic nationalism, reached its climax in the years before the German Revolution of 1848. It culminated in the establishment of a number of national institutions which influenced the development prehistoric archaeology during the next phases. Among those institutions were The Germanic National Museum (*Germanisches Nationalmuseum*) in Nuremberg and the Roman-Germanic Central Museum (*Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum*) in Mainz, both founded in 1852. The aim of the latter institution was, according to its founder, Ludwig Lindenschmidt (1809–1893) to gather the most important archaeological objects under one roof. Because it was not possible to acquire enough important original finds, Lindenschmidt, who was an artist, developed the idea to make copies of all

famous antiquities found in Germany and in the neighboring countries and exhibit them in his museum. This allowed the visitors to view them in one place and scholars to conduct comparative studies on a scale not possible in earlier times.

Hermannsdenkmal (Arminius monument) near Detmold, a huge statue commemorating the Germanic victory over the Romans under Varus in 9 AD in the “dark forests of Germania,” which is still visible today, symbolizes the times of romantic nationalism. The monument designed by Ernst von Bandel shows the Germanic leader Arminius raising his sword after his victory. Its corner stone was set in 1838 but the monument was not finished before 1875, four years after the foundation of the German Reich (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 The Hermannsdenkmal (Arminius monument) near Detmold (Northrhine-Westfalia) has been completed in 1875. It was erected to commemorate the Roman defeat by Germanic tribes in 9 AD in the Teutoburg Forest (Photograph by the author)

Consolidation and New Perspectives

This first phase of the development of prehistoric archaeology was followed by a period of further institutional consolidation and development, which coincided with the so-called *Gründerzeit*, the years after the institution of the German Reich in 1871. From that time on, associations like the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, founded in 1869, became the most important organizations spreading knowledge on prehistory in Germany. Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) certainly was the leading figure of this period. Mainly known as a pathologist, physical anthropologist, and politician, he devoted much of his time to the organization and promotion of prehistoric research in Germany. Virchow advocated the integration of archaeology into comprehensively understood anthropology that should include physical anthropology, ethnology, and prehistory. Influenced by the positivistic thinking of his time, he proposed a methodology which combined careful analysis of skeletal remains, artifacts, linguistic evidence, and written sources. Ironically, Virchow is best remembered for his “failure” in the case of the Neanderthal find. He denied the antiquity of these famous skeletal remains found in 1856, claiming that it did not differ significantly from modern humans.

The German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*) was founded in 1829 in Rome (under the name *Instituta di corrispondenza archaeologica*), but since 1832 has its headquarters in Berlin. The focus of interest in its early decades was on classical antiquity and Mediterranean archaeology. Only in 1892, a special commission was established with the aim to investigate the Roman limes in central Europe (*Reichslimeskommission*). The research executed by this commission under the direction of the historian Theodor Mommsen also included fieldwork at various sites. These investigations became the basis for the establishment of the “Commission for Roman and Germanic Studies” (RGK) in Frankfurt (Main) in 1902 as a part of the German Archaeological Institute. This event marks the start of coordinated research on the prehistory of Central Europe, and especially on the Bronze and Iron Ages.

A Predominately National Science

The year 1902 was an important one for German prehistoric archaeology also with regard to two other events. Virchow’s death marked the end of his universal and interdisciplinary concept of prehistoric research. What followed was a period in which – under the influence of growing nationalism and also racism – the classic culture-history paradigm was developed and applied to the available archaeological finds on a large scale. Archaeological cultures were equated with ancient people and archaeological remains were used to trace ethnic histories. One of the most significant outcomes of the phase was the incorporation of prehistoric archaeology to university curricula. Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931), who was appointed professor at the Berlin University in 1902, like no other prehistorian of the time exemplified this process (see Grünert 2002 and for a summary in English Veit 2000).

Kossinna held the view that the Germani and Aryans represented physically by the blond and blue-eyed Nordic type who had their homeland in southern Scandinavia from where they spread over Europe, were the pinnacle of creative humanity (for details see Wiwjorra 1996, 2006). His idea of prehistory as “predominantly national science” (Kossinna 1914) later led the way for the development of the Nazi-controlled prehistory. Nevertheless it is not possible to simply associate Kossinna’s ideas and the Nazi ideology in the use of archaeological evidence in ethnic histories. Although Kossinna’s publications witness his strong nationalist and indeed racist thinking, he nevertheless tried to give prehistory a sound methodological basis. That is why his so-called “settlement-archaeological method” (*Siedlungsarchäologische Methode*) became influential not only in Germany but also abroad. The early V. Gordon Childe’s publications, for example, show a strong influence of Kossinna’s methodology; Childe also highly estimated Kossinna’s work (see Veit 1984).

After the seizure of power by the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) in 1933, prehistory in Germany formally became a part of the culture policy of the Third Reich. This was the end of scientific freedom for archaeologists and others. Among introduced policy changes was an effective ideological control of appointments for all important new posts. Only party members were allowed to occupy high offices. Scholars of Jewish descent were dismissed. Under such constraints, the representatives of the discipline had to choose between collaboration, resistance, or exile. The spectrum of possibilities is illustrated by the biographies of four influential prehistorians of the time: Hans Reinerth, Herbert Jankuhn, Gerhard Bersu, and Gero von Merhart.

In the late 1920s, Hans Reinerth (1900–1990) was a lecturer at Tübingen University. He was well-known for his excavations in the wetlands of the Federsee region in southwestern Germany. At an early date joined the National Socialist movement and became an adherent of the new ideology. This decision opened the way for him to become a professor in Berlin in 1934. At the same time, he also became a leading figure in the “Rosenberg’s Office” (*Amt Rosenberg* – named after Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler’s chief ideologist), where his key task was to prevent deviations from the leading national-socialist ideology (for details see Schöbel 2002).

Herbert Jankuhn (1905–1990), who in 1930 had started his excavations in the Viking-Age settlement of Haithabu, also joined the new ideology and became the head of the prehistory section of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*. This association had been founded in 1935 by members of the Nazi secret police (*Schutzstaffel*, SS) with the aim to study the German past (Steuer 2004; Eickhoff and Halle 2007).

At the same time, the situation looked very different for Gerhard Bersu (1899–1964) and Gero von Merhart (1886–1959). Because of his Jewish descent Gerhard Bersu (1899–1964) had been removed from his post as the first director of the RGK in 1935. He left Germany in 1937 and spent the time of war in England, where he directed excavations, which had a decisive influence on the development of the British field archaeology (Krämer 2001). Gero von Merhart on the other hand, who was a professor at Marburg University, was forced to retire from his office after accusations made by the Party members, namely Reinerth, that he did not fulfill the demands of the new regime (Kossack 1977, 1986).

Despite cases of open discrimination, the Nazi rule within prehistoric archaeology was not as effective as it probably could have been. From the beginnings, there

were severe conflicts between leading opponents of the new ideology, especially between the scholars working in the “Rosenberg’s Office” and those in the *SS-Ahnenerbe*. Both sections heavily competed for influence not only in Germany but, during WWII, also in the countries occupied by the Germans. They confiscated whole museum collections and transferred them to Germany. The *SS-Ahnenerbe* of Jankuhn turned out to be more “successful” while Reinerth and his adherents came under pressure during the War.

Prehistoric Archaeology After 1945

Looking at these developments it comes as no surprise that after 1945, the reputation of German prehistoric archaeology was reduced to a minimum. As a consequence of the misuse of its knowledge for political reasons, the discipline lost its central paradigm. With regard to what had happened during the War, the possibility of writing a history of European peoples in prehistoric times seemed illusory. Alternatives at that time were not available.

From an organizational point of view, however, despite a certain degree of personal change, the structure of the discipline largely remained untouched. While Bersu came back to office and reorganized the work of the RGK at Frankfurt, Reinerth was banned from holding a publicly funded post in West Germany. He became director of the “Lake Village Museum” (*Pfahlbaumuseum*), a private institution at Unteruhldingen on Lake Constance.

Reinerth was the only known pre-war prehistorian removed from public services. Despite their membership in the SS, many other prehistorians after a certain time reached highest positions in the discipline. For example, Jankuhn ultimately became director of the Institute of Pre- and Protohistory at the Göttingen University, where he continued his research on social and economic problems of pre- and protohistoric communities of northern Germany and directed large archaeological projects in the coastal region of northwest Germany.

With the establishing of the FRG and the GDR in 1949, two opposing political systems were introduced, the “capitalist” and the other “socialist,” which also impacted the further development of German archaeology. Parallel to this development during the time of the Cold War, prehistoric archaeology in Germany became paradigmatically divided into two parts. In western Germany, the traditional culture-history approach dominated, while in the eastern part, a small group of archaeologists led by Karl-Heinz Otto (and later Joachim Herrmann) tried to develop a specific Marxist approach to prehistory. Despite a large number of publications, this approach was not successful. In practice, most East German (GDR) archaeologists continued to adhere to the traditionalist, culture-history outlook of prehistoric archaeology.

Apart from these ideological battles, the post-war period, especially the decades between 1960 and 1990 were characterized by a major development of state archaeological services (see Kunow 2002). This is true for both the FRG and the GDR. After German reunification in 1990, we saw further structural reorganization especially in the states that formerly were a part of the GDR. Some attempts at a

paradigmatic renewal of German archaeology were launched during the last two decades (for details see below).

Main Contributions of the German Tradition of Prehistoric Archaeology in Historical Perspective

Before I discuss the most recent developments, it may be useful to summarize the main contributions of the German tradition to the development of prehistoric archaeology. From a long-term perspective, at least four aspects are, in my opinion, central to (prehistoric) archaeology in the German-speaking countries: field archaeology, chronology, culture history, and settlement archaeology.

Field archaeology was from the very beginnings one of the key domains of prehistoric archaeology in Germany. In this context, Heinrich Schliemann (1822–1890) certainly has a legendary status, although Schliemann certainly was not an excavator in a modern sense. Nevertheless he indirectly promoted the development of field archaeology. Among his successors especially Carl Schuchhardt (1859–1943), who in the early twentieth century did much work in northern and eastern Germany, has to be remembered. He was followed by scholars like Gerhard Bersu, Werner Buttler, and others. New techniques of fieldwork were developed in northern Germany before and after World War II especially in the course of the investigation of settlements along the coastline like Haithabu, Feddersen Wierde, and others. Here for the first time we see systematic excavations on a large scale (covering whole rural settlements) in multilayered sites with preservation of organic materials (architecture and small finds). Related scientific analyses of botanical, zoological, and anthropological materials and intensive surveys of the areas adjacent to those settlements were executed to gain maximal insight on the economic structure and long-term development of these settlement areas (see also below).

Chronology has been the second constant concern of German prehistoric archaeology. Although today there is no doubt that the Danish archaeologist C. J. Thomsen has to be acknowledged as the founder of the so-called Three Age System, but German scholars very early expressed similar ideas. This is especially true for Johann Friedrich Danneil (1783–1868), a teacher in Salzwedel (Altmark), and Friedrich Lisch (1801–1883), the director of the collection of antiquities of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg. The later refusal of the Three Period System by German scholars like Ludwig Lindenschmidt (1809–1893) and Christian Hostmann (1829–1889) in retrospect only represents a short episode. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Otto Tischler (1843–1891) at Königsberg (formerly East Prussia, present-day Kaliningrad on the east Baltic coast) and especially Paul Reinecke (1872–1958) of Mainz were successful in developing periodisations of the Bronze and Iron Ages of Central Europe, which are still being used today. The comparative chronology of the European Neolithic developed by Vladimir Milošević (1918–1978), a professor at Heidelberg in the 1940s, was equally influential. His system served as a common ground for scholars working on the European Neolithic until the “radiocarbon revolution”

of the 1960s. Unfortunately Miliojic could not accept this innovation during his lifetime and – because of his lasting influence in Germany – hindered the inception of such innovations in German archaeology for a while.

The third important concern of German prehistory especially during the first half of the twentieth century has been the attempt to identify (link) ancient peoples and material remains. For that reason the concept of “archaeological culture,” consisting of certain types of artifacts and their distributions, became central. The idea goes back to Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931) and his already mentioned settlement-archaeological method (Kossinna 1911). This method gave rise to a broad discussion, which in a sense still continues. Major early contributions to this problem came from Karl-Hermann Jacob-Friesen (1886–1960), Ernst Wahle (1889–1981), and Hans-Jürgen Eggers (1906–1975). They were especially concerned with questions related to the criticism of sources (e.g., Jacob-Friesen 1928; Wahle 1941; Eggers 1959). Currently, researchers have also stressed the ideological elements inherent in these concepts (e.g., Veit 1989; Brather 2000).

A somewhat different approach to that of Kossinna and his followers is represented in the writings of Oswald Menghin (1888–1973), a professor in Vienna (Austria). Adopting ideas from the *Kulturkreislehre* (culture area paradigm), a paradigm developed by German ethnologists Wilhelm Schmidt and Fritz Graebner at the beginning of the twentieth century (Narr 1958; Urban 1996). Menghin (1931) postulated a number of the primary cultures and from the archaeological evidence tried to deduce their later interactions and change. His final aim was an integration of archaeological and ethnological knowledge into a universal history of early mankind. This approach was rejected along with the *Kulturkreislehre* in German ethnology in the 1950s.

The fourth important concern is closely related to the first one. The execution of well-organized excavations of large settlements combined with scientific analyses of the materials found offered German scholars the opportunity to investigate not only single settlements but also whole settlement systems. Herbert Jankuhn (1977) developed on this basis a broad “settlement-archaeological” method (which must not to be confused with Kossinna’s method, also known as the “settlement-archaeological method”) with the aim to clarify the settlement history from selected areas. This approach has been improved in a number of more recent projects during the last decades, as for example at the Aldenhovener Platte, where the settlement system of the Early Neolithic Period has been reconstructed (see Lüning 1997a for further references). In recent years, “landscape archaeology” developed on the basis Jankuhn’s settlement research (e.g., Lüning 1997b).

Tradition and Innovation: Recent Developments in German Prehistoric Archaeology

German prehistoric archaeology is appreciated in the world of archaeology for its solid and meticulous work with primary evidence (artifacts), for careful criticism of sources, and publications. But it would be unfair to limit the contributions of German

scholarship to just these points. Also more abstract ideas played an important role in academic debates. Especially the idea of writing histories through archaeological means – more specifically histories of prehistoric peoples – was influential far beyond Germany (see Veit 1989). And in more recent times, other theoretical orientations have been adopted, partly independently of their developments within Anglo-American archaeology (e.g., environmental studies and social archaeology).

But it is also true that due to strong (cultural) historical tradition, until very recently new theoretical developments propagated elsewhere had little resonance in German prehistoric archaeology. Differently than in Scandinavia or the Netherlands, where a reception of the ideas of the New Archaeology (and the different paradigms that followed) started early, in Germany only very recently these new ideas have been critically discussed (see Wolfram 1986; Bernbeck 1997; Eggert and Veit 1998) and partly adopted. For that reason especially the so-called postprocessual and postmodern approaches in academic archaeology play a minor role in Germany. In consequence, the critical awareness that archaeology is primarily a social practice of the present is hardly discussed in Germany.

Nevertheless especially during the last two decades, German prehistoric archaeology went through a transition toward becoming more self-reflective about new ideas and methods. This comprises a growing interest in methodological problems (attempts to make archaeology more “scientific”) as well as in intensified discussions of problems concerning public role of archaeology (archaeology as part of present-day culture). In the same context, approaches toward a critical history of archaeology developed. The main forum for such a kind of research has been the German “Theorie-AG” (*Theorie-Arbeitsgemeinschaft*), a voluntary association of archaeologists similar to the Theoretical Archaeology Group in Great Britain. It has been founded in the early 1990s by a group of younger German archaeologists, who were especially interested in the lively theoretical discussions in Anglo-American archaeology in those days (see Wolfram and Sommer 1993; Härke 2000).

Complementary to this initiative a new monograph series that mainly deals with theoretical issues was founded at the Tübingen University in the late 1990s (*Tübinger Archäologische Taschenbücher* [Tübingen Archaeological Pocketbooks]). Recent topics have been the status of archaeological knowledge (Heinz et al. 2003), material culture studies (Veit et al. 2003), a critical history of archaeology (Biehl et al. 2002), the reconstruction of social identities in archaeology (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2006), and the cultural dimensions of burial evidence (Kümmel et al. 2008; Veit 2008). Further topics to be dealt with in this context in near future are for example the relation between history and archaeology and the structure or archaeological narratives (see Veit 2006b). Other recent publications on theoretical topics dealt with sociological approaches within archaeology (Müller and Bernbeck 1996), archaeology as art (Kümmel et al. 1999), analogy in archaeological reasoning (Gramsch 2000), and archaeological approaches to ethnicity (Rieckhoff and Sommer 2007).

Finally, a special group (*Netzwerk archäologisch arbeitender Frauen* [network of women working in archaeology]) has been founded to deal with questions of gender archaeology. Some of the discussions by this group have been published in their own monograph series (*Frauen – Forschung – Archäologie* [Women –

Research – Archaeology]). Besides general questions on engendered archaeology (Fries and Koch 2005), gender roles in archaeological reconstructions has been a topic discussed more recently (Fries et al. 2007).

Similar approaches as within prehistoric archaeology toward a more theoretical archaeology recently emerged in the field of classical archaeology (for a recent overview, see Altekamp et al. 2001). And besides these approaches within the established archaeological disciplines during the last years in Germany, the term “archaeology” has also become an important metaphor in the field of modern culture studies (see Ebeling and Altekamp 2004; These approaches mainly refer to Michel Foucault’s famous distinction between “history” and “archaeology”), and until present these discussions remained largely unnoticed among archaeological practitioners in Germany.

Professional Archaeology, Alternative Archaeologies and the Public

Access to primary archaeological resources (especially to excavation of sites) is in Germany restricted by law to professional archaeologists. Laymen may be integrated in archaeological surveys and excavations only under supervision by trained professional archaeologists. Excavations executed by laymen are illegal and have to be classified as looting. Looting of archaeological sites and trade of illegally obtained finds is an old problem in archaeology, especially since cheap metal detectors were made available on the market. Such cases are investigated by the police and supported by professional archaeologists who provide expert advice.

On the other hand, problems with ethnic minorities claiming rights to certain sites or finds in Germany are virtually unknown. And so far no intense debates concerning grave disturbance and the right of the dead has taken place within German archaeology. Archaeologists and physical anthropologists are free to work with this kind of evidence. They are only obliged to meet some basic ethical standards concerning handling human remains. The same ethical concerns apply to archaeological excavations in general, since each fieldwork is a destruction (in the best case a controlled destruction) of historical sources. Therefore, archaeologists are obliged to obey certain codified rules of good practice (Planck 1999).

Discussions about quality standards in professional archaeology are to be found not only with regard to excavation techniques but also with regard to museums and exhibition practice as well as to the reconstruction of prehistoric buildings in open air museums (Schöbel 2004). A process to implement such standards on a European scale is underway. There are also plans to implement such standards in reference to presentations in the field of “living archaeology” by reenactment groups. Such groups are generally not financed by public authorities but perform at museums and special events on a contract basis. A clear division has been established in most fields of archaeological practice in Germany – or will be established in the near future – between professional archaeologists and laymen engaged in archaeology.

Conflicts that arise in present German archaeology are in most cases caused by economic conditions. Public or private construction projects may be stopped or delayed if they endanger or destroy important archaeological sites. Such conflicts have to be settled by the local heritage management authorities, which have the right to issue injunctions. In those cases, rescue excavations precede the construction. Such excavations in some states are generally executed by public archaeologists, while in other states private firms, which employ trained archaeologists, may be hired for this kind of work. In some parts of Germany, the owner of the land has to pay for rescue excavations.

Such legal regulations are effective because of the existing broad and old consensus in Germany promoting the notion that archaeological sites and finds represent important part of regional, national, and also European history and therefore have to be protected and studied (see Hammer 1995). Due to such policies, a fairly large number of archaeological sites and spectacular finds have become part of our historical memory. Permanent engagement in archaeological research over nearly about 200 years has produced an impressive “archaeological landscape” of archaeological *lieux de mémoire* in all parts of Germany from the *Hermannsdenkmal* (Arminius monument) inaugurated in 1875 to a new visitor center at Nebra (Saxony-Anhalt) where a unique Bronze Age “sky disk” was found on a site excavated some years ago by looters and is presently curated in the Museum in Halle (Saxony-Anhalt), from the Neanderthal Museum near Düsseldorf (Northrhine-Westphalia), erected in the 1980s near the location where in 1856 the famous Neanderthal skull has been found, to the Viking-Age defensive settlement at Haithabu (Schleswig-Holstein), which has been transformed into a museum site.

Besides such prominent locations, a tight network of state and local museums exists along with special open air museums with life-size reconstructions of prehistoric buildings (for details see Schmidt 2000; Schöbel 2008: he quotes a total of 106 museums in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria), archaeological sites with reconstructions, museums, or visitor centers as well as archaeological visitor routes and walks connecting different sites. Many of these institutions, which in most cases are directed or supervised by professional archaeologists (some of them financed by the state, others by communal and regional authorities or by private associations), regularly organize special events, like special exhibitions or museum fairs.

While archaeological museums and exhibitions are frequently visited – apart from school students – by persons with higher standards of education, open air museums organizing “living archaeology” events are generally regarded as places offering a chance to attract attention from a wider public. In an ideal case, they offer what could be called “edutainment.” That means an attempt to present knowledge produced by serious archaeological research to visitors in an entertaining way. In the case of reenactment shows besides the knowledge and the didactic abilities of the actors, their “authentic” equipment is especially important (Bofinger and Hoppe 2006; Willmy 2006/2007).

Clearly, such historical performances, which influence historical imagination among laymen, are important to attract interest in archaeology and the work of professional

archaeologists. But there are also some problematic aspects involved. Performances may directly transport special ideological messages, as was the case in the first half of the twentieth century, when Germanic superiority was proclaimed in such a way (see for example Schöbel 2004). On the other hand, such performances may also be used to create a fictional mysterious past that has little to do with our knowledge of the past that has been produced through systematic research. Reenactment shows may be justified from a broader point of view (especially because of their commercial impact on local economies), but archaeologists have to make unquestionably clear that such performances have nothing to do with what they do as scholars.

Generally, we must be aware that reenactment in any case is as much “construction” as it is “reconstruction” (an insight that is clearly true for all forms of archaeology). And it is in fact a part of growing new market which offers a broad range of products and services related to archaeology. Among people contributing to this market are not only professional archaeologists but also a growing number of layman like publishers, journalists, crafts-men, exhibitors, and others.

With regard to archaeological publications, professional archaeologists, journalists, and layman compete for public attention. Apart from countless monographs and exhibition catalogs written for the wider public (the classical work which initiated the whole genre of popular publications on archaeology is Ceram 1949; for the wider context, see Schörken 1995), special archaeological periodicals exist, specifically designed for amateur archaeologists but written mainly by professional archaeologists (for example the journals *Archäologie in Deutschland* [Archaeology in Germany] and *Antike Welt* [The Antique World], both published monthly).

Other commercial products circulating on this market are replicas of ancient jewelry, tools, weapons, cloth or artwork as well as souvenirs of all kind. Additionally, a large number of services are available: lectures, courses, workshops, special performances by reenactment groups, guided travels to archaeological sites and even expensive TV-program (Hillrichs 2004; Schlenker and Bick 2007; Schöbel 2006/2007).

In this sense, Cornelius Holtorf (2007) is certainly right, when he claims that “archaeology is a brand.” Nevertheless most German archaeologists will not agree with the conclusions he draws from this insight. According to Holtorf, professional archaeology is not open to accept what he calls “alternative archaeologies,” that is other, non-academic discourses about the past, which operate within different discourses and often address other audiences. Arguing from a worldwide perspective, Holtorf distinguishes fringe, cult, fantastic, pseudo-archaeologies and is very critical about professional archaeologists who classify people engaged in such discourses as “charlatans” and “misdirected hobbyists.” He argues instead that non-professionals should not only be welcomed in archaeological projects but also encouraged and supported in their own specific encounters with archaeology, whether they resemble professional attitudes and preferences or not (Holtorf 2005).

Such a position is incompatible with the comprehension of prehistoric archaeology as an intellectual endeavor aiming at an intersubjective reconstruction of the past, a view that is still dominant among German archaeologists. That does not mean that non-professionals are generally not welcomed within archaeological

projects. But when working within archaeology, it is thought that they also have to obey the basic rules of the archaeological profession, especially when dealing with original sites and finds.

The majority of amateur archaeologists in Germany clearly accepts the authority of professional archaeologists and some of them assist the work of the local archaeological authorities for example by inspecting archaeological sites, collecting surface finds, or by passing on their knowledge of and their enthusiasm for archaeology to other people. Only a minority of them who are active in Germany sees themselves in a fundamental opposition to professional archaeology. But systematic investigations on the motivations and aims of such people (who are organized in groups and active in wider exchange networks) are still rare. Here lie opportunities for future research in a social history of archaeological thought in its broadest sense.

Some Proposals for the Future of German Archaeology

It is a difficult task to speculate how German archaeology will develop in future times. Some trends still visible today will probably continue during the upcoming years. So the “digital revolution” clearly will go on, as well as the application of new techniques developed within the natural sciences and applied to archaeological materials (e.g., “isotopic archaeology”). Apart from this, there certainly will be changes in the organizational structure of German archaeology. The integration of the formerly separated archaeological traditions and the organization of large university departments which unite different archaeologies and other disciplines concerned with research on ancient and medieval cultures are under way. The integration of the different traditions of archaeological research in Europe (funded by the European Union in different programs) will continue. And probably, partly as a result of the reduced public financial support for long-established archaeological institutions, we will also see a further expansion of the commercial activities that developed around archaeology during the last years. Popular book and newspapers, posters, replicas of important finds, open-air museums, reenactment, archaeology-orientated tourism are only some of the keywords relevant in this context.

But looking forward, we really do not know whether in a longer distance the enormous public interest that archaeology enjoys today will last or whether other topics will surface. If there is something to be learned from the history of archaeology, it is that change is inevitable and should be expected. And the lively debates on the general role of science in modern society show us that from time to time fundamental changes are likely to happen. Perhaps such a thing as natural curiosity about human origins does not exist. In each period, archaeologists and their audience define what relevance archaeology has for the present and that defines where exactly its relevance lies. This realization is in a certain way disturbing, but on the other hand, it gives us a hint about remaining calm in regard to heated debates in which we are engaged in our daily work.

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A Social History of Danish Archaeology (Reprint with New Epilogue)

Kristian Kristiansen

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Thames and Hudson, 1981*

Today a historical consciousness is taken for granted. Owing to industrialization and the global expansion of capitalism changes are taking place more and more rapidly, a state of affairs that has become an inescapable part of man's perception of the world, and thus has come to seem 'natural'. We tend to forget that this is historically a unique situation, and are therefore too easily led to regard both historical and archaeological research as the outcome of a 'natural' development. But there is indeed a difference, rather of kind than of degree, between a historical consciousness *per se* and the establishment of an archaeological science with a body of institutional rules and regulations, museums to implement them, university departments to develop and teach new knowledge and scientific periodicals to communicate it. How did all this actually come about, and why did it reach its present level? To answer such questions satisfactorily in society, transcending the limits of traditional archaeological history and setting it in a wider social and political framework. In this way alone can we arrive at a better understanding of the expansion of archaeology during the last 150 years (Daniel, 1975), not only in western Europe, but also in most of the developed or developing countries of today; and such an understanding is probably the best precondition for formulating the future goals of archaeology. This argument I shall try to elucidate by presenting a general survey of social and political dimensions in development of Danish archaeology from 1805 to 1975 in the hope that it may stimulate further research in other areas. But first a few introductory remarks.

The development of archaeology, it should be noted, was dependent upon two overall factors, the most important of which was perhaps the agrarian reforms of the later eighteenth century, including the conversion of strip holdings into compact holdings and the complete break-up of the traditional agricultural system, which

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had remained largely unchanged since the Middle Ages. Vast areas which had served as common land and pastures are now tilled, agricultural techniques improved, especially in the nineteenth century, and as a result many thousands of barrows were levelled and wet areas drained (Kristiansen 1974).¹ These activities, which accelerated during the nineteenth century, brought to light an increasing number of archaeological finds, especially hoards and graves, which in the decades around 1800 were for the most part destroyed. This was one of the cogent arguments for the foundation of the *Royal Commission for the Preservation of Northern Antiquities* in 1807 (Hermansen 1931), and a direct precondition for archaeological work throughout most of the nineteenth century. It was not until the second half of that century that system excavations were first undertaken, and 1937 before a general preservation law was passed; it took a further four years for an archaeological institute to be established. So the rapid economic development of Denmark, and Western Europe, from the late eighteenth century onwards and the resulting transformation of the cultural landscape led to the uncovering of archaeological remains in quantities unparalleled in history, thereby laying the necessary foundation for later scientific research (Kristiansen 1974, Fig. 1).²

The second factor was the development and subsequent consolidation of nationalism throughout Europe during the nineteenth century. Shaped by the philosophy of Enlightenment, which claimed equal rights and sovereignty for the people – politically manifested in the American Constitution and the French Revolution – these ideas soon found a stabilizing counterpart in the ideology of the national State, representing and defending the cultural and historical heritage of its people. It was this latter mixture of enlightenment and nationalism that formed the background for R. Nyerup's proposal for a 'National Museum' in Denmark in 1806, inspired by similar French initiatives. In scope it was completely different from those, mostly private, 'collections of rarities and antiquities', which had played a popular role in the cultural life of the European aristocracy since Renaissance, as well as including a few highly educated and wealthy people like Ole Worm (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 14 ff). I therefore prefer to deal, not specifically with the theme 'archaeology and nationalism' as the relationship between them remained well established throughout the period, but rather with the various social and political paths taken by archaeology. Important questions to be asked are: how is archaeology used? – by whom? and for what ends? To help us answer them several sources are at our disposal:

- 1 The ledgers of the National Museum illustrate the communicating structure between it and the finders, which gradually changes.
- 2 The channels of communication between archaeologists and public through popular archaeological books, journals, newspapers etc., which may also reveal important information.
- 3 The active groups of museum founders and the member lists of archaeological-historical societies, where some very concrete information concerning these questions is to be found.

How archaeology appealed to different social groups, at different times and for different political reasons, I shall now attempt to show, using a few illustrative examples from the three above-mentioned categories of sources.

1805–1850

A sequence of diverse dramatic events in the years shortly after 1800 forms an interesting prelude to the national and cultural streams in which archaeology was to become immersed. The chronological framework is represented by the battle between the Danish and the British fleets in 1801, which resulted in the final defeat of the former with the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. In the intervening period three minor events took place:

- 1 In 1802 the two famous gold horns from Gallehus were stolen and melted down, which aroused a public outcry.
- 2 In 1805 Adam Oehlenschläger wrote his famous poem, 'The Golden Horns', in which they became a symbol of lost glory. This and other poems that followed shortly after gave rise to a new romantic movement in literature whose motifs were frequently taken from prehistory and early history.
- 3 Finally, early in 1807, a 'National Museum' and a Royal Commission for the Preservation of Northern Antiquities were established.

Together these events set the scene for new directions in economic and political life and in the cultural climate. A period of economic setbacks that lasted a couple of decades ensued and slowed down the agrarian reforms: politically the absolutism of the monarch (Frederik VI) was strengthened and several political writers emigrated or were expelled (Vibæk 1964). Against this background the relationship between archaeology and romanticism, closely interwoven as they were (Klindt-Jensen, 1975, 58 ff), took on an interesting aspect. Who was promoting archaeology and at whom was their campaign directed?

The successful work of the Commission was subject to the official subvention of the King, reflected in the prefix 'Royal'. This meant the support of the administration, which became decisive for the growth of archaeology in its early stage.³ The King, for his part, took a purely pragmatic line, hoping to benefit from the potential nationalism that resided in the glorious past.⁴ This was most clearly reflected, however, in the new wave of romantic literature, which glorified (and mystified) not only the past in general, but especially the system of feudalism; most romantic novelists were likewise declared supporters of the 'old system' and against parliamentarianism (Kristensen 1945a, 206 ff).⁵ The archaeologists mostly restricted themselves to a few programmatic statements. Thus the importance of prehistoric monuments was interpreted by Thorlacius, a member of the Commission, in 1809 as follows: 'They remind us about the heroic deeds of the Scandinavian, they speak loud about his strength and giant force, they offer a rich opportunity to compare the past and the present.' (Thorlacius 1809, 68). Later, in 1843, Worsaae was both more historical, and more sophisticated, when stating that: 'It is inconceivable that a nation which cares about itself and its independence could rest content without reflecting on its past' (tr. Klindt-Jensen 1975, 70). And he continues: 'It must of necessity direct its attention to bygone times, with a view to enquiring to what original stock it belongs... For it is not until these facts are thoroughly understood, that the people acquire a clear perception of their own character, that they are in a

situation to defend their independence with energy, and to labour with success at the progressive development, and thus to promote the honour and well-being, of their country' (Worsaae 1849, Introduction). It should be stressed, however, that this ideological bias did not to any significant degree penetrate archaeological research, which at that time was mainly concerned with the objects. Thomsen's mercantilist 'rationalism' with an important element in the development of a tradition of empirical research; a 'cultural history' was still lacking, and Worsaae's first moves were actually to defend archaeology against misuses and misinterpretations of its material as relics of historical and national myths, and later to establish a specific archaeological framework for interpretations and explanations (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 68 ff; Kristiansen 1978). As he wrote in his fragment of autobiography; 'Just as conservative as I was in politics, so was I liberal, nearly radical, in science' (Worsaae 1934, 93).

Another feature of archaeology at this early stage was that it quite clearly appealed to a very narrow segment of society, as did the literature of romanticism. From subscription lists we know that primary readers of the latter numbered less than a thousand people out of a population of approximately one million, and his small group comprised mainly government officials, army officers and academics (Kristiansen, 1942a, 20 ff) – the administrative, military and cultural upholders of absolutism. And the same goes for both members of the 'Committee' and subscribers to its periodical *Antikvariske Annaler* (since 1812), later superseded by *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed* (from 1832), *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed* (from 1836) and *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* (from 1866) (Ørnsnes 1966). The three last-named were published by the royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, founded in 1825 to familiarize the public with the old Nordic sagas (Steen Jensen 1975), and from 1832 included archaeology, which thenceforth benefited from the remarkable international success of the Society (Worsaae 1875). In the member list for 1830⁶ high-ranking army officers were clearly dominant (nearly 25%), followed by the mostly provincial bourgeoisie (typically merchants, pharmacists and the headmaster of the grammar school), academics (professors) (both 15–20%), and then in equal numbers (10–15%) the landed nobility, senior officials (mostly provincial) and clergy. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s the membership increased significantly for all these groups, but there were also some resignations. By 1844 the clergy had become dominant (nearly 25%), together with the mostly provincial, state officials (county prefects, mayors, district bailiffs), followed by high-ranking army officers (c.15%) and then in equal numbers (10–15%) the landed nobility, the provincial bourgeoisie and university professors. Relatively, however, compared to their total number, the representation among the landed nobility/officers (very often the same group) is quite impressive. The petit bourgeois and farmers are not represented (apart from a few who owned large farms, the so-called *propriétaires*), whilst industrial capitalists had scarcely yet featured in the Danish economy, just as a dominant and differentiated bourgeoisie was still lacking, owing to the prolonged rule of absolutism and the retarded economic development.

The picture presented here is confirmed by the ledgers of the National Museum, which inform us that it was regional and local government officials, especially the county prefects and the clergy, who established and maintained contacts between finders of artifacts and the museum, supported by the landed nobility.⁷ Among the finders, mostly smallholders and farm labourers, the payment of rewards was decisive for the survival income of this social group, which during most of the nineteenth century often lived close to starvation (Engberg 1973; Riismøller 1971).

Thus the attitudes of the finders, the very few archaeologists and their primary audience (the 200–300 members of the Society) were governed by very varied motives. It should be noted, however, that several attempts were made to close the gap. In 1818, 1837, 1840 and 1844 efforts were made to establish small official archaeological collections in the provincial centres, but without success (Kjær 1974, 116ff). More successful were the publications of Thomsen and Worsaae. As early as 1831 the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities had distributed a small pamphlet about the Nordic antiquities to all schoolteachers (Petersen 1938, 29), describing how to excavate and handle archaeological finds. Later, in 1836, 5,000 copies of Thomsen's book *Guide to Northern Archaeology* (as the English translation of 1848 was titled) were printed,⁸ and Worsaae's book of 1843 (published in English in 1849 under the title *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*) immediately sold 5,200 copies, a remarkable number compared to even the more popular literature of that time. It was printed and distributed by The Society for the Proper Use of the Liberty of the Press, a name indicating that its members mainly belonged to the more established groups in society. As Thomsen observed in his commendation of Worsaae's manuscript: 'From the subscription lists it is clear that although the Society is widely distributed, only very few among its members belong to the common people' (Worsaae 1934, 233).⁹ Both administratively and ideologically, archaeology remained an integrated part of absolutism during this period. But new social and political movements among the 'common people' and the rising bourgeoisie, which had originated in the 1830s, were soon to reform this framework (Skovmand 1964, 127–213).

1850–1900

a) 1850–1875. By now the scene has changed, both politically and economically. Absolutism has been replaced by parliamentarianism and a constitution in 1849, and the political power is held by the bourgeoisie (Skovmand 1964). Both farming and commerce are developing rapidly and the wars against Germany in 1848 and 1864, finally resulting in the loss of southern Jutland (and Schleswig-Holstein) arouse a wave of patriotic fervour. In archaeology the work of Worsaae and his colleagues establishes the first rough chronological and historical framework for a real prehistory, just as co-operation between archaeology, zoology and geology succeeds in demonstrating the first traces of a hunting subsistence in Denmark (Klindt-Jensen

1975, 68 ff) which together with similar French discoveries (Eggers 1959, 54 ff) and the works of Darwin and the early ethnographers revolutionize the traditional views on Man's origin and historical development. In literature the new age is reflected in the break-through of naturalism. In archaeology two trends are discernible, one dominated by national history, e.g., manifested in excavations of national monuments, the other adopting a more evolutionary and economic perspective, based on cooperation with the natural sciences. The latter, however, was soon to be overshadowed by the former for both scientific and (indirectly) political reasons.

Archaeology during this period was expanding. Between the two wars with Germany five provincial museums came into being under very similar conditions.¹⁰ All members of the private founding committees had a solid background in the bourgeoisie of the now rapidly growing provincial towns, and in all cases the leading personality was an academic from the natural sciences (zoology, botany, geology), which is interesting considering the importance of these sciences for archaeology at that time. This is the progressive bourgeoisie, to be distinguished from the more wealthy, though not always politically motivated, early capitalists, who at the same time began to found art museums. In the founding committees we find that academics predominated (mostly grammar school teachers, then lawyers, army officers and county prefects), though businessmen too were represented, especially pharmacists and merchants 'the best men in town as the committee in Viborg claimed (Kjær 1974 and 1979). The aims of these museums which, though primarily archaeological, also included bourgeois culture, were twofold: to rescue archaeological material from destruction through agriculture, by spreading the knowledge of archaeology among the local population of farmers and peasant, and in so doing making them aware of their national and historical significance. This was regarded by several of the committee members as an important factor in the decentralization process after the abolition of absolutism and the subsequent development of the new parliamentarianism (Forchhammer 1866). It should be noted that at the same time the first 'folk' high schools for farmers and peasants were founded with similar aims.¹¹ The peasantry had begun to organize itself politically and culturally, developing a cultural identity with a strong historical perspective, stressing its own potential role in future development, representing the 'people' (Zerlang 1977, 273 ff).

At this time archaeology was gaining in popularity as a national science, supported by the active interest in it taken by King Frederik VII (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 82f). Privately conducted excavations and private collections became wide-spread among the bourgeoisie, as did trade in antiquities,¹² a development that increased rapidly in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Among the nobility it became popular to establish small private museums, among which that of F. Sehested at Broholm on Fuen is one of the best known (Ncergård 1933; Oxenvad 1974). Archaeology had now become established as an important national science, as is evidenced by excavations of national monuments and by politically directed work at the border area with Germany.¹³ These new trends in the spread of archaeology are also discernible in the member lists of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. By 1866 the landed nobility had gained in relative importance at the

expense of army officers – both together still making up nearly 30% of the members. Also the ranks of high officials, and especially the clergy, were now being reduced, whereas university professors still maintained their position. There was a rapid increase of the bourgeoisie, now making up about 25% or more, principally academic teachers at grammar schools, doctors and lawyers, but a lack of industrial capitalists. The decrease in the number of clergy, compared to other academic disciplines, reflects a general displacement within the academic structure, later to become much more pronounced (Kristensen 1942b, 145f); from now on the clergy were, at an increasing rate, becoming involved in religious movements at the expense of their former rather strong engagements in secular matters (Skovmand 1964, 395 ff). In general the groups here mentioned were fairly well balanced against each other, showing a gradual change compared to the 1840s which, however, was soon to accelerate. It should be noticed that farmers and teachers were absent. The strict criteria for achieving membership of the Society conflicted with the cultural and historical traditions that were now being developed at the ‘folk’ high schools (Zerlang 1977, 246ff and 262ff). The only (but important) feature they had in common was the stressing of Nordic and national history as opposed to classical culture. These social and political differences were soon to be reflected in the expansion of archaeology.

b) 1875–1900. This period is characterized by serious political conflicts between farmers/peasants and nobility/bourgeoisie, leading to a governmental crisis with provisional laws between 1885 and 1894. It is also the active organizing period of the farmers at nearly all levels – politically, culturally (the still expanding ‘folk’ high schools) and economically (the development of a national network of co-operative organizations: dairies, butcheries, shops, etc.). The period also represents the final integration of Denmark into the capitalist world economy. Archaeologically the Worsaae era, with its rather flexible archaeological-historical framework, regionalization and overall perspective, comes to an end (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 68ff), and new avenues are introduced by Sophus Müller (from 1892 as director). Systematic excavations, classifications and publications of finds become the main objectives,¹⁴ soon creating a basis for elaborate chronological systems and detailed culture-historical accounts. As a response to that the series of monographs *Nordiske Fortidsminder*, was initiated in 1889, and from 1873 onwards all parishes (some 2000) were visited and their monuments recorded (Worsaae 1877 and 1879). The publication of Müller’s culture-historical synthesis *Vor Oldtid*. in 1897 (translated into German in 1898) for the first time established a solid and detailed basis for popularization. Also the rapidly expanding newspapers became an important new medium, where the archaeologist and journalist Vilhelm Boye in particular was active, writing accounts of new finds and publishing a series of name lists of people who had barrows on their land protected. (All these articles are bound together in several books in Department One of the National Museum in Copenhagen).

Between 1875 and 1900, nine provincial museums were founded¹⁵ and most of them after 1887 – during the provisional years (1885–1894). They follow the lines of the earlier museums, but with important additions, later to become more

pronounced. Besides being archaeological, collections of relics of folk culture became a prominent feature, most clearly at Herning, established to preserve the cultural and natural history of the heathlands in Jutland. In the founding committees the provincial town bourgeois were in a majority. Doctors and veterinarians, having close contact with the farmers and peasants, now play an important role, apart from becoming private collectors. These tendencies are also reflected in the member lists of the Society of the Northern Antiquaries, where the number of Danish members now increases considerably at the expense of foreign members, to become much more pronounced after the turn of the century. This reflects the growing importance of the bourgeoisie. During the 1880s and 1890s they gain an absolute majority of more than 50%; as before, they comprise, on the one hand, merchants, directors pharmacists and the like, and on the other hand the now dominant academic bourgeoisie – doctors, veterinarians, grammar school teachers, engineers, architects and so forth. University professors still hold their own, whereas the nobility/high-ranking officers are much reduced in numbers (10–15%).¹⁶ Most significant, however, is the falling off among State officials (less than 5%) and clergy (less than 3%). The petit bourgeois, as well as industrial capitalists, are only very modestly represented.

Meanwhile new groups were beginning to occupy themselves with archaeology, most importantly the school teachers, who played an active role in historical and archaeological research from 1880 onwards (Olrik 1913). These activities may be regarded as a natural extension of the cultural impact of the ‘folk’ high schools.¹⁷ Also farmers themselves were participating more and more. These trends are reflected in the ledgers of the National Museum where teachers, veterinarians and farmers play an increasing role as reporters, while the regional and local government officials, including the clergy, are disappearing. Neither farmers nor teachers, however, were members of the Society that from now on may be said to represent progressively an alliance between the bourgeoisie and archaeology, a point which Sophus Müller makes when he writes: Rather than aristocratically trace its ancestry back to the Middle Ages, the study of prehistoric archaeology prefers to regard itself as a child of modern times, civically born in the dawn of the century of liberty (Müller 1896, 702). These contradictory aspects of the archaeological milieu were unfolded in the subsequent period. Their archaeological origin was Müller’s centralized and monopolizing policy, whereas their social origin was the strong ties between archaeology and bourgeois culture; this made it virtually impossible to reconcile the diverse social and political trends which now transformed Danish society (Dybdahl 1965).¹⁸ The first of these aspects (the scientific) was exemplified by the policy against the provincial museums, whose activities were regulated and legislated according to the wishes of the National Museum, which forbade all excavations not supervised by the National Museum at a time when any private person was free to undertake his own excavations (Larsen 1935). The second aspect was evidenced by Müller’s hard fights with private entrepreneurs, who found a good market, especially as museums now were eager to make purchases as a compensation for excavations (although this procedure was also abandoned by the National Museum). In Jutland a group of farm workers and smallholders engaged in systematic ‘robbing’ excavations of several thousand barrows during the 1890s (Quist

1975). The whole sad business reflected the wide social and economic differences in society, the lower classes supplying wealthy collectors and museums with archaeological finds, partly as a result of the restrictive policy of the National Museum (Thorsen 1979). This was not realized by Soplus Müller, who in a popular book about the National Museum, dubbed the former ‘dangerous enemies’ (the proletarian robbers/suppliers) and the latter ‘devoted trends’ (the wealthy collectors/buyers) (Müller 1907, 44ff). Very effectively Müller was able to use the threats presented by ‘robbing’ excavations, and agricultural activities, when mobilizing public opinion (Thorsen 1979), resulting in rather impressive appropriations during the 1890s, which became the basis of systematic excavation campaigns in Jutland (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 94; Eggers 1959, 79f).

This was the situation at the turn of the century when farmers and peasants came into political power and had their cultural and historical traditions liberated in an outburst of activities, including the founding of numerous museums.

1900–1960

a) 1900–1930. Between 1900 and 1930 there followed a period of economic progress and prosperity, dominated by the organizational efficiency and increasing productivity of the farmers in whose hands also resided the political power most of the time. Local museums largely owed their rapid expansion to the organizational experience of farmers/peasants and the propagation of a historical ideology during the second half of the nineteenth century through the ‘folk’ high schools, now reflected in the influence of school teachers in the founding committees of the many new museums. In the late 1930s, when a list of leading committee members of the culture-historical museums was published (Jensen and Møller 1939), the school teachers still played an important role, whereas farmers were only modestly represented¹⁹ — perhaps owing to the agrarian crisis. The well-to-do provincial middle class (lawyers, doctors, merchants, etc.) exercised most power, followed by the lower middle class (shopkeepers, bank assistants, carpenters, etc.) all in all a rather representative segment of the provincial Bourgeoisie as a whole, as opposed to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries which was now wholly dominated by the upper middle classes and where both nobility and high-ranking army officers were reduced to about 5%, while State officials had nearly disappeared. In the years shortly before and after 1900 a great many private collections of former senior officials, army officers and big landowners, founded between 1850 and 1890, were bought by the National Museum — often for substantial sums. In the Royal Society the traditional, well established bourgeois (directors, judges of the supreme court, merchants, etc.) and the more numerous academic bourgeois (doctors, architects, engineers, etc.) now made up about 65% of the members, whilst the proportion of university professors/lecturers increased to nearly 20%. Clergy, farmers, school teachers, the petit bourgeois and industrial capitalists were only sporadically represented (1–2%). Also, typically, 75% of the members were settled in Copenhagen

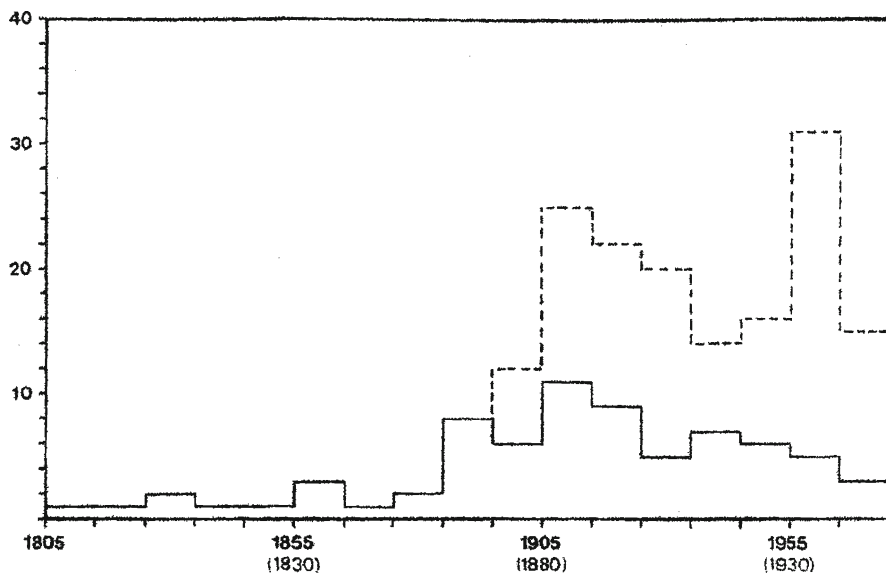
and its suburbs. In 1866 the provinces had been represented by 45%, but as early as 1879 this had decreased to 25% that is, before the founding of the majority of the provincial museums and the local historical societies. Thus the centralization of archaeology was both a scientific and socio-geographical phenomenon to which the many new museums and historical societies founded after 1900 were a natural response. Most of the many new museums concentrated on 'folk culture', supplemented by an archaeological exhibition, unlike the early provincial museums. This wave of historical interest was also reflected in the rapid expansion of historical societies between 1902 and 1928, when every county had one. To the fore were the same group of farmers, teachers and members of the provincial middle class which formed the founding committees of the local museums, but perhaps with a stronger academic representation (Hvidtfeldt 1949–52), and their activities were stimulated both by the many new museums and by the foundation of regional historical archives. Most of them also published a periodical for their members, who around 1970, still amounted to some 30,000 for the country as a whole (Jversen 1968).

Thus an appropriate term for the decades after 1900 would seem to be 'the culture-historical era'. Never before had so many people been so involved in history in its broadest sense. Culture-history penetrated society in literature, in national songs, in school books (Skovmand 1975) and was actively pursued in museums and historical societies all over the country. The scope of historical research had been widened to embrace 'the people' — their historical traditions, institutions and material conditions. Already in the 1860s there were systematic collections of folk tales, local dialects, and in the 1870s the idea of folk museums, displaying the reconstructions of interiors of houses, materialized in both Sweden and Denmark with the aim of preserving the tradition and the material relics of the now vanishing farmer and his folk culture (Rasmussen 1966). Among the provincial bourgeoisie it became popular to dress in folk costumes (Witt 1977, II) and peasant dwellings and countrysides became popular motifs in pictorial art. These trends had, by the turn of the century, matured and a new culture-historical research tradition been established whose focus was increasingly local. The general evolutionary and diffusionist trends of the nineteenth century (Thomsen; Worsaae) had first been replaced by national culture-history (Müller) and now regional and local history on all levels became a main objective. In archaeology these developments were inflicted in new types of settlement studies (la Cour 1927; Hatt 1949), including place names (Clausen 1916) and prehistoric roads (Müller 1904). It is also reflected in the formation of numerous private collections among farmers and schoolteachers who had earlier sold either to the landed nobility or to antique dealers. Now the farmer had become a collector himself and soon a farm displayed its own small collection, a feature still in evidence in many places today. Between 1900 and 1930 many of these collections were offered to the National Museum which normally referred them to the provincial museums.

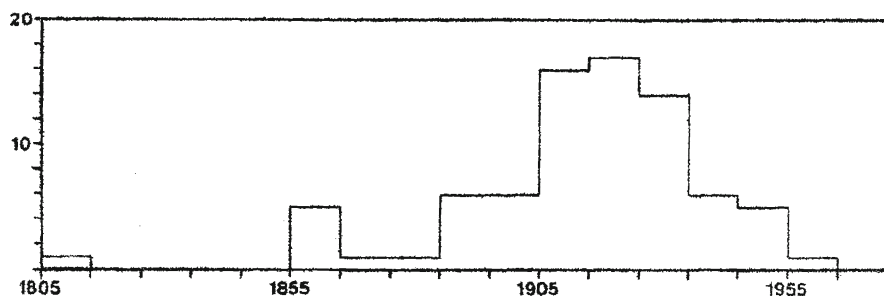
The extension of archaeological activities through the new local museums was not supported by the National Museum. Its director (until 1921), Sophus Müller, tried to keep control through an alliance with the early provincial museums

(Arhoger, 1912) which likewise felt threatened. Official letters were sent to all clergy and school teachers, behind the backs of the provincial museums, with requests to communicate directly with the National Museum in the event of archaeological discoveries. This centralized policy, rooted in the scientific demands of a small élite, was clearly in opposition to the popular local support which archaeology itself had evoked and threatened to isolate archaeological research from the broad historical trends just as described, and from the general public. But it also, quite typically, reflected an alliance between what had now become ‘the establishment’ in culture-historical research the National Museum, the Society of Northern Antiquities and the early provincial museums – against the new developments, reflected in the wave of local museums and historical societies. By preserving and studying the traditions and material relics of ‘folk culture’ the latter demonstrated the economic and political progress of these groups, aspects which should not be underestimated. But at the same time the culture-historical approach tended to isolate research based on material, geographical or other criteria, preventing general trends from becoming apparent as no theoretical perspective served to unify the evidence. Static reconstructions and historical descriptions were the main objectives, in history as well as in archaeology.

1930–1960. This period sees its shift of balance in the economy between agriculture and industry, also manifested politically by the leadership of the social democrats most of the time. In general the social and cultural trends of the previous period continue, but basic structural changes are introduced prior to 1960. A new generation of archaeologists, headed by Johannes Broodsted, come into power, initiated by a ‘palace revolution’ at the National Museum in 1932–33.²⁰ From now on popularization and protection²¹ become the main objectives, combined with new types of research. As a foretaste of the new developments the National Museum started to issue a popular yearbook *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* in 1928, and in the 1930s fresh displays were arranged (Klindt-Jensen 1975, Fig. 119/120). New popular books were written, culminating in 1938–40 with Brodsted’s impressive three-volume *Danmarks Oldtid*, which achieved a wide distribution.²² Therkel Mathiassen initiated a new type of research – regional settlement surveys (e.g., Mathiassen 1948 and 1959), often in collaboration with non-professionals – and a new active type of amateur came on the scene, scouring the fields for sites. This change in the composition of private collections, now mainly consisting of settlement material, was due in part to the new protection law of 1937, forbidding all private excavations, and partly to the new trends in archaeological research. But the stabilization of agriculture, which had yielded most earlier grave and hoard finds (Kristiansen 1974) was also an important factor, and from 1950 onwards the widespread use of tractors, leading to deeper ploughing, greatly increased the number of settlement sites uncovered. Many of these amateurs were recruited from among farm-workers, nurserymen, schoolboys, etc – and sometimes their collections later turned into small private museums of a very local nature, especially after 1950, reaching a peak between 1955 and 1964.



The frequency of private roller times in the National Museum, plotted against the year of acquisition continuous line. In brackets in the date of their foundation, on average 25 years earlier. The broken line shows the frequency of applications/inspections concerning private collections the Museum did not wish to acquire.



The frequency of culture-historical museums with an archaeological collections (see also Appendix) plotted against the date of their foundation.

In general the founding of culture-historical museums with archaeological collections ceased after 1935; now most provincial centres, and even several small towns have their own museum. Along with this stabilization joint political and organizational procedures were laid down through the work of *DKM* (the Society of Danish Cultural Historical Museums, founded in 1929) and in 1958 new laws redefined their framework (Betænkning No. 152), opening up fresh possibilities through state subvention on a much larger scale than before, a development that accelerated throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Rasmussen 1979, Ch. IV). Also university departments for prehistoric archaeology were formed in 1941 in Copenhagen and in 1950

in Aarhus. An archaeological society for Jutland, Jysk arkæologisk Selskab (Jutland Archaeological Society) and a periodical, *Kuml*, were founded in 1950 as a counterbalance to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities, whose members were mostly citizens of Copenhagen. Both societies increased their membership throughout the 1950s; it is now some 2,000. It should be mentioned, however, that new types of museums (non-archaeological) have been founded throughout recent years as well, most of them specialized, e.g., technical, musical, photographic history, others based on specific regional or local phenomena (Ørsnes 1978, Fig. 2).

1960–1975

The period after 1960 was characterized by big structural changes in Danish society which also materially affected archaeology. The stabilization of archaeological activities among amateurs and in the archaeological and historical societies led to the founding of archaeological clubs throughout the country. Co-operating with museums, and often publishing a small periodical for their members, numbering 100–200 on average. The founding of smaller local historical societies and archives too has increased rapidly in recent years (Warthoe-Hansen 1978). Along with this development ‘passive interest’ has grown very significantly, reflected in mounting sales of archaeological books, more and more visitors to the museums and much coverage by newspapers; radio and television (Dammarks statistik 1979). The popular archaeological journal *Skalk*, published six times a year, typically reflects this development, an outcome of the very marked social and economic displacements in society which from the late ‘fifties on greatly augmented the well educated middle class. From a modest beginning in 1957 the number of annual subscribers to *Skalk* rose to over 60,000 in the 1960s. This popularization process, for which archaeologists have been mainly responsible, now seems to have reached a preliminary climax. Rather typically – and this applies also to the culture-historical framework – the earlier works of Brøndsted and Glob have been reprinted, but gradually the impact of the ‘new archaeology’ and a growing politico-scientific consciousness is beginning to make itself felt among the younger generation. This is most clearly reflected in the very successful annual, interdisciplinary exhibitions of the National Museum in Brede, north of Copenhagen; these have focused on ecological, social and political problems in both prehistoric and historic perspective, reflected in themes like the history of food production, dress, medical care and health, sport, the position of women in society, etc. As a result of this growing ‘passive’ interest, and as part of a decentralization policy, the State and the regional authorities have gradually taken over the economic responsibilities of most culture-historical museums, a development that was initiated by the 1958 legislation and further stimulated by a radical government report in 1969 (Betænkning No. 517) which stressed the importance of cultural information in modern society. It was followed by new and more comprehensive laws, the latest in 1977 (Betænkning No. 728) that redefined the organizational structure of the museums within a regional framework. This has led to a remarkable expansion of museum activities through increased professionalization (appendix), reflected in new exhibitions, many new

buildings and a flourishing debate about aims and means (e.g., in *Stof.* and Witt 1978). Also revisions of the protection laws in 1969 (Betænkning No. 461), which obliged State and communal authorities to finance excavations of monuments before their destruction, have increased archaeological activities significantly (Nielsen 1964 and 1971) and led to the formation of an autonomous department responsible for rescue excavations and the administration of the protection law (the Administration of Ancient Monuments and Sites, Ministry of Environment). Thus archaeological research has become increasingly differentiated and decentralized, but regulated by central legislations and carried out by professional archaeologists.

Summary and Conclusions

Economic development in Denmark took a different course from the rest of Western Europe and strongly influenced the growth of archaeology. Agriculture here became the economic basis, resulting in a delayed development of social and political differentiation; at the same time, since agricultural reforms occurred only a few decades before the establishment of archaeological research, the growth of archaeology became closely linked with agricultural advances. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that capitalism and the middle classes developed (transport, trade and communication), heavily dependent on agricultural expansion, and not until the twentieth century that industrialization became a dominant feature of Danish society, including the growing political influence of the working classes. The way in which archaeology gradually penetrated Danish society, perhaps to a degree unparalleled in other countries, was largely the result of this specific combination of economic, social and political factors. In that process we may distinguish between a *primary* and a *secondary* audience. The emergence of a primary audience (active interest) is linked with the foundation of museums and the closely connected work of collectors and amateurs, beginning in the 1850s and culminating some time between 1880 and 1930, although amateurs remain of great importance. The emergence of a large secondary audience (passive interest) is a later development, connected with the impact of the museums, but especially with the gradually increasing popularization process through books and newspapers. Despite its early beginnings (Thomsen and Worsaae) it was not until the publication of Sophus Müller's *Var Oldtid* in 1897 that a basis for a more widespread popularization became established. This was furthered by the works of Brondsted, especially after the publication of *Danmarks Oldtid* in 1938–40 and is reflected in the steady success a *Skalk*, with about one in every 100 Danes as subscriber. (The total population of Denmark is around five million.)

It seems probable that the process of expanding the secondary audience has now reached an optimum. The situation at the present time is shown in the table below:

ARCHAEOLOGISTS	PRIMARY AUDIENCE	SECONDARY AUDIENCE
Permanently employed:	Archaeological societies and clubs: c.2,500	Subscribers to <i>Skalk</i> : c.50,000
50 + temporarily employed: c.30		Museum visitors: c.1 million (in 1975)

A summary of my observations so far, arranged in a chronological and developmental sequence, follows:

1. *1805–1850. The beginnings of archaeology*

Archaeology is established as a discipline, officially subvented by the King. Collecting and ordering takes first place, administratively supported by regional and local government officials. Interpretations of national and historical myths determine the utilization of its material, mostly by non-archaeologists. No significant popular support.

2. *1850–1900. Archaeology is established and expands*

A general archaeological prehistory is developed in close co-operation with the natural sciences, revolutionizing the traditional perception of Man's history. Archaeology begins to expand, supported by the progressively more politically and economically influential bourgeoisie, who play a major role in the setting-up of the first provincial museums (archaeology and bourgeois culture) and also by the nobility, who found large private collections. Archaeology becomes a national discipline and the annual accession of new finds reaches its climax.

3. *1990–1960. Consolidation*

Culture-history – the historical and cultural life of the people on all levels – penetrates the relevant sciences and popularizations become widespread. A detailed national and regional prehistory is developed, based on refined archaeological methods (systematic excavations and typology) and now representative archaeological material (burials and hoards). The economically and also politically dominant farmers/peasants and their cultural allies, the teachers, are the main founders of the many new local 'folk museums' throughout the country while becoming private collectors too, along with the still active provincial bourgeoisie. The rising political power of the working classes and, perhaps more important, the economic crisis and the war, gradually slow down this development, which however is compensated for by a growth of the secondary audience.

4. *1960- Changes and new developments*

Expanded and professionalized popularization of traditional culture-historical type, e.g., *Skalk*, intended to meet the demands of the rapidly growing middle class, increases the secondary audience significantly. Archaeological work is regionally and locally intensified and professionalized; new exhibitions are mounted and new museums built. At the same time new scientific techniques and new theoretical perspectives, inspired by the natural and social sciences, change the scope of archaeology. The consequences of these still on-going developments belong to the future. But they are ultimately determined by the keen awareness among archaeologists of the direction their research within a wider social and scientific framework must take, now that they are dominating research on most of those levels that were formerly occupied by non-professionals during the expansion and integration of archaeology in Danish society.

I have tried to demonstrate how the history of archaeology in Denmark is closely interwoven with economic, social and political history. Having realized this, we may go one step farther, by turning aside from historical details to take a closer look at general points of similarity. A definite pattern then emerges. Thus, if we consider the different groups mainly responsible for archaeological and historical activities at certain times, it turns out that such periods of activity (the founding of archaeological-historical societies, museums, private collections, etc.) run parallel to periods of economic and political consolidation – often following a period of economic and political mobilization. This is true of the bourgeoisie, whose mobilization during the 1830s and 1840s, leading to their political victory in 1848, was followed by increased cultural and historical activities from 1850, onwards. This, in turn, was the mobilization period of farmers and peasants, which, after their political victory in 1901, was followed by a wave of historical and cultural activities, e.g., the ‘folk’ museums. Also the founding of the Royal Commission for the Preservation of Northern Antiquities and the National Museum came on top of the economic development initiated by the agrarian reformed in 1780s, supported by officials and academics of the great reform period, now facing national and political danger. And the reason why archaeology failed to expand regionally until the 1850s was due to the economic crisis that ensued in 1813, and the subsequent delayed development of the bourgeoisie as a dominant class.

These general trends suggest that cultural and historical activities indirectly (sometimes also very directly) reflected a wish, perhaps rather a need, to legitimize political and economic positions for which national history provided a powerful ideological framework, making possible an identification of the dominant groups with the cultural heritage of the nation and the ‘people’. Its ultimate effect was to change the focus of society from internal to external contradictions, stressing national identity and solidarity as a precondition for progress and sovereignty. Therefore it is hardly surprising that the working classes never took advantage of archaeology, their ideology being rooted in the theories of Marxism; whereas the industrial capitalists were oriented towards art and classical culture. Both groups were international but their internationalism rested on different premises. Today the development of new scientific perspectives, including Marxism, is shifting the scope of archaeology from reconstruction to explanation, from historical peculiarities to systematic and evolutionary regularities, from national archaeology to world archaeology. In many ways this may be said to represent an adjustment to political and economic developments characterized by supranational fusions of various types, by a world economy and by ecological problems on a global scale. This changed attitude towards archaeology poses new scientific challenges comparable to those of the mid-nineteenth century, but it also changes – or adds new possibilities to – the functions of archaeology in society. It follows from this that the importance of archaeological history extends far beyond the teaching of students about the scientific development of the discipline, and must be placed in a wider social context, owing to the simple fact that the evidence of the cultural sciences contributes to the formation of the conceptual framework of Man from which the decisions of tomorrow are taken.²³ The study of archaeological history should therefore be part of a constant and conscious concern with the place and the utilization of our science in society.

Appendix

REGIONAL AND LOCAL MUSEUMS IN DENMARK SINCE 1850 WITH CULTURE-HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, INCLUDING PREHISTORY.

Museums based on reconstructions and experiments are excluded, as are private museums (mostly collections of flints) without an official museum committee. Existing special-purpose museums are marked with an asterisk

LOCALITY OF MUSEUM (Centers in bold type)	FOUNDING YEAR		PROFESSIONAL ARCHAEOLOGIST (S) since
	Jutland	Islands	
Ribe	1855		
Odense		1860	1940
Viborg	1861		1960
Aarhus	1861		1950
Aalborg	1863		1936
Randers	1872		1962
Maribo		1879	1979
Haderslev	1887		1936
Aabenraa	1887		
Hjørring	1889		1959
Kolding	1890		
Herning	1892		1971
Rønne		1893	
Køge		1896	1971
Vejle	1899		1979
Rudkøbing		1900	1946
Nykøbing Mors	1901		1975
Thisted	1903		1971
Silkeborg	1903		1971
Horsens	1906		
Steenstrup		1907	
Sønderborg	1908		
Skive	1908		
Ringkøbing	1908		1972
Kalundborg		1908	
Svendborg		1908	
Nykøbing Sjælland		1909	
Ebeltoft	1909		
Holbæk		1910	1979
Tranebjerg		1910	
Hobro	1910		
Glud	1911		
Skanderborg	1912		
Varde	1912		1978
Stege		1913	
Nykøbing falster		1913	
Sorø		1915	
Vordingborg		1915	1976

(continued)

(continued)

LOCALITY OF MUSEUM (Centers in bold type)	FOUNDING YEAR		PROFESSIONAL ARCHAEOLOGIST (S) since
	Jutland	Islands	
Næstved		1917	
Granå	1917		
Holstebro	1917		1972
Sæby	1919		
Middelfart		1919	1978
Bogense		1920	
Aars	1920		
Stevns		1921	
Mariager	1922		
Ringe		1922	
Grindsted	1923		
Tønder	1923		
Them	1924		
Haderup	1924		
Rcersø		1926	
Odder	1927		
Brande	1928		
Struer	1929		
Skjern	1929		
Try	1929		
Roskilde		1929	
Gilleleje		1929	
Marstal		1929	
Søllerød		1930	
Randbøl	1930		
Fredericia	1930		
Klosterlund	1933		
Faarevejle		1934	
Løgestør	1935		
Orø		1936	
Esbjerg	1936		1969
Mjesing	1937		
Hove		1938	
Helsingør		1944	
Frederikshavn	1946		
Fur	1953		
Hinge	1953		
Værløse		1953	
Ølgod	1954		
Otterup		1958	
*Aarhus (Viking Settlement)	1967	1958	
*Roskilde (Viking ships)			
*Vestervig (Early Iron Age settlement)	1975		
Vamdrup	1975		
Strandby	1976		

Acknowledgments During my research, the archives and the library of Department One of the National Museum in Copenhagen have been sources of information to which I constantly returned, and my thanks go to all the staff for their hospitality and friendliness throughout the years. In preparing this paper the 'Private Collections' section of the archive was put at my disposal, as well as the records of earlier meetings of the Royal Commission for the Preservation of Northern Antiquities from 1807 to 1834 stored in Department Two. I was allowed to consult member lists of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, which have been published regularly since its inception in 1825. I am specially indebted to Bifgitte Kjær of the Old Town Museum in Aarhus, who permitted me to read her Ph. D thesis 'The Foundation of the first provincial Museums in Denmark in the Middle of the 19th Century from which I benefited greatly Kjær 1974. My thanks also go to Holger Rasmussen of Department Three of the National Museum, for giving me access before publication to his manuscript about history of Danish museums (Rasmussen 1979), and the same applies to Sven Thorsen, of the Administration of Ancient Monuments and Sites Thorsen 1979, and Jorgen Street-Jensen of the university library in Aarhus (Street-Jensen 1979). Finally, it gives me special pleasure to express my gratitude to Ole Klindt-Jensen posthumously alas and Peder Mortensen, both of the University of Aarhus, who always aided my research in every possible way officially and personally, since my early student years.

Notes

1. A more comprehensive description of this development and its implications for archaeology will appear in a forthcoming book titled *The Representativity of Archaeological Remains from Danish Prehistory* in the series 'Studies in Scandinavian Prehistory and early History' vol. 2.
2. The lack of comparative archaeological material was probably one of the main reasons why archaeology did not develop scientifically during the time between the Renaissance and 1800–1850, despite the efforts of men like Ole Worm, Ole Pontoppidan and others (Klindt-Jensen 1975, 14–45). A case in point is Worsaae's description of how he was led to his first interpretation of the hoards of the Bronze Age when re-arranging the collections of the National Museum re-establishing the 'closed finds' which had formerly been split up for the greater part (Worsaae 1866 31 ff). Apparently rather similar conditions were leading Hildebrand and Monilius to their discovery of the principles of typology in Stockholm (Almgren 1965).
3. The Commission was allowed to use the royal seal on letters, and was exempted from paying postage an important consideration in view of the extent of their correspondence (see also note 8).
4. Frederik VI did not show any serious interest in archaeology, as opposed to his successors. Christian VIII and Frederik VII, who were both active as archaeologists, especially the latter (Klindt-Jensen 1975; 82 ff). The royal prestige of archaeology was demonstrated when in 1838 the Gxarevitch later Emperor Alexander II visited the King at Christiansburg where the museum was at that time housed. On that occasion several new rooms were added to the exhibition in order to impress the prince (Hindenburg 1859, 70f). In 1845 Czar Nicholas I was presented with one of the 'lures' from the Bronze Age (now in Leningrad's Hermitage Museum).
5. This goes also for the archaeologists C.J. Thomson and J.J.A. Worsaae, most explicitly in Worsaae's case. Thomsen's social and cultural background was the age of mercantilism and rationalism and his approach to archaeology reflected this. A 'natural' precondition was economic independence. Worsaae, on the contrary, the son of a senior regional official but without independent means, had gained his position directly through the intervention of the King, who inaugurated a special chair for him in 1847. Since then archaeological research has featured in the State budget and the archaeologists have been State officials (for a comprehensive account on these economic aspects, see Street-Jensen 1979).
6. The inconsistencies in social terminology and the lack of precise definitions of e.g., 'bourgeoisie middle class' are due to difficulties arising from historical changes in such terminology, from imprecise or unspecific terminology (e.g., titular appellations very common in the early

and middle part of the nineteenth century) – problems which I am not in a position to solve satisfactorily at the present time. For these reasons a more precise quantitative analysis of social categories had to be abandoned and replaced by general trends based on statistics from 1830, 1841, 1866, 1887, 1897 and 1931. The stated figures should therefore be regarded as no more than approximations.

7. Throughout this period farmers and peasants had to visit the county office twice a year to pay taxes. A splendid opportunity for an archaeologically interested official – or his son – to establish contact as described by Worsaae in his memoirs (Worsaae 1934).
8. Already the Commission had adopted the practice of sending copies of the *Annaler* to interested finders of antiquities and to influential persons throughout the country just as they had already in 1807 written to all pastors asking for information about archaeological monuments which was quickly analysed and published (Thorlacius 1809). The large print-run of Thomsen's book however was used as a systematic publicity campaign in the same way as had the small pamphlet a few years earlier and free copies were widely distributed e.g., to the landed nobility with a plea to distribute copies to their tenants and farm bailiffs. These extensive and expensive campaigns were undoubtedly decisive in widening contacts with all parts of the country reflected in rapidly increasing number of finds sent to the museum (Kristiansen 1974, Fig. 1). The economic basis of the campaigns was the increasing wealth of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (Worsaae 1875) who now took over the work of the Commission, which was dissolved in 1849.
9. A remarkable exception to this pattern were the first publications of sagas in cheap, translated versions (Danish, Icelandic and Latin), which in their homeland, Iceland, were subscribed to by 770 persons 12% of the total population, most of them farmers and ordinary people (Steen Jensen 1975, 13). From other sources we know, however, that the ordinary people in Denmark at that time, mostly farmers and peasants, hardly read any other literature than the Bible and perhaps an almanac (Kristensen 1924a, 19 ff and 1942b, 171 ff).
10. The foundation of the Flensborg museum in 1852, directed by Engelhardt who had settled there to become a school teacher, was an outcome of the border conflicts with Germany. In 1859 Engelhardt had started excavations at Nydam and the sensational finds including the boat were in the last days of the war shipped to Denmark marked 'unknown destination'. Immediately after the war this resulted in a political wrangle which continued until the secret hiding-place of the finds was at last betrayed when a very impressive reward was offered by the German government (Ørsnes 1969).
11. Most of the 'folk' high schools were founded between 1864 and 1870 and soon one in three at each year's prospective young farmers passed through those schools entirely based on lectures/discussions and without examinations. Thus they represented an important cultural addition to the strictly educational agricultural schools, while representing a unique Danish contribution to the history of education.
12. On Fuen, at his estate Elvedgard, Vedel Simonsen, one of the oldest collectors and members of the committee since 1820, wrote to his old friend and former committee member, Professor Werlauf in 1852 complaining about the many collectors who were now appearing everywhere. Although he employed four assistants to travel around Fuen the yields were he claims becoming lower: because it now becomes a positive mania to collect antiquities, as not only 'white Doctor' a well-known and rather controversial figure of the day, who earned his nickname through habitually riding on a white horse and calling himself 'Doctor') travels from house to house, but also the King through his officers buys everything for his collection: added to that come English emissaries and Hamburger-Jews who buy indiscriminately, and finally Count Ahlefeldt, the chamberlains Holstein, Blixen, Wind, 'war advisor' [krigerad] Thejl, ... establish private collections so that one outbids the other (Wad 1916, 267). It should be mentioned, however, that until his death in 1838 Vedel Simonsen every year handed over 500 objects to the museum in Copenhagen. From Jutland, too, we hear about foreign antiquity buyers, Foddersen on the committee of the Viborg museum writes that the many antiquities uncovered by the construction of the railroad to Viborg in 1865 mainly went to collectors in England. 'Along the tracks the countryside was for several miles roamed by buyers of antiquities for

- there collectors and the competition was so brisk that prices for even simpler tools rose considerably; but this only stimulated the demand further and many a worker spent his working day digging in barrows in the hope of finding antiquities, (Rasmussen 1979, note 4).
13. Note the impressive number of kings and other royalty, in the founder lists, compared e.g., to the 1830s indicating the rapidly growing European importance of national archaeology – and the international success of the Society, as seen in its foreign member lists.
 14. There was a general advance in many sciences at this time. Thus in 1882 the University was reorganized and divided into separate disciplines along the lines of the German model which was then spreading throughout Europe, reflecting both the growth of learning and the need for more diverse and specialized knowledge to meet that requirements of an increasing economic and social diversification of society.
 15. In 1861, 1866, 1889 and 1899 regional historical-topographical periodicals were introduced on Funen in Central Jutland and on Zealand (Hvidtfeldt 1949–52).
 16. Among the large number of army officers after the German wars were over many were employed in other official work. Not untypically two of the very active assistants at the National Museum were officers Captain A.P. Madsen and Lieutenants Daniel Bruun the latter only for a short period.
 17. In addition a specific branch of literature the so-called ‘School-teacher literature’ originated from this background (Zerlang 1977).
 18. It should be noted that women were not allowed as members of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries until 1951.
 19. Farmers in particular were culturally active in the more than a thousand local youth associations throughout the country, centred around the village hall. Their activities were closely related in the impact of the ‘folk’ high schools.
 20. As part of newly introduced legislation concerning the protection of the environment all prehistoric monuments were protected by law in 1937 and during the following twenty years recorded and classified according to the degree of protection. Approximately 78,000 monuments mostly barrows were recorded and of these 21,000 fully protected Mathiasen 1938 and 1957.
 21. As a concrete example of the popular support the National Museum enjoyed a national subscription was opened in 1925 to tinnier a rebuilding of the museum, after having been planned on a political level for several decades (Mackeprang 1938 and 1939).
 22. These aspects have been brilliantly demonstrated in a recent book by the Norwegian archaeologist, Christian Keller (1978).
 23. Based on Jensen and Møller (1939), Reimert (1976), as well as personal communications. Information about professional archaeologists was put at my disposal by the helpful secretariat of the State Committee of the Danish Museums.

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Epilogue 2009: The Reappearance of Nationalism and a Romantic Past

The Revival of Cultural Heritage and Nationalism

Thirty years ago when I wrote “A social history of Danish Archaeology,” I concluded optimistically that archaeology was moving away from national history toward world history, linked to the expansion of a global economy. My own contribution was “Europe before History” from 1998. I also observed that professional archaeologists had replaced former historical activists and amateurs in managing museums and archaeological societies, and that the secondary audience for archaeology, the passively interested middle-class, was expanding and consuming history more than ever. A few years later I analyzed the role of archaeological popularization, nationalism and politics, concluding that nationalism was still the dominant framework. However, I saw the EU as a way out of nationalism (Kristiansen 1990 and 1993; Scarre 1996). New expanding arenas for archaeological/historical consumption were the many new reconstructed archaeological environments and historical enactments that activated an interested middle class in new, exciting ways. Activism had returned in new shapes. Consequently, I predicted a decline of traditional museums at the expense of such new “realistic” historical environments that re-enacted both history and prehistory, and I saw, along with many other colleagues, cultural tourism linked to the presentation of real archaeological and historical monuments as the driving economic force in archaeological heritage (Ashworth and Larkham 1993; Boniface and Fowler 1993; Kristiansen 2004). Finally, last year I had to conclude in somewhat defeatist mode that the national framework for archaeology in Europe dominated research and the perception of the past more than ever (Kristiansen 2008).

However, no one could have predicted the return of destructive nationalism in the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet Union (Shnirelman 1996, 2001), the war in former Yugoslavia where cultural heritage became the primary target of destruction (Slapsak 1994; Sulc 2001), or the violent religious clashes and destruction of the mosque in Aydhya of India, as a forewarning of religious terrorism (Layton and Thomas 2001). Related waves of neo-nationalism with elements of chauvinism and racism swept over former Western Europe as well, and a decade into the twenty-first century strong nationalist political parties with support among especially the lower middle-class are an established feature in Denmark and Norway. A new form of class struggle in welfare society has once again mobilized nationalism. Cultural politics have been reformulated followed by a return to a romantic national history with an established cultural “canon” in school teaching in Denmark. In opposition to this, Sweden has promoted a policy of cultural diversity that attempts to give voice to the different histories and groups, including minority ethnic groups such as the Sami, with a contested past in Swedish history (Loeffler 2005; Lundström 2007).

As a consequence of these dramatic historical transformations, archaeology witnessed a resurgence of research into nationalism and the various ways it

employed archaeology (Atkinson et al., 1996; Boman 1997; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1995), but with little or no interest in the social classes and groups promoting it, with few exceptions (Petersson 2007).

Nationalism is a historically contingent form of ethnic identity linked to the rise of the modern nation state (Gellner 1983). It builds upon a shared “imagined” community and strong symbols of a shared history and destiny (Anderson 1983). It is fed and fuelled by loss, suppression, and threat: the loss of independence and the regaining of it has been a strong mobilizing factor in countries like Norway and Finland, the threat and later loss and regaining of southern Denmark from Germany in 1864 and 1920, respectively is another such example (Adriansen 1990; Sørensen 1996; Wiell 2000). Decline from former glory is also a mobilising factor, e.g., Great Britain.

Since most European countries has undergone dramatic and sometimes traumatic changes in their recent history, linked to loss, suppression, and redefinitions of territory, nationalism is not going to disappear as some optimists, including myself, believed during the expansion of welfare society in the 1970s.

But nationalism has many faces: it can become destructive, excluding, and ultimately racist, or it can promote a cultural and historical identity as a platform for inclusion and cultural pluralism, as in the United States. Different historical conditions favour one or the other version, and there are overlaps between them, but also different social classes may be operating. To understand and to explain the forces leading to one or the other form of nationalism, we need to analyze the social and political groups promoting them. What we are missing in most research on archaeology, heritage, and nationalism, however, is a class perspective: who are the social groups being politically activated, and what kind of nationalism are they promoting? There are of course exceptions, such as the in depth analyses carried out by Victor Shnirelman (1996, 2001).

The change from an international to a national perspective on the past was accompanied by a change in terminology and priorities in archaeological preservation and presentation. Again, it is reflected in a change of vocabulary from cultural resource management to heritage management, or simply from conservation to heritage. The concept of “heritage” would have been politically impossible to introduce during the 1950s or 1960s when archaeology demarcated a distance to everything “national” and everything linked to “origins”. Heritage was thus a politically tainted concept after the Second World War in many European countries, as it was seen to be linked to the role of cultural and ethnic “origins” that prevailed during the first half of the twentieth century in historical and archaeological interpretations in Europe, taken to their extreme in Germany.

However, by the 1980s, the ideological climate had changed, and the concept of heritage could be reintroduced by a new generation without historical memory. It happened in England during the early 1980s under the Thatcher regime as part of a strategy of privatizations that also includes the Inspectorate or National Agency of Ancient Monuments, which was given a more independent position and renamed “English Heritage”. Soon after Scotland and Ireland followed suit, suddenly heritage was the accepted terminology that was employed in the European Charter on

Heritage Management from 1992 (Cleere 1993). By the late 1980s, cultural heritage was discussed as a human right that was granted to every ethnic group, including cultural minorities, and it was taken on the agenda of UNESCO in their report on culture from 1996. This is not to deny that heritage was contested, on the contrary the archaeological and historical heritage was seen as a battlefield of competing interests (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). But there was also a general consensus that the newborn focus on an English heritage was linked to its decline from imperial power. Its history could now be marketed under the new banner of English Heritage for an increasing cultural tourism that was international. While heritage presentations became a growing international economic force, its national role was strengthened throughout Europe. Culture and history became the new mobilising force to attract both tourists and new inhabitants from local communities to nations (Ashworth and Larkham 1994; Horne 1984).

A Past for Everyone? Ethical and Political Dimensions

In the wake of the revival of nationalism during the past 20–25 years we can observe a multitude of new historical interest groups, a response to the uncertainties in a globalized world (Olsen 2001). Viking culture and Norse religion are mobilized by neo-Nazis, by pagan religious groups or (mostly) by people who simply want to return to a more romantic and dramatic past (Chepstow-Lusty 2002). International cultural tourism is promoting a marketable and apparently less national past (but see Silberman 2007) while eco-museums and community empowerment is seen as enriching people's life locally (Davis 2007). This development goes hand in hand with an increased re-enacting of the past in reconstructed historical environments (Pettersson 2003), as well as in cartoons, games, historical books, and movies, embraced by Cornelius Holtorf as: "archaeology is a brand" (Holtorf 2007; see also Kehoe 2007 for a critical stance). Finally, there are still other anti-academic groups who create their own past (Anderson and Welinder 2004).

Out of this romantic or postmodern ideologization and reinvention of the past, the scientific community is asserting itself, to a greater extent, as its own interest group. This has been achieved through the establishment of international organisations, which, amongst other things, have generated their own "codes of conduct" (EAA 1997; SAA/Lynott and Wylie 1995). With these, the aim is to regulate not only the organisation's praxis, but to devise regulations that allow for collaboration with other interest groups, based on generally accepted codes. Such regulations have, however, little chance of being respected amongst those that have a fundamentally different ideology. On top of this there are international conventions and political strategies that want to defend the idea of a universal Western academic and scientific practice. And what other choice is there? Science is both historically and in praxis closely related to democracy; founded on certain fundamental axioms regarded as inalienable, and therefore universal within our own historical context. But negotiated in the context of current ideological and political priorities,

formalised in legislation. Another way out of such value-loaded dilemmas has been to take a moral or ethical position (Karlsson 2004; Zimmerman et al., 2003). The archaeological past can then be considered a common heritage of mankind that cannot be “owned” without respect for its fundamental right to exist (Dingli 2006; Young 2006), which is at the heart of international conventions on the protection of archaeological heritage (Cleere 2001).

But what are the consequences of such a position? My view is one of a growing recognition that individual archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians ought to refrain from participating professionally in political/ideological discussion and conflict on issues of rights claimed because there is no objective or non-ideological method that can keep separate the “good” and “bad” use of history. On the one hand it is continually necessary and critical to analyze the relationship between research, heritage, and society in order to reveal and understand these relations, and warn against political and ideological misuse and misrepresentation. This means, on the other hand, that we can hardly advocate for a specific/correct use or political legitimization of history in the present (and in the future) – this ought instead to be dealt with by democratic/political and legal institutions that are developed specifically for this end. Or put another way: archaeology is about the past, politics about the future. We need to navigate between these two poles both as individual archaeologists, and through our professional organisations. To legitimize politics through claims on past history has all too often turned out to be a dangerous cocktail. In addition, the past is too complex to be hammered into a single ideological mould. What archaeologists can do, and are trained to do, is to interpret the material evidence of history, and this may be used also to empower people who were deprived of their history (Shepherd 2007). In the end, we are confronted with the politic ethics of how to navigate our archaeological lives when serving both the past and the future (Hamilakis and Duke 2007). These are the complexities archaeologists are faced with at the beginning of the twenty-first century. More than ever it calls for a better understanding of the social and political forces that govern the use of history and archaeology.

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Being Through the Past: Reflections on Swedish Archaeology and Heritage Management

Johan Hegardt and Anna Källén

Introduction

It is a fact, but also truism, that the narratives of archaeology and cultural heritage have no relevance for the people who lived in the past. These narratives are only significant in the context in which they are expressed. Hence they are meaningful in the present (here and now); otherwise they would not exist. The question then is why the narratives of archaeology and heritage are significant at all?

One possible answer is that they are important for our sense of Being. Through these narratives, archaeological remains and cultural heritage become a part of our own Existence, of our Being-in-the-world. We not only are living *in* history but also live *with* it, and one of the purposes of history is to give perspectives on our Being and Existence in the world. Such perspectives easily let us understand cultural heritage and archaeological remains as belonging to our society and us. They are Ours and for that reason they are also an essential part of our Being-in-the-world. Cultural heritage and archaeological remains are also important aspects of our cultural milieu – the environment in which we are being educated and socialized as members of a society. The fundamental significance of narratives of cultural heritage and archaeology is that they consequently strengthen understanding of our own social and historical positions in contemporary society. Narratives of archaeology and heritage are thus always intimately connected with notions such as “Ours”, “Being,” and “Existence”.

From such positions, it is easy to construct nationalistic, chauvinistic, and ethnic identities, creating confident standpoints from which we can judge our surroundings. The existential possibility that always lies within these attitudes becomes a political and ontological tool, an instrument used to protect our existence against perceived threats, from the uncanny inside the nation itself, from the stranger, from the Other that defines the Us and the Ours.

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Bearing this in mind, we – two researchers specializing in the history of archaeology and heritage management and its relation to contemporary society in Scandinavia (Hegardt) and Mainland Southeast Asia (Källén) – shall in this essay reflect on the characteristics of contemporary Swedish archaeology and heritage management from different but interrelated points of reference. Our aim is not to be all-inclusive, nor to describe everyone and everything in Swedish archaeology, but to investigate some aspects of our field through engaged critical reflection on selected issues.

After briefly sketching the history of Swedish heritage management and archaeology, we discuss the actors, the law, and the regulated practices of the field today, with particular reference to two recent reports on structural discrimination in the early twenty-first-century Swedish society. Let us begin – as we usually do – where it all started.

Swedish Archaeology and Heritage Management: A Brief History

Sweden is a small and in many ways peripheral country, often confused with Switzerland, and known to the outer world as the home of the Vikings. It is frequently referred to as a model modernistic state especially in terms of social equality and security. It can be argued, somewhat simplistically, that in this small, modernistic, model state, history is now used in political rhetoric for two main purposes. First, it is used in arguments demanding change. As such, it occurs in present political discourse not as something that the present society could build on, but as something that it should get rid of. Secondly, history is used – in cases when already established historical narratives can conveniently be used in support of politically significant issues – in arguments favoring stability and tradition. The Scandinavian tradition of archaeological thought and cultural heritage management is largely built upon the latter, conservative use of history.

Generally, the present archaeological thought is organized according to the proposition made by a Danish self-made antiquarian Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, known as the *Three Age System* (Thomsen 1836), and the Swedish zoologist and archaeologist Sven Nilsson's¹ evolutionary *Three Stage System*,² (Nilsson 1835, 1836a, b). Nilsson's text was quickly translated into Danish and Norwegian, because it fitted well with the contemporary discussion on scientific archaeology. Both works were central to archaeological thought in the nineteenth century and they remain significant today. For instance, the *Stone Age* concept is widely used today and so is the idea of a universal cultural development from primitive people to more advanced societies and civilizations. Sven Nilsson was among the first and

¹For a more detailed discussion and presentation of Sven Nilsson's contributions see Hegardt 1996 and 1999.

²First published in 1835 as an introductory chapter to his zoological study on Scandinavian birds, and republished in 1836 in Danish and Norwegian.

most influential scholars to formulate the outlines and contents of the discourse regarding *human* cultural³ evolution. Thomsen's Three Stage system (Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age) complemented Nilsson's idea by describing cultural evolution through *material* evidence. Nilsson's system was explicitly built on comparative ethnographical studies which enabled him to make comparisons between Thomsen's Scandinavian *Stone Age* artefacts and contemporary "primitive" people, so-called *Stone Age* cultures as they were described by European missionaries and colonizers, recorded around the world. Nilsson's major work on human cultural evolution was published between 1838 and 1843 (Nilsson 1838–43) and was later translated into German, French, and English (1868a, b, c). He emphasized the explanatory value of cultural stages observed in remote, often colonized territories for Scandinavian prehistory. His work became immensely influential and its English translation played an important role in the works of Tylor, one of the founding fathers of modern anthropology (Tylor 1871, but see also his *Anthropology* published in 1881). The combined works and ideas of Thomsen and Nilsson were of great importance not only for early European archaeology and anthropology but also for the growth and establishment of a popular discourse regarding cultural evolution in Sweden, describing in a neat chronological order the process of human racial, spiritual, and overall cultural development. The nineteenth-century Scandinavian bourgeoisie absorbed this new state-of-the-art scientific knowledge and learned that they had themselves developed from primitive Stone Age people to an advanced civilisation, while people elsewhere were still caught in the miserable Stone Age stage. This new knowledge became highly influential for its modern worldview, and it is still found in the popular narratives and imagery of the past.

The tradition of cultural heritage management is much older than the discourse of archaeology. The so-called *Search for Antiquities* (Rannsakingar efter antikviteter) from 1666 is often referred to as its beginnings. A legislative document *Placat och Påbudh om Gamble Monumenter och Antikviteter*, defining a wide range of heritage objects in Sweden as belonging to the Swedish crown and protecting them by law, regulated the search for antiquities. This document was sent out along with a letter to vicars, clerics, and lords all over the territory, demanding a systematic inventory and collection of heritage objects in Sweden and Finland. The campaign was a great success and *Search for Antiquities* laid out the foundation for a well-structured, bureaucratic heritage organisation that still exists in Sweden.

Thus, the idea of cultural heritage management preceded the concept of archaeology as a systematic academic discipline. Before the early nineteenth century, the idea of a scientifically defined prehistory did not exist, and the idea of cultural heritage was equivalent to antiquarianism and history. In this seventeenth- and eighteenth-century perspective on cultural heritage, religion played the leading, explanatory role. During this period works by historians or antiquarians were either financed by the Crown or the collectors, as many were wealthy upper-class people (many of the

³*Cultural* is entwined here with the notion of *race* and *spirit*.

early historians and antiquarians were landowners in the rich southern parts of Sweden). In the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, a growing tendency towards a more academic approach to cultural heritage and history emerged, but it was mostly expressed by scholars of medicine or natural science. Scientific archaeology, as we know it today, did not exist prior to the early nineteenth century, when a more academically oriented archaeology was first introduced in Scandinavia through the seminal works of Thomsen and Nilsson.

In 1836, Thomsen and Nilsson presented a conceptualization of prehistory radically different from its traditional outlook, and quite similar to how prehistory is understood and taught in Sweden today. Partly due to this breakup with earlier traditions, scientific archaeology was separated from the national heritage management, which followed the older (conservative) antiquarian perspective. Private rather than national collections of artefacts provided the experimental data for the linear and teleological classifications by early archaeologists who followed the Thomsen's model.

The scientific approach was also pursued by some antiquarians. The museum in Lund held the largest non-private collections of prehistoric artefacts in Sweden before the opening of the National Museum in Stockholm in 1866. In 1830, when Thomsen was still working on his system in Copenhagen, Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806–1884) a young antiquarian from the Lund historical museum classified and organized prehistoric artefacts according to the principle resembling the Three Age System. Hildebrand became head of the National Heritage Board and strongly advocated the constitution of the new National Museum and was appointed head of its prehistoric collections. Swedish archaeology and heritage management was thus controlled by one man – Hildebrand. Despite critique from other stakeholders (cf. Wiséhn 2006), he managed to centralize all official decision making regarding cultural heritage management and archaeology in the Museum and the Heritage Board. Through this maneuvering, Hildebrand had integrated Swedish archaeology and heritage management, and taken them into a new era. At the time when the first National Museum opened, the National Heritage Board had already 200 years long experience in cultural heritage protection.

The last decades of the nineteenth century were in many respects an epoch of radical change. We notice major structural changes in heritage management and teaching and practicing archaeology, and these changes corresponded with radical changes in society at large. Sweden was slowly turning into an industrial country and the bourgeoisie, the liberals, and later the socialists and social democrats were laying out the foundations for modern democratic society that is still so strong in Sweden's national image. Modern ideas regarding social development and education were proposed. The socialists demanded access to education for the working class, while the bourgeoisie in addition to strengthening their own rights to education, pleaded for developmental strategies regarding peasants and the working class. The management of cultural (national) heritage and a newborn scientific archaeology found strong supportive political context but at the same time contributed to the idea of a stratified development of culture, and naturalized the notion of national identity essential for nationalistic movements.

Arguments were put forward that in consequence of the acquired new industrial and urban lifestyles, Swedish people would lose affinity with traditional Swedish society and thereby become historically and ethnically rootless. Hence safeguarding and preserving cultural heritage became an important political issue and institutions pursuing archaeology and heritage management were supported in order to fulfill this goal.

When Norway and Sweden separated in 1905 and became two nation-states, strong nationalistic sentiments grew. Cultural heritage management and archaeology played important role in their nation-building. Around the same time, Sweden's first professorship of archaeology was installed at Uppsala University.⁴ Archaeology was still based on Thomsen's Three Age System and Nilsson's Three Stage System. In national heritage management, Bror Emil Hildebrand was succeeded by his son Hans Hildebrand (1842–1913) who became the new head of the National Heritage Board, while his childhood friend and companion Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) was appointed curator of historical collections at the National Museum.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, we find three strong pillars supporting Swedish archaeology and heritage management: the National Heritage Board, the National Historical Museum in Stockholm, and archaeology departments at universities. With their regional counterparts and branches, these three institutions still constitute the field of officially sanctioned archaeology and heritage management in contemporary Sweden.

Archaeology and Heritage Management in Sweden Today

With reference to the sketched above historical background, we can divide the contemporary structure of archaeological heritage management in Sweden into three "branches": (1) civil or government agencies, (2) museums, and (3) universities. For readers less acquainted with Sweden, it may be worth pointing out that Swedish society is exceptionally well-organized with a strong sense of civil duties and rights. It is a democratic and politically active society where politicians and bureaucrats occupy high positions in civil institutions such as universities, the National Heritage Board, and museums. There are no private universities in Sweden and the education is free. Legislation is strong, and civil rights and the freedom of speech are highly respected principles.

The Swedish bureaucratic system is transparent and democratic. It is also complicated and a lot of effort and resources are invested in its organisation. There are approximately 400 governmental agencies in Sweden, with 260,000 employees. With a little more than nine million inhabitants, the state (i.e., taxpayers) is unsurprisingly the largest single employer in Sweden.⁵ Although this bureaucratic system has a long

⁴The first Professor of Archaeology in Sweden was Oscar Almgren (1869–1945), appointed in Uppsala in 1913.

⁵*Styra och ställa – förslag till en effektivare statsförvaltning*. Official Government Report (SOU 2008:118)

history, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that its present structure was shaped, and since the 1970s onwards the size and scope of national-level bureaucracy increased rapidly.

Sweden is characterized as a modern industrial society, developed from an agricultural society of the late nineteenth century. During this transition, a feeling of threat that the Swedish people would lose touch with their roots in the new urban society created a need for a differently structured cultural heritage management service. The already existing institutions of archaeology and heritage management were therefore restructured into the three different branches mentioned above, which were functioning to accommodate the needs of a civil society.

In short, Swedish heritage management and archaeology has a very long history as a state-controlled pursuit within a strong bureaucratic system. The construction of narratives, which, as we argue, is the main objective for this activity, becomes critical in controlling both the Swedish nation-state and the agents of heritage management and archaeology. Because the government-controlled agents have the power to legitimate the State as such and to define the Swedish people (nation), symbolic capital is deeply invested in the construction of such narratives. All the agents, including “free” (seemingly unconstrained by governmental policies) university researchers (like the co-authors), are by such means all-important actors in the construction of the uniquely composed democratic nation-state as Sweden stands out to be.

Even in Sweden: The Problem of Structural Racism

Racisms are currently flourishing *even* in Sweden, a country long stereotyped by Western intellectuals and progressives as a paradise of social enlightenment, as an international champion of social justice, as the very model of solidarity and equality, as the world’s capital of good intentions and civilized behaviour toward others.

Thus, writes Allan Pred, an American Professor of Geography and long-term resident of Sweden in his book *Even in Sweden*, which is a straightforward analysis of expressions of racism⁶ in contemporary Swedish society (Pred 2000: 6). The point he makes is that Swedish society is no more racist than other European or western countries – but no less racist either, which is what people tend to assume both in and outside the country. Pred sees a connection between the structures of racism in current Swedish society and the changes it underwent in the years that followed after the assassination of Prime Minister Olof Palme in February 1986. In less than a decade,

⁶Like Pred, we use the word *racism* to denote a system of thought which divides people into hierarchised essential categories, often on a biological, geographical, or genealogical basis. As such, racism may work with reference to the word *race*, but occurs more often today with reference to “culture” or “ethnicity” (e.g., Appiah 1990; Goldberg 1990; Zack 2002; Hesse 2004). It is particularly important to understand racism in this sense as planted deeply in common discourse, unlike for instance xenophobia, which is more individual and direct.

the Swedish people and society experienced a serious economic decline, major loss of job opportunities, loss of confidence in politicians and the bureaucratic system, and eventually an application to join the European Union. A sense of loss of national stability and security induced feelings of longing and nostalgia for a national past, which seemed to have had all that was now lost. In the narratives of nostalgic longing, the past nation becomes *Heimat* (cf. Morley and Robins 1995: chap. 5), a homeland that restores a sense of firm and secure belonging, in times of high-speed mobility and postmodern celebrations of fragmentation. Feelings of disorientation in the global space rouse desires to be securely “at home” (ibid:87):

Heimat is a mythical bond rooted in a lost past, a past that has already disintegrated [...] It is about conserving the ‘fundamentals’ of culture and identity. And, as such, it is about sustaining cultural boundaries and boundedness. The ‘Other’ is always and continuously a threat to the security and integrity of those who share a common home (Morley and Robins 1995: 89).

This nostalgic longing for *Heimat*, enhanced by undercurrents of uneasiness and anxieties about the future, in a rapidly changing world emphasizing the international and the global, has resulted in a commonly accepted structure of thought and reference about Us-who-belong in Swedish society and Them –who – do not that easily fits most definitions of racism (Pred 2000: 12, 16ff), i.e., a valorized division of people into essential units based on intrinsic and/or extrinsic characteristics (Appiah 1990). Allan Pred’s book is packed with clippings from newspapers, quotes from television shows, political statements, etc, supporting his conclusions and leaving no room for doubt that there is substance to his arguments.

This does not mean that his conclusions have been warmly welcomed and immediately reflected upon in Sweden. In fact, Pred’s preface premonition (2000: xii) that most Swedish people would turn the other way when he presented his arguments and conclusions, appears to have come true. *Even in Sweden* has not had any major impact on the national debate on culture and identity (but see other important discussions on the problem of racism and othering in Swedish society, for instance in McEachrane and Faye 2001; Matthis 2005; Azar 2006; Motturi 2007). In a sense this is not surprising: the chilly reception is only confirming Pred’s main argument – that the problem of structural racism is alien to the Swedish self-image, and therefore his conclusions are difficult to come to terms with for an average Swedish person. Instead, public and private discussions on racism in Sweden are commonly narrowed into harsh accusations of individuals (called “racists”) and small groups of extreme-right propagators, who are being stereotyped by the media as the fundamental Other in contrast to entirely nice Swedish nation (cf. Hesse 2004).

Yet, even if not widely discussed, the problem of structural racism is now increasingly recognized and addressed in Sweden, and Pred’s work may have contributed to this. A government-requested report on structural discrimination (SOU 2005:41)⁷ was published five years after *Even in Sweden*, and it attracted a lot of

⁷*Rapport av Utredningen om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering*. In English: “Report from the Investigation of power, integration and structural discrimination”. Eds. Paulina de los Reyes and Masoud Kamali. Government Official Reports 2005:41 (SOU 2005:41).

media attention. The report edited by Paulina De los Reyes and Masoud Kamali consists of essays based on several years of research, posing serious criticism for the Swedish public authorities. The essays demonstrate how private companies and public authorities are structured according to a system that is disadvantageous to anyone of a different than the ethnically native Swede socio-cultural background. To eradicate such discrimination, a task group has been called (mostly composed of public authorities who are ethnically native Swedes) to grant “the other, non-native Swedes” a decent social and economic standard, which is often far outside of the standard available to native Swedes. The report concludes that this group of public authorities, regarded in a common discourse in terms of benevolence and good intentions, in fact reinforces structural discrimination and segregation.

Similarly to Pred’s conclusions, this criticism came as a great surprise to most Swedish and non-Swedish readers and comments on the report have generally been more dismissive than celebratory.

“We” have no discrimination here in Sweden. It’s only that non-Europeans and Muslims are culturally unadaptable to Swedish work norms, culturally unfit for most forms of Swedish employment. [...] They are, in short, lacking in “cultural competence”. After all, they are culturally shaped to be slow, lazy or otherwise ineffective; culturally unable to work in teams, or independently, or with members of the opposite sex, [...] (Pred 2000:149)

In their essay *Bortom Vi och Dom. Teoretiska reflektioner om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering*⁸ the editors Paulina De los Reyes and Masoud Kamali describe the Swedish integration policy as based on two pre-defined and hierarchically ranked categories – Us and Them (De los Reyes and Kamali 2005:7). They argue that when an ideal type of Swedishness is used as a marker of difference, it may not be understood primarily as an act of excluding *Them* (the immigrants and their families), but can for the native and normative Swede stand out as a positive creation and reproduction of *Us* (although superior to the different *Them*). De los Reyes and Kamali underline that the idea of a national fellowship also includes the assumption that Swedishness is timeless and essential, only cha(lle)nged by the presence of a *Them* category in the Swedish social *Us*-space. Such presence has consequently become discursively associated with social problems and conflicts, posing a threat to the heart of what is considered as typically Swedish.

This idea of timeless and essential Swedishness creates of course an important arena for the management of national heritage and archaeological remains. Activities such as documentation of cultural processes, conservation of significant artefacts and their storage in museums, care-taking and protection of cultural heritage and archaeological remains, anchor the past in the present and lock the narratives of historical development of the Swedish nation to questions of individual identity and belonging. Since its beginning, the main purpose of archaeology and

⁸In English: “Beyond Us and Them: Theoretical reflections on power, integration and structural discrimination” (De los Reyes and Kamali 2005).

national heritage management has been to provide existential confirmation by offering images of what is essentially Swedish, in a manner that positions Swedishness in relation to the Other (non-Swedish), in the past, present, and in the imagined future. The key role has been to protect the idea of Swedishness by safeguarding the Swedish history – a narrative that helps to create an identity, materialized in the cultural heritage and archaeological remains. Runic inscriptions, horned helmets, Thor’s hammers, and rock art priestesses present a unique and essentially Swedish contemporary aesthetics visible on t-shirts, jewellery, and tattoos. Our Swedish identity is supposedly confirmed through this consumption of the aesthetics of Our own heritage, and thereby we get a higher spiritual experience of Our history, Our education, and Our cultivation. Through this consumption, old narratives of Swedishness firmly anchored in the popular mind (once constructed by powerful someones who had something to gain from the idea of Swedishness, of course) appear to us as being naturally inscribed in the objects, and are silently reiterated by what appears to be neutral processes of documentation and conservation. Historical remains become in our modern discourse a kind of container for these old narratives of Swedishness, of inclusion and exclusion – narratives that are also in some unclear way stored in us. Therefore, we believe a predetermined existential connection exists between people who lived in this same place a long time ago and us. So when archaeologists are conserving, documenting, and storing artefacts or heritage sites – unless we actively say otherwise – we are passively and silently reiterating the idea of a timeless and essential Swedishness that Paulina De los Reyes and Masoud Kamali have analysed in such a thought-provoking manner.

Moreover, archaeology and heritage management has long provided the raw material for the construction of *Heimat* – even if professional archaeologists today, aware as we now are of the problems of *Heimat*-longing, prefer to talk about *sites* rather than *chains* of memory. The longing for *Heimat* is not necessarily nationalistic, it can also operate on a supranational or regional level. In the context of the European Union, we find references to a “European *Heimat* invok[ing] the past grandeur of Europe as a bastion against future uncertainties” (Morley and Robins 1995:88). And on a regional level, there are references to *Heimat* as “nostalgic attempt[s] to revivify pure and indigenous regional cultures in reaction against what are perceived as threatening forms of cultural hybridity” (ibid:8). But regardless of whether this nostalgic longing operates on a national, supranational, or regional level, there are clear links between the segregating and discriminating structures of thought that support *Heimat*-longing in present-day society, and the construction of modern national identities in the nineteenth-century Europe. The construction of such imagined communities (cf. Anderson 1983) came with the fabrication of collective narratives describing the deep-rooted origins of a common people, of the same racial/cultural essence, sharing a naturally united territory (Pred 2000:26). As we remember, it was the explicit aim of the early archaeology and heritage management in Sweden (just as it was elsewhere), to create such unifying narratives in order to strengthen the Swedish nation.

While strengthening a sense of national spirit by alluding to a common deep-rooted past (particularly in creating national archaeologies) was desired, this narrative

strategy has been widely criticised over the last decades especially from a postcolonial perspective (e.g., Bhabha 1990). The creation of such *discourses of difference*, where a “people” stands out as a homogenous whole in contrast to other homogenous “peoples”, necessarily entails a process of negative Othering. In Allan Pred’s words:

Positive images of national belonging were propped up by negative images of biologically inferior migrants, resident minorities, and distant – often colonized – non-European populations; by ‘scientifically’ confirmed images, by images of Others who were ‘naturally’ inferior, who *were not* cultivated, cultured, civilized and orderly – and therefore *not* worthy of inclusion. (Pred 2000:26f)

The role played by archaeology and heritage management in the service of the young Swedish nation-state around the turn of the twentieth century for the creation of such scientifically confirmed images of cultural inclusion and exclusion cannot be overemphasized. And most archaeologists and heritage managers in Sweden today are aware of this problematic disciplinary history. Swedish archaeologists and heritage managers have also, over the last decades, become increasingly aware of the current problematic connection between our field, the longing for *Heimat* and quests for an essential secure Swedish identity, particularly in the common use of the Viking symbols by the neo-Nazi and other extreme-right organisations.

But there is often a reluctance to see the connection between archaeology and *Heimat*-longing as a contemporary rather than historic problem, and much more common and more important than the neo-Nazi uses of the Viking symbols. This reluctance is partly traceable to the Swedish self-image of being the world’s capital of good intentions and civilized behaviour towards others, as Allan Pred (2000:6) described it. But we argue that it also has to do with the nature of archaeological thought. Archaeology and heritage are much wider phenomena than what is covered, and controlled, by the works of professional archaeologists and heritage managers. It exists in much larger sections of society; in school education and societal information, in oral traditions, as images and aesthetics, in fiction, in games, and in the very language we speak. *Det är rena stenåldern* – it is pure Stone Age – we say when we think of something as terribly outdated, and even small children will get the point. Archaeologists are discursively saturated by archaeology and heritage metaphors already as children, long before they start to reflect professionally upon its consequences. And as professional archaeologists, they are also citizens and consumers of popular culture. Morley and Robins (1995), among others, have pointed the importance of popular media (television, film, documentaries) in the use of the past in reference to identity and belonging (cf. Holtorf 2004b; Petersson 2003; and Alexandra Ålund quoted in Pred 2000:65). Playing with images and narratives relating to heritage is thus not limited to professional archaeologists alone. And although there are exceptions (e.g., Gustafsson Reinius 2002; Holtorf 2004a, b, 2007; Högberg 2004a, b; Karlsson 2008; Karlsson and Nilsson 2001; Petersson 2003), there is not a particularly strong tradition among Swedish archaeologists and heritage managers to engage in critical analyses of such playing with heritage images and metaphors that occur outside of what has traditionally been our professional enterprise.

The symbolism of the *Rinkeby Horse* serves as an example to the above point. In a metaphoric play with the iconic *Dala Horse* (a stylized wooden horse – and the most common souvenir from Sweden – painted in typical bright *kurbit* patterns from the province Dalarna, whose traditional textiles, costumes, and decorative patterns were used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century creation of a unique and uniform Swedish national heritage), the artist Ylva Ekman used the same decoration on other, often exotic, animals – elephants, camels, tigers, and cows – and called them *Rinkebyhästar* – Rinkeby Horses (Fig. 1). Rinkeby is a town located in the northern suburbs of Stockholm which has in popular discourse become a metaphor for “immigrant-land”. On the immediate surface, the Rinkeby Horse concept is an expression of bright playful suburban heterogeneity and a multicultural Swedish society tolerant of all sorts of apparent differences. We all fit in Sweden, sort of. And the Rinkeby Horses have also been celebrated for carrying such a message by native and immigrant Swedes alike. On a deeper level, however, it can be argued that the Rinkeby Horses carry the disguised and often unintentional expressions of racism that recent postcolonial theory attempts to deconstruct. For it is a different kind of creature underneath the traditional frock. A Rinkeby Horse is characterized by being *anything but a horse*. The underlying message is thus that something from Rinkeby could never become *the real thing* in terms of Swedishness (Pred 2000:183). It may be dressed up in the same costume, *but the essence is different*. This was supposedly a multilayered critical comment that Ylva Ekman wanted to make with her art, but there has not been any such critical discussion about them. Instead, the Rinkeby Horses have been celebrated and awarded only as an exemplary expression of



Fig. 1 Rinkeby Horse, by Ylva Ekman. Photograph by Mikael Lammgård, Röhsska museet

Swedish multiculturalism and tolerance. Academics in disciplines that are concerned with issues of materiality and identity (archaeologists, ethnologists, heritage managers, ...) have to our knowledge not been heard at all in discussions of the Rinkeby Horses, despite that such a play with an artefact that is also an icon of national and regional identity should make an interesting point of departure for discussions of heritage objects and identity in present society.

The postcolonial feminist writer Bell Hooks has said that the “control over images is central to the maintenance of any system of racial discrimination” (Hooks 1992:2). If, as we have suggested above, Swedish archaeology and heritage management is involved in the control over images that are at the heart of the structural discrimination that Allan Pred, Paulina De los Reyes, and Masoud Kamali have demonstrated through their works – then *how*, by *whom*, and by what *means* is this involvement constituted?

The Students

In the above brief introductory history of Swedish archaeology, we presented the first scientific archaeologists (Hildebrand and Montelius and their contemporaries) and discussed the initial steps towards the creation of a *field*, in Pierre Bourdieu’s terms (2000) – which, in other words, is a system of relations between positions (Broady 2000:9). We will use the *field* concept to elaborate on who we – the Swedish archaeologists – are.

When compared with other disciplines, students of archaeology and heritage management in present-day Sweden are mostly of native Swedish descent. This is evident from a comparison of names of students enrolled for university courses in archaeology with class rosters in, for instance, law or medicine. Getting a degree in archaeology or cultural heritage management involves a certain amount of risk-taking, since chances are quite scarce that such a degree will secure a comfortable job with a decent salary. A popular saying at Swedish university departments and heritage management institutions explains that the reason why almost all the students of (and subsequently almost all people with a degree in) these subjects are native Swedes. Simply put, young immigrants choose not to study archaeology or heritage management because it does not guarantee a stable income. Instead, they study to become dentists or engineers (cf. Gellert Tamas, quoted in Pred 2000:71). The obvious question must then be asked: why do young native Swedes study to become archaeologists or cultural heritage managers under such constraints? And furthermore, will every person of native Swedish descent consider studying archaeology? If not, why are some attracted to it while others repel?

Donald Broady, professor at Uppsala University’s Department of Studies in Education, Culture and Media (SEC), is a leading expert on the Swedish education system. Inspired by Bourdieu’s *field* concept, Broady and his research team have investigated higher education in Sweden and presented their findings in a number of studies.⁹

⁹www.skeptron.uu.se/broadyskrifter.htm.

Sweden has, as we have already mentioned, an exceptionally well-organized civil society and governmental agencies keep detailed information on all citizens. By extracting these data and mapping the background of every student in the Swedish education system, the SEC researchers investigated the educational background of the students' parents, the annual income of their families, etc.

In a study ordered and funded by the National Heritage Board a few years ago, the SEC team investigated and recorded enrollment patterns at the university-level studies of cultural heritage management, history, and archaeology (Hegardt 2005). Their report should be read, they say, as a collective biography of a *field*, which presents, somewhat simplified, a record of the students' personal choices regarding the area of education and future profession in relation to their socioeconomic status and positions in society. This study provides data for a preliminary analysis of what archaeology and cultural heritage mean to the individual student.

The results of the SEC study showed an unusually homogenous picture of the socio-cultural background among students of archaeology and cultural heritage management, compared with students of other academic fields in Sweden. There is a clear correspondence between the choice to study cultural heritage management or archaeology, and the student's social and cultural background. The research team concluded:

In general, it can be concluded that these academic fields [archaeology, history, cultural management] mostly attract female students from the working class and the middle class households, where cultural capital is preferred over economic (Broady and Börjesson 2005, *Translation by JH and AK*).

Archaeology and heritage management are thus attracting young people, slightly more women, from the working or middle-class households, in which cultural capital is preferred over material status.

In more metaphorical terms, the authors say the students of archaeology and cultural heritage studies are *children of teachers*. With this metaphor they want to emphasize the importance of *cultural capital* over economical capital, as characteristic for this particular group of students. It is not really surprising that most students in archaeology and cultural heritage management are from the working or middle class. Sweden has an exceptionally large middle class and most of the so-called working-class people also belong, in an economical sense, to the middle class. The difference between these "classes" is distinguished through differences in levels of education, which are irrespective of income and economic standards. Therefore, the *children of teachers* metaphor makes sense as students of this group predominantly come from the working or middle class background, but more specifically from socio-cultural settings where they are taught and socialized to appreciate cultural capital more than the economic capital.¹⁰

¹⁰Here we can use ourselves as examples. We are both of native Swedish descent and have Swedish names (Källén is entirely Swedish, while Hegardt originates from Denmark and is now a Swedish family name for many generations. Anna and Johan are common first names among our generation in Sweden). We are not only metaphorically but in fact children of teachers, and our parents have mostly worked as civil servants. We come from, and live in, stable middle-class homes where cultural capital is valued over economic.

So, how can we understand the connections between the *cultural capital* characteristic for this group of students, and archaeology and heritage management? If cultural capital is a factor that makes them choose to study these particular subjects, we can assume that this cultural capital in some sense corresponds with the presentations and representations of archaeology and cultural heritage management. This representation and presentation is historically inherent in a present mainstream and common sense discourse. Through popular culture, school education, and kitchen table conversations, the student-to-be comes in contact with this discourse (Petersson 2003; Holtorf 2004b, 2007; Högberg 2004a, b). However, not everyone who comes across the discourse will choose to pursue it to a university degree. On the contrary, most young native Swedes choose not to study archaeology at university, even if they find an interest in archaeology or cultural heritage as popular culture. This implies that the particular *children of teachers* students who choose to study archaeology or heritage management have made their choices based on a *wish to represent* the archaeological and cultural heritage presentation, with the specific narratives and imagery that it contains. They study to become *agents* of a cultural heritage field deeply rooted in Swedish society.

Keeping in mind that the absolute majority of these students are of native Swedish decent, we see that the symbolic and cultural capital that the agents are given in return by being active in this particular field are also linked to their Being, their own existence. They have been taught early (as *children of teachers*, metaphorically speaking) that they exist through their own heritage and that their heritage exists through them. When they become agents in the field, they defend their own right to be a part of this tradition and defend their position from where they can tell stories representing the narratives and imagery of their own heritage tradition. This heritage tradition thus becomes important for the agents not only because it generates cultural and symbolic capitals for themselves but also because it is a part of their innermost understanding of reality and their own place in it. The stories, the archaeological and cultural heritage narratives of how and why the Swedish is Swedish (or why the Scanian is Scanian, or why the European is European) and how and why the non-Swedish is not Swedish are thus also important for the agent's own sense of Being.

The results of the SEC inquiry urgently require critical comments. Swedish archaeology and heritage management seems to attract existential investment and field professionals might be prone to become defensive and conservative regarding the heritage they have invested in. Moreover, if this situation is paired with a practise of distancing agents from objects, in a neutral (often called "objective") approach where excavations, documentations, and conservations are pursued, and standards and regulations for heritage management are decided without critical reflection on the consequences of the underlying narratives and imagery, we find ourselves in an unwanted position (being the world's capital of good intentions and civilized behaviour towards others).

There *is* an ongoing debate on these matters in current Swedish archaeology and heritage management, but it is maintained by a small number of scholars (e.g., Burström 2004, 2007; Cassel 2008; Hegardt 2007; Högberg 2004a; Karlsson 1998,

2008; Karlsson and Nilsson 2001; Nilsson-Stutz 2009; Petersson 2003; Svanberg 2003; Svanberg and Wahlgren 2007; Welinder 2003), and is not part of the disciplinary tradition of the larger field. The larger field tends to denote critical discussions on narratives and imagery to a wave of postmodern inconveniences soon to be over, and concentrates on being as cost-effective as possible, and works to keep a neutral (“objective”) approach towards excavations, documentation, and communications of results.

So, the question is: if the students of archaeology and heritage management in Sweden are to a great degree of native Swedish decent and belong to a section of society that can be metaphorically described as *children of teachers*, and we at the same time choose to avoid critical debate on matters of identity and belonging, what are then the consequences for the *field* of archaeology and heritage management and its relationship to structural discrimination in Swedish society today?

The Law

It is often said that Sweden has the world’s oldest heritage legislation, originating in the *Placat och Påbudh* document from 1666. The present law,¹¹ revised and rewritten many times since 1666, is generally referred to as *Kulturminneslagen*, or KML in short. It is not only the oldest but also known to be one of the strongest laws for heritage protection in the world, something which is often mentioned with pride by Swedish heritage agents. Despite its name (Law of Cultural Memory, in direct translation to English), KML is in fact better described as a decree rather than a law, since it describes in detail how archaeologists and cultural heritage managers ought to act when dealing with heritage objects and archaeological remains. In this way, KML works as a foundation for the *field* and its agents.

In his important essay *Force de loi*, Jacques Derrida wrote that laws are not true because they are laws, and that we do not obey them because they are laws, but because they have authority (Derrida 2005:18). The power of the law depends on our confidence in it. The power of KML rests on both authority and confidence because it guarantees that Our heritage is not going to be disturbed by any possible change and that We, who have confidence in the legislation, and We, who gain authority by managing the heritage, are under no risk of loosing Our identity.

It is unjust to judge someone who does not understand the legal system, says Derrida (2005:26). However, there is no such thing as justice in itself. Justice depends on laws, and the laws depend on our idea of justice, of authority, and confidence. Any piece of legislation depends on our confidence in it, and our confidence in turn depends on our experience of being rightly treated by the legal system

¹¹KML (Kulturminneslagen). SFS nr: 1988:950. Departement/myndighet: Kulturdepartementet. Rubrik: Lag (1988:950) om kulturminnen m.m. Utfärdad:1988-06-30. Ändring införd: t.o.m. SFS 2002:1090. Omtryck: SFS 2002:620.

and our acceptance of its authority. The legal system must, therefore, be understood in order to have authority and bring confidence. A legal system interprets the *morality* of society and *codifies* it into a juridical language, and therefore the code must be understandable in relation to a morality of some sort. The *code* in KML can, in Derridean sense, be understood in relation to the *morality of Swedishness*.

The opening statement of KML sets the agenda by indicating that “it is of national concern to protect and take care of our cultural milieu”.¹² Here we see the outline of a code of national morality. The key words *national* and *our* emphasize the Swedish national distinctiveness, presenting national identity as something essential in defining the cultural milieu. Through KML, the national heritage become Ours, that is, it belongs to all who are included in this definition of Swedishness and thereby have confidence in the authority and the moral code of the law. The purpose of the law is thus to protect and cherish material and immaterial confirmations of what is defined as Swedish, in a manner that positions an original Swedishness in relation to the non-Swedish Others and the future. The initial statement in KML, as quoted above, puts a clear emphasis on the existential We – We-the-Swedes. It is Our concern, and nobody else’s that Our heritage is protected.

Swedish heritage, as it is defined by KML, is a symbol and signal of a particular way of Being in the world – the *Swedish way*. To really understand the meaning of Swedish heritage, we must understand it as related to an imagined spirit of Swedishness. We can understand it as connected to the Hegelian notion of the *spirit* (Taylor 1986), a Swedish *essence* transcending stages of cultural development, reaching fulfilment through cultivation and education.

In recent critical theory, such essential understandings of a nation have been analysed and deconstructed as strategic myths. A nation is, from this critical perspective, much better understood as a sociopolitical construction, resting on no such essence, but nonetheless with an immense concrete influence on the lives of the people whom it embraces, or excludes (Eriksen 1993; Bhabha 1990). The myth of a bounded national identity resting on cultural and/or racial essence is supported by the idea of the uniform and homogenous national past with stable bounded traditions. Such homogenous presentations can never represent a society’s real fluidity, plurality, and heterogeneity (ibid.). They can only represent selected groups of a society, cast in the illusory shape of stability. The strategic myth of a Swedish nation based on essence was formulated with the clear purpose to construct an essentially Swedish nation-state, and it is not difficult to see how this project is still supported by archaeology and heritage management such as it is defined by KML.

Documentation and conservation of Swedish cultural heritage and archaeology, as stipulated by KML, are clearly activities with the purpose to maintain an order that is significant to the Swedes and at the same time signify the Swedish as something valuable and essential. But all forms of documentation must be justified

¹²“Det är en nationell angelägenhet att skydda och vårda vår kulturmiljö”. Extract from *Kulturminneslagen*, 1 kap, 1§ (SFS nr:1988:950).

against something that defines such a value. In this case, it is an underlying idea, or a master-narrative, of the Swedish cultural history. Acts of documentation and care-taking are thus maintaining a culture-historical master-narrative, a narrative telling about a history of the Swedish cultivation and education, a history of the supreme We – We who are the Swedes. The official documentation and care-taking act must become a frame for an image of an essential and timeless state of Swedishness, simply because it is defined as such already in the first sentence of the KML.

The Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo has said – from a hermeneutic point of view – that there are no experiences of truth if they are not accompanied at the same time by an act of interpretation (Vattimo 1997:17). Following Vattimo, any form of documentation and the mission to take care and protect cultural heritage and archaeological remains is thus one of many possible acts of interpretation with the purpose to gain some form of truth. These activities are then part of a system that positions the archaeological remains and the cultural heritage in an essential centre where the essence is related to our understanding of the nations history of education, cultivation and higher spiritual experiences. When we protect, document, and preserve our cultural heritage, we are at the same time protecting our existence – through a narrative which is defining Us as valuable and worthy of protection – against the dynamics of a changing world. As a consequence, we contribute to definitions that nourish the exclusion of Us from Them, often without even thinking about it.

The Law and the Field

The definitions of ancient remains and cultural heritage in KML do not, in fact, point out to analyses of the past conditions. They only concern phenomena in the present (although we define them as being representatives of the past), which are thereby given a special value in our time, making them worthy of preservation for present or future needs. Meanwhile, these definitions recall a tradition of conservation, a historically defined tradition of protecting heritage, which is in itself considered significant for the understanding of *Swedishness*.

Tradition can be described as a social inheritance that is handed over from one generation to another. The definition and care-taking of certain remains from the past contribute to such a tradition, which in Sweden goes back to 1666. So, by continuing this tradition with little or no reflection on its contemporary consequences, the protecting mission is easily extended from the heritage objects to also include a protection of the proud *tradition of heritage protection* itself; the law, the aesthetics, the traditional imagery, and the traditional narratives. And considering the ontological importance of the heritage tradition for the students of archaeology and heritage management, it can further be argued that it is in the interest of the *field* and its agents that this tradition is maintained and preserved for the future.

Since KML is not only a law but also a directive of actions packed inside the framework of the law, it guides the agents working in archaeology and heritage management. Hence it is neatly stated in KML what must be done if we want to

destroy what is protected. As such, KML regulates how archaeologists and cultural heritage managers shall act not only in the present but also in the future. A narrative is hereby transferred to the future, in advance. Through this practice, the narratives we presently control exist securely in the future, and future actions are already defined before they even occur. The law, as Derrida has pointed out, creates a mystic force, that on the one hand increases our confidence in the law and on the other punishes us if we break it. The discourse of Swedish archaeology and heritage management faces its own boundaries in KML and becomes locked within those boundaries through the reiteration of the law (Derrida 2005:21). We are performing what we are expecting and we are presenting what we are representing – in the past, the present, and the future. This is the power of the law.

The Handbook

We have already mentioned that Sweden has an extensive bureaucratic and administrative system, mostly organized through its 400 governmental agencies. Like the tradition of national heritage management, this system has its origin in the late seventeenth century. There is very little corruption and civil servants are remarkably loyal to the state. With this in mind we shall turn for a moment to the late eighteenth-century philosopher Immanuel Kant. In his short but important essay *Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?*¹³ Kant wrote that the Enlightenment was mankind's liberation from a self-inflicted incapacity. He argued that we are incapable if we cannot make use of our intellect without guidance, and that this incapability is self-inflicted if we cannot make use of our intellect without assistance. For Kant, the Enlightenment was characterized by the courage to make use of our intellectual capabilities without guidance or assistance (Kant 1992:27). Michel Foucault (1992) said that these reflections by Kant mark a starting point for modern philosophy. From this point on, philosophers have been able to reflect more freely over their positions as philosophers. Even though Kant's thinking has been extremely influential and empowering for critical reflection throughout the western world, it includes one major and important reservation: There is a fundamental difference between the *official* and the *private* use of reason.

Kant's *private* use of reason is (contrary to our immediate associations) tied to a public duty such as that of a priest, a military officer, or a civil servant, who has a restricted right to pursue critical reflection if he is going to stay loyal to his duties. An *official* use of reason must, on the contrary, be given full freedom to reflect critically. An official use of reason can be seen, for example, in statements produced by a philosopher or an intellectual. The official person in Kant's terminology is therefore independent and free to express any kind of critical thoughts. Interestingly enough,

¹³Originally published in 1784 with the title: Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung? (Kant 1992).

Kant says that this also goes for a civil servant, but only if he expresses his thoughts in public and as an official person.

Kant's definitions of official and private reason were important for the development of the civil servant in modern Europe. The civil servant became a major agent in the construction of the nineteenth-century society and also played an important role in the colonial projects. Sweden had hardly any colonial ambitions after the decline of the empire in 1719, but it has a very long tradition of public authorities. Archaeology and cultural heritage management have, as we discussed above, been an important part of the construction of the Swedish nation-state, and loyal servants to the State have managed the heritage and excavated sites representing the national prehistory since the late seventeenth century.

In this essay, we argue that archaeology and cultural heritage management in present-day Sweden has a strong tendency towards "privateism" in Kant's terminology. You should play by the rules (quietly abide by the definition of Our national heritage in KML, and reproduce the unwritten rules of the *field*, discussed above) if you want to work with archaeology and heritage management as a civil servant. It may sound just right that civil servants should be loyal and follow rules. But the consequence of this logic is that the section of Swedish archaeology and heritage management that is run by civil servants can only be criticised from the outside, by intellectuals, non-archaeologists, philosophers, or scholars in scientific theory. And because the *field* and its enterprise have existential connections to the agents' own Being, a too straightforward criticism can always be understood as being personal and can consequently also be understood as a criticism against the Swedish nation-state. Archaeology and heritage management in Sweden thereby risks becoming a closed field.

Let us give an example. A couple of years ago the National Heritage Board published what they call a *Handbook for Contract Archaeology* (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2007). As we have seen, heritage and archaeological remains are protected by KML, which is not just law but also regulates the actions of officially sanctioned archaeologists and heritage managers who are exploiting an area containing heritage objects or archaeological remains. KML says that anyone exploiting such an area must pay the costs for archaeological excavations or other costs for documentation, conservation, and general care-taking of the objects and sites that are destroyed. This means that private or state-owned companies are in the hands of archaeologists or heritage managers. They cannot avoid them without breaking the law, and they have no direct influence over the process. The whole procedure, with costs and undertakings, is regulated by the directives stated by the National Heritage Board's interpretation of KML.

During the last few decades, the costs for such contract archaeology have increased enormously, creating financial problems mostly for the State itself, since large State-funded projects such as railway constructions or new highways are without comparison the most costly projects when it comes to archaeological investigations. The turnover for contract archaeology in Sweden is approximately 25–30 million Euro per year, and most of this amount comes from taxation. If we compare this over a 4-year period with the costs for 4-year doctoral grants at the university, we find that the costs for contract archaeology are equivalent to the costs for 1,000

doctoral grants in archaeology. In reality, there are no more than 50 doctoral grants awarded over 4-year period at all Swedish universities. In such a comparison, the costs for contract archaeology stand out as almost insane. Of course a comparison between two so different enterprises cannot be done so easily, but it works as an eye-opener, and it does say something about the balance and priorities in terms of *private* and *official* use of reason in Swedish archaeology and heritage management.

A few years ago, the National Audit Office started to pose criticism against the costs of contract archaeology and national heritage management, in relation to what society got back from these investments.¹⁴ However, the law – KML – supports the way contract archaeology has been pursued, and this created a situation of conflicting interests between authorities. The National Heritage Board has also over the last few decades been affected by the loss of its previous monopoly on contract archaeology. The National Heritage Board is still by far the largest actor of the business of contract archaeology, but it is slowly loosing its former privileges, and smaller private enterprises can now compete for the contracts on a regular business basis. Over the last few years, there have, therefore, been serious discussions about turning UV – the contract archaeology department of the National Heritage Board – into a free, but State-owned, company on a rescue archaeology market. In the face of this new situation, the National Heritage Board felt the need to act in order to keep in control over Swedish archaeology and heritage management (which they have explicit governmental directions to do). So, they decided to produce a *Handbook for Contract Archaeology*.

It is stressed in the Handbook that *all* archaeological excavations in Sweden must follow the same detailed rules and directives that govern official contract archaeology. These rules are dictated by the National Heritage Board, and supervised by the staff at *Länsstyrelserna* – the County Administrative Boards (CAB), who have the delegated responsibility to grant (or deny) excavation permits. To make this discussion more specific, let us briefly review the CAB guidelines in Uppsala.

The city of Uppsala, known for its old and prestigious university, also has a relatively large population of the so-called *New Swedes* (euphemism for immigrants), altogether 25% of the city's population. Unemployment rates are comparably high. On the CAB website, we find these definitions and guidelines:

[Integration and] social development, characterised by mutual respect for differences, [...] takes place within the boundaries set by fundamental democratic values in society and where everyone, irrespective of background, is involved and is mutually responsible.¹⁵

The CAB shall in collaboration with other county and municipal authorities, contribute to an increased diversity on the labour market, work against discrimination, work for an increased awareness of human rights in Sweden, and develop co-operations for the societal introduction of newly arrived refugees. (*Translation by JH and AK.*)¹⁶

¹⁴2002/03:RR11 Arkeologi på uppdrag: <http://www2.riksdagen.se/internet/rr-web.nsf/view-forsl tillriks-category/B42356A28D149190C1256CF600478721?OpenDocument>

¹⁵<http://www.lst.se/lst/en/integration.htm>.

¹⁶Original text: *Länsstyrelsen ska tillsammans med andra aktörer i länet medverka till en ökad mångfald i arbetslivet, motverka diskriminering, skapa en medvetenhet kring mänskliga rättigheter i Sverige samt utveckla samverkan kring introduktionen av nyanlända flyktingar* (<http://www.c.lst.se/templates/versamhetstart.aspx?id=2976>).

Among the 180 employees at the CAB in Uppsala in March 2009, 179 have typical Swedish family names (99.4%). One person with a non-Swedish name – Mr Mansoor – works as janitor. Eight of the employees with traditional Swedish names work at the department of Cultural Heritage Management. They belong to the field of Swedish archaeologists and heritage managers discussed earlier, and their mission within the framework offered by KML is to *contribute to an increased diversity on the labour market, work against discrimination, work for an increased awareness of human rights in Sweden, and develop co-operations for the societal introduction of newly arrived refugees*. The impossibilities of these contradictions are blatant and urgently need to be reflected upon. They confirm the findings reported by Paulina De los Reyes' and Masoud Kamali's (2005) as structural discrimination and point out to the emergency of the *teachers' children* problem. There is a good reason to take this problem more seriously than just explaining it as differences in economic rationality.

Most of the staff at the CAB offices, not only in Uppsala but generally in Sweden, are civil servants with basic university degrees, who have only little training and experience in reflecting on their position in the larger picture of archaeology and heritage management, in society and in a historical perspective. The CAB have moreover a closer relationship with the National Heritage Board and its regulations than they have to the museums, or to the research projects at university departments, which are based on quite different premises and are often found along or outside the boundaries of traditional archaeological practise, where they challenge the master-narrative (which is the purpose of innovative research).

Let us now return to the Handbook. Now, when private enterprises are allowed to compete with the dominant UV (contract archaeology department of the National Heritage Board), there is a severe risk that the master-narrative will be challenged. Thereby the agents of the National Heritage Board also run a risk to loose their most important authority: the authority to manage the master-narrative. The Handbook functions in this case is an instrument helping the National Heritage Board to keep its authority to guard the master-narrative of archaeology and heritage management, even at times of capitalist fragmentation and alternative perspectives on the national past.

Since most of the CAB's staff are civil servants with basic university degrees, they (should) have little or no interest in more complicated and critical perspectives on archaeology (since they are positioned in Kant's private sphere of reason). They are the "foot soldiers" of the field with little or no authority to make decisions of their own, and they are controlled by the Heritage Board. The Handbook is written to guide and control these "foot soldiers" through centralized decision making on who is allowed to pursue an archaeological investigation and who is not. The CAB's staff becomes, in this way, a frontier against unwanted changes in the traditional master-narrative, and the Handbook together with KML are the two documents that help them guard the Swedish heritage – the representation of *Swedishness* – against the threats of a changing world.

However, the Handbook of contract archaeology may have other consequences too. For instance, it emphasizes that contract archaeology is *not* research and university archaeology. In what must be regarded as a sheer contradiction, it is also emphasized

that research or university archaeology *must follow the rules* of contract archaeology. If such logic is pursued, we find that since contract archaeology is explicitly *not* archaeological research, and archaeological research *must* abide by the rules of contract archaeology (which is *not* archaeological research) – then archaeological research cannot exist.

In terms of Kant's *private* and *official* use of reason, we see a tendency in the Handbook towards privateism, where the agents of the National Heritage Board attempt to keep their authority to control the master-narrative, by creating regulations that disable *official* attempts to critical reflection, or paraphrasing Kant: regulations that disable serious attempts to make use of our intellectual capabilities without guidance or assistance (1992:27). If we add this conclusion to our previous statements about the *field*, the law, and the problem of structural racism, we get a complex and problematic picture of the present-day Swedish archaeology and heritage management.

This is of course not to say that there are no reasons to be proud of the strength and longevity of the Swedish legislation for heritage protection – it has done a lot of good. Nor is it our intention to portray the National Heritage Board as an evil dictator of all Swedish archaeology and heritage management – it is an institution that does a lot of good. Rather, we want to point to the complexities of this enterprise, and the problems that may occur – even in Sweden – if we forget to nourish and encourage (or decide to stop) the opportunities for critical reflection.

Discussion and Conclusions

The Creation of Privileged Positions: And the Problem of Structural Racism

Before we start the final discussion of this essay, let us first clarify our own position: There is no such thing as a neutral position, and a presentation without a representation does not exist. We are inevitably situated in the world, as was long ago pointed out by Martin Heidegger (1927, 1977), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945; cf. Bengtsson 1988), and more recently by Donna Haraway (1991). As archaeologists we are positioned in the field of archaeology and/or in the field of cultural heritage management. And, as we have demonstrated above, heritage management and archaeology in Sweden have their agendas regulated by the national democratic and bureaucratic systems.

With our emphasis on ontology throughout the essay, we have also to some extent followed Bourdieu (1992; Gesser 1996) in his interpretation of the philosophy of Martin Heidegger, with concepts such as Position and Being (cf. Karlsson 1998). The position we take (here and elsewhere) is that archaeology and heritage management is not primarily a question of material remains. It is rather a question of meaningful narratives (Bhabha 1990; Haraway 1989, 1991: part 2). Narratives

only stay alive as long as they are meaningful, and it is through the agents of the field that the official narratives of Swedish archaeology and heritage management are born and charged with meaning. Our inquiry has therefore evolved around questions of the field's impact on the creation of meaning and significance in narratives of archaeology and heritage management, and further, how these narratives reinvest power and position into the same field.

We have argued that there is a tendency in archaeology and cultural heritage management in Sweden to foster narratives that are placed far away from the researchers or heritage managers as real persons. The aim of creating such neutral-tone narratives and placing them at a distance from the personal and potentially sundering, should be to achieve general significance, a sense of meaning that can be shared by everyone in Swedish society. The definition of "everyone in Swedish society" must in turn be found in a national master-narrative that draws the line between what and who is Swedish, and what and who is not. This implies that the neutrality and distance of the narrative, despite its efforts to escape particularity, can never escape the definitions of some master-narrative, such as the cultural history of Sweden and its Swedish inhabitants. We have already argued that objects of cultural heritage and archaeological remains have no meaning in themselves. Rather, meaning takes form in these narratives, where such objects are included.

National heritage management and archaeology in Sweden have since their beginnings in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, been used to produce, naturalize, and valorize a uniform national identity, a Swedish *We*. Now, this is apparently contradictory to an explicit political agenda emphasising diversity, expressed for example in the government designated Year of Multiculture 2006 (see Motturi 2007 for a thought-provoking reflection on this). Hence archaeology and cultural heritage management, themselves organized and funded by government authorities, are equally dependent on and reproducing a deep-rooted master-narrative defining Sweden and Swedishness, which is contrary to the explicit aims of the government.

In the educational system, we see that a vast majority of the students in archaeology and heritage management also fit the definition of Swedish (as blondish, fair-skinned, Christian protestant, speaking Swedish with a native accent, etc.), as it was presented in the master-narrative of Swedish culture history at the end of the nineteenth century. We can assume that these students (we are two of them) who are attracted to a higher education in Swedish archaeology and heritage management, also feel reasonably comfortable with this master-narrative offering a simple and essentially excluding definition of the Swedish. We have argued that it is comfortable to this particular group of students, because this is a narrative that gives them in particular a sense of security and belonging. They (we) have already encountered it and got used to it long before they (we) enter university – in school, in popular culture (Pettersson 2003; Holtorf 2004a, b, 2007; Högberg 2004b), and perhaps most importantly in their (our) own homes and the metaphors of the language they (we) speak.

As we remember, Swedish heritage management (later followed by scientific archaeology) has since the seventeenth century been an essentially nationalistic undertaking. Until the 1970s, this was largely taken for granted and hardly ever

discussed in any critical manner. Now, however, postcolonial writings and an increasingly international scope of cultural consumption have challenged this worldview in most areas of Swedish cultural life (e.g., McEachrane and Faye 2001, Matthis 2005; Azar 2006; Motturi 2007). Immigrants from many parts of the world have also challenged the traditional understanding of what it means to be Swedish. The traditional narratives of Swedish archaeology and heritage management are still communicated through popular culture (mainly television), primary school education and local narratives around specific sites and phenomena, where they now meet a society with different definitions of Sweden and what is Swedish. The fact that there are diverging definitions of Swedishness, have to some extent forced the agents of heritage management and archaeology to rethink their positions over the last couple of decades. However, in popular culture, school education, media, and in the minds of politically-engaged and educated middle class, archaeology and heritage management still represent tradition and stability, and should present scientific proofs of stable ethnic groups and natural gender roles. Here, the past is a safe harbour in a turbulent present. Despite the diverging definitions of Swedishness in society at large, a safe harbour in a turbulent present is what most Swedish people today expect from archaeology and heritage management. Museums, heritage organizations, and official research institutions that need to be attractive to the general public in order to reach their institutional goals hence strive to meet these demands (albeit often in overt contradiction to rhetorical emphases on inclusiveness and tolerance), and increasingly emphasize “true” Swedish things such as the Vikings. Nationalistic classics like the Vikings are also useful as tourist magnets and for easy-going entertainment purposes, which is increasingly important in museums’ and heritage institutions’ fights for market shares. The nineteenth-century nationalistic ideas underlining ethnic exclusiveness are easily, and often unknowingly, communicated to the public as fundamental and essential traditions, with narratives disguised as hard science. The traditional master-narrative of Our Swedish culture history, if somewhat damaged by critical perspectives in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, now slowly seem to be restored. There are attempts to critically unveil and work against such simple neo-nationalistic narratives (e.g., Svanberg 2003; Burström 2004; Högberg 2004a; Cassel 2008; Karlsson 1998; Nilsson-Stutz 2009). But besides these, there are also tendencies in Swedish archaeology and heritage management towards a reconstruction of an earlier nationalistic master-narrative, a narrative that presents heritage as essentially Ours, and thus plays with the existential connections between Being, heritage, and prehistory.

Yet, it is clear that university researchers as well as archaeologists involved in contract archaeology and heritage management are becoming aware of the problems that traditional Swedish contract archaeology, university research, and heritage management are facing in the contemporary world and in the near future. The *Handbook of Contract Archaeology* may, of course, be seen as a desperate act by an authority loosing its central position in a changing field, but it is a desperate act with consequences. We find ourselves in a turbulent situation where the steady foundations of the field are moving beneath our feet, and a *Handbook for Contract Archaeology* is not the only (nor the best) way to move forward. Such a turbulent

situation is also an opportunity to introduce new approaches and understandings of heritage. The question is what will emerge from the present, so clearly contradictory, status quo. Will Swedish archaeology and heritage management miss the opportunity to incorporate new understandings of heritage, or will it resort to the struggles of the field that is so central in Bourdieu's analysis?

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Oscillating Between National and International: The Case of Finnish Archaeology

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Sketching Out the Stereotype

Although not always explicitly stated, a common stereotype appears repeatedly in international archaeological debates and canonized versions of the history of archaeology. To put it bluntly, Finnish archaeology is placed at the farthest periphery of scholarship, and due to its national introverted nature, is seen as always lagging behind when compared with West European and North American archaeologies. In the second edition of Bruce G. Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought* (2006), Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) is the only Finnish archaeologist mentioned, mainly because of one article by him available in English. While the other Nordic countries, including Russia, are mentioned in the index of Trigger's book, Finland is not referred to at all. Although this stereotype can be justified to a certain extent, the case of Finnish archaeology is much more complicated, and the presented chapter attempts to discuss its complexity and how it affects Finnish archaeology in comparison to international scholarship. Here we argue a case of mutual influence, Finnish archaeology influences the outside world, and conversely Finnish archaeologists are inspired by outside ideas.

The first major problem with Finnish archaeology refers to defining the term. What does “Finnish archaeology” mean and could one speak of “Finnish archaeology” as a continuous tradition or a coherent phenomenon? The usual attempt is to refer to the archaeological fieldwork carried out within Finnish geographical or administrative borders and to scholarship based on such research. But the borders have not been constant and shifted considerably throughout the modern period (cf. Haapala 2007). The last major territorial change was introduced after 1945 when Finland lost large areas of Karelia, Salla, and Petsamo to the Soviet Union. Moreover, many Finnish-born archaeologists made considerable contributions to the study of the origins of the Finno-Ugric people, or to eastern

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European prehistory in general, extending the scope of “Finnish archaeology” geographically into Russia (Salminen 2003). In spite of these problems, the geographical entrenchment has largely formed the limits of the Finnish archaeological discourse. Although classical archaeology, for example, has been practiced by Finnish scholars since the eighteenth century, the archaeological research carried out by Finns in such areas as the Mediterranean, Africa, and South America has only recently engaged in the Finnish archaeological discussion. This is largely due to the fact that the Finnish scholars interested in classical archaeology have mainly been philologists applying archaeological methods to aid their studies, and to the very small number of Finnish archaeologists working in these disciplinary subfields before the 1990s.

The case is equally difficult when the nationality of scholars is taken as the starting point. The overwhelming majority of scholars working with the Finnish archaeological materials were born in Finland, but a number of foreign scholars have worked with more or less the same materials and issues. In addition to some Swedish and Russian archaeologists, Grahame Clark (1952), Marija Gimbutas (1956), and Marek Zvelebil (1981) are examples of such non-Finnish archaeologists analyzing the Finnish material as part of their work, and recently Professor Milton Núñez has come into the disciplinary field of Finnish archaeology from outside the country.

An essential characteristic of Finnish archaeology is its establishment and development in close connection with nationalism. In Finnish nationalism, language has been a central concept, and this reflects on the understanding of Finnish archaeology. Languages have played their role as ethnic signatures traced back to prehistory and as markers of identities for contemporary archaeologists with political and cultural ramifications (see e.g., Petersson 2007). Even if this is not always acknowledged, Finland is a multilingual and multicultural country with Finnish and Swedish being the two most commonly spoken languages. Both are official, equally treated languages, but their use still carries political implications, although these were particularly meaningful in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Finnish nationalism set up a social context for the use of archaeology and, in effect, the legal and economic basis for funding the discipline. Specifically, the developments of legislation to protect cultural heritage and the administration of ancient monuments have been closely defined by the political status quo, not in the form of direct intervention but as an ideological background. Moreover, the state controls the organization of archaeological research through heritage preservation institutions and as provider of the infrastructure and funding for academic-based research.

Despite the undeniable ties of Finnish archaeology to the state, there remains a serious question whether the institutional basis has affected the ways in which archaeologists have answered their research questions. To what extent can archaeology as a discipline be separated from the state’s interests and the public beliefs and uses of the past? According to Derek Fewster (1999, 2006), the focus of Finnish archaeology on certain chronological periods has shifted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and these changes have been dictated by the wider social need for a national past. The origins of archaeology as a discipline can indeed be told

from a national point of view, and the study of the origins of the Finnish language and its speakers has played a significant role in the debates of Finnish archaeology. Even major changes in theoretical and methodological approaches can be seen as answers to contemporary nationalist demands, for example the overt emphasis on empiricism and descriptive attitude after the Second World War, which will be discussed later.

Separately the geographical borders of the country, the ethnic origins of scholars, or nationalism do not contribute to defining Finnish archaeology, but together they form a sturdy foundation for a strong and homogenous tradition. Foreigners may find familiarization with it too complicated. Besides, the majority of archaeological publications are still printed in Finnish which is not particularly suited to attract an international readership. In addition to the linguistic constraints, idiosyncrasies of the political and cultural history of the country as well as the geographic and intellectual distance from western European archaeology have all contributed to the stereotype of Finnish archaeology. It remains mostly invisible to Anglo-American archaeology, and even to Scandinavian archaeology, especially in terms of theory.

The regional and interregional flows of ideas and interests in Finnish archaeology are not easily separable, as it is often thought. The concept of nationalism, the cornerstone of Finnish archaeology, in fact teases out the concept of internationalism. Even if they seem to be antithetical concepts, however, or rather social and institutional processes, nationalism and internationalism do not exclude each other. The tension and difference between the two constitute the matter from which both processes emerge, forming the basis of modernity, as Liah Greenfeld (1995) argues, or as we argue in this paper, of modern Finnish archaeology.

As diverse and ambiguous as the relation between nationalism and internationalism, is the relationship between the public uses of the past and archaeology as an academic discipline. They are definitely interlinked, at least through the economy and infrastructure, but are still to some extent distinct social processes. The complexity of the inquiry in the present article increases even further when the conceptual pairs of nationalism – internationalism and public uses – academic discipline are brought together. However, to untie the tangle, the basic outlines of the history of archaeological research, its central practitioners, and their careers will first need to be sketched. The essential characteristic of the Finnish case is the low number of scholars working in archaeology which has led to a notion of high importance of individuals and their choices and preferences for the development of the whole field.

After discussing the internal functioning of archaeological research, we analyze its interaction with the wider social and economic context. Such organization of the argumentation follows the common model of writing disciplinary histories (Golinski 1990; Snead 1999). An overview of the developmental stages of Finnish archaeology combined with the analysis of the socioeconomic structure of the discipline provide elements needed to scrutinize the interaction between regional and international research problems and theoretical influences in Finnish archaeology. Further support for final conclusions is sought from statistics on the publications of Finnish archaeology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Finnish Archaeology from the Seventeenth Century to Johan Reinhold Aspelin

The institutional and economic support for archaeology in Finland, even before it was established as a modern academic discipline with a defined identity, was state organized. From the early Middle Ages, or c. 1200, to 1809 the area of present-day Finland was a province in the Kingdom of Sweden. The emerging scholarly interest in the Finnish past was part of the Swedish policies and efforts to assert a magnificent past especially after Sweden became a major player on the European political scene during the seventeenth century.

The new role of the Swedish state in European politics gave an impetus for drawing up the first heritage legislation, and the establishment of a state agency for the care of ancient remains (Härö 1985). A more tangible motivation for these developments came from the value of ancient coins and hoards of precious metals found in the ground and considered as the property of the Crown. The office of state antiquarian was created in 1630, and in 1666, a royal proclamation declared prehistoric sites and other nationally important antiquarian monuments to be under the protection of the state (Schück 1932–1944; Nordman 1968:11–12). Consequently, the Collegium of Antiquities, later renamed the Antiquarian Archives, was founded in 1692. As a continuation of this tradition, the heritage laws were augmented several times during the eighteenth century (Härö 1984:9–22).

In Finland, the earliest research, or rather collection of information on ancient monuments was carried out by the clergy. Already in 1666, the ecclesiastical authorities were exhorted to inquire about archaeological sites and finds in parishes. Local clergy composed lists of ancient monuments in their parishes in Finland in the 1670s and again in the 1740s (Nordman 1968:12–13). In the late eighteenth century, a group of clerical collectors even conducted small excavations to extract finds mainly in Ostrobothnia, and published the results in newspapers. These articles described, among other things, castles (Idman 1775), hillforts (Lencqvist 1776), cairns (Indrenius 1777; Ganander 1782), and the history of Sámi settlement (Lencqvist 1778).

Through their university education, many churchmen had a connection with the Academy of Turku, and in particular with Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804) (Tallgren 1936a:202–203), who is considered the father of Finnish historiography (Fig. 1). In the spirit of the Enlightenment, Porthan was interested in the earliest history of the country. He was a polymath of the humanities, and among his substantial range of publications there is a seminal study on Finnish folk poetry, *De poësi Fennica* (1766–1768, 1778) (Porthan 1939–2007: Vol. IX), which reflects Porthan's interest in the origins of the Finnish language. He also discussed the ethnicity of the builders of the ancient monuments in Finland, and advocated the new idea that the Finno-Ugric peoples, a linguistic group covering the area from North Scandinavia to Siberia, had common roots (Vilkuna 2006:196). Through his works, Porthan did his part among other Swedish scholars in overthrowing the pre- and early modern understanding of the past based on the Bible. Although the early archaeological studies were limited to descriptions of monuments and the finds



Fig. 1 The statue of Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804) sculptured by Carl Eneas Sjöstrand (1828–1906) and unveiled in a festive ceremony in Porthan Park, near the national monument of Turku Cathedral in 1864. As the oldest public statue in Finland, it originated the still-living tradition of erecting monumental statues for national heroes. Porthan was conceived as the pioneering figure in the creation of the understanding of the Finns as an independent and unique nation (Lindgren 2000:19–20, 23). A postcard from the early twentieth century

discovered, the ethnicity of their builders was already of scholarly interest. Following Porthan's model, the question of ethnicity was now considered in connection with the new ideas on languages and their affinities (Rantanen 1997).

As a man of the Enlightenment, Porthan was interested in the classics and the Greco-Roman Antiquity. He was the first in the Nordic countries to give lectures on classical archaeology in the late eighteenth century (Jarva 2000). Porthan never visited Italy or conducted fieldwork there, but his contemporary, Carl Fredrik Fredenheim (1748–1803), son of the Bishop of Turku and a high official at the royal court, directed excavations at the Forum Romanum in Rome in 1788 and revealed the real extent of the forum (Tarkiainen 2000). Fredenheim had no scholarly ambitions, although he played a major role in the development of the museum institutions in Sweden. After Porthan and Fredenheim, lecturing on classical archaeology continued in Turku and later in Helsinki, but this classical streak was superseded by Romantic nationalism.

The late eighteenth-century texts exhibit the general notions of historical chronology and progress, ideas central for the Enlightenment. In 1821, the linguist Reinhold von Becker (1788–1858) published an article titled *Metalleista* (On metals), where he presented the three-period system and introduced technological comparisons between the ancients and the Native Americans (von Becker 1821). The scheme was extended to Finnish prehistory by the Reverend Jacob Fellman (1795–1875).

In 1846, he wrote *Fornlemningar från Stenåldern funna uti Österbotten i Finland* (Remains from the Stone Age found in Ostrobothnia, Finland), the first Finnish archaeological article published in an international archaeological journal, the Danish *Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* (Fellman 1846). Fellman argued that the oldest tools used in Finland were of stone, wood, and bone, and noted that the prehistoric tools found at topographically higher sites appeared cruder than the ones discovered from lower areas.

The mid-nineteenth century marked a turning point in the development of archaeological scholarship in Finland. The clergy continued to be influential at the local level in the role of disseminating knowledge on ancient monuments as well as informing parishioners of the significance of sites, and scholars of new finds. Their importance in archaeology was nevertheless gradually surpassed by academic scholars specialized in history, and later in archaeology.

Another crucial political change in the early nineteenth century was the Russo-Swedish War in 1808–1809, which led Sweden to cede Finland to Russia, which granted the country the political status of an autonomous Grand Duchy. This change gradually led to the establishment of the cultural nationalist and romantic Fennomania Movement, and its need for creating a distinct Finnish past and culture. The Russian authorities initially allowed the movement to flourish because they were more afraid of old ties between the Swedish-speaking elite and Sweden than local nationalism. Although the Finnish elite remained academically turned towards Scandinavia, there was never a real political threat of Finland being rejoined with Sweden.

The interest in prehistory as the history of the Finns was not a self-evident phenomenon. In 1843, Zachris Topelius (1818–1898), later a professor of history, asked in his famous speech *Äger Finska folket en historie?* (Do the Finnish people have a history?), whether a unique Finnish history was possible. Adopting rigidly Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's position, his answer to the question was negative (Topelius 1845). Finland was neither an independent state nor even an established political unit before the autonomy which gave the Finnish nation agency in the movement of history. Topelius' view, however, did not limit the study of the past since Fennomania held dear the idea that the Finnish language, more than pure political history, was the key factor in the creation of an independent Finnish culture and identity (Ahtiainen and Tervonen 1996:42–44; Haapala 1998). In the interpretation of the ethnic past, language together with the epic folk poem Kalevala, compiled by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) and published in the 1830s and 1840s, held the central position (Fewster 2008).

Around the mid-nineteenth century, Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), the founder of Finno-Ugric philology, initiated the archaeological study of the Finnish past. His importance was in presenting the idea of a common original home for the Finno-Ugric languages (Nordman 1968:14–19). In 1849, Castrén gave an influential speech *Hvar låg det finska folkets vagga?* (Where did the cradle of the Finnish people lie?), in which he, on the basis of linguistic comparisons, argued that the Finnish language, and thus the people, are related to the Samoyedic, Turkic, and Mongolian peoples with their common origins in the Altai Mountains (Castrén 1858). This Altai theory dominated until the end of the nineteenth century.

Since the origins of the Finns were thought to lie in the Altai Mountains, an interest rose in the study of the archaeological material and inscriptions of the Turkic and Altai regions.

Castrén (1870a) also published some explicitly archaeological texts. In them, he first thought that the cairns of western Finland had been made by Scandinavians, but later, under the influence of the Swedish historian Sven Nilsson's *Skandinaviska nordens ur-invånare* (Nilsson 1838–1843), published in English as *The Primitive Inhabitants of the Scandinavian North* (Nilsson 1868), and Riga-born German Johann Karl Bähr's *Die Gräber der Liven* (The burials of the Livonians) (Bähr 1850), Castrén came to the conclusion that they were the work of the Finnish people. He directed actual archaeological excavations of burial mounds only in the Minusinsk area in Siberia. In the subsequent publication, Castrén (1870b) suggests again that the origins of the Finnish tribe must be traced back to the Altai Mountains.

During the 1850s and 1860s, archaeological excavations in Finland began to be carried out by historians. The first doctoral dissertation in archaeology was by Karl August Bomansson (1827–1906), director of the National Archives. The work, published in 1858, is titled *Om Ålands fornminnen* (On the ancient monuments of the Åland Islands). It describes c. 60 mounds which he partly excavated, and focuses on ethnic identification suggesting the Lappish, Celtic, or German group as the islands' ancient settlers. Historian Karl Ferdinand Ignatius (1837–1909) together with historian Georg Zacharias Yrjö-Koskinen (1830–1903) excavated a cairn in Janakkala, Häme (Koskinen and Ignatius 1866), and Yrjö-Koskinen (1862) defended his dissertation *Tiedot Suomen-suwun muinaisuudesta* (What is known of the ancient past of the Finnish people) in 1862 (Sainio 2000).

The collection of the Helsinki University Museum was gradually built in the wake of increasing interest about the past. Eventually, in the 1850s, mineralogist and geologist Henrik Johan Holmberg (1818–1864) organized the ethnographic and archaeological collections according to the Scandinavian three-period system. The collections were published in 1863 as an illustrated catalogue in two parts *Förteckning och afbildningar af finska fornlemningar: I. Stenåldern: II. Bronsåldern* (Illustrated catalogue of Finnish archaeological remains: I. Stone Age: II. Bronze Age) (Holmberg 1863).

Although Matthias Alexander Castrén created a paradigm for the Finnish archaeology that focused on the origins of the Finno-Ugric people – the paradigm combining the Finnish people, ethnicity, language, and material culture together into a single research agenda is still topical – he is not considered to be the founding father of Finnish archaeology. In his seminal account *Archaeology in Finland before 1920*, Carl Axel Nordman (1968) divided the history of Finnish archaeology into two parts represented by different generations of scholars, and Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) is the sole representative of the first one. From the 1860s onwards Aspelin, as a keen Fennomaniac, became the key figure in the organization of archaeological research, the development of university teaching, and the creation of the modern system of heritage management.

The Finnish Antiquarian Society was founded in 1870, while the Decree on the Protection of Ancient Monuments, issued in 1883, replaced old decrees inherited from the Swedish period (Härö 1984:60–101). The new legislation led to the

founding of the Archaeological Bureau in 1884, renamed the Archaeological Commission in 1908, which was charged with the general care of the country's ancient monuments. The present-day National Board of Antiquities (NBA) is a direct descendant of that organization. In 1885, Aspelin was appointed as the first state archaeologist, and he held the position until 1915 (Salminen 2001).

In addition to the organizational work, Aspelin also produced a number of groundbreaking works on the Finnish past. He studied archaeology under the direction of Oscar Montelius, but he was also taught by Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, Hans Hildebrand, and Sophus Müller in Denmark and Sweden in the 1860s and 1870s, and he even studied for a while at the University of Moscow. Aspelin's (1875) dissertation *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (Elements of Finno-Ugric archaeology) followed Castrén's linguistic paradigm and concluded that the Finnish tribe had originated in the Altai Mountains and the plains of the Yenisei River, and migrated to the Ural Mountains during the Bronze Age. After the dissertation, he compiled the five-volume work *Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumus-aloilta*, or *Antiquités du nord finno-ougrien* (Aspelin 1877–1884), a monumental publication with some 2,200 illustrations, which remained the main source of Finno-Ugric archaeology for decades.

Aspelin's view of the prehistory of Finland was sketched out in his booklet *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana* (The Finnish population during the heathen era) (1885). He claimed that the settlement of the country by the ancestors of the modern Finns took place in the Late Iron Age around 700 AD, when they migrated from the Carpathian Mountains under the pressure of the Huns and Slavs. According to Aspelin, a part of the Finno-Ugric tribes had settled in the Carpathians during the Bronze Age. His argumentation was based on philological evidence, not material traces.

In 1878, Aspelin was granted the position of professor extraordinary in Nordic Archaeology; Nordic referring to the Scandinavian methodology. His professorship in archaeology was one of the earliest in Europe. Holding the central positions both in academia and in the heritage administration, Aspelin was the leading figure in the education of the second generation of archaeologists who knew him as the Uncle (Salminen 2001). Despite consolidation of archaeology as a discipline in the late nineteenth century, Finnish archaeology still remained rather removed from the western European trends even though Scandinavian archaeology was in the scholarly forefront. The specialty of Finnish archaeology, however, was its competence in the Finno-Ugric prehistory of Eurasia (Fig. 2).

The Emergence of Specialization and the Interwar Years

In 1915, a member of the second generation, Hjalmar Appelgren (1853–1937), or later Appelgren-Kivalo, succeeded Aspelin as state archaeologist. He held the post until 1926 (Nordman 1968:39–42). For his doctoral thesis *Suomen muinaislinnat* (Finland's ancient hillforts) (Appelgren 1891), Appelgren visited over 100 hillforts, undertook excavations in some of them and as a result dated them to the Late Iron Age. He relied



Fig. 2 Hungarians Béla Pósta (1862–1919) and János Jankó (1868–1902) visiting the Iron Age burial ground of Päivääniemi in Lempäälä in 1897. Pósta became a professor of archaeology, while Jankó was a leading ethnologist in his country and searched for the origins of the Hungarian people in the East (Lehtonen 1972:36–38). He took the Finnish ethnologist Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929) along on his journeys to Russia. In a similar vein as Jankó, Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) traced the origins the Finno-Ugric people to the East. Photo by H. J. Heikel

on the typological method more than Aspelin, and thus most of the thesis consists of plain site descriptions. Appelgren (1897) engaged in a debate on ethnicity with Oscar Montelius. In the article *Svenskarnas inflyttning till Finland* (The immigration of the Swedes into Finland), Appelgren argued that the Late Iron Age population was Finnish by ethnicity, while the Swedish-speaking settlers arrived later in the Middle Ages. The origin of the Swedish people in Finland has since remained an issue of, at times, heated debate with some extreme factions among the Swedish-speaking minority, arguing that the Swedes have lived in Finland since prehistoric times (see Engman 1999). Among his many articles, Appelgren (1901) published a pioneering piece on the potential of urban excavations in Turku.

Other representatives of the second generation were not exclusively archaeologists as Appelgren-Kivalo. Petter Theodor Schvindt's (1851–1917) first interest was ethnography and museology (Haltsonen 1947), although his doctoral dissertation *Tietoja Karjalan rautakaudesta* (Notes on the Iron Age in Karelia) (Schvindt 1893) is based on extensive excavations of burial grounds in Karelia. His ethnographic background is apparent in the methodology he uses. For example, the study has no chronological references, or cross-regional comparisons of finds. Instead, Schvindt was more interested in reconstructing the living conditions, technology, and livelihood as reflected by the grave goods. His contemporary, Axel Olai Heikel (1851–1924), was also an ethnographer and a specialist in

Finno-Ugric textiles and building customs. He led several excavations in Finland and in the Minusinsk area (Niiranen 1987). The field whether archaeology or museology was still undifferentiated allowing pioneering scholars to be highly versatile.

Although the archaeologists of the second generation already showed preferences for certain chronological periods in their studies, the actual specialization begins with the third, when the number of archaeologists in the Archaeological Commission increased to the extent that the emergence of niches became possible both in fieldwork and academic studies. This specialization is apparent in the works of Alfred Hackman, Julius Edward Ailio, and Juhani Rinne, who all had an interest in different periods of Finnish prehistory and history.

The oldest of the three, Hackman (1864–1942), took a degree in Nordic History, but studied archaeology under Aspelin as well as Oscar Montelius, from whom he adopted the typological method, although he was also somewhat interested in ethnic questions. Hackman was one of the leading experts on the Early and Middle Iron Age in Finland and in Northern and Eastern Europe in general (Nordman 1968:45–50).

Hackman's doctoral thesis *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland* (1905) put an end to the earlier theory on the origins of Finns, and introduced a new one that was to last for 70 years. The new migration theory was based, in contrast to previous studies, purely on archaeological evidence, and philological argumentation played only a secondary part in it. According to Hackman (1905), the Finns gradually moved to Finland from the coastal area of Estonia soon after the beginning of the Christian era. On the Baltic shores, they had adopted influences from East-Germanic or Gothic tribes. The migration occurred in family units, not in tribes, which formed in Finland only after the new population had settled down. The Finnish settlement emerged first in Southwest Finland, Lower Satakunta, and South Ostrobothnia, where it spread inland via the Kokemäki River. The Karelian Finns, in contrast, migrated mainly from the east.

If Hackman was an expert in the Iron Age, Julius Edvard Ailio (1872–1933) represented the leading Stone Age scholarship (Nordman 1968:50–53; Vilkkuna 1978; Autio 1999). He graduated in 1900 with a degree in Nordic and Russian history as his majors in addition to studies in Finno-Ugric philology, geology, and chemistry. The year before he had become an assistant at the State Historical Museum, now the National Museum of Finland, he was in charge of organizing the Stone Age material. His two-volume work titled *Die steinzeitlichen Wohnplatzfunde in Finland* (!) (Ailio 1909) is a synthesis of older materials and the new settlement site material he excavated. He was also interested in the eastern Stone Age as the monograph *Fragen der russischen Steinzeit* (Ailio 1922) demonstrates. Because of his wide geographical competence in the Stone Age, Ailio had a large contact network, which included Vere Gordon Childe.

Like Hackman, Ailio rigorously applied the typological and chronological methods, calling the former one the “genetic-comparative” method (Lehtonen 1972:242), used petrogllyphical and osteological analyses and generally followed the scientific views of Montelius in his studies. In addition, he showed a geological interest in the relationship between the Stone Age sites and changes in coastlines. He even presented

a theory that the Stone-Age Comb Ceramic Culture¹ was in fact Finno-Ugric in its origins and no breaks had occurred in the settlement of Finland during the prehistoric period. But Ailio's idea was not received well as it did not conform to the consensus reached after Hackman's studies.

Following the First World War and the Russian Revolution, Finland gained its independence in December 1917, and plunged into a civil war in the following spring. These two events shifted the focus of the nation-building and affected the public uses of the past (e.g., Ahtiainen and Tervonen 1996:62–64). The construction of Finnish culture was replaced by more militaristic, right-wing-minded politics which emphasized the independence of the Finnish state and, as its precursor, of the Finnish tribes (Fewster 2000a, b). According to Fewster, during the interwar period, scholarly archaeology and antiquarianism diverged from the nationalistic and public sphere. This is also reflected in his own study *Visions of Past Glory* (2006), which sketches broad outlines for an intimate relationship between art history, archaeology and the nation-building in Finland up to the Second World War. In the chapters discussing the years before 1917 the interrelations of academia and the popular imagination are prominently present, while after 1917 Fewster abandons scholarly studies and shifts his focus on studying the masses' perception about their national past. As the origins of the Finns were considered a solidly settled issue, popular interest moved more to the Late Iron Age, an age conceived as the last period of the independence of the Finnish tribes before the arrival of the foreign powers.

As a symptom of the interwar militarization, the ethno-linguistic confrontations between Finnish-minded and Swedish-minded parties had a major influence on cultural politics despite the language law of 1922, which secured equal rights for the speakers of both languages. However, in parallel with the intensified importance of the past in school curricula, and the education of the public, the gap between popular beliefs and academic approaches widened. The latter underscored the need to maintain scholarly neutrality. This was mainly due to the dominant position of Aarne Michaël Tallgren, most internationally known Finnish archaeologist of the time.

Tallgren received his degree in Helsinki, but also attended lectures by Oscar Montelius and Oscar Almgren (Kivikoski 1954). His work was a continuation of Aspelin's interest in prehistory, especially the Bronze Age, of Eastern Europe and Siberia. Tallgren (1911) defended his thesis *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland I* (reprinted as Tallgren 1919) for which he received a crushing critique from Julius Ailio (1912). As a consequence, until 1920 Tallgren focused on homeland research and teaching of history. That year he was invited to the professorship of archaeology at Tartu University, Estonia, where he was given the task of organizing the academic research and teaching of archaeology in the country. After three years in Tartu, Tallgren became the first holder of the chair in archaeology at the University of Helsinki in 1923 (Salminen 1993).

Tallgren had a wide international network of colleagues including Oscar Almgren, Herbert Jahnkuhn, Gustav Kossinna, Herbert Kühn, Adolf Mahr, Nikolay Marr,

¹Editor's note: The Neolithic Period culture of northeastern European foragers.

Oscar Montelius, Sophus Müller, Max von Oppenheim, Sir Flinders Petrie, Aleksandr Spitsyn, and Joachim Werner. Childe acknowledged the importance of Tallgren's studies for his archaeological thought. Besides his international research interests, Tallgren is known due to the series *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, or ESA, which he founded in 1926 and kept running for 12 volumes until 1938 (Kokkonen 1985). The journal evolved into a joint forum of western and eastern archaeologists interested in the study of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia. In 1940, during the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union, Tallgren was awarded the golden medal of the Society of Antiquaries of London for his studies on the prehistory of the Eurasian continent.

Tallgren's (1934) international fame persists to the present day largely because of his article originally titled *Oman itsensä kanssa painiskeleva muinaistiede* (Archaeology wrestling with itself) and written in Finnish in 1934, and published in the ESA in French (Tallgren 1936c). The editor of the journal *Antiquity*, Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, with whom Tallgren had an intensive correspondence, was enthusiastic about the French version, and eventually translated the text and had it published in English in 1937 (Tallgren 1937). The article is also available in Polish and Spanish (Tallgren 1936b, 1941).

Tallgren's article has often been read as a refutation of the cultural historical approach in archaeology and a prelude to processual and perhaps even post-processual approaches. He questioned the scientific value of typology and considered archaeology to be the study of the economic and social past as well as the history of religious phenomena rather than a method for constructing cultural chronologies. Tallgren especially rejected the dominant concept of ethnicity in archaeology which, without a proper basis, associated certain archaeological cultures with certain ethnicities. To him the fact of belonging to the same archaeological culture did not necessarily imply ethnic affinity. Using the Baroque style as a parallel, Tallgren demonstrated how misleading the concept of archaeological culture can be if it is defined only on the basis of the style of artefacts. Later generations, particularly representatives of functionalism and the New Archaeology have found Tallgren's ideas refreshing. For instance, Grahame Clark was "greatly influenced by his stand against typology" in his own "move towards concentrating on the role of artefacts especially in economic life" (Clark to Taavitsainen 14.3.1986; Clark 1989:58). However, Tallgren's article should perhaps be read more in the context of contemporary German and Soviet archaeologies, which he criticized for subjecting archaeology to fulfilling political ambitions. It is worth noting that Tallgren did not follow the ideas he presented in his own studies, which largely remained within the cultural historical paradigm.

At the same time when the chair in archaeology in Helsinki was established, there were attempts to establish another academic chair in "Finnish historical archaeology and cultural history" at the Finnish University in Turku in the early 1920s (Immonen and Taavitsainen 2008). Since its inception in 1920 the university was predominantly a Finnish-speaking institution in contrast to the University of Helsinki, which was officially bilingual, and the Swedish-speaking Åbo Akademi University founded in Turku in 1918. The new professorship was initially tailored for Juhani Rinne (1872–1950), a specialist in historical archaeology (Fig. 3). However, his allegiance to Finnish culture was questioned in local newspapers – one of the claims was that



Fig. 3 Carl Axel Nordman (1892–1972) and Vere Gordon Childe (1892–1957) having a break during an archaeological excursion in Scotland in 1932

he used Swedish at home – and eventually, fearing the reactions of its patrons, the university had no choice but to abandon the plan for the new chair. Despite this setback, Rinne wrote a series of seminal studies on Finnish mediaeval sites (Gardberg 2006). He conducted high-profile excavations at the site of the early mediaeval Bishop's Palace and Church of Koroinen near Turku at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rinne (1914) defended his thesis *Suomen keskiaikaiset mäkilinnat I* (Finland's mediaeval hillforts) in 1914, and directed major restorations of the Turku Cathedral (Rinne 1941–1952) and the Turku Castle in the 1920s and 1930s. He served as the state archaeologist in 1929–1935.

Sakari Pälsi (1885–1965), who was of the same age as Tallgren, followed Ailio as an archaeologist specializing in the Stone Age period (Nordman 1968:54–55). In 1914, Pälsi conducted his famous excavations at a wetland site in Vuoksenranta, Antrea, which revealed the remains of the then oldest fishnet in the world. His thesis *Riukjärven ja Piiskunsalmen kivikautiset asuinpaikat Kaukolassa* (The Stone Age settlement sites of Riukjärvi and Piiskunsalmi in Kaukola) (Pälsi 1915) presents functional analyses of the position of Stone Age dwelling sites in relation to the changes of land uplift, with which he attempts to reconstruct ancient shorelines. Although his work was theoretically unsystematic and unarticulated, Pälsi was a pioneer in experimental archaeology and interpreted prehistoric finds on the basis of ethnographic parallels. In addition to making his results accessible to a wider public, he was also a significant novelist. In his later years, Pälsi mostly abandoned archaeology in favour of ethnological studies.

Also Aarne Europaeus (1887–1971), Äyräpää after 1930, made his career studying the Stone Age, but his approach was much more systematic and disciplined (Huurte 1989). He defended his thesis *Über die Streitaxtkulturen in Russland* in 1933, but his more significant work was published three years earlier. Although the

study *Die relative Chronologie der Steinzeitlichen Keramik in Finnland* (Äyräpää 1930) represented only a secondary line in his studies, it established the typology and relative chronology of the Stone Age ceramics which is still in use (Siiriäinen 1989). Äyräpää worked in the Archaeological Commission for most of his career, but held the position of professor extraordinary in archaeology 1938–1954. Like Tallgren, Äyräpää had a wide international contact network.

Another well-connected archaeologist was Carl Axel Nordman (1892–1972), who began his research career as Stone Age specialist, but changed his focus to the Iron Age and numismatics and finally to mediaeval art history (Meinander 1991). Rather exceptionally, Nordman wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Danish Megalithic culture, *Studier öfver gånggriftskulturen i Danmark* (Studies on the Passage Grave Culture in Denmark) (Nordman 1918), under Sophus Müller's supervision. It is a pity that another monograph by Nordman, *Den yngre stenåldern i Mellan-, Väst- och Nordeuropa* (The younger Stone Age in Central, West, and North Europe) (Nordman 1927), available also in Danish, was never translated into English, since it is a major synthesis of the Neolithic Period in Europe. Even the Rhind Lecture of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which Nordman gave in 1932 on the Megalithic culture of northern Europe (Fig. 4), did not receive the attention it deserved as it was only published in the series of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1935. Childe wrote to Nordman (1935) in a letter that:



Fig. 4 Juhani Rinne (1872–1950) searching through filing cards at the archive of the Archaeological Commission in the early twentieth century. The two women on the *right*, Mary Nielsen (standing) and Siri Brunou (sitting), were volunteers helping the commission with routine tasks. They are surrounded by portraits of Finnish cultural male heroes. The painter Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905) is depicted in a picture on the *left*, while busts of the national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877) and Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884), the compiler of the national epic poem Kalevala, have been placed on top of the cabinet on the *right*

It is too sickening that none of our publishers had the enterprise to take it for publication in England. [...] The Antiquaries will certainly be delighted, but it is a pity that SMYA [the journal of the Finnish Antiquarian Society] is not a very accessible publication (Childe to Nordman 29.3.1935).

Nevertheless, Nordman was well-known to the leading scholars of the Neolithic Period of his day and corresponded, in addition to Childe, with Grahame Clark, who used the information provided by Nordman in his studies of the prehistoric paleoeconomy and means of transportation (Clark 1952). Between 1939 and 1956, Nordman was the state archaeologist following the short Rinne's appointment.

A native speaker of Swedish, Nordman was an enthusiastic supporter of the Swedish language, although his opinions did not, at least overtly, affect his decisions as state archaeologist on policies or studies in archaeology, numismatics, and mediaeval art history. Nordman expressed his position in a letter to his sister:

I am afraid that the Swedish craze has bitten many of us too hard. Naturally Swedishness is a benefit and strength to us. [...] But we should not forget that there is something called Finland, and in spite of everything it is more and larger than Uusimaa province [where Swedish is an important minority language and the capital is located], etc. (quoted in Petersson 2007:140).

A Swedish-speaking background has many times orientated scholars to such international fields of study as mediaeval and classical archaeology. A case in point is Johannes Sundwall (1877–1966), who as the professor of the classical history and literature at the Åbo Akademi University in 1921–1945 made significant contributions to the study of Mediterranean protohistory. He wrote extensively on numismatics, Etruscology, and the Minoan and Mycenaean linear scripts (Aro 2007). However, it is symptomatic of classical archaeology in Finland that Sundwall did not have any training in archaeology or even art history, but applied historiographic and linguistic methods to archaeological material.

There was, however, a group of Swedish-speaking scholars with more charged research interests. Tor Evert Karsten (1870–1942), a professor of Germanic philology and later of Nordic philology, studied the cultural contacts of prehistoric Finns and Germanic people (Öhmann 1954). In *Fragen aus dem Gebiete der germanisch-finnischen Berührungen* (Karsten 1922), *Germanerna* (The Germans) (Karsten 1925, published in German in 1928 (Karsten 1928), and in French in 1931 (Karsten 1931)) and *Finnar och germaner* (Finns and Germans) (Karsten 1943), he argued that Germanic loanwords in Finnish are much older than other scholars like the Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen had earlier claimed, and using place names suggested that the Scandinavian settlement on the Finnish coasts had prehistoric origins.

More extreme interpretations were presented by Hugo Ekhammar (1880–1955), a doctor in Swedish philology, modernist writer, and active political debater. In *Det forntida Östersverige och svenskdomen* (The prehistoric East Sweden and Swedishness) (Ekhammar 1944), he argued that the Åland Islands, southwestern Finland, and Ostrobothnia formed the eastern part of a prehistoric Swedish realm.

The tradition followed by the Swedish-speaking scholars who attempted to create a magnificent, prehistoric past for the Swedish-speaking population of Finland still

lives on among many amateur archaeologists especially in the Åland Islands and Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia, but can also be detected in some scholarly publications. Particularly Matts Dreijer (1901–1998), who was born in Estonia but moved to the Åland Islands, and later served as Provincial Antiquarian, envisaged that the Viking Age Birka, situated in Central Sweden, was actually in the Åland Islands. Another example of nationalistic sentiments by Swedish-speaking individuals was in form of forgeries of several Viking-Age rune stones found on the Åland Islands and the coastal areas since the 1970s (Donner 1986; Wickholm 2000).

Even Swedish professor Evert Baudou, in collaboration with the professor of English philology Ralf Norrman, has contributed to this Swedish-orientated line of argument. In his studies of the Ostrobothnian areas now populated by Swedish-speaking groups, Baudou argues that there is uninterrupted settlement continuity from the Merovingian Period to the Middle Ages and the present day (Baudou et al. 1991; Baudou 2002). Finnish historian Eljas Orrman (1992:102), however, points out that “typical of Baudou’s discussion of the archaeological material is to bypass or summarily reject interpretations differing from his own.” Most recently, Paula Wilson, a political scientist and tourist entrepreneur argued in a similar fashion in her book *Röster från forntiden – gamla ortnamn berättar* (Voices from ancient times – old place-names speak) (2007) that the Swedish population in Finland has its prehistoric origins in the Iron-Age Germanic-Scandinavian migrations (Wilson 2007; cf. Wickholm 2008).

The first woman to become a professional archaeologist in Finland was Anna-Lisa Lindelöf, who was born in 1893, and received a degree in archaeology in 1917, but after completing several fieldwork and surveys married and became a housewife (Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004:87). In addition to Lindelöf, there was a group of volunteer women at the NBA who mainly took care of office tasks (Härö 1984:160–161; Immonen 2003). After the Second World War, the number of women in the archaeological community increased significantly, the career of Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990) serves as a prime example. Nevertheless, the involvement of women as well as other non-professionals in archaeological, archival, and museum work is a reminder that while history of research is often presented as a series of individuals with doctoral degrees, their achievements could not have been possible without the work and help of a larger community.

The Postwar Developments: from Positivism to Processualism

The new world order after the Second World War had a significant impact on the Finnish nation-state and archaeology. Specifically, the territorial loss of large parts of Karelia meant the absence of archaeological activity there until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The war also halted connections with Russian colleagues and possibilities of participating in Russian archaeology. Moreover, whereas most Soviet archaeologists followed Marxist theories in their interpretation of the past (Klejn 1977, 1991), the course taken by Finnish archaeology was very different. Now the conservative emphasis was on descriptive empiricism and chronological issues

with a marked wariness of any speculative theorizing. In this, archaeology followed the general trend in the humanities which underscored ideals of objectivity and source positivism. Fewster (1999, 2006) argues that this narrowed scope was a reaction to the interwar uses of the past. The effects were felt most keenly in the study of the mediaeval period which drastically diminished in both archaeology and historiography.

Ella Kivikoski is an example par excellence of this new attitude in Finnish archaeology (Huurre 2005). In 1930, she received a degree in the Finnish language but changed to archaeology and defended her thesis *Die Eisenzeit im Auraflussgebiet* in 1939, while working at the Archaeological Commission (Kivikoski 1939). In 1948 she became the second female professor in any field in Finland. Kivikoski's most famous and lasting work is probably the two-volume publication on the Iron Age finds, *Suomen rautakauden kuvasto* (Illustrated catalogue on Iron Age Finland) (Kivikoski 1947, 1951), translated also into German as *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands* (Kivikoski 1973). It shows her preference for describing, dating, and artefact analysis as a basis for painstaking typologization and comparisons.

Another archaeologist focusing on the Iron Age, especially on weaponry, was Helmer Salmo (1903–1973), whose dissertation *Die Waffen der Merowingerzeit in Finnland* (Salmo 1938) presented a typology of weapons dating from the seventh to ninth centuries AD. Similarly, Nils Cleve (1905–1988) made his archaeological career studying the Iron Age cultures (Edgren 1988). His doctoral dissertation presents the important results of the excavations at the Iron Age burial ground in Köyliö (Cleve 1943, 1978). Cleve made a significant career in museum management, and held the post of state archaeologist from 1959 to 1971.

Among the archaeologists focusing on the Iron Age, Ville Luho (1911–1982) was an exception with his interest in the Mesolithic. His doctoral thesis *Die Askola-Kultur* (Luho 1956; see also Luho 1967) considered six settlement sites in Askola and one site in Saarijärvi to belong to the earliest phase of Finnish prehistory. The finds from the sites were almost exclusively of quartz, and for analysis, Luho compared them with the late Palaeolithic flint material of Central Europe and the finds of the Komsa culture in Finnmark, Norway. However, Luho's geological datings of the shoreline regression have later been shown to be incorrect and consequently his ideas on the Askola culture unfounded.

Kivikoski was succeeded in the professorship by Carl Fredrik Meinander (1916–2004) who held the post from 1971 to 1982 (Edgren 2005). His career represents a turning point in Finnish archaeology regarding Hackman's theory. Meinander published his doctoral thesis *Die Bronzezeit in Finnland* in 1954, and in the same year, another of his main works, *Die Kiukaiskultur*, appeared (Meinander 1954a, b). Also his article *De subneolitiska kulturgrupperna i norra Europa* (The sub-Neolithic cultural groups in northern Europe) (Meinander 1961) has been influential. Dismantling Tallgren's argumentation, Meinander put forward a theory of ethnic continuity arguing that the Bronze Age inhabitants of Finland descended from the Stone Age population. There were minor migrations from Western Scandinavia to Finland, but the newcomers did not form communities of their own and were assimilated with the old population. He also suggested that the Iron Age population descended directly from the Bronze Age inhabitants and thus some grand migration of the Finns had never taken place. Archaeological evidence

confirming this new continuity theory has begun to accumulate only in the latter part of the twentieth century. Meinander (1969) published an article titled *Dåvits: En essä om förromersk järnålder* (Dåvits: An essay on the pre-Roman Iron Age) in which he presented more substantial evidence to support the continuity theory.

Meinander's article is considered to be the one of the defining texts of the twentieth-century Finnish archaeology (e.g., Edgren 1999:313). This may well be surprising to a scholar unfamiliar with the Finnish tradition, since the text is mostly an exposition of data from pre-Roman sites. The material seems to imply that the settlement at these sites was uninterrupted throughout the period. Meinander did not, however, claim to reject the previously stated theory. In fact, in the paper he did not discuss the two rival theories, Hackman's migration theory and his cultural continuity theory, at all. This has to be read between the lines. The multidisciplinary seminar organized in Tvärminne in 1980 (the papers were published in a compilation titled *Suomen väestön esihistorialliset juuret* (1984) [The prehistoric roots of Finland's population] in 1984) was the final breakthrough of the new theory on the origins of the Finnish population.

In addition to introducing the theory of settlement continuity, Meinander was the first in Finland to apply radiocarbon dating to local archaeological material in 1970. The radiocarbon dating laboratory at the University of Helsinki had been founded in 1968. Meinander also launched two projects which examined the Iron Age society on the basis of settlement sites and remains of houses, whereas the previous research had almost exclusively focused on the Iron Age burials, mainly dating and describing their finds.

Ari Siiriäinen (1939–2004) followed Meinander as professor from 1983 to 2004 (Lavento 2005). Siiriäinen (1974) defended his dissertation *Studies Relating to Shore Displacement and Stone Age Chronology in Finland* in 1974 and updated the chronology presented by Äyräpää by applying geological methodology and radiocarbon dating. After taking part in a Nordic excavations project funded by the UNESCO in Nubia in the early 1960s (Seitonen 2007), Siiriäinen took part in several fieldwork projects abroad, for instance, in Africa and South America and visited the University of California at Berkeley in 1978–1979. Through his international contacts and experiences abroad, Siiriäinen became influenced by processualism, cultural anthropology, and neo-evolutionism. His interest in African and South American archaeologies continues in a group of young archaeologists. The current professor of archaeology at the University of Helsinki is Mika Lavento (2001), who defended his dissertation *Textile Ceramics in Finland and on the Karelian Isthmus* in 2001.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of organizational changes were introduced to the structure of the archaeological field. In 1972, the Archaeological Commission was reorganized, and the highly centralized heritage administration continued as the NBA. The NBA includes the Department of Archaeology, which is in charge of prehistoric sites, while the Department of Monuments and Sites takes care of the architectural heritage and historical sites. Both departments organize and oversee archaeological fieldwork. Partly due to the organizational structure and the scarcity of financial resources, the role of provincial and local museums in organizing regional archaeological fieldwork has remained rather



Fig. 5 The excavations at the Stone Age dwelling site of Kotirinne in Niuskala, Turku carried out by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Turku in 1983. Photo by the director of the excavations Sirkku Pihlman

minor with the exception of the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland which organized large-scale urban excavations in Turku since the 1980s². Although the amount of rescue fieldwork carried out by others than the NBA has increased, the strong monopoly of the NBA has affected the private sector and even today only few private archaeological firms exist in the country.

Also the teaching of archaeology at universities underwent organizational changes in the 1960s and 1970s, as archaeology was accepted into the curricula of two other universities besides the University of Helsinki, the University of Turku and University of Oulu. Each of the three departments has its own distinctive research agenda partly influenced by its geographical location. However, they also have overlapping research interests due to the limited options of the field itself and individual preferences of students and researchers.

Teaching of archaeology began at the University of Turku in 1957, and a permanent chair was founded in 1969 (Fig. 5). Unto Salo held the position from 1972 to 1991 (Pihlman 1994). Salo's work has mainly focused on the prehistory of the Satakunta province and remained within the culture history approach. In 1995, Salo was succeeded by Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen (1990) who defended his doctoral thesis on the Late Iron Age hillforts in 1990. During his professorship, Taavitsainen has underscored the potential of mediaeval archaeology, and launched several projects which have established historical archaeology as a robust field of research

²The organisation of the NBA described here is being completely restructured in 2011.

in Finland. The rich archaeological material of Turku, the oldest town in Finland, has provided a sound base for the projects (Taavitsainen 2003).

At the University of Oulu, the teaching of archaeology began in 1967, but the chair was founded in 1996 (Halinen 2008:442, 444). It is held by Milton Núñez who specializes in the earliest Stone Age, and the application of the methods of physical anthropology on the prehistoric material. Moreover, in general terms, the department has carried out archaeological research, both prehistoric and historical, in Lapland and other northern areas. Anthropological theory also has a prominent part in the curriculum of the department.

The last decades of the twentieth century have produced new developments regarding the origins of the Finns. New theoretical and methodological insights combined with genetics have led to revisions of the continuity theory. In Núñez (1987) proposed that the population of the pre-ceramic Suomusjärvi culture, the first human settlement following the receding glacier, already spoke a Uralic language. He and other Finnish archaeologists were sharply criticized by Swedish and Soviet archaeologists for interpreting the prehistoric ethnicity of the earliest settlement in Finland without taking notice of the international developments in archaeological theory (Dolukhanov 1989; Leskinen 1989; Welinder 1989). Nevertheless, the earliest settlement emerging after the Ice Age has been dated to c. 8100 BC (Takala 2004), while the Corded Ware or Battle-Axe Culture, which appeared in southwest Finland c. 3200 BC, represented a new population speaking an Indo-European language. The European genetic make-up of the Finns derives from this migration along with other prehistoric and historical migrations (Vilkuna 2006). The reevaluation of the origins of the Finns culminated in another multidisciplinary seminar held at Lammi in 1997 (Fogelberg 1999). Although the continuity theory, or even Castrén's paradigm, has not been rejected as such, Finnish scholars have debated what exactly this "continuity" denotes in terms of gene pool, language, and material culture. It seems that the ancestors of the present Finnish people never arrived in Finland in any particular period or as any culturally homogenous "people."

Another perspective in the quest for the origin of the Finns and their language was proposed by professor emeritus of phonetics Kalevi Wiik who has vigorously argued in his works *Suomalaisten juuret* (The roots of the Finns) (Wiik 2004) and *Mistä suomalaiset ovat tulleet?* (Where have the Finns come from?) (Wiik 2007) that the linguistic and genetic ancestors of the Finns originally inhabited the area of present-day Ukraine but spread over the whole of Northern and Central Europe after the receding ice sheet. However, the advancing Indo-European languages, rather than any new populations, eventually replaced the original Uralic language. Wiik's controversial ideas are rejected by the majority of the scholarly community, but they have attracted the enormous interest of a wider audience.

At the same time with the increasing complexity of the question of the Finns' origins, historical archaeology has become a significant field of research in Finnish archaeology at the turn of the millennium (Fig. 6). In addition to the mediaeval archaeology at the University of Turku, historical archaeology is also taught at the University of Oulu, where the focus has been on the archaeological study of two northern towns, Tornio and Oulu, founded in the seventeenth century, and the archaeology of the Sámi. At the University of Helsinki, there are projects examining



Fig. 6 An overview of the major urban excavations on the Åbo Akademi plot in Turku in 1998. The excavations were directed by Jouko Pukkila and organized by the Turku Provincial Museum (presently the Provincial Museum of Southwest Finland). They produced a huge amount of medieval finds forming the basis for several archaeological projects and theses at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Turku

urban, rural and Sámi materials of the historical period. Historical sites have gained a more prominent role in the fieldwork practices, for instance in general surveys conducted by the NBA.

Similarly, since the 1980s, classical archaeology has become a more established part of Finnish archaeology in the form of fieldwork projects and university programmes. Although there is still no professorship in classical archaeology in Finland, two lecturers in the subject work at the Universities of Helsinki and Oulu. These two universities have also organized major fieldwork projects in Greece, Italy, Jordan, and Syria, which have attracted wide public visibility in the form of publications and museum exhibitions (see Taavitsainen 2009:17; Forsén 2009). In contrast to the previous decades, these projects are more and more carried out by young, professional archaeologists, and not only by philologists or historians. A group of graduate and doctoral students in archaeology are working with the fieldwork materials, and importantly, classical archaeologists now take part more vigorously in the methodological and theoretical discussions of Finnish archaeology.

The Socioeconomic Structure of Finnish Archaeology

The history of Finnish archaeology thus far has been presented as a narrative of intra-disciplinary progress circling around the question of the origins of the Finnish people and language. Archaeology has clearly served the programme of creating a nation. A broader vista of the discipline opens up when the social background of

archaeologists, the process of professionalization, and the economic structure of the discipline are considered.

Professionalization is an elusive concept in archaeology without a set definition. The term seems to suggest a social process leading to the establishment of archaeological institutions, formal education in the subject, and certain criteria for the application of methodology in fieldwork and other research (e.g., Patterson 1999:160; Trigger 2006:64–65, 187–188, 235). Professionalization implies a relative continuity of these institutions and practices, and thereby the stability of the community of professionals practicing archaeology. The process of professionalization together with the community it creates is socially structured along such vectors as gender, class, and social as well as financial capital.

The economic structure of archaeology, often considered the defining factor, is a highly complex phenomenon. It could be perceived as a network of relationships defined not only by the heritage legislation and laws on environmental planning and land-use, but also the administrative organs they create. Even the funding of academic institutions and the research conducted in them has a part to play in the whole. A very concrete outcome of this network is the number of posts available for archaeologists.

In Scandinavia, the old decrees stating that all ancient artefacts of precious metals found in the ground belong to the king formed a basis for the emergence of the first archaeological collections. The strong administrative emphasis in the Nordic countries on organizing collections and surveying ancient monuments has meant that archaeology was born as a methodology for grouping and creating typologies. The adoption of evolutionism and other modern taxonomic methods and principles was a logical step, easily combined with old descriptive antiquarianism. However, in Finland, due to the role of the administration in the formation of the earliest collections, prehistoric finds were sent to Stockholm, the capital of the kingdom. No actual archaeological collections were formed in Finland before the nineteenth century.

The importance of the clergy in studying and cataloguing ancient monuments before the nineteenth century was a consequence of their social and intellectual position as local intelligentsia. Interestingly, the eighteenth-century clerical activity in archaeology concentrated in Ostrobothnia, which at the time was financially the most vibrant region in the country (Härö 1984:26) and the birthplace of the leading Nordic classical liberal thinker Anders Chydenius (1729–1803).

The reporting and cataloguing conducted by the clergy nevertheless remained relatively small in scale. It was only the nationalist and Romantic motivations, and a need to find the unity of the Finnish people in the past, which gave an impetus to the development of archaeological research in Finland from the 1840s onwards. Political power in the Grand Duchy of Finland was wielded from St. Petersburg, while the cultural and economic power was in the hands of the Swedish-speaking upper classes of Finland. Despite the tensions and debates within the movement, Fennomania gathered support from both the middle classes and, crucially, the cultural elite.

In spite of the involvement of the upper classes, the driving forces of Fennomania, as was usual for the nineteenth-century nationalist movements, were representatives of the middle classes, pastors, teachers, and others with access to higher education

(Alapuro 1997; Virtanen 2002). In the latter part of the century, Fennomania took root even among the agrarian population through the increasing numbers of secondary school students coming from farmer families (Peltonen 1992). The agrarian dimension of the movement was economically embedded in the redistribution of land among farmers and the growth of the income received from natural resources, an outcome of the developing capitalism and industrialization, especially the wood processing industry and farming (Alapuro 1997:22). Farmers, moreover, became equally represented as the other estates at the diet.

As a consequence of the wide social base on which Finnish nationalism was built, it was not liberating force acting against the authorities but focused on creating solidarity, a religion of the nation. An impressive testament to the uniting power of nationalism is the systematic way in which much of the Swedish-speaking upper class chose to adopt the Finnish language and culture (Hroch 1985:62–75). Svekomania, a Swedish-speaking movement emerged in the 1860s as a counterbalance to Fennomania, but it remained relatively marginal in spite of the heated debates it aroused.

The three core concepts in the programme of the Fennomania movement – language, culture, and education system – paved the way for the establishment of archaeology among the other humanities. The disciplines which were thought to be concerned with the recovery, description and explanation of the elements of national culture were considered the “national sciences” (Fi. Kansalliset tieteet) (Kokkonen 1984; see also Anttonen 1994). The terminology encapsulates well what the commonly acknowledged understanding of the significance and aim of the humanities was at the time. The culture of the present-day Finns was to give a perspective to the study of the ancient times, a quest for the original unity, the Finno-Ugric past. Moreover, in the Finnish nationalism, being a well-educated person was an ideological criterion for being a citizen. This ideal remained and supported the importance and visibility of archaeology in the media and public debate till the latter part of the twentieth century, since the goal behind the production of archaeological knowledge was to educate masses which would constitute a nation.

The first archaeological thesis in Finland by Bomansson (1858), however, was an anomaly, a publication without direct successors, and cannot yet be considered either a sign of professionalization or institutionalization of archaeology. That process did not become substantial until the 1870s, when Aspelin made his seminal organizational and academic contributions. The first posts for archaeologists became available with the establishment of the Archaeological Commission in 1893, while the Finnish archaeological education was formulated three decades later with the foundation of the academic chair at the University of Helsinki in 1921. In other words, professionalization of archaeology took 30 years.

The first modern archaeologists were of similar social backgrounds. Despite the growing importance of the well-off independent farmers and the middle classes, the leading representatives of Fennomania were initially from the established families with ecclesiastical or otherwise academic backgrounds. Hence the pioneering scholars conducting archaeological research were members of the old educated classes, especially sons of clergymen. Aspelin's father was a vicar (Salminen 2001). Also the archaeologists of the second generation were from elite families.

Appelgren's and Heikel's fathers were vicars as well (Niiranen 1987), while Schvindt's father was a wealthy landowner (Haltsonen 1947).

In the third generation, which began its education in the late nineteenth century and established itself academically in the first decades of the twentieth century, Hackman's father was a successful businessman and consul (Kivikoski 1943), Äyräpää's an agronomist (Huurre 2007), and Nordman's a high-level civil servant (Meinander 1991), but, importantly, Juhani Rinne came from a farmer family (Gardberg 2006). Also Pälси's father was a farmer (Huurre 2001), and in a similar vein, Ailio's father was a teacher (Autio 1999). Hence, social differentiation in the backgrounds of archaeologists began to occur in the third generation. After the third generation, the social background of archaeologists has remained heterogeneous, although no analyses are available on whether students of archaeology still tend to come from the middle and upper classes.

The public view on archaeology as a profession has experienced drastic changes during the twentieth century. In 1966, a sociological survey revealed how Finns evaluated different professions (Rauhala 1966). Archaeologists were not included in the list of professionals, but the top three choices are nevertheless revealing: the president of the Supreme Court ranked first, the prime minister second, and professors came third (the office of the president of the republic was not included in the survey). Three decades later, in 1991, the magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* organized another survey (Lamberg et al. 1991). This time "archaeologist" was included among the c. 400 titles and was ranked 62nd in the list, but in every subsequent survey its position has dropped, and in 2007, it reached the 130th place (Lappalainen 2007). In contrast to the situation in 1966, the three most highly ranked professions in 2007 were those of surgeon, firefighter, and doctor. The reasons for this change are complex.

There are several difficulties with the sociological surveys related to the ambiguous concept of "value" and its relationship with other concepts like prestige or eligibility. Nevertheless, it seems that the public opinion on archaeology as a profession has plummeted. Such development is not an isolated case, but part of a general trend in which the value attributed to purely academic merits is lessening at the expense of more instrumental and financial concerns. If larger changes in the post-modern society are not considered here, at least two causes that contribute to this development can be pointed out. The first is the democratization of the education system and, in effect, the wider access to higher education, which has had an inflationary effect on the value of academic merits. The second is gradual disappearance of the esteem, which archaeology and other humanities enjoyed in the heyday of modern nationalism and its universal educational ideals. Now the old conception of the Enlightenment is fading, and the division between professionals, amateurs and ignoramuses in archaeology is becoming much deeper. A concrete manifestation of the present-day mentality is the nearly total absence of Finnish prehistory in the curricula of comprehensive and secondary schools, which certainly has had a negative impact on the awareness of archaeology among young people. Archaeology as an academic discipline and part of heritage management policy is forced to look for new ways of justifying its constant need for resources.

The exact number of positions presently available for archaeologists is difficult to estimate. In 2002, Petri Halinen counted that there were 21 positions for archaeologists at the NBA and 11 at provincial museums, while the number of posts in universities was 15. In addition, there are c. 5–15 positions in museums and other such institutions in which archaeological education has been found useful even if it is not strictly required (Halinen 2002). However, the largest group of archaeologists, c. 50–70, is employed by various research and fieldwork projects but only for short periods at a time. Thus, the exact number of people employed fluctuates according to the year and season, with summer and autumn being the most important fieldwork periods. In 2002, Kristiina Korkeakoski-Väisänen (2003) sent a questionnaire to a large group of archaeology graduates working in permanent posts, and estimated that their number was over 30, who worked under as many as 23 different professional titles. Korkeakoski-Väisänen's results also show that although environmental planning and administration has long been predicted to become an important source of employment for archaeologists, and Metsähallitus, the state enterprise administering state-owned land and water areas, has increased the use of archaeological services in recent years, this potential has not yet become a reality.

The number of jobs available for archaeologists is in a rather stark contrast with the intake of students in archaeology, which, if all three universities are summed together, is annually c. 30. It is generally acknowledged in the field that the intake is too high, as the results of Tiina Juopperi's (2008) recent questionnaire survey reveal. She concludes that the problem is not primarily the unemployment of graduated archaeologists, but rather the short-time nature of the work available. Many graduates feel that their education has no direct relevance for the work they currently do. In addition to the social tensions and even conflicts which this situation creates, it has spurred young and older archaeologists to adopt social and professional networking as a strategy for enhancing their possibilities of acquiring work. The risk of having no work at all has also led to a situation where archaeologists are willing to accept very low salaries or otherwise poor terms and conditions of work.

The plight of archaeologists in Finland has not led to a general consensus on the actions that should be taken. In fact, the EU-wide Bologna process which aims to make the university system more uniform by revising degree programmes and cutting down degree completion times has meant an increase in the graduation rate. Moreover, the establishment of the Graduate School in Archaeology for doctoral students in 2006 is a symptom of the stress laid by the government and the university institution on post-graduate education, i.e., output of doctoral degrees. To put it plainly, universities are economically enticed to produce more MAs and PhDs. Apart from private foundations, the role of the Academy of Finland as the funder of archaeological research projects in universities has been pivotal in increasing the number of doctoral students in archaeology. Perhaps it is too early to evaluate the effects of the increasing body of doctorates for archaeology, but one outcome could be the widening of the chasm between academic and administrative research.

From the start, the heritage administration and archaeological research concentrated in the capital, while amateurs and other agents have gathered finds and information in the provinces. This tradition of a highly centralized administration and its

research structure still continues, though a number of professionals are positioned in the provinces. Throughout the twentieth century, the most important employer of archaeologists has been the NBA, but the number of archaeologists working in universities has gradually increased, especially with the founding of the two new departments of archaeology outside Helsinki. The relationship between academia and the NBA has understandably been very close particularly in Helsinki, where the teaching of archaeologists was for a long time physically located at the NBA premises.

The first fieldwork in which the Department of Archaeology in Helsinki was involved in any way took place in 1939, but for decades the fieldwork undertaken by the department was irregular and motivated by the personal research interests of the professor (Lavento and Salminen 1998). In the 1960s, the fieldwork conducted by the university became more established as an annual part of the curriculum. Moreover, in the 1960s and 1970s, the fieldwork developed into a long-range activity organized into research projects which also produced materials and a framework for academic theses. At the University of Turku, the first excavations conducted by the department took place in 1957 (Asplund 2002:49–50), and at the University of Oulu in the late 1960s (Koivunen 1998), but the fieldwork did not become regular and larger in scale until the 1970s.

Henrik Asplund (2002) notes, though only with regard to the fieldwork of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Turku, a positive correlation between the number of fieldwork projects carried out annually and fluctuations in the national product. Probably the observation would apply to all fieldwork conducted by universities in the late twentieth century, since their projects were funded either by the Academy of Finland, various scholarly foundations, or by municipalities whose eagerness and ability to provide funds highly depended on the general state of the economy. In contrast, the fieldwork conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the NBA has since the 1980s gradually concentrated merely on fulfilling the administrative needs. Rescue excavations and surveys done in Finland are automatically funded by the constructor, or the party, which endangers the monument. Such fieldwork is, nevertheless, at least indirectly, connected with the general trends in the development of infrastructure and public as well as private construction.

Like the universities, the NBA has special research projects and fieldwork related to them, so-called projects of interest, but their number and relevance has waned since the 1980s, partly because of a lack of necessary resources and partly as a result of the highly controversial and criticized outcomes of recent projects. Especially several of the research projects directed by the NBA's Department of Archaeology are compromised by problems of credibility. One of its debated projects took place in the 1980s and the 1990s, when a large area was excavated at an Iron Age site in Varikkoniemi, Hämeenlinna (Schulz and Schulz 1993). Originally, the finds were interpreted as remains of a fortified proto-town and harbour without any consideration of the extensive land-use that has completely disturbed the site during the historical period. For example, the alleged foundations of a prehistoric wall are in fact the remains of a temporary railway (Taavitsainen 2005:22–26). Another controversial project is based on the fieldwork conducted at the Susiluola Cave in Karijoki in 1997–2000 and in 2003–2006. The site has revealed alleged

traces of a pre-glacial settlement site of Neanderthals (Schulz et al. 2002; Donner 2007, 2008; Schulz and Rostedt 2008). Despite their suspect results, or perhaps because of them, both projects have aroused a lot of interest among the public, and percolated into the popular media.

The NBA, and its prehistoric research in particular, has lost its place at the cutting edge of Finnish archaeology and the development of fieldwork methods to academia. In the process of archaeological knowledge production, the universities are now the places of academically ambitious fieldwork and research, while the NBA is becoming simply an institution for collecting and administering fieldwork data in a framework specified by the legislation. Particularly the rise of classical archaeology in Finland during the 1990s and 2000s has been based on the increasing importance of research projects carried out by the universities.

National and International Aspect of Finnish Archaeology

The narrative of the internal development and the social fabric of Finnish archaeology might appear merely as a path leading to the heart of the nationalist project and subsequent isolation. Let us summarize Derek Fewster's (1999, 2000a, b, 2002, 2006) characterization of the Finnish national past as it was interpreted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, before turning to the international aspect of Finnish archaeology.

During the nineteenth century, culturally orientated Fennomania sought to raise the Finnish culture among the ranks of European civilizations. This led to the emphasis on the Middle Ages and, increasingly, on the Late Iron Age, which was approached through the Kalevala epic. The original home of the Finns and their language was traced to the East, whence the ancestors of the Finnish people had migrated during the Early Iron Age. After the country gained its independence, the interest in the cultural origins and unity gave way to a militaristic mentality, and a vision of the past with bloody wars in which the Finnish tribes defended their independence against foreign powers during the Late Iron Age. After the Second World War, the new international political situation led to seemingly neutral scientific attitudes. Gradually the migration theory was replaced by the continuity theory, which implied the peacefulness of the prehistoric development and the ancient right of the Finns to their land in the insecure world of the Cold War. Finally, Fewster suggested that Finland's membership in the European Union and deepening integration in the late twentieth century has yet again changed the conception of the national past and contributed to the reemergence of mediaeval archaeology and its interest in European universalism.

Before endorsing Fewster's chronology, it is crucial to note that he is primarily reconstructing a picture on the public use or imagination of the prehistoric past, and especially the banalization of archaeological knowledge, and not disciplinary developments per se, although there probably is a substantial link between the two, for instance in the funding and opportunities available to scholars. Fewster's chronology does indeed correlate well with Janne Vilkkuna's (1996, 2001) periodization, not

discussed by Fewster (2006), of the changes in the scholarly view of the origins of the Finns. The first period, which Vilkkuna calls the era of the Noah model, dominated in 1500–1800. It was based on the Bible and presented the Finns as the descendants of Magog. Vilkkuna also considered the dominant theory of the second period to ultimately derive from the Bible. Called the Moses model, it describes the Finns as the chosen people migrating to the promised land of Finland. He dates this period to 1800–1970. The third period from 1970 to 1990 basically presents the Finnish people as having lived in Finland since the Ice Age, while the latest period beginning in 1990 portrays the Finns as genetically and culturally European.

There are nevertheless also marked differences between the national uses of the past and the disciplinary development. An example is the breakthrough and establishment of historical archaeology in the late twentieth century. It is undeniable that the funding of research and fieldwork as well as the public interest in the new field nowadays is unprecedented, but this turn would not have been possible without such scholars as Knut Drake and Pekka Sarvas, who advocated the importance of mediaeval archaeology already decades before the EU era, and gave impetus for younger mediaeval archaeologists like J.-P. Taavitsainen and Markus Hiekkänen. Drake (1968) wrote his thesis on the mediaeval castle of Häme in Hämeenlinna in 1968, and was the driving force in the founding of the Society for Mediaeval Archaeology in Finland in 1990, while Sarvas (1971, 1988) has published important articles on chronology, material culture and mediaeval numismatics. Of course it could be argued that their motivation for mediaeval archaeology latently stemmed from a search for a period which could strengthen Finland's cultural connection with Western Europe to counter the threat of the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Further differences between the disciplinary developments and public uses of archaeology become visible when archaeological publications are examined statistically. The most recent published bibliography of archaeology in Finland comprises almost all publications up to the year 1980 after which the updating of the register ceased (*Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia vuoteen 1980*). The statistics based on the bibliography have considerable problems related, for example, to the policies of compiling the work (the listing of publications treating the mediaeval and post-mediaeval periods was dropped almost entirely after 1914) and categorization of the publications according to their period of interest. Nevertheless, the statistics show that the output of archaeological publications does not entirely conform to Fewster's model (Figs. 7 and 8).

In the interwar period, the ratio of publications related to the Stone Age should be much smaller, especially in relation to the Iron Age works, but this does not seem to be the case. In fact, the Stone Age and the Late Iron Age are constantly the two periods with the highest number of publications from the 1920s onwards, while the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, and historical period have quite small percentages of the total numbers. Moreover, the publications on non-Finnish material, mainly related to the prehistory of Eastern Europe, seem to reach their high point during the interwar period.

If the disciplinary development is to some extent self-determined instead of being entirely defined by the nationalist project, also other factors such as

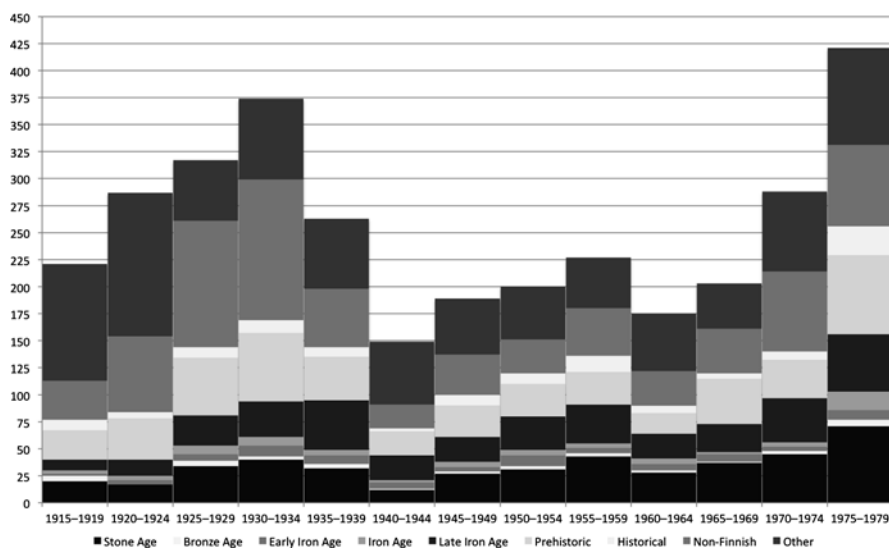


Fig. 7 Publishing activity in 1915–1979 based on the bibliography of archaeology in Finland (*Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia vuoteen 1980*). The diagram shows the absolute number of publications categorised according to the chronological period discussed. The category “Iron Age” includes all texts which cannot be identified either as “Early Iron Age” or “Late Iron Age,” while the categories “Prehistoric” and “Historical” cover publications which cannot be specified further. The category “Non-Finnish” covers the texts discussing archaeological material found outside the borders of Finland, and the category “Other” consists of methodological, theoretical and non-categorizable texts; $N=3,314$

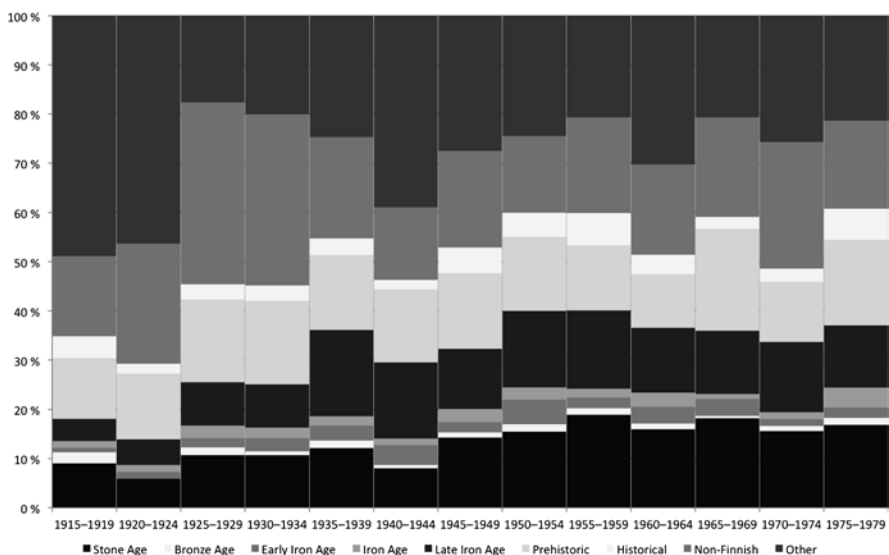


Fig. 8 Publishing activity in 1915–1979 according to the bibliography of archaeology in Finland (*Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia vuoteen 1980*). The diagram shows the relative number of publications categorised according to the chronological period discussed. See Fig. 6 for further details; $N=3,314$

education, professionalization and the socioeconomic structure of academia have to be considered when the internationalism of Finnish archaeology is analyzed. Until the 1920s, when the first university chair in archaeology was established, all archaeologists had to get their training outside the country, and Scandinavia was a natural choice. Denmark and Sweden were in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century at the forefront of archaeology which meant that the Finnish archaeologists were at first hand introduced to the cutting edge of the discipline.

The generation which took over from the 1940s onwards, on the other hand, was educated in Finland, which seems to have had a negative effect on the internationalism of Finnish archaeology (Salminen 1993:44). Academic education in archaeology no longer required contacts with foreign scholars. This probably prolonged the dominance of the cultural historical paradigm and then processual archaeology in Finland compared to Scandinavian and Anglo-American archaeology. A rare exception, one could say anomaly, was Siiriäinen with his numerous visits outside Finland which gave him the means to introduce processualism into Finnish archaeology. In the late twentieth century, the number of students of archaeology going outside the borders of the country has remained rather low, although student exchanges have become more common after the 1980s.

Another factor enhancing the international character of the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century archaeology was the eastern orientation of research (Salminen 2003). Aspelin and the representatives of the so-called second generation, Appelgren-Kivalo, Heikel, and Schvindt all had a background in Finno-Ugric scholarship. Moreover, Appelgren-Kivalo went to the Yenisei River, and Heikel travelled to Russia, Siberia, and even Mongolia. Hackman, representative of the third generation, did not make any excursions to the East. Instead, he retained a strong German orientation in his studies, while Ailio, motivated by Aspelin's Uralic-Altai theory, visited Russia twice.

From the perspective of nationalism, Hackman's new migration theory presented in the early twentieth century meant that the East no longer represented the origins of the Finns. However, Tallgren rejected Aspelin's national romantic theories about the importance of the East for the Finns, and the motivation for his research stemmed more from the international disciplinary development itself. The Finnish research on the boreal zone of northern Eurasia brought archaeologists in contact with the wider international community of scholars. Finland was a sort of a scholarly gate to the East. Tallgren's synthesizing and theoretical attitude also had an impact on the larger development of the discipline of archaeology. However, his eastward orientation did not have successors after the 1920s and 1930s, though Nils Cleve visited the Soviet Union with him in 1928 (Salminen 2003:205).

In addition to the changed status of eastern archaeology in the quest for the origins of the Finns, the eastern orientation was hindered further by the independence of Finland and the birth of the Soviet Union. As an effect of the general political circumstances, new generations no longer had the necessary command of the Russian language and consequently in the eastern disciplinary field. In a sense, Äyräpää's thesis published in 1933 was the last manifestation of Finnish archaeological research in the East (Äyräpää 1933).

At the same time, Tallgren's international fame did not translate into equal intellectual recognition in his own country. As Lavento (2006:7) points out, although Tallgren's article rejecting simple cultural historical archaeology and its style chronologies is repeatedly referred to, it did not have any marked impact on the theoretical basis of archaeological interpretations in Finland. While the article did strengthen a general strive for scholarly neutrality and rejection of explicitly nationalistic endeavours, in practice, however, an approach such as Äyräpää's was much more convincing to Finnish archaeologists. He applied a typological-chronological method to divide the Comb Ceramics Culture into stylistic phases and date them on the basis of the shoreline displacement. Although this approach represents only a small part of Äyräpää's academic contribution, it gave the overall scheme for organizing prehistory and its ethnicities. This typological attitude was a defining characteristic of Finnish archaeology for decades after the Second World War. The prolonged dominance of the cultural historical paradigm and then processual archaeology in Finland in comparison to Scandinavian and Anglo-American archaeology is undeniable (cf. Siiriäinen 1992).

On the other hand, the introversion of Finnish archaeology should not be overestimated. In 1989, the Swede Stig Welinder noted that since the 1970s Finnish archaeology had become increasingly isolated from the rest of Nordic archaeology. More and more publications were available only in Finnish and the participation of Finnish archaeologists in international seminars had decreased (Welinder 1989:87). It is noteworthy, however, that Welinder wrote these words in an article published in the journal *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*. In 1984, the Archaeological Society of Finland began publishing the series presenting Finnish and eastern archaeology for an international readership, while in Sweden, a similar journal titled *Current Swedish Archaeology* and published by the Swedish Archaeological Society was not launched until 1993. Moreover, the statistics on the languages used in Finnish archaeological publications up to 1980 show that while the use of Swedish has continually decreased after the Second World War, and particularly in the 1970s, the use of English, in contrast, has at the same time increased (Fig. 9). In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Swedish was more often the language of publication than Finnish. One may also note that the use of German has decreased steadily after the Second World War; the 1930s and the 1940s having been its heyday. The use of French, in addition to many other European languages, has ceased entirely.

During the previous 20 years, the pendulum of internationalism in Finnish archaeology seems to have begun to swing in the other direction (cf. Herlin 2000). Especially with the young archaeologists, the discipline has gradually started to approach the atmosphere of Tallgren's times. The current general tendency of the universities to produce more doctorates combined with the lack of permanent positions in the museum institution has motivated many young archaeologists to pursue doctoral studies, establish international contacts, and publish in foreign journals. The establishment of the Nordic Graduate School in Archaeology in 2004 is a wider symptom of this development. Moreover, there are several university projects in Finland examining foreign material, e.g., from Africa, the Mediterranean and South America, which bring their researchers naturally to the international scene. But even

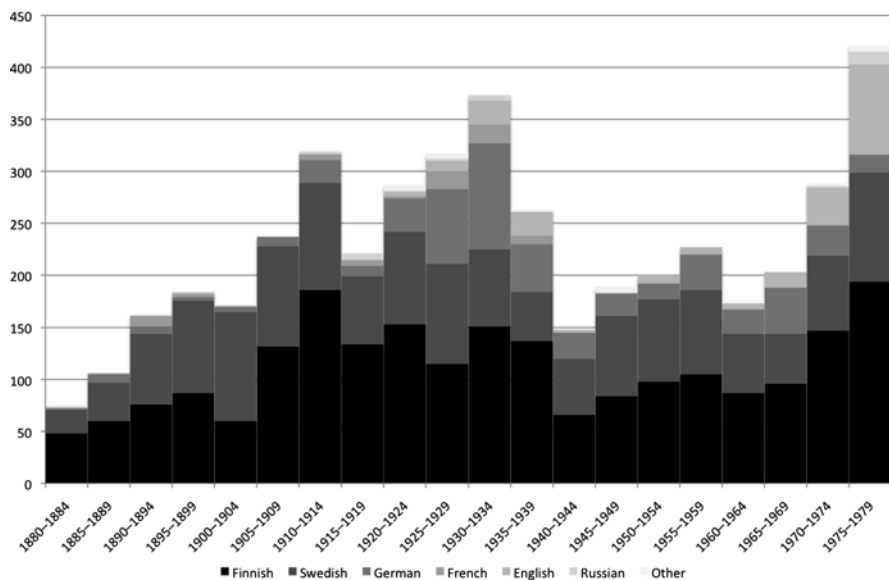


Fig. 9 The languages used in publications in 1880–1979 based on the bibliography of archaeology in Finland (*Suomen arkeologinen bibliografia vuoteen 1980*). The diagram shows the absolute number of publications. The category “Swedish” covers also all publications in Norwegian and Danish; $N=4,569$

more significantly also theoretical debates and even Finnish finds have created interest outside the borders of the country. For example, Antti Lahelma’s studies on shamanism and the Stone Age rock art in Finland have been noted and debated also in international journals (Lahelma 2007; Fuglestad 2008; Janik 2008). Another example is the appearance of the so-called Turku School of mediaeval archaeology, emphasizing urban materials and detailed analysis, in the Northern European disciplinary field. Finnish scholars have a long tradition in interdisciplinary studies and cooperation with the natural scientists, which has proved to be a valuable advantage in the present international climate where the stress is on research which transcends disciplinary boundaries. Internationalism no longer seems to require studying archaeological material outside Finland, but, nevertheless, the international visibility of Finnish archaeology is still far from the days of Tallgren.

One could argue that internationalism poses higher scholarly criteria and thus acts as a vaccine against overly nationalistic interpretations. This was indeed Tallgren’s impact on the academic Finnish archaeology of the 1920s and 1930s, but internationalism does not necessarily lessen the contribution of academia to nationalistic projects. In fact, internationalism and nationalism can support and further each other, as Ludmilla Jordanova (1998) pointed out. She described how in the early nineteenth century the concept of nation came to serve the national political aspirations of scientific communities, which overtly strove only for the universal advancement of science. This kind of conception lives on, for instance, in the celebration of the Finnish chemist Artturi Ilmari Virtanen as a national hero for

inventing a fodder preservation method which led to a Nobel Prize in 1945. His internationally claimed scientific work became an object of national pride.

As Finnish archaeology as a research field has become more international in the late twentieth century, and is methodologically, if not yet theoretically, reaching the pace of the wider disciplinary field, the importance of archaeology in the nationalist project has slumped or at least weakened considerably. Although archaeology still holds a rather visible place in popular culture and the public imagination, the discipline has nevertheless lost the prestige it enjoyed up to the postwar period. If purely academic benefits are not counted, archaeology now justifies its need for resources by its importance for the maintenance of local identities rather than by patriotism. Symptomatic of the emphasis on locality are the foundation of Siida, or the Sámi Museum and Northern Lapland Nature Centre in Inari in 1988, and the emergence of the first scholars with a Sámi background who have begun to reevaluate the Finnish tradition of interpreting Sámi prehistory (e.g., Aikio and Aikio 2001). In addition to local identity, the potential of archaeology for cultural tourism as well as for the environmental administration has been pointed out since the 1990s as a significant justification for the funds needed by the discipline.

Finnish archaeology has never been a contingent phenomenon, but closely, even if indirectly, entangled with the surrounding society and with wider international disciplinary currents. In the nineteenth century and for most of the twentieth century, archaeologists formed a quite small community enjoying a position of cultural elitism and national appreciation. Finnish archaeology was highly international from Aspelin to Tallgren's time, partly because of contacts with Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, where archaeologists acquired their academic education, and partly because of the interest in studying the eastern material. The international trend came to an end in the 1930s and 1940s due to the changes in the international geopolitics and Finnish nationalism. After the Second World War Finnish archaeology coiled around itself. This turn forms an interesting contrast with the beginning of the Anglo-American internationalism in archaeology which, according to Christopher Evans (2008), lies in the postwar reaction to the nationalist archaeologies of the 1930s. Here Finland followed the route taken by German archaeology.

The archaeological community steadily grew during the decades after the war, but is still rather small compared to the other Nordic countries, and the idea of allotting prehistoric periods and topics between individual scholars lives on. In the 1990s, the gap between the heritage administration and academic study has widened, while internationalism has again become a prominent trait of academic archaeology because of the changes in the position of archaeology in the national project as well as in the principles of academic funding. At universities, international visibility has become a valued criterion in funding research.

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Contemporary Polish Archaeology in Global Context

Arkadiusz Marciniak

Introduction

The general mission of archaeology – to increase our knowledge of the past, to protect archaeological cultural heritage, and to convey its values to the public – is strongly related to social, economic, and political dimensions of the modern world. These multifaceted aspects of contemporary archaeology worldwide are embedded in developmental trajectories of national or supranational traditions. Polish archaeology serves as an excellent example of such process. It originated as the result of broader pan-European cultural processes, but retained its specific characteristics influenced by peculiar historical and political circumstances.

Polish archeology was born at the end of the nineteenth century, when Poland was not an independent country. It was developed by scholars trained outside the country, particularly in Germany. In 1918, Poland regained its independence and the two decades until the outbreak of the Second World War marked the dynamic development of several important academic centers. During this period nationalist interpretation of the archaeological record, in particular during the exacerbated conflict with the German archeologists, gained popularity. After the Second World War, Poland was in the Soviet Bloc and archeology has been under the strong impact of Stalinist Marxism in the first post-War decade.

In this chapter, I discuss major developments and challenges in archaeological academic research, archaeological heritage protection and management, public engagement in cultural heritage preservation and conservation programs. In principle, the presented challenges relate to socioeconomic conditions of archaeological work in contemporary Poland. Although archaeology in Poland has long tradition,¹ I specifically focus on the impact that social, economic, and political changes have made on the archeological practice in Poland within the last 20 years,

¹ A comprehensive overview of this tradition can be found in Abramowicz (1991).

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that is, after the revolution of 1989 and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. The transition to market economy affected all aspects of archaeological practice. My discussion incorporates both local and global scales as I briefly discuss Polish archaeology and its involvement in European and world archaeology. In the regional and pan-regional scale, increased communication and cooperation brought about greater openness and less marked borders among national archaeologies.

Furthermore, I address the fundamental issue in Polish archaeology, that is, its embeddedness in the Central European intellectual tradition which constitutes the core of its present identity. I also discuss the social, economic, and cultural roles of Polish archaeology and its contribution to benefit the public. My focus is on the impact archaeologists make on local communities by contributing to the creation of conditions for sustainable cultural development. These new circumstances were created by unprecedented in this part of Europe range of infrastructural projects that demanded large-scale rescue excavations. These new projects triggered the emergence of contract archaeology and inevitable commercialisation of the profession. Other issues addressed here include the ethical standards of professional archaeological bodies, academic and public institutions, and the ways the general public is involved in the archaeological practice.

Traditions of Polish Archaeology

The character of Polish archaeology was largely shaped by its bond to a very peculiar school of archaeological thought known as the Central European tradition (for detailed discussion see Marciniak 2006). It is characterized by a number of distinct analytical tools, theories, and research themes, all supplemented through borrowings from the other social and natural sciences. This tradition incorporates a number of national schools, which nonetheless retained a certain degree of distinctiveness. The tradition influenced archaeologies of the neighboring countries, especially Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Poland. Although it was dominated by German archaeology, it should not be equated with it. The domination was evident already in the beginning of the twentieth century (Härke 1991:187–8; Härke 2000:16). Labeling the Central European tradition as German is based on the fact that the German language dominated its discourse.

Within the Central European tradition, the overall approach to archaeological research and explanation seems astonishingly similar (Sommer and Gramsch 2008). It is often defined in terms of shared research agendas, objectives pursued, and methods applied (Bertemes 2002). It is believed to be generally characterized by “empiricist work; a preference for description over interpretation; technical excellence, but little reflection on the basic questions; hierarchical attitudes; absence of lively debate; and self-imposed isolation from the intellectual mainstream” (Bloemers 2002:381).

A combination of political and social changes during the post-WWII decades contributed to the peculiar condition of Polish archaeology developing within this

tradition (see Hodder 1991:7). The peculiarity was conditioned by two factors: (1) The Kossina syndrome² and (2) the Soviet political and economic domination with the imposition of Marxism as a formal state ideology. Both are believed to be the two decisive factors that have significantly contributed to the way archaeology has been practiced in Poland (see Barford 1993; Lech 1997) and other eastern European countries.³ This peculiarity affected a wide spectrum of archaeological theory and practice, including academic structure of the discipline, preferred research objectives, funding structure, and its relation to the world (see Lozny 2002:146).

In result, the dominant paradigm of Polish archaeology was a specific version of the culture-history approach. It comprised inductionism, empiricism, typological methods, relative chronology modeling, description and cataloguing of empirical material, diffusion and migration (the so-called influences) as the major causative factors of culture change. It focused on archaeological cultures and their origins and cultural diffusion, as well as spatial and cultural relations with other cultures. This perspective was further supplemented by interests in paleoenvironment, settlement studies and, to a limited degree, ethnohistory (e.g., Kruk 1973, 1980; Wiślański 1979).

Two topics received special attention and a very special place in the research agendas before 1989, namely the beginning of the Polish state and ethnogenesis of Slavs. These studies linked archaeology more closely to the discipline of history rather than social or cultural anthropology. Both topics were also stimulated by political agendas. The origins of the state project prompted large-scale research in the whole country including the so-called “Regained Territories”, which before WWII had been part of the Prussian state, and after the war were incorporated to the Polish state, while research on the ethnogenesis of Slavs was oriented to proving a continuous inhabitation of the land by people of predominantly Slavic extraction.

The reluctance to engage in any substantial theoretical debate in the post-war period in Polish as well as more generally in Central European archaeology is striking. It can be explained by a number of interconnected historical, sociological, and academic causes. One of them was the politicization of archaeology. Political circumstances in the region, in particular the misuse of archaeology to meet nationalistic goals, particularly evident in the case of the Nazis in Germany, and the necessity of making a constant compromise with the communist rule in other Central European countries, resulted in the search for a secure position of the discipline. This was achieved by escaping into supposedly “objective” scholarship, which guaranteed political security refrained from any involvement in political struggle. A passive collection of data was conducted in hopes that a mass of

²The Kossina syndrome can be defined as a requirement of defining cultures as coherent entities by using specific artifact types and believe that their areas correspond with the areas of particular communities or people. It further assumes isomorphic relationship between modern and prehistoric ethnic groups.

³*Editor's note:* this statement is in contrast to conclusions offered by other authors from the former communist countries of the Soviet Bloc, who pointed out to a limited role of Marxism in archaeological theory before 1989–1990 – see chapters by Bartosiewicz, Tomaskova, and Novakovic in this volume.

“pure facts” will be transformed into objective knowledge about history. Interestingly, the majority of practicing archaeologists, except for some representatives of the older generation, rejected as completely unjustified the fact that we create the evidence in the process of scientific discovery and its documentation.

The lack of communication and free exchange of ideas imposed by the post-WWII political order was devastating, especially in case of non-German traditions of thought and contributed to a vast gap in understanding between European and representatives of other world schools and approaches. The degree and characteristics of this isolation have been discussed at length (e.g., Marciniak and Rączkowski 1991; Barford 1993; Rączkowski 1996; Lech 1997–98). Particularly frustrating were the restrictions on foreign travel and free contact with the international archaeological community. The post-war period was also marked by restricted access to foreign literature which further reinforced the intellectual bias. It is worth noting, however, that the degree of isolation from the world behind the Iron Curtain, along with indoctrination and oppression, clearly differed in the successive phases of the post-war Poland.

The People’s Republic of Poland as the communist-governed state offered a period of economic stability for archaeology, which was then a state-funded discipline with well-developed system of practicing archaeology divided into four sectors with clearly defined roles and duties. These were: (1) the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences which was regarded as the most significant and prestigious archaeological institution responsible for pursuing research and setting up academic standards, (2) university departments were mainly responsible for education supplemented by research activities, (3) museums were in charge of protecting collections and popularizing archaeology, and (4) state cultural heritage preservation offices aimed to protect and manage the archaeological record and conduct small-scale rescue excavations.

Polish Archaeology in the Post-1989 Period: Developments

The changes triggered by the 1989 social revolution and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe brought about new social, political, and economic conditions that shaped the whole discipline and still impact the practice and structure of archaeology in the region. The collapse of the hierarchical system of archaeological structure and the rapid emergence of what might be labeled as neoliberal approach to archaeology was revolutionary when compared to a steady, more evolutionary process of change in archaeological thought and practice in western Europe. This new approach can be defined as a system in which the market is the primary catalyst of research (seen as semi-sacred), access to archaeological fieldwork is hardly controlled, investor is in charge of selecting and assessing quality of archaeological undertakings, and public outreach is determined by market regulations. I argue here that Polish archaeologists were not prepared for a thorough implementation of this new model of practicing archaeology and the consequences it brought about. It is

clear that some of its facets existed before 1989 but intensified under the new socioeconomic conditions. At the same time, many new structural developments took place, induced by the dramatic social and political changes in this period.

Archaeology in Academia

In result of democratic processes initiated in 1989 followed by openness to the external world as well as considerable growth of archaeological academic milieu, current Polish academic archaeology is diverse and complicated. Prehistoric archaeology worldwide is changing and monolithic research agendas disappear. Elements of various research strategies, schools, paradigms, and practices contribute to the creation and widening of a pool of potential archaeological resources, which remain highly unstructured and their borders blurred. Accordingly, any serious disciplinary concerns can no longer be cast and answered in terms of the polarities between normatively understood schools such as culture-history, processual, postprocessual, and other. Interparadigmatic debate and conflict is no longer relevant and feasible to the needs of contemporary archaeology, and its results are increasingly fruitless (see Marciniak 2006). This tendency is well evident in Polish archaeology. No coherent culture-history approach is practiced anymore and single projects are composed of a palimpsest of concepts, categories, methods, and agendas borrowed from different traditions and some fossilized orthodoxies of practicing archaeology. Explicit attempts of implementing foreign approaches and traditions are clearly evident (e.g., Minta-Tworzowska and Rączkowski 1996; Biehl et al. 2002).

The previously existing solid system of state sponsorship and the high status of scientists in the communist-run country collapsed (Kobyliński 2002:421; see also Tabaczyński 2001:43), partly as a result of shrinking governmental funding for science. At the same time, however, more money is being spent on education as evidenced by increasing significance of universities accompanied by continuous deterioration of the previously dominant position of the Polish Academy of Sciences. A great deal of funding for the discipline comes from rescue research financed by developers. In result, archaeologists are suddenly showing interest in legal matters and in the conservation tasks which previously have been the domain of the state offices for archaeological heritage protection.

The number of students increased dramatically contributing to the emergence of enormous departments of archaeology at universities that existed before 1989, and the creation of seven new ones since the socioeconomic transition. Altogether, archaeology can now be studied in thirteen departments at Polish universities. Consequently, there has been an exponential growth in both the numbers of professional archaeologists and the range of archaeological activities. This growth has clearly important social, scientific, and economic implications.

Political changes that followed the revolution of 1989 also created a completely new situation regarding communication and the international context of practicing archaeology. Cooperation between Polish archaeologists and the rest of the world in terms of joint projects, conferences, student exchange, excavations, etc., increased dramatically.

A shift toward the use of the English language definitely helped with communication as the significance of German, the former *lingua franca* of Central European archaeology, has decreased considerably. As a result, it is mostly the older generation that speaks German and communicates in this language. The increasing dominance of English further contributes to the isolation of colleagues whose English is faulty from the emerging mainstream of Polish, European, and world archaeology. Communication problems are certainly not limited to simple linguistic barriers, however. They are caused, to a considerable degree, by incompatibility of concepts, categories, and definitions followed by different archaeological communities.

Archaeological Heritage and Public Outreach

New socioeconomic conditions contributed to a greater destruction of the archaeological heritage due to large-scale infrastructural developments, intensification of agriculture leading to the destruction of archaeological sites, commercialization, and new dimensions of public engagement (Kobyliński 2001a:17; see also Lozny 1998) began to shape a panorama of Polish archaeology after 1989. Awareness of threats to the substance of the archaeological heritage (Kobyliński 2001a:19) due to the fast pace of its destruction is now much more common than two decades ago and archaeologists themselves are more aware of their own responsibility to protect this heritage. This new attitude is well epitomized in a departure from using terms such as “archaeological record” and its replacement by “archaeological heritage”. This is a fundamental shift that marks the recognition of cultural and social dimensions of archaeological sites and objects rather than their purely scientific content (Kobyliński 2001b:77). The archaeologist is no longer seen as discoverer of the past culture, but becomes a member of the larger community concerned with the degradation of the environment and the management of its finite “resources”. Doing archaeology is now seen by many archaeologists as public service that draws attention to the social role of their work and the relationship between the producer and consumer of archaeological data. Protection and management of archaeological data is no longer a matter of concern by the academic community but the public at large.

The upsurge in spatial development and urbanization across Europe over the past decades, in particular huge infrastructure projects such as such pipelines from Russia to western Europe and the network of highways and expressways have contributed to the destruction of numerous archaeological sites and cultural landscapes. The ratified by Poland in 1996 Valetta Convention on the protection of the archaeological heritage has considerably broadened and strengthened the goals of current archaeology to include, alongside research and valorization, also the integrated management, protection and promotion of our common archaeological heritage.

Rescue excavations have been carried out in Poland before 1989. Some spectacular large investments of the communist era were accompanied by well-organized and properly conducted rescue excavations for instance in Nowa Huta near Kraków in the 1950s, although this was not a common practice, as the case

of the Katowice Steelworks constructed in the 1970s demonstrates. The large-scale rescue excavation project conducted in relation to the construction of a gas pipeline from Siberia to western Europe was the first major project in the post-1989 period. Despite the fact that it was carried out under the legal provisions established during the communist period, the wealthy investor – EuroPolGaz – expressed a good will to finance all archaeological works. The organizational structure proposed for the gas pipeline rescue excavations project was the precedent for the formulation of a new conservation and protection of archaeological heritage doctrine in the country. After some modifications, it was later implemented during the highways projects.

The Polish motorway program to construct a 2,300 km long network of major expressways and highways was accepted in June 1995. Since 1997 archaeological rescue excavations are being conducted on 80–100 m wide right-of-way corridor for the planned roads. This huge undertaking involves a complex program which aims to mitigate adverse effects by detecting, investigating, and documenting all archaeological sites threatened by the planned constructions (Figs. 1 and 2).

As mentioned above, the post-WWII period brought about a strict division of state-controlled archaeological institutions according to their specializations and responsibilities. Accordingly, Centers for Monument Protection were designated to protect archaeological monuments and artifacts by conducting rescue excavations aimed at data recovery. Such projects gained the lowest status in the ranks of research undertakings under the pre-1989 system, which led to the creation of a distinction between “research” and “rescue” excavations, the latter marked by clearly pejorative undertone in the Polish archaeological jargon. This situation changed completely within the last two decades. Presently, the Centers for Monument Protection do not exist and academic institutions, including university



Fig. 1 Targowisko, site 11, A4 highway (after Naglik 2005)



Fig. 2 Zagórze, site 2, A4 highway (after Naglik 2005)

departments, along with the newly emerged privately owned archaeological resource management companies engage in rescue archaeology.

Such dynamic development of rescue archaeology within the last two decades significantly shaped the character of Polish archaeology, particularly evident in its commercialization. The emergence of private archaeological firms working on rescue projects led to the rapid creation of a new professional group on the archaeological market, characterized by high efficiency in conducting large-scale, long-term excavation projects. Comparing this to the pre-1989 model of small, almost “family” excavations, the current change should undoubtedly be regarded as “revolutionary”. In fact, archaeological fieldwork in present-day Poland is almost exclusively carried out within the framework of preventive archaeology, including surveys, evaluations, recording, and excavations before the planned infrastructural projects.

All these developments also involved considerable changes in the organizational structure for the protection and management of the archaeological heritage in the context of free market economy. Unfortunately, despite many attempts and propositions offered by subsequent governments, an effective strategy for dealing with the threats to archaeological heritage in Poland is still lacking (see Barford and Kobyliński 1998:461–464).

The last two decades also marked the use of archaeological evidence for the creation of collective memories of local communities but different from the past uses when archaeological data sponsored nationalistic claims. The public is being recognized as a stakeholder in the decision-making process regarding heritage management and its role as a consumer of the products of archaeological activity is apparent. Advances in information technology have enforced greater openness of archaeological activities and resulted in the breakdown of the previously dominant elitist attitudes of the professional archaeological circles.

Polish Archaeology in the Post-1989 Period: Challenges and Solutions

Archaeology in Academia

A social history of Polish archaeology in the last two decades can be described in terms of copying with challenges posed by multiscale developments, a particularly difficult situation to confront because the post-communist Poland lacks many attributes of the affluent West such as solid democratic governance, good infrastructure, or sufficient funding. At the same time, aspirations of Polish archaeologists are defined in association to increasingly wealthier and prosperous world. Thus, Polish archaeology can be linked to a global context, in which globalization is responsible for numerous tensions not because they actually happened but because they cannot materialize (see Cohen 2006). I identify four strategies that characterize present approaches to these challenges: (a) the Pareto trap, (b) the “ivory tower” syndrome, (c) simplification of regional traditions, and (d) hybridization of the academic practice.

One major tendency in Polish as well as other Central European archaeologies of the 1990s was to catch up with the West in order to mitigate supposed backwardness as seen particularly from the Anglo-Saxon perspective. This was believed to be a never-ending pursuit of reputedly more advanced archaeological thought. A number of previously unknown, alien categories, concepts, and methods have been incorporated into local research; in most instances uncritically, adding little to the known, inherited traditions. The coherence of results obtained through the application of such syncretic approach has hardly been addressed and “add a foreign model and stir” would be a more accurate description of what actually transpired.

However, as it has been explicitly pointed out (e.g., Tabaczyński 2002), Polish archaeologists should avoid the so-called Vilfredo Pareto “trap.” Pareto rightfully stressed that “... progress, at any given time, runs along a curve, but so that it can occur, people must view the aim along the tangent at its point of contact. The problem exists, insofar as the formulas that are the systems of this relationship, change before the goal is reached, thus, the distance between the goal and our aim cannot be completely overcome; what we are dealing with is a continuous chase ...” (after Bauman 1993:21). His point identifies the impossibility of catching up with any paradigm, as it is constantly changing and becomes unrealistic point of reference. Consequently, no “transition” from one paradigm to the other is possible. What has been proposed instead is a “transformation” model stressing the relatively autonomous internal development of theoretical self-reflection supported through collaboration with other disciplines. This model does not specify any predefined goals, but rather describes a process of incorporating various experiences and deepening critical reflections.

While a number of Polish archaeologists explicitly realized they were working on the ruins of ivory towers, many still want to believe the tower is actually more solid than ever and became an ideal hideout. A reaction to a stream of indigestible information has been an escape to these towers where they could live a slow, quite, and safe life. These archaeologists consequently avoid any contacts with the outer world as they are unprepared to grasp a cacophony of ideas attacking them from all over the place.

Another approach is the simplification of regional traditions, in particular German archaeology, in an attempt to secure archaeologists' own identity, retain power and treat it as some kind of protection against globalization. Consequently, the distinctiveness of German archaeology is often explicitly created and manipulated to meet certain goals in practicing contemporary local archaeologies. Its perception is simplified, modified, and caricatured by those for whom it continues to be a frame of reference. The German legacy is believed to be the only "good and solid" approach and is used to build up power and dominance in some academic circles. Advocates of such a simplistic picture of German archaeology do not want to notice its internal developments in recent years, which make its coherent definition increasingly difficult.

Contemporary archaeology does not develop along a single axis but rather incorporates elements from various research strategies, schools, practices, and paradigms, creating an ever-increasing pool of potential archaeological resources. As indicated earlier, it is characterized by the disappearance of monumental research agendas, and the previously considered as coherent traditions of some academic centers are now gone. Presently applied categories overlap and crosscut each other. Consequently, the borders of national archaeologies become increasingly blurred. Thus, it is not justified to talk about national schools as well as clearly delimited paradigms (see Biehl et al. 2002; Kadrow 2008) and, therefore, any attempt to conceptualize the condition of contemporary archaeology on the basis of normatively defined entities (as postulated for instance by Minta-Tworzowska 2002:61) fails to capture the very nature of the changes we are witnessing.

In a global world, contrary to what one may expect, the significance of national and religious identities increases. This may explain rapid explosion of vivid discussions in the last two decades concerning reevaluation of a long-lasting dilemma of the origin of Slavs (e.g., Godłowski 2000; Kokowski 2002; Piontek 1993, 2006; Parczewski 2005), which was hardly an issue following the political abuse of archaeology by nationalists and communists. In the 1970s and the 1980s, the issue of the origin of Slavs was regarded as an irresolvable and presented as related to the history of the discipline. Consequently, archaeology was believed to have nothing to contribute to this debate. This changed dramatically following the collapse of communism.

When compared with the pre-1989 period, there are fewer clearly political or ideological demands on present-day archaeology such as the need to prove the Polish character of the so-called Regained Territories in the post-1945 decades. New problems emerged after the socioeconomic transition, however, which relate to moral choices archaeologists must face. Deprived of the high social status and frustrated by impoverishment, archaeologists are confronted with the temptations of consumer society.

These new conditions along with poor financing of Polish science in general and the new pressure from the private sector paved the way for academic institutions to engage in competition for rescue archaeology contracts. For some institutions, e.g., the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, these contracts became sources of acquiring substantial financial support for other research projects. Consequently, the early stage of the motorway rescue archaeology was

characterized by the emergence of numerous archaeological consortia in which academic institutes placed a vital role. Small, privately owned archaeological firms were only allowed to participate in these projects as sub-contractors. It has to be emphasized that the role played by academic institutes in contract archaeology has far-reaching consequences as it secures both high scientific standard of fieldworks and academic interest in broadening the knowledge of the past of the studied region.

From a short-sighted, strictly economic point of view, the involvement of academic archaeologists in contract archaeology may be seen as favorable for the development of archaeological activities. In fact, it is quite dangerous for the future of our discipline, because it drives academic archaeologists away from teaching and research as well as channels the way in which archaeological evidence is created and in which it will be transferred to future generations.

Archaeological Heritage Preservation and Outreach Programs

The inception of gas pipeline rescue excavation projects initiated serious discussions on legal, organizational, and methodological standards of fieldworks and their implementation in practice. A legislative framework for the future large-scale rescue project is provided by the *Land Management and Building and Construction Act* as well as the *Law for the Construction of Motorways in Poland*, both passed in 1994. The investor was obligated to cover the costs of rescue excavations, documentation, and analyses of the results. These regulations were later combined into a new legislative initiative known as the *Protection of Monuments and the Stewardship of Monuments Act* passed in 2003. The Act makes it clear that all archaeological sites regardless of their quality and significance are protected by law. The provisions of the Act stipulate that as far as field methods and standards of documentation, all rescue works should be conducted in the same manner as any other research projects and investors are obligated to cover all the costs. Furthermore, it is required that the excavated materials are professionally analyzed and preferably published. When proved necessary, the objects need to undergo a proper conservation. The investor was officially obliged to cover costs of all these works.

Following these legal regulations, two contradictory solutions were proposed with regard to the organizational structure of rescue archaeology. The first model, which was in place for many years, assumed a leading role for a special body responsible for controlling and monitoring of all elements of the rescue program and working under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. In this case, the provincial culture heritage preservation offices were responsible for issuing formal permits only and remained in fact excluded from decision making regarding other elements of the project. The second model allocated a leading role in all aspects of rescue projects to the provincial culture heritage preservation offices, but in fact it never materialized. It is beyond the scope of this paper to speculate about the reasons, but it is clear that the culture heritage preservation offices were, and still are, poorly financed, understaffed, and may have not been

able to efficiently handle huge operations like rescue archaeological research on a pipeline. In both models, however, some degree of professional control over standards and quality of works was retained.

Currently, the situation of rescue archaeology is considerably different. A special central governmental body dealing with rescue archaeology was dismissed and the newly implemented legal and organizational propositions promote a withdrawal of state agencies from coordination and control of large-scale rescue works. This creates ambiguity in the controlling and reviewing processes as there is no adequate monitoring of the quality of works by any external institution. Controlling and reviewing responsibilities of large-scale rescue works are in fact conducted exclusively by the investor-appointed committees made up of investor-employed administrative staff including archaeologists. This obviously rules out objectivity and neutrality of opinions as well as critical reviews of the quality of works.

Liberalization of the rules regarding large-scale rescue archaeology project in today's Poland changed the relationship between investors and contractors, which until now were based on a compromise accommodating free market rules on one side, and the requirements for monument protection on the other. In particular, it was required that the contractor had a sufficient number of qualified staff, experienced in conducting large-scale fieldworks and proficient in the research of a given region, as well as appropriate storage facilities.

The move of funding responsibilities from the state to private developer prompted by implementing the idea of cultural heritage management, brought about new concerns to archaeology regarding professional standards and accountability. Managerial in their nature decisions based on argued presentation and justification has led to important changes in the way we see all kinds of archaeological data and the need to assess their significance and value. The concept of "management" implies strict decision making regarding the aims and means of attaining certain goals, selection of priorities, and a holistic approach to the research process.

Large-scale infrastructure projects associated with pan-European investments, such as pipelines from Russia to western Europe and the network of motorways, built mainly by private investors in the Build-Operate-Transfer system demanded rescue excavations and inevitably contributed to the commercialization of archaeological activities. This shift is well manifested in the emergence of a large number of private archaeological companies, a tendency reported also in other countries of the region (e.g., dramatic increase of German *Grabungsfirmer* Härke 2002:20). A new and previously unknown category of archaeologists emerged, namely professional contract archaeologists known for high efficiency in conducting large-scale and long-term excavation campaigns. The quality of their works, however, is in many instances beyond acceptable standards.

The experience gained in the last years by both academic and private institutions involved in rescue projects implies that implementation of ambitious research routines is increasingly difficult in the context of the rescue project rationale. Systematic employment of certain routine procedures such as dry sieving or rigid sampling regimes is increasingly difficult as they considerably slow down the excavation process and prove to be very risky in a stiff time constraints. This is

particularly evident in the context in which all areas within archaeological features are set to be excavated. Additionally, the utilization of both methods contributes to budgetary increase, far too high to make the entire project profitable. Interestingly, the rescue campaigns proved to be pretty successful in mobilization and implementation of non-destructive methods, particularly magnetometry and aerial photography (Barford and Kobylński 1998:477).

One way of dealing with the challenges posed by discussed developments is through proper education. A need for developing and upgrading vocational skills in the sector of archaeological heritage protection and management, decision makers and experts at different level, and the public is a must, taking into account the current state of heritage preservation policies across Europe (see Fairclough and Møller 2008 for more discussion). Recent decades brought about dynamic changes in this field in Europe, which are not sufficiently known among people professionally responsible for the protection and management of archaeological heritage in particular countries (e.g., Londen et al. 2009). Furthermore, despite strengthening the scope of cooperation among heritage protection agencies, access to available resources including EU-founded projects is still not commonly known in Poland.

Another face of commercialization of the archaeological practice in Poland in addition to rescue excavations comes in form of popular open-air festivals and fairs. Recent years witnessed a rapid increase in their organizations. The largest of them is an annual festival in Biskupin, the icon of Polish archaeology, and has become a model for similar events organized by local museums across Poland (Brzeziński 2001:187). The first festival in Biskupin was organized in 1995 and was attended by ca. 50,000 visitors (Brzeziński 1998:499), and the number of spectators in succeeding years increased. After more than a decade of its existence, it is clear that the festival is a commercial success, while its anticipated educational functions have largely been unmet. Instead, in order to attract visitors there is a tendency to create a *mélange* of various episodes from the past. Thus, the ancient Egyptians interact with the Slavs reenacting their medieval lifestyle, who themselves stand next to prehistoric flint knappers.

Conclusions

The combined effects of globalization and democratization radically altered and expanded contemporary Polish archaeology in terms of its academic practices, its professionalism, involvement in archaeological heritage protection as well as its commitments and responsibilities to the public. However, at the same time, these developments made Polish archaeology more distinct from other European archaeologies. As pointed out by Cohen (2006), characteristic features of globalization such as new means of communication, access to new technologies, organizational solutions are easier and faster available in the center than in the periphery making a gap between the two increasingly broaden. The centers consequently are getting rid of the less demanding tasks that are being allocated to the periphery (e.g., numerous

Polish, Czech, Lithuanian, Hungarian archaeologists employed as cheap labor in Ireland and the UK). Globalization is responsible for a wide distribution of images representing prosperity, wealth, high level of education, solutions in the domain of heritage management and protection, etc., rather than actual spread of all these elements around the globe. These images, however, create aspirations which themselves are in a constant state of flux in the relation to ever-changing world. This can only create frustrations and deepen the existing differences. This mechanism is evident in a chaotic way Polish archaeology is coping with these newly emerging challenges. The academic sector cannot come to terms with the situation in which private commercial firms dominate the market of rescue archaeology contracts. No satisfactory solution has been offered here as yet. At the same time, the idea of a special institution in charge for setting up standards, controlling and conducting rescue archaeology is gone. After almost two decades since the socioeconomic transition, the lack of consensus on the methods used on large rescue projects is astounding, while public outreach is equated with highly commercialised but educationally dubious festivals. Additionally, it is not clear what the legislative requirements may be like in the future. Under these new circumstances, it is also not possible to predict at this moment how the delivery and dissemination of the vast body of excavated materials will be processed (analyzed and published) in the nearest future.

It is clear, however, that it is impossible to keep a high academic standard any longer while limiting fieldwork to digging certain categories of sites such as inhumation cemeteries and complex settlement structures according to methodologies designed for rescue archaeology regimes. Present budgetary constraints, as compared to the situation from the end of the 1990s and early years of this decade related to rescue contracts, inflict the need for fast excavation process which clearly favors small private companies and may lead to their absolute domination on the market of rescue archaeology contracts in the nearest future. Academic archaeology would have no choice but to accept the fact that a major sector of field archaeological activities will soon find itself beyond their control. The fact that rescue projects produce a vast body of material that will need to be systematically studied, published, and properly stored in the years to come complicates the problem further.

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Polish Archaeology in Retrospective

Ludomir R. Lozny

Introduction

In 1989/1990, a systemic transition began in several Eastern European countries and prompted my interest in the condition of the social sciences, and especially archaeology. I was interested in examining how archaeology related to the socio-economic and political settings under the communist rule and what is its status quo under the new regimes. In November 1993, I made an exploratory trip to Eastern Europe and subsequently, in 1997–1998, spent 10 months in the region, mostly in Poland, as a Fulbright scholar visiting various academic centers, interviewing local scholars, participating in conferences and meetings, attending and teaching classes. My interest was twofold: to collect data on the history of archaeology under the communist rule and on the present condition of the discipline in order to assess the scope of changes. I also wanted to participate in the ongoing research and studies carried out by my colleagues. Personal contacts and face-to-face casual and scheduled interviews seemed the best strategy to collect information unavailable in print. My research method can be compared with the ethnographic participant observation technique (Jorgensen 1989; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). I was pursuing the ethnography of archaeology, which comprised my participation in the academic activities of people under study but with maintaining a professional distance that allowed adequate observation and recording of data. This approach gave me an opportunity to penetrate the subject in full depth. The fundamental question that guided my research was as follows: How was eastern European archaeological theory and practice controlled under the communist regime and did they change under the new socioeconomic and political conditions created through the systemic transition? I was primarily interested in the following:

- How archaeology relates to political and socioeconomic settings?
- What theoretical approaches guide research?

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- How is archaeology structured and administered in this newly reformed system?
- How is archaeology sponsored and how funds are distributed among variety of research proposals?
- What is the future of archaeology in this part of Europe?

My preliminary assumption was that despite new political and economic settings, theoretical concepts broadly remain within the traditional culture–history paradigm mixed with elements of the Marxian approach, while practicing archaeology has changed somewhat. Here I can only briefly summarize the results of my studies, which in general point out that archaeology in Poland is still structured according to the pre-1989 model and the currently existing pattern of administering the field is not very different from the pre-1990 schema except for the outcrop of newly formed culture resource management companies (private and state-run), a phenomenon discussed by Marciniak in this book.

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

- Did the recent systemic transformation impact the social sciences and archaeology in particular and to what extend?
- Has theoretical paradigm shifted and what factor(s) dominated the change?
- How the new socioeconomic conditions impact research agendas? How projects are financed?

The primary goal of this study is to evaluate the current status of archaeology in Poland. Theory, practice and structure of the field are discussed.

A Brief Political History of Archaeology in Poland 1945–1990¹

I am interested in the political history of archaeology from 1945 to 1990, marked by two milestone historical events:

- The end of WWII, which brought about a new social, economic, and political constellation.
- The social revolution of 1989–1990, which complicated the region’s socioeconomics and politics even more.

The significance of the last five decades cannot be underestimated as the region served as a “social laboratory,” where revolutionary ideas regarding culture, science, social organization, politics, and economics were more, and sometimes less, successfully applied. This period of 55 years, from 1945 until 1990, should be divided into few shorter episodes. The subperiods I propose here relate to political changes, which did not always impact archaeology directly but created certain socioeconomic and political conditions bearing indirect effect on archaeologists

¹For a comprehensive historical review of Polish archaeology see Abramowicz 1991; unfortunately this excellent book is available in Polish only.

and their thoughts and practice. For instance, due to political changes in the 1960s, and especially during the 1970s, more archaeologists were allowed to visit western countries, and official contacts among Polish universities and the Institute of History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, and several western academic institutions have been established (France, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and the United States), and these contacts impacted archaeological theory and practice to some extent.

Between 1945 and 1980, seven universities² offered degrees in archaeology and produced 1,389 graduates (Fig. 1). Two significant peaks in the number of graduates are clearly visible in 1955–1956 ($N=125$) and 1980 ($N=124$) (Fig. 2). Graduates declared specialization in one (and some more than one) of the eight major fields of archaeology (Table 1). Archaeology of that time was not male-dominated³ and the ratio of men and women graduates for the whole period is almost 1:1 (Fig. 3).

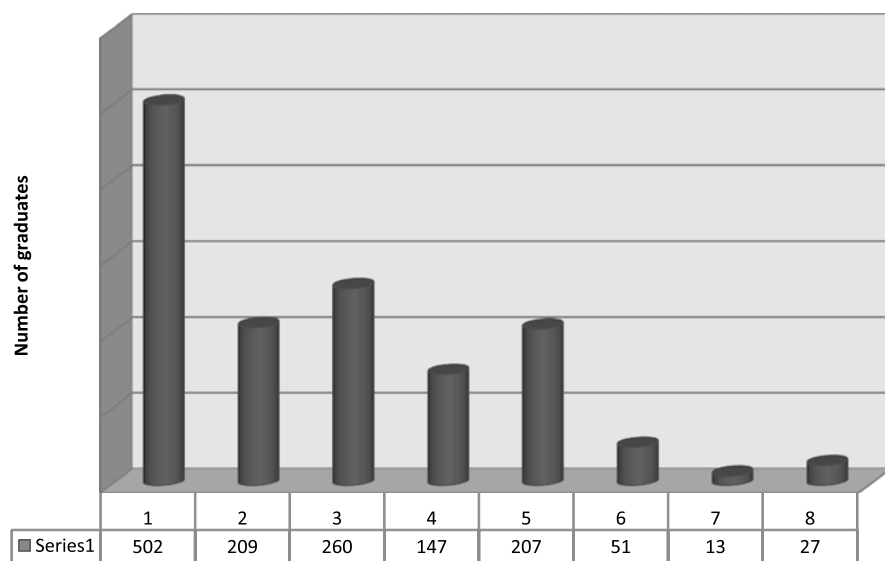


Fig. 1 Graduates 1949–1980, $N=1,416$. (data used in all figures after Bialecka and Bochenek 1981). Warsaw University, Warsaw. Jagiellonian University, Krakow. Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan. Lodz University, Lodz. Wrocław University, Wrocław. Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin. Mikołaj Kopernik University, Torun. Other university (non-Polish)

²(1) Warsaw University, (2) Jagiellonian University in Krakow (also referred to as Krakow University), (3) Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan (also referred to as Poznan University), (4) Lodz University, (5) Wrocław University, (6) Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin (also referred to as Lublin University), and (7) Mikołaj Kopernik University in Torun (referred to as Torun University).

³See Janik and Zawadzka (1998) for a detailed discussion on gender relations in Polish archaeology.

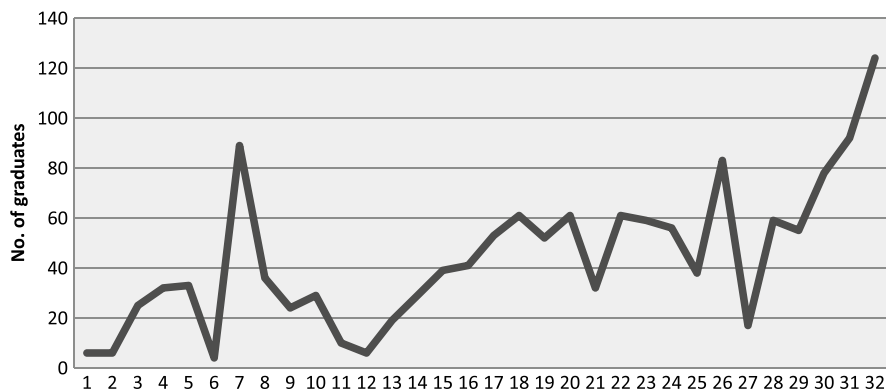


Fig. 2 Graduates by year during the 32-year period from 1949 to 1980, $N=1,416$

Table 1 Graduates 1949–1980 by specialization and gender

Period	Males	Females	N
Stone Age	38	31	69
Neolithic Period	89	71	160
Bronze Age	82	88	170
Iron Age	68	75	143
La Tene and Roman Period	106	96	202
Middle Ages	148	157	305
Modern Times	30	19	49
Mediterranean region	129	135	264
N	690	672	1,362 ^a

^aThis number is different from the number of all graduates 1949–1980 in Fig. 1 because: (1) not all graduates graduated from Polish universities, and (2) not all graduates declared specialization

The Formative Period 1945–1956

The post-WWII period from the late 1945 to the 1947 was politically uncertain but in 1947 the Communist Party gained power (through rigged elections) and the hard-line Stalinist ruling had begun (see Davies 1982:570 for a brief description of the period in English). The period between 1953 and 1956 was the terminal phase for the Stalinist version of Marxism.

Until the beginning of 1950s, the state of Polish archaeology was ambiguous in terms of theory and practice and earlier traditions were commonly followed. With the inception of the Institute of History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences in 1953, a new theoretical guideline has been outlined. The creation of the Institute reflected the idea that it is primarily the material conditions of social existence which should be studied. But the theoretical orientation propagated in this institution was different from that offered at the university courses, which were also oriented toward

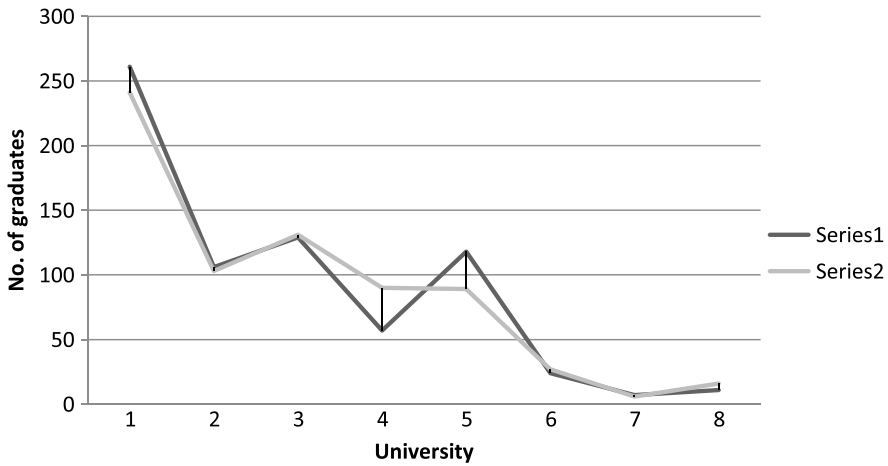


Fig. 3 Graduates 1949–1980 by gender, N=1,416. Series 1 – males, N=713; Series 2 – females, N=703

studying the material culture but in a culture–history context. The emphasis on the study of material culture was not in violation of the traditional culture–history approach as both were broadly founded in the positivistic, empirical methodological approach to researching the past. The difference was in the evolutionary outlook presented by the simplified Marxian-based approach as oppose to a particularistic view of the historical approach. During the 1950s, studies of the history of material culture have been offered at the universities in Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, and Poznan.

Stanislaw Tabaczynski (1995) described the academic training in the early 1950s. The program of the study of the history of material culture lasted for five years and consisted of three years of courses in prehistory and classical archaeology, ethnography, and anthropology, as well as the study of the medieval and post-medieval material culture, and the following two years were spent in specializing in one of these subjects. In addition to courses in archaeology and ethnography obligatory classes were taught by eminent scholars, who specialized in numismatics, historic cartography, economics, history of art, linguistics, and the Marxian versions of economy and philosophy. Students from the three other universities that offered degrees in archaeology at that time (Krakow, Warsaw, and Lodz) participated in seminars on theory of historical research and seminars on various trends in philosophy led by scholars specially invited for this purpose from Warsaw University.

In Search for Identity 1956–1970

In October 1956, after a series of social upheavals, nationalistically oriented communists gained power (Davies 1982:584–586) and internal policies changed. This period is strongly related to the celebration of the millennium of the Polish state, observed in 1966, and many archaeological activities aimed at that historic occasion.

The 1960s were important for Polish archaeology, namely for two reasons: more Polish scholars than ever before were allowed to visit Western Europe (also the number of scholars from the West visiting Poland increased), and the job market expanded. The newly launched large-scale projects related to the millennial celebrations required well-trained staff. New departments of archaeology have been established and the number of graduates increased significantly from its low in 1960 to quite moderate by the end of the 1960s (Fig. 2). Many jobs opening were offered at that time, and those who graduated in 1955–1956 occupied the most prominent positions in archaeology until the end of the twentieth century, when the class of 1980 began to dominate Polish archaeology.

Academic curriculum was adjusted after the 1956 political change and the scheme of the history of material culture, which overwhelmed university training, lessened as other Marxist-inspired critical reflections began to appear in Polish universities. The University of Poznan was the most influential Polish school of philosophy of science at that time, particularly the circle of scholars around Jerzy Kmita, and inspired the methodology of historical disciplines (see Kobylinski 1991 for references). Since that time ethnography and archaeology became mutually isolated within the university programs. By the end of this period, some theoretical discussions have been ignited by the 1968 publication of David Clarke's *Analytical Archaeology* (Abramowicz 1991:187–188), and it certainly inspired the publication of a set of papers on theoretical issues in English (Schild 1980). Polish archaeologists of that time overwhelmingly discussed issues framed within the culture–historical paradigm, namely chronology, typology, and cultural taxonomy, all serving one purpose, as pointed out by Kobylinski (ibid), ...*the establishment of the origins of ethnic groups, their culture and the detection of the influences between them...* . Otherwise, Anglo-American-guided theories were mute in Polish archaeology of those years, while some discussions have been inspired by the *Annales* School and the French school of the Stone Age research on the variability of lithic industries and definition of type.

The Golden Years 1970–1989/1990

December 1970 witnessed the deepest political crisis since 1956 (Davies 1982: 590–591; 595–600). The new government formed of liberal-oriented communists turned the decade of the 1970s to a time of unprecedented in the former Soviet Bloc satellite countries economic growth and openness to the West.

The job situation improved in 1973 when the division of the country into 49 provinces created the opportunity to establish over 30 new positions of provincial archaeologist as well as numerous positions at the national heritage registry offices. Permanent positions for numerous staff archaeologists were offered at universities and the institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Also, contract archaeology was at its peak. Those were the “the golden years” of Polish archaeology.

Similar patterns can be observed in other countries, although not at the same scale (Laszłowski and Siklody 1991; Neustupny 1991).

In the beginning of the 1980s, the number of projects decreased, namely due to a financial hardship characteristic for the entire Soviet system (and the world). This situation continued until 1983 because of the martial law regulations imposed on December 13, 1981. Since then a decline in number of projects and publications as well as in job opportunities is visible. As the decade progressed, the crisis in eastern European archaeology became apparent. However, it is interesting to note that by the same time a number of theoretically oriented publications increased somewhat. Since the mid-1980s, more archaeologists than ever were allowed to visit the West, namely Germany and Scandinavia, and participated in exchange programs and different projects. Polish archaeologists also participated in the first World Archaeology Congress meeting in Southampton, England in 1986.

In the beginning of the 1980s, the seminar led by Stanisław Tabaczynski became the main center of theoretical discussion in Poland.⁴ However, most of the Polish archaeological community remained indifferent to these intellectual efforts. In general, Polish archaeologists continued traditional theoretical interests and only minor influence of foreign ideas, mostly French and also limited British and American influence, can be noticed although not without a tint of Marxist flavor.⁵ The gap between the practitioners and theoreticians broadened, and theoretical discussions have been monopolized by a very small group. In the 1970s until 1980, several methodological papers devoted to the discussion on archaeological culture and the methods of their archaeological determination were published (Tabaczynski 1971, 1976; Palubicka 1974; Kozłowski 1975; Godłowski 1976; Konopka 1978; Drozdek 1980). These isolated publications were not followed by any coherent discussion.

Certain theoretical and methodological sympathies can also be determined by looking at different terminologies such as “archaeology” vs. “prehistory” used by Polish archaeologists. These are not just different terms but they incorporate different meanings. Kobylinski (1991) summarized this long-lasting discussion as follows: *Much energy has been spent on discussing the definitions of the terms “archaeology” and “prehistory” and the question whether archaeology is an independent scientific discipline or a discipline auxiliary to prehistory. (...) archaeology has a twofold nature, independent and auxiliary at the same time. (...) Although this opinion seems to be generally accepted in Polish archaeology, there are still traces of different regional tradition in the understanding of the subject and its scientific status.* At present, for example, in Warsaw and Krakow, one can study archaeology in but in Poznan prehistory is taught.

⁴I do not see the Warsaw school of thought as alternative to the Poznan school, but as its derivative. This statement requires detailed explanation for which there is not space in this chapter.

⁵For instance the conference *Mysl przez pryzmat rzeczy* (thought identified through artifacts) organized in Warsaw in 1984 (Kobylinski et al. 1988). Even if these attempts seem awkward today, the effort should be appreciated.

After the Social Revolution of the 1989/1990

This period is discussed by Marciniak in this book. One of the key spheres of archaeological activity discussed by Marciniak relates to the enormous increase in culture resource management activities. However, this area of archaeological practice still requires serious adjustments. Several publications discussing the principles of culture research management were published in Poland (for instance Lozny 1999; Kobylinski 2001). A preliminary assessment of the status of Polish archaeology in the early years after the transformation was also presented by Schild (1993).

Polish Archaeologists 1949–1980

In the period 1949–1980, seven Polish universities produced 1,398 archaeologists and 27 graduated from other, non-Polish universities (Fig. 1) (Bialecka and Bochenek 1981). The number of graduates by year for the entire 32-year period is presented in Fig. 2. A brief review suggests that 1955 and 1980 were the most significant years for the number of graduates (89 and 124, respectively). The combined class of 1955–1956 ($N=125$) dominated and shaped Polish archaeology in the second part of the twentieth century, while the class of 1980 ($N=124$) dominates archaeological research in the beginning of the twenty-first century. Interestingly, the ratio of men and women graduates throughout the discussed period was very close (males, $N=713$; females, $N=703$) in all universities except Lodz University, where women graduated in larger number, and Wroclaw University, where men dominated (Fig. 3). As for professional interests, the most popular specialization among men was archaeology of the Middle Ages followed by La Tene and the Roman Period, and a similar tendency is visible regarding females. Males dominated the studies on the Stone Age, the Neolithic Period, La Tene and the Roman Period, and archaeology of modern times. Females were mostly interested in archaeology of the Bronze Age, the Iron Age in general, and the Middle Ages. Archaeology of the Mediterranean region was also more popular among females (Table 1 and Figs. 4–19).

Warsaw University produced most archaeologists during the discussed period ($N=502$), followed by Poznan University ($N=260$), the Jagiellonian University ($N=209$), and Wroclaw University ($N=207$). As for field specialization, Warsaw University dominated among men and women who specialized in archaeology of the Stone Age, followed by the Jagiellonian University (Figs. 5 and 6). The Adam Mickiewicz University was most popular among men who were interested in archaeology of the Neolithic Period, followed by Warsaw University and the Jagiellonian University. Females interested in the Neolithic Period also favored Warsaw and Krakow and additionally Lodz University (Figs. 6 and 7). Women specializing in archaeology of the Bronze Age studied mostly in the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and Wroclaw University, followed by Warsaw and the Jagiellonian Universities, while men preferred the Adam Mickiewicz and the Jagiellonian over Wroclaw and Warsaw Universities (Figs. 8 and 9).

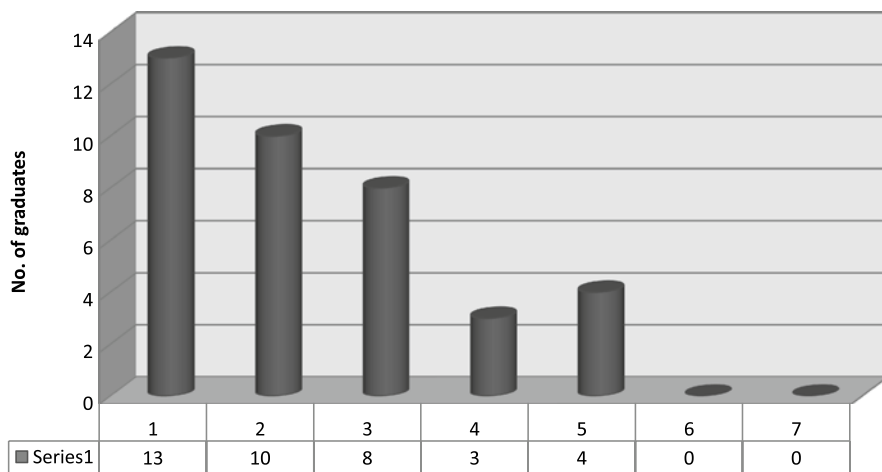


Fig. 4 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Stone Age, $N=38$

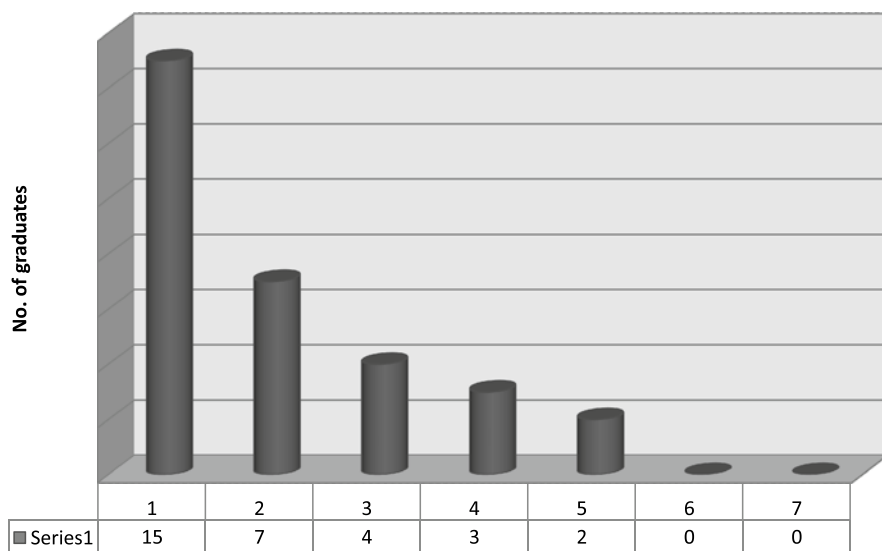


Fig. 5 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Stone Age, $N=31$

Among specialists in the Iron Age, females favored Poznan, Warsaw, and Lodz Universities, while males went to the Adam Mickiewicz University, followed by the Jagiellonian, Warsaw, and Lodz Universities (Figs. 10 and 11). Warsaw University was most popular among females who specialized in archaeology of the La Tene and the Roman Period, while males interested in the same times favored Wroclaw, Warsaw, and Poznan Universities (Figs. 12 and 13). Archaeology

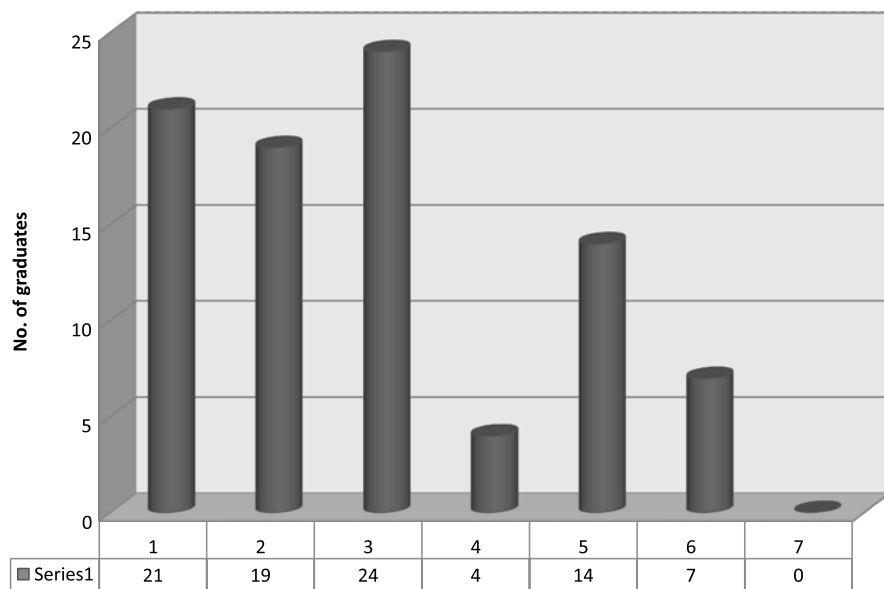


Fig. 6 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Neolithic Period, $N=89$

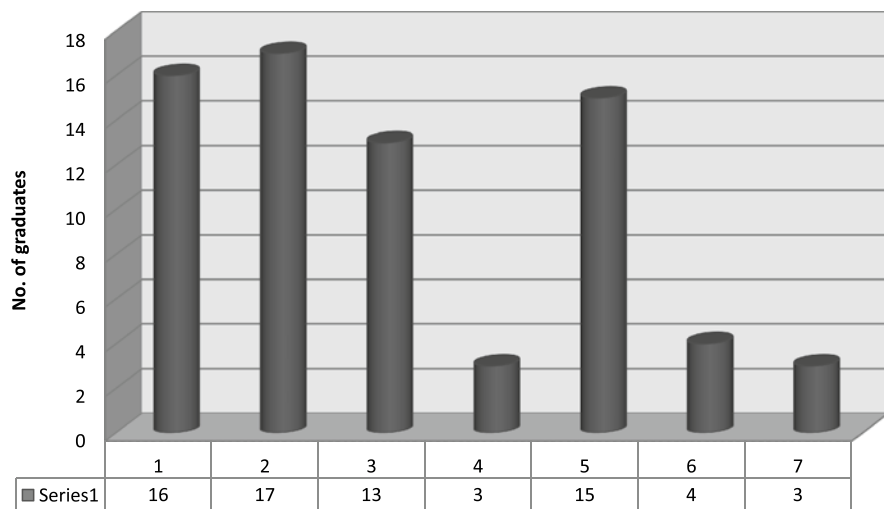
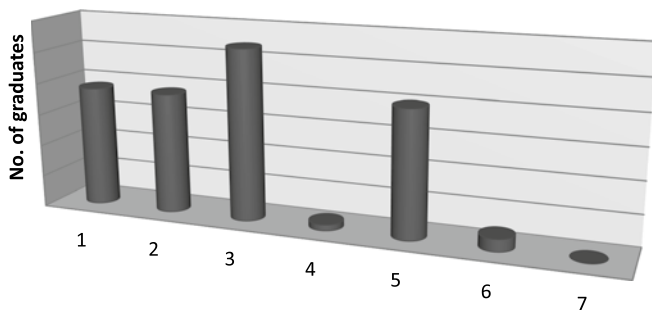


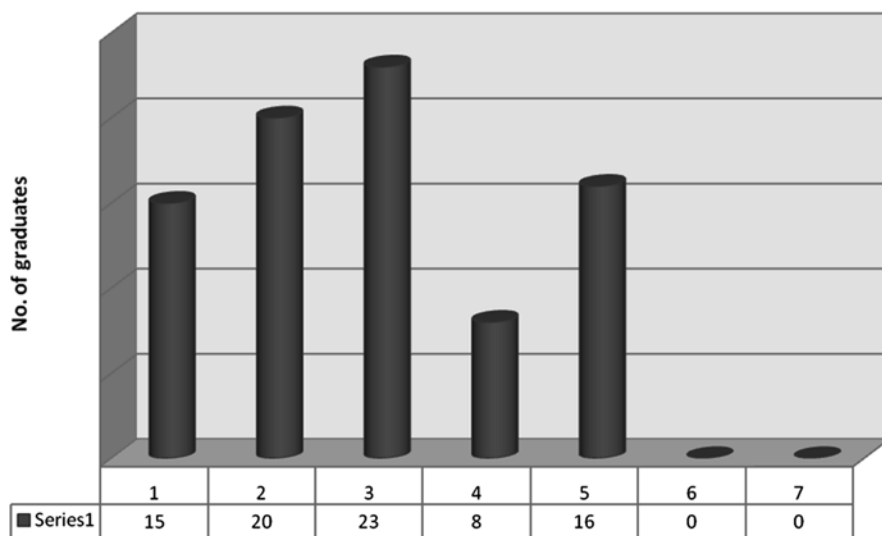
Fig. 7 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Neolithic Period, $N=71$



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
■ Series1	19	19	27	1	20	2	0

Fig. 8 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Bronze Age, *N*=88

Male graduates 1949-1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Bronze Age



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
■ Series1	15	20	23	8	16	0	0

Fig. 9 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Bronze Age, *N*=82

of the Middle Ages was the most popular specialization among Polish archaeologists and Warsaw and Poznan produced most female graduates, while men went mostly to Poznan, Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Lodz Universities (Figs. 14 and 15). Archaeology of modern times was the least popular specialization in Poland; females mostly graduated from Warsaw University followed by Lodz University,

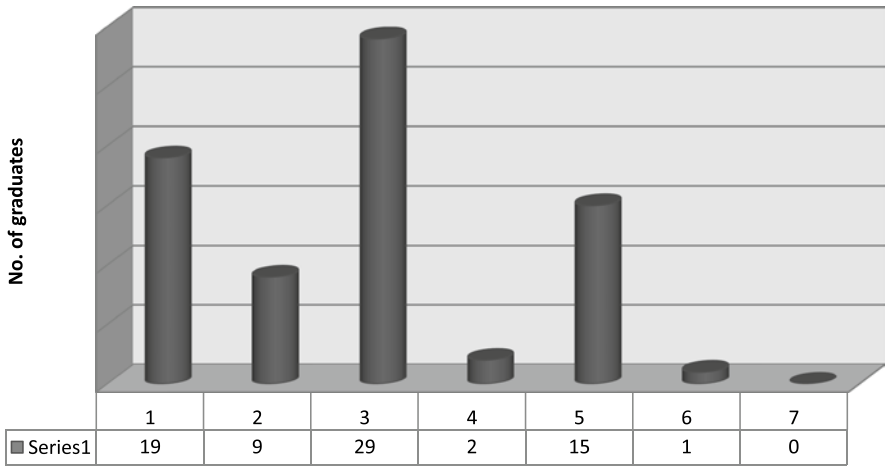


Fig. 10 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Iron Age, $N=75$

Male graduates 1949-1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Iron Age

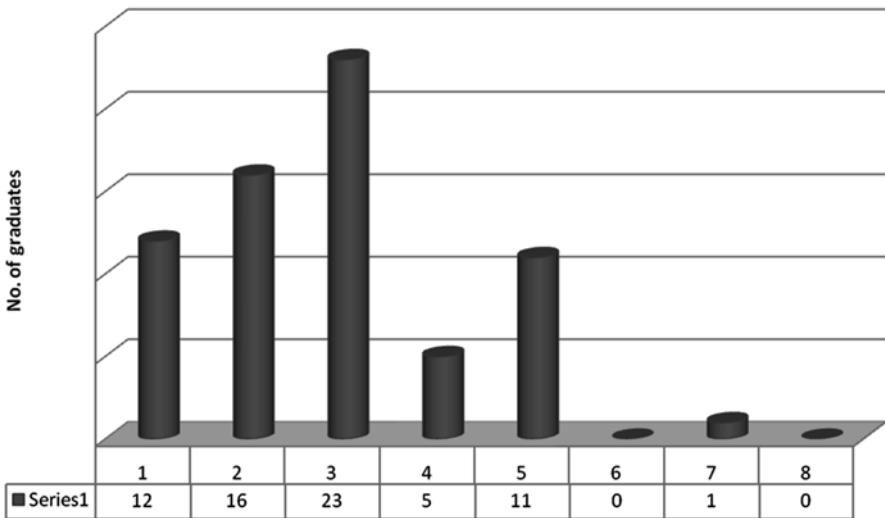


Fig. 11 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Iron Age, $N=68$

while males studied mostly in the Jagiellonian, Wroclaw, and Poznan Universities (Figs. 16 and 17). Archaeology of the Mediterranean region, which included Greece, Egypt, and northern Africa, was the second most popular specialization among Polish archaeologists. This specialization was predominantly studied in two centers, Warsaw and Krakow, and other academic centers produced insignificant number of specialists in this category (Figs. 18 and 19).

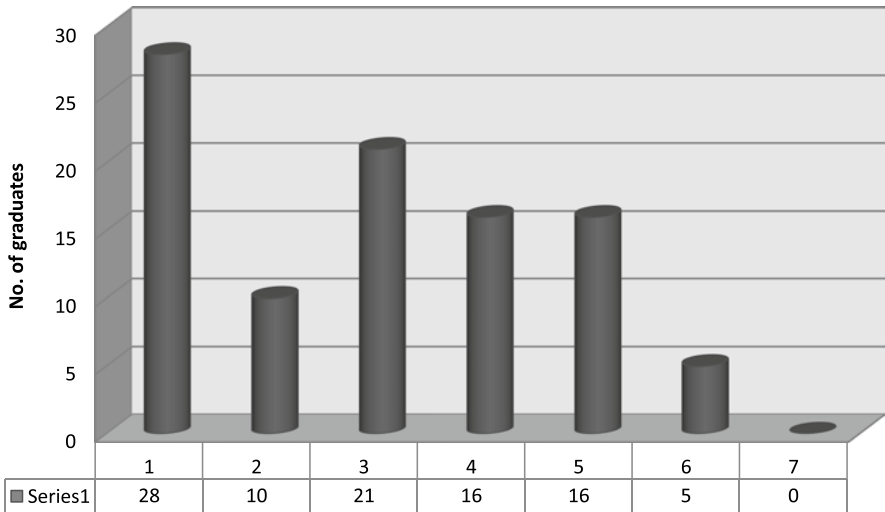


Fig. 12 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of La Tene Period and the Roman Period, *N*=96

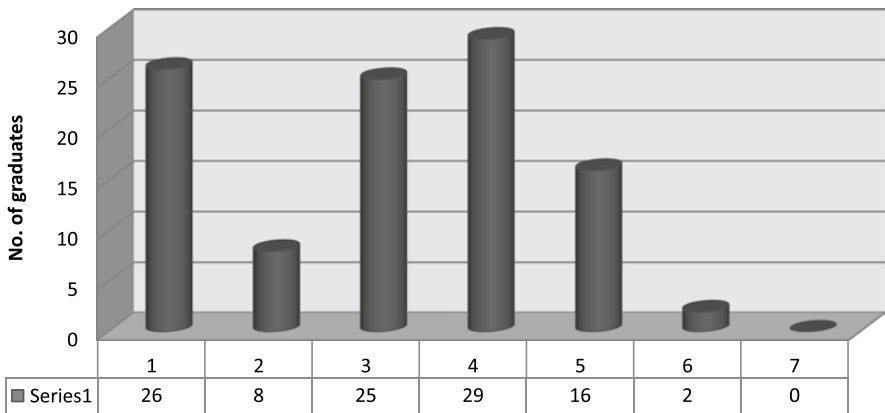


Fig. 13 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of La Tene and the Roman Period, *N*=106

Table 2 summarizes the status of Polish archaeology as of 1994. It shows that 554 archaeologists were employed in four different types of research institutions with museums being the key employer and the state cultural heritage preservation service employing the least number of archaeologists. This situation changed

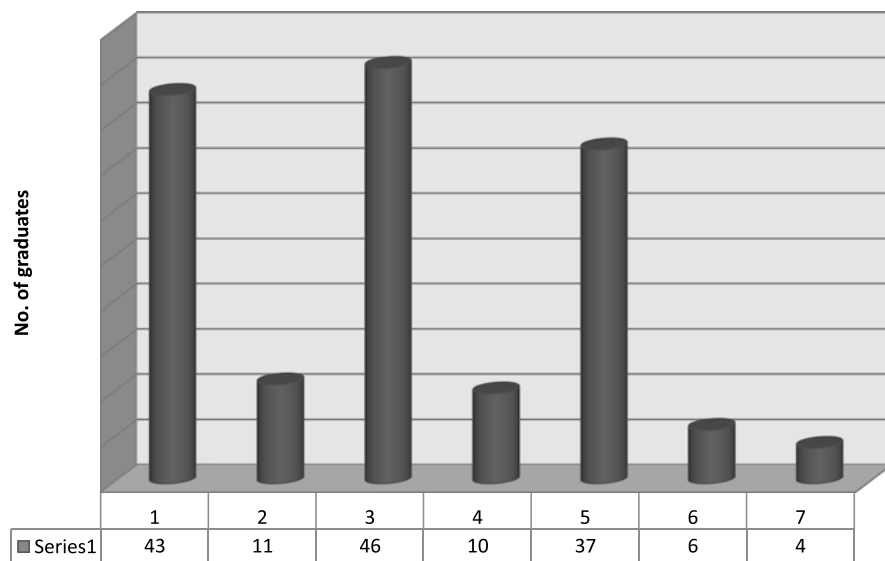


Fig. 14 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Middle Ages, $N=157$



Fig. 15 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Middle Ages, $N=148$

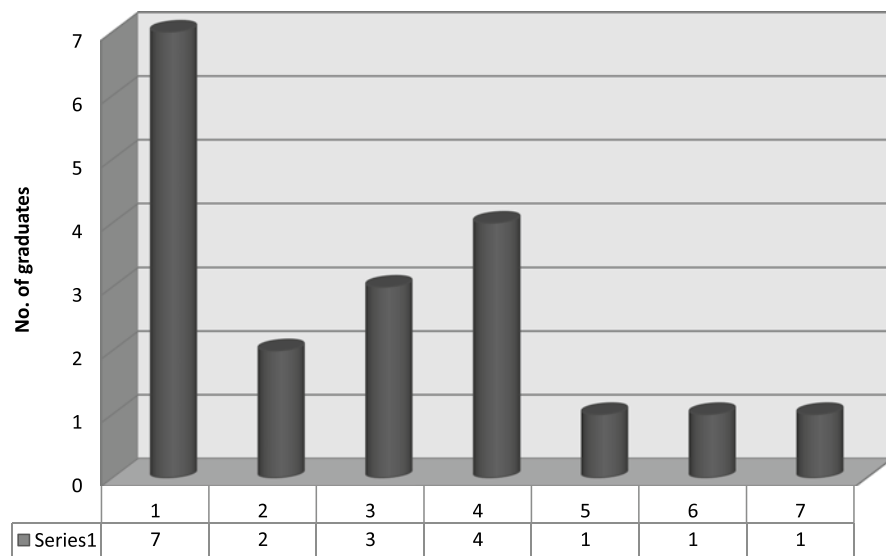


Fig. 16 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of modern times, $N=19$

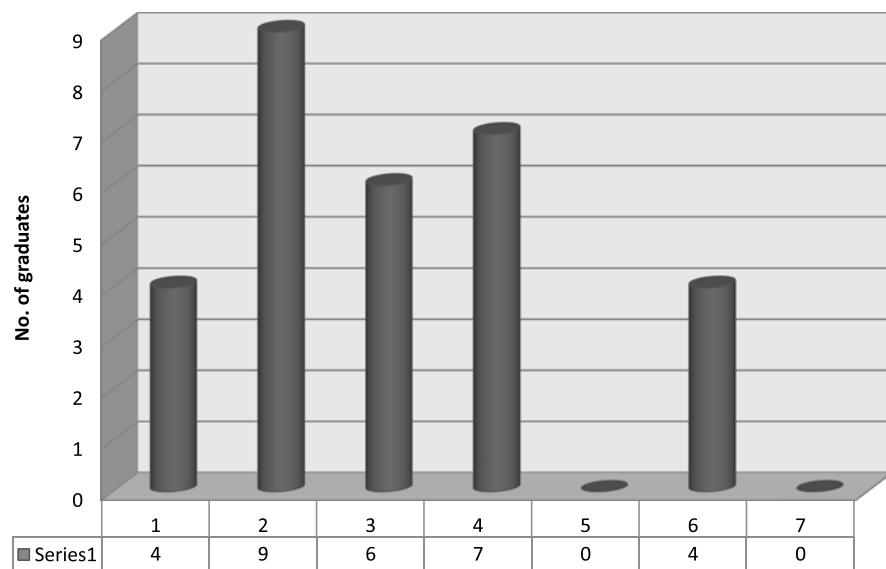


Fig. 17 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of modern times, $N=30$

Female graduates 1949-1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Mediterranean region

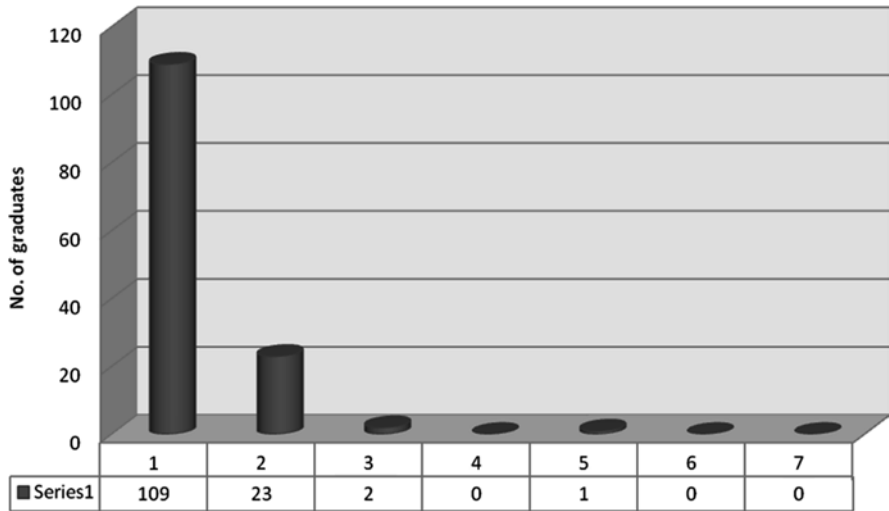


Fig. 18 Female graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Mediterranean region, *N*=135

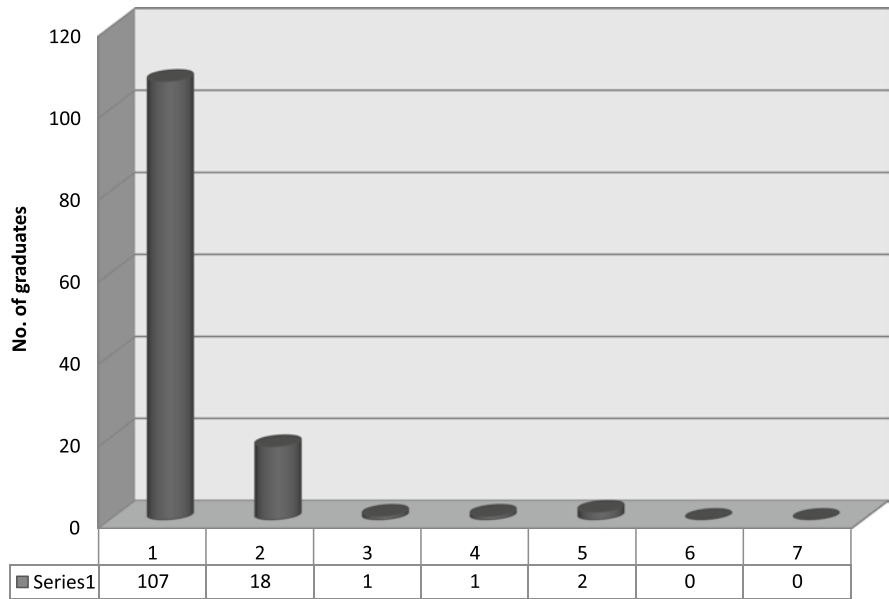


Fig. 19 Male graduates 1949–1980 who specialized in archaeology of the Mediterranean region, *N*=129

Table 2 Status quo of Polish archaeology in 1994. Data after Lech et al. 1994

Category	Universities	Polish Academy of Sciences	Museums	State Cultural Heritage Preservation Service	<i>N</i>
Archaeologists at research institutions	143	100	248	60	551
Published journals	21	11	26	1	59
Journals published in foreign language	7	4	0	0	11
Published monographs and syntheses	123	56	36	11	226
Fieldwork	185	34	133	90	442

dramatically in the first decade of the twenty-first century as both private and state-run cultural heritage preservation office and firms employed most archaeologists. Museums also led in the number of published disciplinary journals, while universities dominated in the publication of journals in foreign languages and also in monographs and other key publications. It is interesting to note that the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, the institution designated to lead in research and publications was behind universities and museums in research and publication. This indicates a serious decline of this institution.

Funding of Archaeological Research

One of the most interesting topics to study in the newly emerging political and economic setting after 1989 is the problem of funding for archaeological and anthropological research. Before the systemic transition, funds for archaeology were distributed exclusively through governmental agencies. Presently, archaeologists must apply to different institutions and organizations to obtain research funding. The newly created Committee for Scientific Research plays the role comparable to the National Science Foundation in USA. A similar institution was established in Hungary. Sponsorship of archaeology and distribution of funds among a variety of research proposals are the key issues for archaeologists under new socioeconomic conditions and deserve a separate study. Here I can only shed some light on how the new post-1990 socioeconomic conditions impacted the practice of archaeology and point out how difficult securing funds for archaeological research was in few years after the systemic transition. While in Poland in November 1993, I had an opportunity to interview Prof. Romuald Schild, director of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁶ I learned that, despite statewide economic hardship, the fiscal profile of the

⁶Former Institute of History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences. The name change points out to a desire to introduce a new theoretical and methodological outlook of archaeological research.

Institute was not tragic. After few job cuts necessary to meet the new budget, the Institute did not suffer major financial losses. However, its budget was very limited. Almost 90% came from the Committee for Scientific Research and had to be acquired through competitive grant proposals. Therefore, the Institute was forced to secure funds for daily operations in different ways, which included maintaining assets on the Warsaw Stock Exchange, leasing a part of the building to a foreign company, and turning another part of the building to a small hotel, etc. Given the circumstances, the Institute was managed surprisingly well. It seems that the communist regime was much more generous in allocating funds for archaeology.

Archaeological Theory and Methodology in Poland 1945–1980

One of the most interesting questions about the status of Polish archaeology after WWII relates to theory and methodology. Several authors pointed out to the fact that before 1990 theoretical interests were limited and suggested political isolation of Poland as the key reason behind such deficit (Kobylinski 1991; Marciniak and Raczkowski 1991). I do not see political isolation as a very significant obstacle because Polish archaeologists were able to promote alternative to Anglo-American theoretical concepts (Tabaczynski 1995). Libraries at universities and Institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences contained theoretical publications, and some improvements in the inflow of the English-language theoretical archeological literature have been noticed in the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Kobylinski 1991). Part of the problem why archaeological literature in English was not read seems to be in the local intellectual tradition because most Polish archaeologists of the class 1955–1956 favored German and occasionally French or Russian. Additionally, except for the French language literature, not much has been published regarding archaeological theory either in German or Russian. Polish archaeology was then deeply rooted in the German-devised culture–history paradigm, some scholars especially those who dealt with the Stone Age epochs followed the French school of thinking as far as style and typology, while others pursued a simplified version of materialism and dialectical materialism they learned in graduate-level university classes and seminars. In Poland, the explanatory procedures depended on an understanding of archaeology as a particular historical form of study (Hensel 1986). One form of criticism has involved defining the ontological characteristics of the archaeological evidence and biases inherent in the archaeological record. This discussion has been linked to the critique of positivism (Hensel 1986; Tabaczynski 1985), but it also extends beyond the theoretical scope of Marxism, neo-Marxism, and critical theory.

The Marxist Perspective in Eastern European Archaeology

Archaeology in the former East European Bloc cannot simply be viewed as one, monolithic, Marxian paradigm (Bursche and Tylor 1991; Schild 1980, 1993; Malina and Vasicek 1990; Trigger 1989; Klejn 1977; Milisauskas 1990). For instance, the

debate between Marxism, which examines history in terms of productive forces and versions in which such determinism is variously transformed, is pivotal to the theoretical development taking place in Europe. Similarly, debates involving an analysis of positivistic approaches show an array of different epistemological orientations. My preliminary assumption is that despite new political and economic settings, in terms of theoretical aspects, this part of Europe remains within the positivistic pattern of theorizing about the past mixed with the broadly understood Marxian orientation, while practicing archaeology certainly presents new solutions.

Ian Hodder is absolutely right saying that *...the failure of New Archaeology to take an equally firm hold throughout Europe suggests the possible existence of European perspectives in archaeological theory which are diverse and different from the North American view*. But his supposition that *...the European rejection of theory derived from particular political context of the recent political manipulation of history and prehistory, and from theoretical perspective that was deeply historical* (Hodder 1991) requires some comments.

My analysis of theoretical aspects of East European archaeology is based on three principal factors which, in my opinion, have influenced our discipline the most: (1) local intellectual tradition, (2) various economic conditions, and (3) political stresses. Indeed, the intellectual tradition has played the dominant role. For the last 50 years, European theory has been dominated by writers such as Marx, Gramsci, Hegel, Croce, Levi-Strauss, Dumezil, Eliade, Braudel, Wittgenstein, Feyerband, Weber, Habermas, Althusser, Sartre, Derrida, Foucault, but also Popper and Kuhn to name just those whose works are available to both sides of the Cold War political divide. Polish authors, Topolski, Kmita, Nowak, Tabaczynski, Amsterdamski, and Kolakowski presented original ideas in their native language not read by Western scholars.⁷ Nonetheless, all of them show intellectual affinity with the group of thinkers mentioned earlier.

A relationship between dialectical Marxism and other theoretical approaches adopted from the post-WWII West contributed to the merging of East European Marxism with the western form of positivism. As pointed out by Bursche and Tylor (1991), such eclectic intellectual approach toward scientific explanation resulted in a situation where there was no direct link between certain theoretical orientations and the object or phenomenon under study. I suggest that to some archaeologists Marxism used in Polish archaeology was in contrast to all the positivist currents so overwhelmingly present in European archaeological tradition to this day. The Marxist paradigm in Polish archaeology seems to have been locally enthused. I want to point out first to antipositivist ideas of Florian Znaniecki and Marxist-oriented thinking of Ludwik Krzywicki as proponents of the Marxist-inspired ideas used in the social sciences. In Poland long before the Yalta Agreement divided Europe (and the World) into two opposing political camps.

Undoubtedly, there was quite a different perception of Marxism in Western Europe than in Poland or other Soviet Bloc countries. Tabaczynski (1995:73) suggested that in Poland the post-WWII period was a clear example of the obvious

⁷Some of their works, especially by Kolakowski and Amsterdamski are in English.

difference between the declaration of intentions (for scientific and non-scientific motives⁸) and research practice. If we judge by the number of citations and declarations, Polish archaeology of the post-WWII period abounded in purely Marxist scholars. However, the practice shows that research based on Marxist premises, especially concerning internal social relations, was infrequent. Tabaczynski (1995) suggested that the treatment of Marxist philosophy and its applications were secondary within the main course of university studies during his academic years in the early 1950s. He wrote that lectures often showed a critical attitude to the official ideology, which did not prevent recognizing the inspirational role of Marxism in the social sciences and the humanities and concluded that if there ever was a consistent plan for the promotion of Marxist approaches in archaeology and ethnology, and the history of material culture concept was its instrument, this plan was not successfully realized through the creation of this particular training and research scheme. Despite these diverse reactions to Marxism in Europe, it is interesting to notice a phenomenon of quite a similar response in terms of adopting Anglo-American ideas during the last 40 years. Greek archaeology, for instance, has been long dominated by nationalism and isolationism. This heavy ideological use of the past led to a Marxist reaction in the 1980s, but the techniques of New Archaeology were introduced to accommodate Marxism (Kotsakis 1991). Similarly in Poland and the Czech Republic, the methods of New Archaeology were integrated, by a very limited number of scholars, within the problem orientation provided by Marxism (Kobylinski 1991; Neustupny 1991, respectively). In Eastern European countries, Marxism was never rejected but mixed with another, usually foreign (meaning Western) ideas. Therefore, it is not really a remarkable phenomenon that a range of Marxist perspectives developed in Eastern European archaeology of the last 45 years in general rejected the intellectual values of positivistic in its foundations processual archaeology. Complex dialectical and critical approaches were common. Interestingly, Marxism, positivism, and scientific methodology were all often linked and, among others, this phenomenon can be seen as distinctive idiosyncratic trait of Eastern European archaeology.

The Material Culture Approach

Tabaczynski (1995:71) pointed out that in general theoretical aspects of Polish archaeology relate to history, ethnology, and social anthropology, and in a broader sense also philosophy and the theory of science. In such context, the material culture approach was a vision of global history, set primarily within the framework of the history of economic patterns, and as such was in harmony with the theoretical premise that economic factors drive cultural change.

Tabaczynski's (1995) hypothesis that the role attributed to the study of material culture by Polish historiography was primarily related to explanation, obtaining a

⁸ Andrzej Boguszewski (2010) related such conformist behavior to communist-devised "corruption of clever minds."

complex picture of the past, and not just description of isolated historical facts requires detailed discussion, which goes beyond the scope of this chapter. However, phrased in such a way, it points out to the fact that Marxist-inspired studies of material culture have been introduced in Poland before the country became a part of the Soviet-dominated political sphere. The material culture approach was a new trend in European historiography before WWII. In Poland, it was introduced not by the Stalinists Marxists who took the country after WWII, but its origin can be traced back to the *Annales* School of historiography pioneered in Poland by Jan Rutkowski and Franciszek Bujak before the Second World War. The approach championed by Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, Fernand Braudel and others articulated the conviction that the material conditions of life constitute the background of the historical process and was in agreement with the Marxist doctrine of historical materialism (but not with Marxist notion of the significance of social class struggle for historical process). For archaeologists especially noteworthy was Rutkowski's emphasis on the need to integrate the written, archaeological, and ethnographic records into one comprehensive approach. Such integration contributes to the explanation of not only economic phenomena, but also the historical process as a whole.

The Marxist Paradigm in Polish archaeology: Past and Future

Was Marxism a formative theoretical approach in Polish post-WWII archaeology and does it have a future in this part of Europe? As a historical and social theory, Marxism gained popularity within the social sciences and humanities during the twentieth century in European, South American, and North American archaeology. The objective of embracing the historical process in general with less emphasis on the nature of the evidence seemed attractive. Polish archaeologists rarely applied the Marxist paradigm fully, however. Its presence in Polish archaeology, as demonstrated by Tabaczynski (1995), goes back to the period before the First World War. The paradigm was not very popular after 1945 (in communist Poland) and its use has been limited to the simplistic application of elements of cultural materialism. Tabaczynski points out that such simplistic and vulgarized evolutionary schematic interpretation of Marxism had in fact a negative effect as the task of scholars was reduced to filling the proposed schemes of social development with facts. The idea was to show that the archaeological evidence available in the early 1950s, arranged in the form of successive archaeological cultures, represented a form of empirical proof of the general periodization of social history using the concept of savagery, barbarism, and civilization derived from Morgan and Engels.

Tabaczynski (1995:74) generalized Polish archaeological publications into four groups in regard to the application of the Marxist paradigm. One category includes publications that do not show any affinity to Marxism, while the other three demonstrate traits of the Marxist approach. Publications included into the category free of Marxist influence also do not offer other, non-Marxist theoretical reflections. This category is dominated by purely descriptive works, concerning typological

and chronological classifications of the material evidence and simple discussions of the results of field investigations. Any explanatory attempts rarely went beyond the use of models such as migration, diffusion, or simplistic unilinear evolution. This was, undoubtedly, one of the main reasons for a deeper cooperation between archaeology and other disciplines concerned with the past.

The second group includes works in which authors suggest historical materialism as a factor influencing the direction and conceptualization of research. This is visible in the choice of themes and the organization of facts, terminology, and overall conceptual apparatus. Interestingly, the explanation offered by Abramowicz (1991:157) regarding the use of Marxism in the early 1950s clearly suggests a significant methodological transition in Polish archaeology of that time, namely that archaeologists became interested in researching historical processes rather than historical particularities embraced within the culture–history approach. It appeared that historical and dialectical materialism became useful concerning research on the sphere of production and the manifestation of the day-to-day existence of past societies. Ideas related to investigations of historical processes, regardless of the type of sources, also demonstrated their usefulness. In the longer term, they contributed to the studies on the origins of urban centers, the genesis and development of activities of artisans, and subsistence (economic) patterns in general.

Tabaczynski suggested (1995) that the quality of such works varied depending on the ability and invention of authors. Too often, however, the choice of the theme and the use of certain concepts formed only a kind of challenge, which remained unmet by the practice of research still anchored in the positivist tradition. On the contrary, there was a variable degree of knowledge of the theory of historical materialism. What is very important, this theory was moreover often treated not only as a source of inspiration, helpful in the process of explanation but also as a collection of ready-made schemes and methodological directives, not sufficiently connected with the needs of the investigated problems.

The third category contained those works in which authors refer to historical materialism as a general theory of the historical process. Historical materialism was approached including inspiration and indications of how various problems in particular fields of interest should be solved. Motives based on merit, and not just tactical use of Marxism and evident opportunism, appear here and they deserve detailed studies.

Finally, there are Polish archaeological works, which were influenced by theoretical trends not directly identifiable with Marxism but remaining under its strong influence. Among those the *Annales* School made the most profound impact. Archaeology was one of the areas of systematic, long-term collaboration between the *Annales* School and Polish scholars of the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The influence was due to research fellowships for young specialists, meetings, conferences, and (since the 1960s) also long-term fieldworks in France carried out by members of the Institute and the section of economic and social sciences of the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* and joint publications are the main manifestation of this cooperation.

Marxism underwent a basic transformation, progressively freeing itself from the influence of positivism, as well as from generalized schemes of unilinear

evolutionism, seriously questioned by ethnological evidence (for instance Steward 1958). The situation in Poland developed somewhat differently, particularly due to the influence of Ludwik Krzywicki, perhaps one of the most influential Marxist theoreticians of the first decade of the twentieth century (Kolakowski 1988, 2005; Abramowicz 1991). His works, as pointed out by Szacki (1981:552) represent *the first successful attempt to apply Marxism to vital problems of contemporary sociology...* . It is worth noticing that Krzywicki himself was an archaeologist and participated in field research. Tabaczynski (1995:78–79) suggested three possible scenarios regarding the future of Marxism in Polish archaeology:

- The first one is linked to the lack of political pressure and ideological indoctrination, which also means the disappearance of the psychological and behavioral syndrome of rejection of the previously dominant schemes.
- The second argument points out to the process of “domestication of Marxism” as a finished phenomenon; Tabaczynski points out that the law of the hammer (as discussed by Moore and Keene 1983) may take over and archaeologists may not be willing to seek other analytical tools than the one already used.
- The third scenario for Marxism to be used by Polish archaeologists is that Marxism is recognized as an attractive intellectual tool to investigate social relations.

Conclusion: Present Conditions and Future Prospects of Marxism in Eastern European Archaeology

The developments in archaeological theory in Eastern Europe cannot be understood without reference to the practical (socioeconomic and political) conditions set by the Soviet domination and the intellectual traditions set by Marxism. As elsewhere, theoretical perspectives of European archaeologies are related to different ideologies and socioeconomic conditions. Evaluating the history of Polish archaeology in a larger European context, one notes that there is not one trajectory, or a single model of field development, but many and, as emphasized by Hodder (1991), they are in general overwhelmingly historical in emphasis, strongly Marxist in orientation, and undeniably social in construction. This is why postprocessual trends, despite their European origin, may not be followed especially in countries in which culture–historical methodology has become indistinguishable from historical theory and in which the desire for positivist rigor derives from a traditional empiricism. In Poland, the debate between Marxism and other historical theories allows for a limited discussion of postprocessual archaeology alongside the introduction of analytical methods.

Marxist thoughts are present in current Eastern European archaeology but they mainly derive from outside of Europe, where significant progress in applying the paradigm has been made (for instance Sprigs 1984; McGuire 1991, 2002; Patterson 2003; Trigger 1993; see also Matthews et al. (2002), for discussion on Marxism in American historical archaeology). In Europe, some Marxist approaches remain relatively materialist and often linked to a positivist and natural science methodology.

Marxist approaches influenced by Althusser can be found in Britain, France, Greece, Scandinavia, and Italy. In structural Marxist perspective which uses the anthropological writings of Terray, Godelier and Friedman, the materialist emphasis is often replaced by the dominance of the social relations of production. Critical perspectives are found in Britain, France, Poland, and Spain. Recent political changes in Eastern Europe created favorable conditions for reevaluation of the theoretical perspectives engendered under the Soviet rule. Archaeologists in Eastern Europe have their own traditions and are exploring new directions, which incorporate and often transform old dogmas and epistemological values. As pointed out by Hodder (1991), in comparison with the dogmatism of both North American processual archaeology and Soviet-style Marxism, European archaeology is increasingly characterized by a diversity and openness of theoretical and methodological debate. Most countries in Europe have followed quite different trajectories, which emphasize Marxism or history or both. East European archaeology accepts the centrality of historical inquiry and widespread of Marxist theory.

Acknowledgment I thank Magda Lozny for preparing the statistical data used in this chapter. A fragment of this chapter was presented at the Radical Archaeological Theory Symposium, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, March 19, 1994. Bruce Trigger kindly commented on the paper and I would like to dedicate this chapter to his memory.

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Archaeology in a Middle Country

Silvia Tomášková

... the nature of archaeological research is shaped to a significant degree by the roles that particular nation states play, economically, politically, and culturally, as interdependent parts of the modern world-systems

(Trigger 1984:356)

Introduction

It is debatable whether a unified theoretical approach in archaeology is possible, or even desirable. Nevertheless, most archaeologists would recognize the signature of a certain frame of reference, a body of literature with which practitioners with a required level of training are familiar or know that they should be. Yet, despite the circulation of a body of theory around the world particularly in the English language, stubborn differences persist regionally and locally. The historical paths taken to the archaeological present have differed in significant ways that still matter. If the world map of archaeological research is in reality a political map of practices, negotiations, and a web of networks, as I suggest, we would understand the diversity of our own field better through a greater familiarity with its own histories and contexts in which it functions.

Archaeological research operates within multiple contexts, among them are archaeological – the physical circumstances of the finds, culture–historical – the socio-political climate of the country and the region, as well as the context of the social networks of scientists. All of these, we may note, are to a large degree shaped by a broader culture–historical milieu. These contexts are inseparably bound and physical circumstances of archaeological finds should always be considered with attention toward other cultural institutions in play. What constitutes a location worthy of a survey, a site in a need of excavation, and materials worth collecting,

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identifying, and analyzing varies over time; it is historically determined, constructed, and reconstructed. Consider the 1853 drought in Switzerland, which exposed the “Lake Dwellings,” resulting – histories of archaeology tell us – in a large-scale excavation and the discovery of the Bronze Age settlements (Trigger 1989:83). Without doubting that the drought in question occurred, and helped to reveal the wealth of finds, one still has to question why the Swiss scientists were searching for ancient settlements in such a meticulous way, in that particular geographical location, at that point of time. Furthermore, what international support was there at the time that gave Switzerland, a country otherwise not known for archaeological work, the recognition by the newly emerging science of the past? It does matter after all, as the historian of science Pyenson asks: “why astronomy rose to such prominence in the Netherlands, despite a climate entirely unpropitious for star-gazing, while no such tradition emerged in a topographically well-suited country of comparable size and temperament, Switzerland” (Pyenson 1989:379; see Lowenthal 1985 on relations between nation and landscape). Thus, I would like to discuss archaeology in the former Czechoslovakia as a science that emerged, and was made, through international and national networks, in contexts that were deeply historical and cultural. By suggesting that the data and the scientists were made, I do not wish to question their material existence, merely point at their historicity, an approach that may be applicable to other regions and traditions of the world. In an effort to join the circles of European prehistorians, scientists in the early twentieth century Czechoslovakia had to make their work known, recognized, and comparable. The question I wish to pose then is what strategies – narrative, political, institutional – did they use to achieve that goal? What networks were deemed as crucial and central to the effort of establishing a new field in a newly formed country? What language was the *lingua franca* for archaeologists of the day? And finally how did those networks, languages, and citation practices change over the twentieth century?

Networks and Disruptions

A discussion of the making and circulation of archaeological facts and data allows us to consider archaeologists, and archaeologies, as made and formed into a particular shape or theoretical bend. Discoveries need to be placed in a network of facts and scientists, which constitutes contexts in which they were made. The recognition of the significance and place of any archaeological research by a wider scientific community provides a stage for the formation and on-going existence of archaeologists, sites, data, and the discipline in general at different locations. This recognition and support network is especially important for newly emerging archaeologies but is just as essential for the continuation of established traditions. Therefore, the discussion of the communication between archaeologists is indispensable for understanding how archaeologies, dominant, as well as regional or alternative, come into existence and what is the mechanism through which they are sustained.

David van Reybrouck (2002:163) makes this point in a discussion of a common form of scientific communication – textbooks:

Textbooks are always more than summaries of scientific knowledge, but powerful rhetoric devices for channeling theories into the next generation and for steering the debate in particular directions.

Following Latour's actor network analysis, van Reybrouck reveals the importance of networks as social connections, and even more importantly as structures that support and propagate facts and archaeological theories, in his case Boule's interpretation of the Neanderthal skeleton from La Chapelle-aux-Saints (Van Reybrouck 2002). I follow the same logic in tracing the past and the present of "alternative," nonwestern archaeologies. Particularly by examining the communication networks among archaeologists, their emergence, support mechanisms, and disruptions, we find a richer understanding of how theories travel. Early twentieth century European archaeologists formed communities that sustained regional and national disciplines, but did so only through an ongoing interaction across languages, cultures, and traditions. The discussion involved archaeological finds and their confirmation by recognition and publication in foreign journals, as well as methods, techniques, and scientific genealogies. Tracing the networks of emerging archaeologies in countries where English, German, or French were not the local languages draws a map of linguistic contacts that reveal historical and cultural ties. This may appear primarily an exercise in historical analysis, revealing the details of the history of a scientific discipline such as archaeology. Yet, I wish to show the importance of following these linguistic, cultural, and historical ties and routes all the way to the present as a way to understand the formation, as well as the current state of the field.

In a discussion of Celtic power and politics John Collis (1995:90) asked:

...why did communist Czechoslovakia and capitalist bourgeois West Germany maintain the same system of university training, excavation hierarchy, and continue the dominance of socio-cultural paradigm, despite the supposedly contrasting ideology of their political and social systems?

The answer I propose lies in the understanding of historical and cultural interactions, not just the most obvious political contexts, or a stage on which archaeology was formed and fashioned during the last century. In the 1980s, politics and nationalism emerged as new explanatory frames in discussions of archaeology. However, I would suggest that the focus on nation-states as bounded entities prevented us from seeing the wider webs in which these same entities were located and through which they were sustained. These networks were spun through histories of relationships between political and cultural units, and remained not just relics of the past but continued to knot the present. Therefore, a discussion of the networks that Czechoslovak archaeologists engaged in the languages they used, the journals where they presented their research, and the literatures in which they situated their findings provide us with a better cultural and historical understanding of the field of archaeology in Central Europe. Furthermore, I suggest that this particular case allows us to reflect on other national traditions, their places in international scientific networks, and their possible and potential futures.

Contexts of Archaeological Facts and Archaeologists

Archaeology of the Paleolithic Period is often perceived as one of the most resistant to nationalist interpretations. It has a reputation of being the closest to objective prehistoric science, defined predominantly by its methods and techniques. Yet, it is not only in the interpretations of the prehistoric remains that politics, history, and social context impact archaeological inquiries. Research questions, methods and techniques, and choice of archaeological data are all practices embedded in the social context of science. Thus, I will start my discussion of social and historical networks of science with a discussion on archaeology of the Paleolithic Period in former Czechoslovakia, and expand to other cases and time periods from this most unlikely place.

Although Anglo-American processual archaeology devoted a significant amount of energy to methodological issues, post-processual literature, starting in the 1980s, turned attention to the topic of the construction of knowledge mainly through issues of politics and nationalism. Archaeologists paid much closer attention to the social context of their field by focusing on political issues involved in research and highlighting issues of class, race, and gender as influential in the interpretations of the past (e.g., Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen 1998; Dommasnes 1992; Gero 1990; Gero et al. 1983; Gero and Conkey 1991; Härke 2000; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Layton 1989; Meskell 1998, 2002; Patterson 1996; Shanks and Tilley 1987). Revealing a priori agendas and the manipulation of archaeological narrative for political ends, scholars working especially in non-American contexts have shown convincingly that archaeology is influenced by the social and historical contexts in which it operates. More recent writings complicated the discussion of social contexts of science even further by showing that archaeology actively contributes to the construction of histories and social settings in many regions of the world (e.g., Abu El-Haj 2001; Politis and Perez Gollan 2004; Shepherd 2002, 2007). Yet, we need to consider more thoroughly what role facts, archaeological materials – the objects that come out of the ground – play in the narratives, political, nationalist, or scientific. If archaeology contributes to the stories that communities, local or national, tell about themselves, what is the contribution of the materials? To what degree do they matter and how exactly do they matter? I thus wish to carry this discussion further and suggest that facts, whether from the Stone Age or recent historical past, are made through their discovery, description, appropriate preservation, and contextualization. Although the historical and cultural context of archaeological projects provides an account of the settings in which research questions were formed, methods carry these questions into the realm of practice and material artifacts circulate in the professional, as well as popular audiences. Particularly the history of archaeological methods – as a practice that deals with the material world of fieldwork – training and application of such methods in a location provides a window into the formation of archaeology as a discipline.

This is a particularly valuable point of insight in areas on the margins or outside what is deemed as the geographic center of a scientific discipline. It is in this domain that differences in training, background, practices, and aspirations are exposed, as

the methods produce a specific, tangible, and very real product: data bases that are handled, examined and compared by other researchers, and traded in the scientific market. Furthermore, archaeological methods and conventions that produce data in a particular geographic location do not stand alone, unless they are recognized by the outside world or at least a community of scholars. They need to be supported by a network of recognized authorities, thus the need for publications and scholarly exchanges. These are even more vital for emerging or alternative archaeologies and scientific traditions, resulting in a wide circulation in multiple languages. Translations between languages and cultures in a scientific discourse provide us then with a window on shifting hegemonic powers, and the ongoing adjustments that archaeologies make to political, historical, and scientific global flows. Examining the history of one of the archaeologies with a long and established reputation and tradition allows us to reflect on archaeological time periods closer to our own histories. The case of research on the Paleolithic Period in Czechoslovakia, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, can be placed in contrast with archaeology of later time periods, particularly the easily aggrandized Roman Period or the later settlement of the “Slavic tribes” in the Central European region.

Networks and Communications

Most histories of archaeology (as well as anthropology) have traditionally adopted a rather simplified model of center and periphery, with knowledge and practices being distributed, or trickled down into the margins from centers such as England and France. This attitude permeated studies in post-Enlightenment Europe, as Bugge (1999:17) noted: “The distance from Paris came to mark the distance from civilization.” The discourse of the center and periphery within Europe was completed and firmly in place by the early decades of the nineteenth century when the concept of Eastern Europe gained full acceptance (see Wolff 1994). As Bugge (1999:18) points out, the use of “Asia” as a pejorative label for Eastern Europe or Russia became quite common in the nineteenth century, especially in the shape of “semi-Asiatic” regions and groups of settlers. Yet, recent histories of archaeological traditions in areas outside Western Europe defy such a simplified notion and point to the need for a more complicated history of the field as a whole. Furthermore, even histories of the archaeological traditions deemed central, such as England, France, or Scandinavia, reveal fascinating stories of conflicts, denials, collaborations, rejections, construction, and acceptance of facts in a far more interesting detail than a progressive narrative would ever allow (see e.g., O’Connor 2007; Rowley-Conwy 2007; Van Reybrouck 2002).

Interactions in the extensive international circle of archaeologists, geologists, and botanists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were frequent, and remain quite well documented as most of the participants exchanged letters, and their notes appeared in various newsletters and journals. An illustration of the widespread early international communication, and the consequent affirmation of the local, may be provided by the well-known geologist (and a wine-merchant)

Joseph Prestwich, who made a passionate case for man-made flint implements at Hoxne in England in 1859. Appealing to first-hand witness accounts and contacts with French counterparts he wrote:

In the autumn of 1858 Dr. Falconer, in passing through Abbeville, examined M. Boucher De Perthes' collection, and satisfied that the flints (the *Haches*) were really worked by man, and bore all the impress of age, and that M. De Perthes had probably taken a correct view of their geological position, he wrote me a letter describing the great interest of the collection, and urging me warmly to visit the district, and to see the sections described by M. De Perthes. Feeling the desirability, in a question of this importance, of having the testimony of several competent witnesses, I proposed a visit, last Easter, to Abbeville and Amiens to some fellow members of the Geological Society, with the intention of drawing up a joint report on the subject (Prestwich 1860:281).

On the one hand, Prestwich appealed to the French authorities on prehistory, particularly Boucher De Perthes, as the experts whose association in name is desirable in proving the case for prehistoric materials in England. On the other hand, the witness account works both ways and confirms the standing of the antiquity of both the French sites and the English flints. It is clear that the opinion of the French scientists mattered tremendously, yet the same account was given about visits to Belgium, where associations were sought and received. Thus, while a discovery of any prehistoric find is an essential and necessary step in the formation of the science of the past, by itself it was never a sufficient building block. The affirmation and acceptance of the finds comes from the broader context in which the science operates. It is the personal contacts and communications across borders and languages in the early days of archaeology that I wish to stress and argue that they played a central role in the making of archaeology as a science, whether in England, France, Scandinavia, or Central Europe.

The local engages in a range of communications with other areas and regions, and consequently in necessary acts of translation, linguistic as well as cultural. The French, the English, the Danes, the Germans, or the Czechs all had to communicate with each other in a common language, but they also had to translate the local cultural understanding of the past in order to domesticate and adapt ideas, methods and techniques. The question that I wish to propose then is: how did archaeologists in diverse regions, translating between different languages, come to develop theoretical frameworks for the conduct of local fieldwork while communicating their understanding of the remains of the past to diverse audiences? I suggest we examine the contexts of prehistoric research in Central Europe with a particular attention to the networks, exchanges, aspirations, and languages used in the process. The importance of the finds and excavations notwithstanding, I wish to consider the venues of knowledge dissemination – journals and magazines, and their respective languages in which archaeological sites from Central Europe were introduced and popularized.

Speaking of Spectacular Finds

An early example of international network of communications is the publicity that surrounded the well-known Paleolithic site at Dolní Věstonice, in Moravia, discovered in the early 1920s. Karel Absolon, by then a leading figure in the Czech

archaeological community, publicized the site in several well-targeted venues, popular and scientific, translating quite different texts between Czech, English, French, and German. The first brief note in foreign press appeared in *The Illustrated London News* on 31 October 1925, under the most expressive title: “A discovery as wonderful as that of Tutankhamen’s Tomb. Moravia over 20,000 years ago” (Absolon 1925). The impressive finds of the Egyptian tomb were replicated in Moravia, placing them on the same cultural level, while British archaeologists were deemed as successful as the Czechs in uncovering such treasures. This magazine then carried for several years an extensive coverage of the project, serving as the main source of information about it for the general public in the English speaking world. The choice of *The Illustrated London News* was deliberate and while addressing science news, it was aimed at an educated audience to raise an awareness of a place – the newly created Czechoslovakia – first and foremost, as a location of deep history and glorious ancient culture. Thus, archaeology served less to connect with the scientists of the English speaking world than as a place-making project that also generated a wealth of financial support for future endeavors. The appeal in Britain was toward the nobility and wealthy donors, rather than the scientific establishment. It was Czechoslovakia, the country and its people that were being “made” in the process, through the recognition by the English. The science credentials, as far as Central European archaeologists were concerned for most of the twentieth century, lay much more in the German and French speaking world. It was only after the fall of communism in 1989 that the English language, and the scientific literature published in Britain, acquired the level of desirability and the weight that German and French publications had earlier in the century. Additionally, the Russian language as a required scientific language entered the archaeological scene in the 1950s, after most of Central Europe fell under the Soviet sphere of dominance, a topic that I will discuss later.

Writing for the English reader in the 1920s, the central issue was cultural recognition and Absolon (1929:875) made sure that Moravia was placed on the map of Europe and of the world:

Moravia has thereby become one of the most important countries for the study of the origin of man and human culture, as here under loess, we have the largest Paleolithic stations in the world... the mammoth hunters are, in fact, the outstanding feature of Ancient Moravia... their habitations are of world-wide importance, because at the time of their occupation, Moravia was the scene where man passed through important phases in his development.

Patriotism and regionalism permeated all the writing. This first article in the series was a strong appeal for acceptance of Czechoslovakia, and Moravia, as European countries with the same glorious past, and for recognition of the local scholars as sophisticated archaeologists who know their field. Absolon (ibid.) wrote:

I am fully aware of my great responsibility to future generations... and have adopted a firm scientific basis for research... the location has been explored methodically and in accordance with modern views... .

Although the scientific basis for the claim of Czech antiquity was hinted at, the specific details of the method were not included. Absolon’s (ibid.) concluding remarks echoed the wish for national recognition:

I should be happy if some larger specimen of these Moravian prehistoric records could become part of the collections of the British Museum of Natural History, as a proof of Czechoslovakia's respect for the great English nation.

Yet, the relationship between Czech archaeologists and the British scientific community in the early twentieth century was far more complicated than that may appear in the western–nonwestern dichotomy. While recognition and respect by the British were sought and desired, it was not necessarily the archaeological community that was being targeted. The “great English nation” was a community that would come to see the Czech nation as admirable and worthy of respect in return, once some of the archaeological materials were on display in the British Museum. Science and prehistoric past were vehicles for the making of the Czech nation in the eyes of the British people. British scientists were merely witnesses to the process but not necessarily active participants called upon. The community of scholars, whose opinion was far more valued than that of the nation as a whole, was at the time found in France and Germany. As I shall discuss later, this was not due to the lack of British prehistorians that would have been well-known in Czechoslovak scientific circles, or a lack of familiarity and respect for their work. Rather the ongoing appeal to German and French scientists was a result of the cultural and historical tradition of European continental science with a history that went back several centuries.

The second extensive report on the Paleolithic site appeared in 1926 in German in the *Acta Musei Moraviae*, a local periodical put out by the Moravian museum in Brno, where Absolon was a curator (Absolon 1926). It may seem unusual that the report was not in Czech, the established official language of the newly independent country. There were several reasons for this rather typical Central European phenomenon, a complicated relationship with the German language and German speakers. It is worth pointing out that by 1913 the Czech lands had a combined population of over ten million people, around a fifth of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a whole. Most of the borderlands remained German but besides a few pockets of German towns, the majority of Bohemia has become Czech. This was striking in Prague, for example, which in 1851 had 150,000 people of whom 41% claimed to have been German speakers. By 1900, when the city walls came down, Prague had half a million inhabitants, 93% of whom identified their everyday language as Czech. However, this does not necessarily mean that the German population underwent a dramatic language conversion or migrated and was replaced by Czechs, although this did happen in a few border locations (for a detailed discussion of “becoming” Czech or German see e.g., King 2002). The nineteenth century imperial system allowed for plenty of ambiguity where a figure like the writer Franz Kafka, who lived in Prague, identified himself as Jewish in ethnic tradition and religion, German in the literary language, and Bohemian as a national identity within the larger Austro-Hungarian Empire. The dramatic growth and success in national sentiment at the end of the nineteenth century, particularly among the Czech educated classes, led to a rapid increase in self-identification with the Czech language in everyday communication by the turn of the century, as is reflected in the above cited numbers. The distinction between a language of the home and the

official language was no longer a private matter but one reported in the newly applied science of census statistics.

However, the language of science and specialization in higher education remained firmly within the tradition of the existing literature and required of all specialists an expertise in German, and to a lesser degree in French. Thus, despite its newly acquired state of independence in 1918, Czechoslovakia continued to be dependent on Austria and Germany in many aspects, and scholarly language, education, and research remained a powerful legacy of the centuries of cultural dependence. Most university-educated researchers, particularly those in physical and natural sciences, were trained in German. At the same time, even though Czech was by the 1920s an accepted scholarly language in Czechoslovakia, such a spectacular site as Dolní Věstonice had to be made known to the very community from which the young archaeological establishment was trying to make itself independent. Numerous reports on Paleolithic finds from the region appeared regularly in Czech for the general consumption by the extensive and erudite local archaeological community. Regular German publications, even in local journals, were communications aimed at the German scientists as a statement of scientific facts as well as an attempt at scholarly equality. By the end of the 1920s, Absolon published articles for the professional audience in the French *Revue Anthropologique* and the German *Tagungsberichte der deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*. In both reports, he stressed the importance of the site itself as a new Aurignacian station in Moravia, and one of the largest in the world (Absolon 1927, 1928). A similar appeal to the authority of science was to be found in papers published in German and French but not in local languages, indicating a clear desire for Czechoslovakia to be included in the scientific circles of modern Europe. It is worth to observe in some detail the tone, the vocabulary and the tracing of genealogy of Czech archaeology, particularly in the evoking of familiarity and connection with the most renowned men of French prehistoric science:

La célébration du cinquantenaire de la fondation de l'École d'anthropologie, vraie fête pour les anthropologistes du monde entier, a été pour moi l'occasion de venir à Paris afin d'apporter ma contribution au programme. Et j'ai dédié ma conférence à la mémoire du grand fondateur de l'École, Paul Broca (Absolon 1927:75). [The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the School of Anthropology, a true celebration for anthropologists of the whole world, was for me an occasion to come to Paris in order to contribute to the program. And I dedicate my presentation to the memory of the great founder of the School, Paul Broca].

Absolon dedicated his 1926 presentation to the anatomist and physician Paul Broca – founder of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* in 1859 and the above mentioned *Ecole d'anthropologie* in 1876, known mainly for his craniometric studies. The goal of the School of Anthropology was a *scientific* history of man and it very quickly became an international center on comparative study of races based on anatomy and cranial measurements, with a well-known materialist and polygenist orientation (for details see e.g., Conklin 2002; Hecht 2003). The School of Anthropology was mainly affiliated with the medical school, hence its doctors and professors, and consequently the anthropologists associated with the school,

carried a considerable social prestige. Thus, Absolon's introduction of his presentation on the Paleolithic finds in Czechoslovakia traces a specific genealogy that at the time carried instant recognition in scientific circles devoted to a *materialist* orientation of the study of the past. His history of Czech archaeology was interwoven with an impressive list of "who is who" in French archaeology, evoking the names of Abbé Breuil, count Bégouen, Louis Capitan, as well as Salomon Reinach, then the director of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. He made it clear that these were all familiar faces that dropped by regularly:

A cette époque arrivèrent chez nous nos grands amis français (parmi les premiers, l'abbé Henri Breuil), ainsi que de nombreux savants étrangers qui portaient beaucoup d'intérêt à ces collections (Absolon 1927:76). [At that time our great French friends arrived (among the first the Abbé Henri Breuil) as well as many foreign scientists who were very much interested in the collections].

As Schlanger noted in a discussion of British archaeology in the nineteenth century:

Among the different maneuvers and undertakings surrounding this emergence, archaeology also had to construct for itself a history, recovering from previous records of interest in the material past convenient episodes and perspectives on which to base the discipline's current claims for novelty, rigor, expertise and truthfulness (Schlanger 2002:128).

While the prehistoric materials in any one location were ostensibly central to the discipline of archaeology, it was also essential that the discipline possessed a genealogy and a respected history. The claim to a particular scientific lineage was important in the early twentieth century, and remains so at present as well, particularly in archaeological traditions outside the recognized mainstream.

The presentation published in the *Revue Anthropologique* in 1927 regaled readers with pages of detailed account of scientific methods used in excavating "Vistonice," covering the difficulty of mammoth bone recovery and preservation, particularly at a site with such an excessive abundance of large bones, well illustrated by several full page photographs (for a detailed discussion of the history of the site, see Tomášková 1995). The goal of such a detailed discussion, combined with the history of Czech archaeology, is quite clear. Aside from revealing details of an obviously rich Paleolithic find, the author mainly focused on connections between the overabundance of archaeological materials in the Czech lands on the one hand, and France as a recognized center of prehistoric science on the other. France at the time was well-known for its wealth of Paleolithic locations that served as type collections for stone tool categories, emulated throughout Europe. Absolon's presentation included several pages of beautiful illustrations of Aurignacian stone tools, identified with and compared with equivalent French materials. Prehistoric art was another category that appeared unmatched in many other locations throughout Europe. Absolon included illustrations of several animal figurines found at the Czech location, and compared the female figurine to a style of figurines found in Menton in France. The comparison (and association) of prehistoric science in France and Czechoslovakia was closed by a discussion of the amazing 21 mammoth carcasses found at the site that so obviously outweighed any limited

mammoth finds in France. France was the internationally recognized birthplace of prehistoric science and the location of eponymic sites, and the similarity between the materials in Czechoslovakia and France were highlighted. However, in one respect Central and Eastern Europe was far wealthier and that was mammoth bone – remains, carcasses, as the full page photographs attested. The sheer volume and weight of prehistory, in the form of large mounds of mammoth bone, was presented in French publications but not in the British or German language reports. While France was being recognized as the leader of prehistoric science, the impressive materials located in Central Europe were put on display in photographic evidence, an invitation to collaboration and a simultaneous request for recognition of a field of archaeology in Czechoslovakia.

The mammoth bone accumulations were photographed and printed in a full page glory. As Daston and Galison (1992) pointed out, photography was an important component of a new cultural economy of value and exchange. Photography emerged as a new standard and symbol of scientific evidence, as privileged within scientific institutions and relations of power when they met criteria of use and production established by the consensus of authorities in the discipline (Tucker 2006, for a discussion of the use of photography in the formation of archaeology as science, see e.g., Shanks 1997; Shepherd 2003). This is particularly obvious when the stone tools – hand drawn in a convention of archaeological illustrations, are compared with the photographs of the mammoth bones, excavated and cleaned, with not a human being in sight. The photographic evidence of the mammoth “kitchen mound” served as a visual aid of prehistoric life in the area, as well as a cultural symbol of a newly emerged scientific tradition (see also Lynch 1985; Lynch and Woolgar 1990; Moser 1998).

In contrast, the German language publications focused heavily on the actual methodology of the excavations, preservation issues, and an estimate of the population size that could have occupied the region. They exhibit no overt, crude nationalism, but demonstrate a different level of national pride – that of scientific accomplishments. The writings were permeated with pride in the research, the finds, and the location. It is important to note that the excavation was carried out in a newly formed republic, created in 1918, after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hence, the assertion of independent expertise, and its results, was the main focus of interactions between the Czech scientific establishment and the German scholarly community. German scientific expertise and tradition was the main target of the reports, communicating the technical and methodological accomplishments, asserting scientific independence, rather than the wealth of the finds and their centrality in European and world history, as was the case with the English and the French exchanges. Hand-drawn illustrations accompanied all the technical reports appealing to a German tradition of scientific order and technical description, still taught and practiced in Czech universities training a new generation of archaeologists to this day.

The detailed discussion of Absolon’s communication about one specific and well-known site shows the different and yet essential networks, translations, references, and strategies involved in shaping a newly emerging archaeological tradition.

Czechoslovak archaeologists were well versed in the important institutions of the central places of the discipline and appealed through different means to the French scientists, the British public, and the German technical sensibilities. But each linguistic presentation and translation of archaeological facts appealed to historical contexts and ties that were unique and particular to the relationship between different cultural and social entities.

“I’m Looking Down...”

The decades between the two world wars brought plenty of attention to archaeology in Czechoslovakia with culture history as the standard theoretical framework, current at the time throughout Europe. During the 1930s and 1940s, Czech archaeologists regularly participated in international conferences and Czechoslovakia was listed among the countries casting votes in decision-making bodies in associations and at congresses (1946). Summer schools held in Europe visited prehistoric sites in Czechoslovakia, providing practice in excavation and experience in “every phase of prehistory” with emphasis on the Neolithic Period and the Iron Age. At the same time, a clear scientific lineage was indicated with regular requests for linguistic training for anyone wanting to participate in fieldwork in Czechoslovakia: “preference will be given to applicants who have knowledge of French and German...” (Notes and News 1938:347). Local sites and archaeological materials were made available to scholars and students and were deemed representative of European prehistory. However, they were simultaneously connected to specific European traditions through the use of French and German as the scholarly languages of communication. The establishment of particular institutions as places of research patterned on the German and to a lesser degree the French model further strengthened the cultural tie. The university system, national and regional museums, research institutes, archaeological institutes, or academies of sciences were patterned according to a tradition common in the neighboring cultures to the west. This historical attachment to the German tradition not only shaped the general historical trajectory but also the particular path that Czechoslovak archaeology followed for most of the twentieth century, including the post-World War II communist period. The networks that Czech, and to a lesser degree Slovak, archaeologists joined solidified after the war as firm intellectual and scholarly bonds that lasted for decades. For all students of archaeology, prehistory, and history at the university level, German was the required foreign language, with a substantial amount of the professional literature, local as well as imported, published in it.

At the same time, the late 1930s was also a period when significant local differences, particularly cultural ties, networks, and institutional spaces, between the Czech and Slovak traditions emerged and became distinct. This may be well-illustrated by the placement of research centers in the cultural landscape of the country. The location of archaeological research in university settings in Czechoslovakia prior to the Second World War followed a standard European pattern. Archaeology was tied to history as a methodological tool for the search of ancestors, generally understood as

ethnic groups that occupied the present-day territory. In contrast, archaeology of the Paleolithic Period was thought of as a sister discipline to geology, and was institutionally located among the natural sciences. However, a distinct pattern that reflected nationalistic undercurrents in archaeology can be discerned from the spatial location of museums and institutes of archaeology in the country. Although universities were historically founded in Prague, the capital; Brno, the center of Moravia; and Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak region, only the national museums in Prague and Brno established archaeology divisions. However, the Archaeological Institute for all of Slovakia was founded in 1939 in Martin, the cultural center of Slovak national formation during the nineteenth century, quite far to the northeast, distant from the political center in Bratislava. This was a strategic political decision as Martin was by then not a center of research or education, with no institutions of higher learning. However, it played a huge symbolic and emotional role for most Slovaks as a place where they became a recognized linguistic and culturally distinct group. It was in Martin that the first Slovak secondary school was established in 1861, the first Slovak newspaper in 1871, and the Slovak National Museum was founded in 1891. Hence, the establishment of the only archaeological research center in Slovakia in Martin, the location of the nineteenth century formation of the nation, signaled the focus of Slovak archaeology as a national science – history and prehistory of Slovakia as a distinct territorially bounded ethnic entity. As Nestupný noted (1993:129):

Slovak archaeology has been one of the most successful constituents of the Slovak national culture, since in this field Slovaks have been equal partners with other nations of Central Europe.

In 1953, the Archaeological Institute was moved to Nitra and this step can again be understood in terms of the national focus of Slovak archaeology. Like the previous location, Nitra was a place of a historical importance for the nation, a place with no research or educational structure in place. Nitra is claimed to have been the center of the ninth century Great Moravian Empire and the oldest town in Slovakia. Emotional attachments that Slovaks had over the centuries toward their own past were expressed in a very material and tangible form in the placement of the center of archaeological research in Nitra as the mythical birthplace of the nation.

These distinct Czech and Slovak institutional histories of archaeology reveal differences that played out also in research questions and foci and to a large degree in theoretical orientation. Czech archaeology retained a tie, structural and linguistic, to German and French traditions, while Slovak archaeology contributed to the purpose of the construction of national and ethnic identities. In search of a significant prehistoric past on the territory now inhabited by a recognized nation, Slovak archaeology proceeded in a systematic manner to survey, catalog, document typologies and chronologies of prehistoric sites, settlements, and finds. The antiquarian tradition that worked more in sync with folklore and local history resulted in a minimal theoretical formulation. The networks that Slovak archaeologists developed and retained over the years were regional, specifically with Hungarian and Polish archaeologists, while continuing to rely on limited German literature for sources of theoretical influence.

The shift of the country into the Soviet sphere of dominance affected all of Czechoslovakia during the 1950s when Marxist historical materialism became the only politically acceptable paradigm. However, this was a political reconfiguration that required professionals to participate in a public performance of alliance, more than a change in theoretical orientation. At the level of scholarly and scientific work, only a crude form of Marxism was introduced, or added as a cover, a top layer to the existing archaeological tradition. This allowed Czechoslovak, and particularly Slovak, archaeology to maintain a remarkable continuity through several dramatic shifts in regime without major disruptions. Inward focus and a local and regional scale enabled a pace and a development of a discipline that did not change to any significant degree since the post-World War II period, except for moderate methodological improvements that came with a degree of postwar technological innovation. I would thus argue that Slovak archaeology did not contribute to, or participate in, major theoretical discussions in the course of the twentieth century. Rather it remained focused on national prehistory and history modest pursuits that allowed it a quiet existence on the margins without any human toll. This social fact needs to be contrasted with the situation in other totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe where the Communist party membership, and frequently collaboration with the secret service, were a prerequisite for any role in archaeology. Soviet archaeology is the starkest example of the pitfalls of working in a politically dangerous field such as archaeology (for a detailed discussion see e.g., Immonen 2003; Milisauskas 1997). The antiquarian tradition of Slovakia may have been outmoded and theoretically dull but it certainly provided a safety net, while generating vast amounts of data and archaeological material. As Milisauskas (1997:390) writing about archaeology in the Soviet bloc perceptively noted:

Sometimes Western scholars judge the work of archaeologists living in nondemocratic systems too harshly, probably because most Western scholars have not lived under dictatorships. I do not believe that many American archaeologists would defend processual or postprocessual archaeology if it involved job loss or time in prison.

The Break: Languages, Silences, and Safe Spaces in the Aftermath of a War

Despite the wartime that compromised many German scholars, Czech archaeology emerged after the war in a continuing bind with the German tradition, relying on its literature, scholarship, and technical expertise. However, a theoretical silence accompanied by fervent devotion to fieldwork replaced all discussion. Describing Danish archaeology, Torsten Madsen (1995:13) wrote:

...a British archaeologist is a person with a theory looking for data, whereas a Danish archaeologist is a person with data looking for a theory.

One could extend the comparison and say that a Czech archaeologist, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, was a person with data looking for more data. As Nestupný (1991:248) stated:

It is rather difficult to talk about a theoretical debate in an archaeological community where theoretical issues are rarely formulated other than in conjunction with practical questions.

Yet, I would argue that this phenomenon needs to be understood in a wider context, particularly through the lens of the political situation in Eastern Europe on the one hand, and Czech historical and cultural relationship with German scholarship and science on the other. The theoretical silence was not solely a problem of archaeology in Czechoslovakia but a broader issue of networks, ties, and traffic along established earlier tracks. A century-long Czech reliance on German as a scholarly language and the source of scientific tradition led to, and was caught up, during the postwar period in a theoretical web that affected most social and historical sciences in Germany. The lack of theoretical development in the social sciences was compounded by several historical events that occurred in Central and Eastern Europe following WWII. Czech archaeology might be better understood if viewed as bracketed by two historical phenomena, resulting in a closed tradition and a lack of communication with other scholars and schools of thought. On the one side stood German archaeology and its involvement in political activities of the governing National Socialist Party from the 1930s until the end of WWII (for details see Härke 2000; Mante 2004; Narr 1990). On the other side stood East Germany and its postwar status as a democratic socialist state in the Soviet sphere of influence (for discussion of archaeology in the former East Germany see Behrens 1984). Communist-ruled Germany took on the mantle of communist wartime resistance and came to stand for East European population and scholars, as “the good Germany,” untainted by fascism and war atrocities (for discussion of East German narratives of resistance and culpability see e.g., Nolan 1996). These two “Germanys,” particularly their social sciences and historiography, simultaneously enabled and inhibited Czech archaeology in the postwar period. On the one hand, allowing a continuation of the German scholarly exchange and communication with East German prehistorians and scientists, on the other hand participating in the theoretical silence that German archaeology fell into for decades after the war (see Härke 1991, 2000 for detailed discussion).

Gabriele Mante (2004:243) wrote:

[Gustav] Kosinna provided German prehistorians with everything they needed to support the Nazi regime. He gave them a paradigm for proving the German-Aryan state of a Master Race scientifically, always stressing the general underrating of the Germans (in contrast to the Romans and the Greeks) by the public, pointing at the powerful spread of a superior northern people to India: the Indogermanen.

Mante detailed the archaeological institutions of the Third Reich, the SS-Ahnenerbe and the Amt-Rosenberg, their scientific activities and publishing success with a major support from the government. It needs to be pointed out that the research was not only restricted to the territory of Germany but also rather expanded to neighboring regions in search of a larger ancestral home of greater Germany. This included Czechoslovakia particularly after the annexation of the Czech lands and Moravia (see Tomášková 1995). In 1939, following the Munich Agreement of the previous year, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, and Bohemia and Moravia became a German protectorate, a situation that would last for the next six years. Charles University in

Prague began teaching in German and prehistory, labeled as “the national science,” became one of the most popular subjects. The head of the department Prof. Lothar Zotz published a number of articles on the prehistory of the region, arguing for the German ancestral ties to the land (Zotz 1940, 1944). A number of German archaeologists, Zotz, Freund, Böhmers, actively conducted fieldwork in the Czech region during the war, developing particularly technical aspects and scientific expertise, such as surveying, mapping, and stratigraphy. The proverbial German exact science was practiced in most of Central Europe during the war, leaving behind well-documented sites and records. And yet as Mante (*ibid.*:244) pointed out:

What was left to German archaeologists after the break down of the Third Reich? A great silence. One just did not talk officially about what had happened – not even in the so-called democratic sector which was allied with the Soviet Union.

Technical expertise enhanced by war time technology, renewed interest in local history, and regional search for deep historical roots resulted in post-WWII Czechoslovakia in vigorous historical and archaeological research, focused on fieldwork and devoid of any theoretical anchor.

In 1949, in the aftermath of the communist takeover, the State Archaeological Institute in Prague began publishing a quarterly journal *Archeologické Rozhledy*. The goal of this “information service,” as it was labeled, was to disseminate news about ongoing archaeological research, and to keep the Czech archaeological community informed about research abroad. Each issue provided an abstract of all the reports in Russian and in French, the new and the old languages of archaeological science in Eastern Europe. The focus of the journal was explicitly stated in the first editorial:

...the government gave the Archaeological Institute special funds to focus on Slavic and other historical issues of our motherland (Böhm 1949:7).

Archeologické Rozhledy became not only the main forum for all debates in archaeology in Czechoslovakia, a place to showcase research, but also to convey trends that were acceptable, and political messages that needed to be transparent. Simultaneously, it was the only window into foreign literature, as individual archaeologists were not permitted to subscribe to any foreign publications and only a few government-approved science libraries were repositories of books and journals, which could not leave the shelves. For researchers abroad, *Archeologické Rozhledy* was one of the few sources of information about archaeology in Czechoslovakia as the French and German abstracts gave at least a glimpse of the work carried out.

Over the years, Poland remained the only country consistently covered under the heading: “Research abroad,” and in 1950 the column was replaced by “News from the Soviet Union.” Although German abstracts were not provided for individual articles, ties with German literature were kept through a regular coverage in book reviews. All the articles would be better described as reports, purely descriptive of every new or ongoing excavation or survey, with not a hint of any theoretical approach – not even the standard historical materialism, required in the 1950s of all scientists, but particularly those dealing with history and the social sciences.

Yet, it does not mean that politics was kept safely at bay and avoided altogether, as long as everyone focused on detailed artifact and site description. The political nature of all science and research in Czechoslovakia under communism came into a full display in the journal in 1953, when the opening article of the issue was a full text of the telegram sent by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences to the Soviet Academy of Sciences following the death of Stalin. This being the academy of sciences, the focus of the piece was on Stalin's scientific work, "which remained an ongoing source of inspiration for all scientists in Czechoslovakia," and concluded with a promise to continue working in the service of the working-class, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in an ongoing struggle for socialism. A much shorter article about the death of the Czechoslovak president Gottwald – who died shortly after Stalin – followed. A telegram from the Soviet Academy to the president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Zdeněk Nejedlý, an ideologue and not a scientist – addressed in the Russian style with his patronymic as "Zdeněk Romanovič Nejedlý," a form completely foreign in the Czech language and culture, expressed aptly the cultural domination of the Soviet Union over the country, published in all specialized science journals for scientists to read. Both articles were accompanied by a full page photograph of Stalin and Gottwald, followed by the usual reports on excavations and surveys in various regions of the land, stone tools, and site plans, placing politics and science side by side, joined and in contrast.

However, gradually and slowly, a decade after the war, and with the thaw in the Soviet Union, old ties came back into the open. In 1956, references to other literatures started appearing in a few individual articles, mostly referring to German writings from the early twentieth century. It was in 1957, a breakthrough year that every article published in *Archeologické Rozhledy* included either a German or a French abstract, with a Russian summary at the end of the journal. An editorial pointed out that a new policy was put in place by the Academy of Sciences and foreign language abstracts were required, stressing the need for a new generation of archaeologists to be familiar with world developments "particularly in Slavic regions" (*Archeologické Rozhledy* 1957:113). German archaeological literature, pre and postwar was suddenly widely cited again. The postwar German literature was theoretically mute, relying entirely on antiquarian style description and technical reports (Mante 2004). Czech archaeologists rediscovered, or reconnected with, the older German tradition. Because of the new postwar political situation, and enduring similarity in institutional structures, they found themselves right at home, not missing a beat or even several decades.

The first theoretical article appeared in *Archeologické Rozhledy* in 1957. František Graus, a Marxist historian, wrote a piece with an innocuous title: "About the relationship between archaeology and history: Towards an interpretation of knives in Slavonic burials" (Graus 1957). Amidst a discussion of problems with analogy, historic, and ethnographic, Graus filed a complaint that Czech archaeology completely lacked any theory – criticism, discussion, or a debate, resulting in descriptive technical reports. The main focus of his article was a question how to access archaeologically class, hierarchy, and status, relying on burial goods as symbolic and material evidence. Furthermore, the author supported his argument by an

unprecedented number of references, particularly from the field of German history. Graus' attempt to start a theoretical conversation with archaeologists, a conversation that pointed at foreign language sources and questioned basic assumptions involved in interpretations of archaeological materials was unparalleled in the Czech archaeological literature of the time. He opened the door by speaking of Slavonic burials, a safe topic most common in the pages of the journal. The theoretical approach was explicitly Marxist in his discussion of class and inequality, making the editorial decision to publish the article obvious and simple. Yet, in the process, Graus also pointed out the theoretical vacuum dominating archaeological writings and brought German literature to support his argument. The editor, in publishing the article, signaled a new turn of events and greater openness toward foreign sources and a desire for recognition of broader, international networks. In his response to Graus' article, the editor wrote:

The quality of a discipline is revealed also in a critical, scientifically sound, fair and well-formulated position towards all new knowledge in our and foreign literature, ... [I]t is essential to have a sufficient familiarity of not only domestic materials and writings but depending on the archaeological topic, it is essential to have a knowledge of current world literature¹ (Filip 1957:565).

Although Graus' article indicated a major transformation in attitude toward theoretical debates and networks of foreign literatures, it took another decade before this pattern took firm hold and became a norm. However, the networks and the literatures that Czechoslovak archaeologists used to rely on – particularly German, and to some degree French archaeology, had themselves changed. Both traditions could not assume a central position on the world scale and anxieties over theoretical import emerged in their own national debates. Anglo-American theoretical discussions, on the contrary, took center stage from the 1950s on. Because of historical ties and political realities, English was not commonly taught in Czechoslovakia and most literature from the English speaking world did not reach specialists in any field. Rather Russian continued to be the required foreign language, and German and French as the historical languages of instruction. It was not until the fall of communism after 1989 that translations of commonly known archaeological texts appeared in Czechoslovak bookstores and libraries in substantial numbers.

Conclusion: The Ties that Bind

The late Bruce Trigger suggested in the oft-cited article (1984) that an alternative classification of archaeological traditions around the world may roughly divide them into one of three categories: colonialist, nationalist, and imperialist. While numerous writers have since responded to complicate the categories and dispute the deceptive

¹ All translations from Czech, French, and German are by the author unless otherwise noted.

simplicity of the argument, many others have put the labels to a very good use in describing local archaeological traditions around the world (see e.g., Abdi 2001; Meskell 2002; Mitchell 1998; Shepherd 2002; Dietler 1994; Lewis-Williams 1993; Patterson 1996). The three descriptive and analytical categories still serve as useful anchors in attempts to understand theoretical approaches and traditions in archaeology of any one region. I also wish to take my cue from Trigger's statement:

... the nature of archaeological research is shaped to a significant degree by the roles that particular nation states play, economically, politically, and culturally, as *interdependent parts* of the modern world-systems (Trigger 1984:356, my emphasis).

As the example of Czechoslovak archaeology shows, the suggested classificatory categories may have to be complicated in many contexts around the world to capture the interdependency of the historical networks and ties. Although emerging as entities within nation states, archaeologies, particularly in non-central places, are never separate. Rather, they may be better understood as webs of historical and cultural influences. I argue that the colonial desires of larger neighbors, such as Germany and Russia, have deeply shaped institutions of archaeological practice in the Central European region, even as they were also produced by nation-building impulses that waxed and waned, and changed in focus and direction between the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries. Furthermore, archaeologies in middle countries, such as Central or Eastern Europe, are particularly sustained by external recognition in the form of scientific communications and exchanges. There, a close comparison of scientific communication across languages and scientific traditions reveals a complicated history of the formation of archaeological practice. It might be then worthwhile to consider the extent to which national tradition adequately reveals context of the history of archaeology in country less obviously between things.

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A Panorama of Social Archaeology in Russia

Nikolay N. Kradin

Introduction

The Russian (Soviet) archaeology is often positioned by western scholars as the Great Unknown (Bulkin et al. 1982:272). And it is in fact justified. For a long period of time, the Soviet archaeology has been hidden behind the Berlin Wall, and only few western archaeologists had visited the USSR and even fewer archaeologists from the USSR traveled abroad. This situation has caused many rumors and false impressions about the field behind the Iron Curtain. However, due to several striking reviews especially by Leo Klejn, the curtain has been lifted (Klejn 1977, 1997; Bulkin et al. 1982).

After perestroika, the curtain disappeared and tighter contacts have been established between the Russian and foreign archaeologists. Since then there were many joint expeditions, organization of international conferences, and publication of books by Russian and foreign authors and edited in Russian and English.¹ After the

¹For example, cooperation projects between Novosibirsk and German archaeologists to study the Bronze Age Chicha settlement (Baraba Siberia steppe) and burial mounds of Pazyryk culture in Altay, or studies of the Ural Iron Age nomadic burial mounds conducted by colleagues from Ekaterinburg and from U.S.A., or lasting international joint Far-Eastern expedition in medieval Kraskino town to the south of Vladivostok. Collaboration between Russian and Western archaeologists contributed to a number of international conferences in Russian State University of Humanities, University of Chicago, University of Cambridge, Institute of African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, Arkaim Heritage Center in Chelyabinsk, etc. Results of researches and debates were published in conference proceedings and books (Kradin and Lynsha 1995; Davis-Kimball et al. 2000; Kradin et al. 2000; Boyle et al. 2002; Jones-Bley and Zdanovich 2002; Kradin et al. 2003; Grinin et al. 2004; Peterson et al. 2006; Grinin et al. 2008; Linduff and Rubinson 2008; Popova et al. 2008; Hanks and Linduff 2009 etc.).

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collapse of the USSR, new tendencies in Russian archaeology were noted (Dolukhanov 1994, 1995), as more articles were devoted to problems of ethnic constructivism and archaeology of nationalism in Russia (Dolukhanov 1996; Shnirelman 1995, 1996).

Fifteen years have elapsed since the publication of these articles and now is the time to evaluate the changes that characterize Russian archaeology in the beginning of a new millennium. This chapter aims at reviewing some of those changes and innovations. First, I will discuss general transformation modern Russian archaeology underwent recently, and subsequently I will focus on *social archeology*, the term that is sometimes used in the West as a synonym for new or processual archeology. The term has been popularized after the appearance of Colin Renfrew's book *Approaches to Social Archaeology* (1984). Another variant of this term is anthropological archaeology (Gibson 1984). However, processualism is not the only approach in modern archaeology, and it would be incorrect to relate all of the existing schools and tendencies to this one. For this reason, it is correct to use the term *social archeology* to define one of the archaeology's subdisciplines (Darvill 2002), and its task to reconstruct social relations and systems of the past based on the examination of numerous sources (Redman et al. 1978; Renfrew 1984: 3; Dark 1995: 88 ff.; Lynn and Prencel 2004; Meskell 2005). This term extends essentially the investigation potentials (methodology), and at the same time allows focusing on solving of the limited range of problems with the use of specific methods. Russian archaeologists also concluded that social archaeology is an archaeological subdiscipline devoted to reconstructing archaic societies and their structures (Bobrov 2003).

Toward a History and Structure of Russian Archaeology

Russian scholars relate the origin of archaeology in Russia to the times of the famous tsar Peter the Great. Early in the eighteenth century, he ordered collection of various ancient objects to place them in the cabinet of curiosities. The Russian Archaeological Society was established in 1846 followed in 1859 by the Imperial Archaeological Commission. However, the most active developments of Russian archaeology started after the 1917 Revolution. History was one of the most important sciences for the Communist Party, and historians and archaeologists were expected to show, within the framework of the Marxist approach, stages in social history, and how they changed. The main task was to demonstrate how the future – socialism – should have evolved from the past.

The Party and state generously sponsored the development of sciences including archaeology. The major structure of archaeology was formed during the period of the USSR's existence and main centers and schools namely the institutes in Moscow, Leningrad (presently St. Petersburg), and later in Novosibirsk and other regions were establish. After the collapse of the USSR, many of those institutes and regional centers became centers of national archaeologies in the former Soviet republics. Because the main developmental stages of archaeology in the USSR

were outlined in details by Leo Klejn (Bulkin et al. 1982; Klejn 1997), I omit here discussion related to these problems.

At present, archaeology in Russia is, as before, considered a part of history. This idea was figuratively expressed in the famous aphorism of Artsikhovskiy: “History armed with a shovel.” Archaeologists are trained at history departments in two specialties – general archaeology and prehistory. Students take many historical courses – history of ancient civilizations, history of Europe in the Middle Ages, history of Asia and Africa in the Middle Ages, history of Russia in the Middle Ages, etc. If a history department specializes in archaeology, a student can take 3–5 and more courses on strictly archaeological subjects, typically in archaeological methods and regional studies. The situation with teaching anthropology is similar (Bondarenko and Korotayev 2003). Anthropology is also a part of history departments but since 1995 there is new specialization called “social anthropology”; there are two models in anthropological education – Russian and Western. Teaching of archaeology and anthropology is structured differently at universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg, where specialization begins early and future archaeologists (and anthropologists) take many specialized courses. Structural problems with teaching of archaeology and anthropology are only a top of the iceberg. The necessity to separate archaeology from history has long matured, but the Ministry of Education carries out such experiments unwillingly. Moreover, inertia of professors in this case is intense and many of them say: “All of us are historians and we have studied at the history departments. We should not adopt the American system.”

Certainly, the current situation is somewhat different as in some universities, for example, in the Far-Eastern Technical University archaeologists are trained at the Department of Social Anthropology. In other universities, these specialists receive training at the faculties of cultural studies. I had studied at the Department of History and obtained a degree in history and presently lecture for students of different departments – history and anthropology. This enables me to compare the Russian (European) and American approaches toward training archaeologists. Both approaches are characterized by their swings and roundabouts (see Klejn 1993). The historical approach provides a more intimate knowledge of history (which is important for country where its own narrative history is very long). However, the anthropological approach provides more qualified theorists and practitioners. It would have been ideal to combine these two approaches, but it is difficult to include all the necessary courses and the thinking of program creators is in this respect rather inert.

A somewhat different system of academic degrees exists in Russia than in other European countries and USA; *Doctor of Philosophy* (PhD) is called *Candidate of (appropriate) Sciences*, (C.Sc). In addition, there is a more advanced, second-level degree scientists may achieve (similar to the German habilitation, Dr. Habil.), the holder of which is called *Doctor of (appropriate) Sciences* (Dr.Sc). Because archaeology and anthropology (ethnology) belong to the faculty of historical sciences, all archaeologists have degrees in historical sciences.

The exact number of archaeologists in Russia is difficult to assess as archaeologists have no professional association but there is a popular holiday on August 15 – the day of the archaeologist. Every year about 1,200–1,400 people apply for

permits to conduct archaeological excavations (Makarov 2006:43). No doubt that this number should be increased several times because not all of archaeologists carry out excavations each year.

The structure of the archaeological institutions in Russia differs from the western model as strong academic centralization existed since the early times of academic activity. Researchers were mainly concentrated in Moscow and Leningrad. After 1991, many provincial state-run schools were developed and there are many archaeological institutes and departments outside of both capitals.

The strongest (but not most numerous) group of archaeologists has been assembled in the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS). There are three major archaeological institutes of the RAS – the Institute of Archaeology (Moscow, Director Nikolay A. Makarov), the Institute of Material Culture History (St. Petersburg, Director Nikolay E. Nosov), and the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (Novosibirsk, Director Anatoly P. Derevyanko). Each of these institutes employs about 100 researchers (except for engineers, laboratory assistants, and other personnel). Among these three institutes, they issue more than 100 archaeological books a year (Makarov 2006:43–44). In other Divisions of the RAS, there are institutions that also engage in archaeological investigations – in the Ural region (Ekaterinburg) and Russian Far East (Vladivostok). In addition to these institutes, several local centers of the RAS include institutes with archaeological departments and laboratories (for instance Voronezh, Kazan, Makhachkala, Omsk, Ulan-Ude, Kemerovo, Krasnoyarsk, Yakutsk, and other cities).

Universities compose the second largest group of institutions where archaeologists find employment. The Russian education structure consists of a large university and/or pedagogical (teacher-training) university in each region. The universities have faculties of history where archaeology is one of the specializations. Before *perestroika*, separate departments of archaeology existed only in Moscow and Leningrad universities and presently departments of archaeology exist in all large universities, especially in cities where universities have schools and traditions of archaeological education: Barnaul, Irkutsk, Kazan, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Rostov/Don, Tomsk, Vladivostok, Volgograd, Voronezh, etc. A new practice has also been noticed to establish archaeological laboratories in technical universities. This relates to high demands for specialized analyses, which the other centers cannot fulfill while technical universities offer qualified specialists and facilities.

The third, quite numerous group of archaeologists work in museums, which range from small museums in provincial towns to such world-wide known as the Hermitage Museum and Kunstkemera in St. Petersburg or the National Museum of History in Moscow, which organizes large-scale expeditions nation-wide.

Finally, also numerous groups are employed in special centers for cultural heritage protection. Some of these institutions are financed through the state budget, while others get funds from developers who pay for archaeological expertise and excavation, if archaeological sites are found within the project area. In Moscow, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection operates under the Russian Ministry of Culture. Archaeologists there are engaged in the archaeology of cultural heritage and rescue archaeology. Every year rescue archaeologists carry out about 35% of all archaeological studies in the country (Makarov 2006: 44).

After the collapse of the USSR, the network of scientific communication was broken and presently archaeologists are poorly informed on the projects by their colleagues in other cities and regions of the country. In Russia, there are only three significant archaeological journals, all issued by the institutes of the RAS. These are as follows: “Russian Archaeology” (Moscow), “Archaeological News” (St. Petersburg), and “Archaeology, Anthropology, and Ethnology of Eurasia” (Novosibirsk), the latter published in English and Russian is well-known in the world of archaeology.² There are other journals in which articles on archaeological topics are published, but all of lesser, rather local significance. Unfortunately, most journals are published in short runs and many fall into the so-called “gray” category. Practically, all journals are published only in Russian except two offered exclusively in English: “Radiocarbon and Archaeology” (St. Petersburg), and “Social Evolution & History” (Moscow). The latter is wholly devoted to studies on social complexities and social dynamics in prehistoric societies, chiefdoms, and early states.

The “gray” literature consists mostly of conference proceedings. These books are printed in short runs and many are not distributed to the major academic libraries. In archaeological conferences, one can see researchers bringing a large quantity of books to sell, or distribute as gifts, and highly ranked scholars receive numerous complimentary books. It occurs to me that one can write a paper on the importance of books in the gift exchange network in the post-Soviet archaeology.

There are more significant and deplorable changes, however. Presently, in Russia there is no interest in theoretical generalizations of the past. Many works are of solely empirical nature. Partly, it can be explained by disappointment in Marxism as many archaeologists fear to find their new idols. They naively believe that the facts by themselves are the most important result of their investigations. A culture of scientific discussion as well as reviews has practically disappeared from scientific journals. There is no feedback on author’s ideas offered by readers. Everyone writes articles and books. This is disturbing. Another deplorable feature of not only archaeology, but also of Russian science in general, is aging. The prestige of being a scientist is low. Young people favor other priorities and choose careers in management, show business, and banking. Therefore, archaeology attracts only enthusiasts. The entry level salary for young researchers is low to the point that many of them are forced to look for additional job. As a result, they have no time for their scientific research and professional development. In time, many leave science as they strive to keep home fires burning.

Another serious problem is related to looting archaeological sites. Every year looters carry out predatory excavations on many sites in Russia. They use metal detectors to locate fine art objects and jewelry. These artifacts are offered for sale on the Internet, where the looters present photos of finds and catalogs. Many collections go abroad to foreign collectors. The police and custom officials are passive on these crimes. They unwillingly engage in these problems and many think of activities related to the protection of archaeological sites as not being serious. Despite tough

²The English-language version is distributed in the West by Elsevier.

laws protecting archaeological and other culturally significant sites, crime rate related to looting is high. It is very difficult to catch looters and therefore many sites of the Bronze, Iron, and Middle Ages are in disrepair caused by the robbers.

Nevertheless, there are also positive changes. Because of better economic conditions and the rise of oil prices, the number of infrastructural investments rose and provided work for many archaeologists. They are requested to survey the construction sites and carry out rescue excavations. This allows for keeping young people in archaeology and to raise funds for research. Also the number of published archaeology books increased significantly. These books are offered as hardcovers with high-quality illustrations. However, the recent 2008–2009 economic crisis can again thwart Russian archaeology.

Before 2000, the last congress of Russian archaeologists had been held prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917. The improved financial situation in Russia after 2000 allowed for organization of two congresses of the Russian archaeologists. The 17th Congress was held in Novosibirsk in 2006 and for several reasons was very symbolic. Novosibirsk is located nearly in the geographic center of Russia. The major archaeological institute of the RAS is located there. The Director of this Institute and the current Head of the Department of Humanities of the RAS and a member of the RAS Anatoly Derevyanko is, in fact, the leading archaeologist of modern Russian archaeology. Several hundred archaeologists from Arkhangelsk and Kaliningrad to Vladivostok attended the Congress. The next, 18th Congress was held in 2008 in the centuries-old Russian city of Suzdal – the capital of one of the medieval Russian kingdom, and the subsequent one is being planned for 2011. It has been suggested that it should be held in the northern capital of early Rus – Novgorod.

Problems discussed in 2006 and 2008 Congresses included a great variety of topics. Among them were theory and history of archaeology, field archaeology and scientific methods in archaeological studies, culture heritage preservation in Russian archaeology, environmental and multidisciplinary approaches. Most panels were devoted to the specific questions (problems) of the Eurasian archaeology: the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods in Eurasia; the Neolithic period in Eurasia; the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age in Eurasia; Eurasian nomads in the Early Iron Age; ancient states of the Black Sea area and Central Asia; the Early Iron Age of forested Eurasia; the Early Middle Ages in Eurasia; Archaeology of the Middle Ages: urbanization, distribution, cultures; archaeology of the Moscow and the Russian Empire; prehistory and art in prehistory.

Because Russia is such a vast country (seems like the whole separate world), archaeologists here engage in a wide circle of research. Therefore, it is not an easy task to describe the most significant current discoveries in Russian archaeology. There are so many significant studies (and colleagues believe that his/her discovery is most important) that I am at risk of becoming the Aunt Sally for my colleagues. Nonetheless, I would like to distinguish some programs and achievements of the current Russian archaeology.

First, the grandiose project *Archaeology of the USSR* consisting of 20 volumes should be noted. The first volume devoted to the nomads of the Middle Ages was published in 1980. This is a unique panorama of the Eurasian archaeology from the

Stone Age to the end of the Middle Ages. Boris Rybakov, the noted Soviet archaeologist and director of the Institute of Archaeology of the RAS, initiated the project. Many archaeologists of the USSR/CIS including those from the regions of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, the Caucasian states, and Central Asia took part in the preparation of these volumes. The project is almost finished; only the last two volumes are awaiting publication. Volumes vary from 400 to 600 pages.

Modern archaeology worldwide, Russian included, often turns to one of the natural sciences, and joint projects with physicists and chemists support archaeologists in carrying out costly analyses of artifacts. Together with physical anthropologists and pathoanatomists, they investigate the skeletons of prehistoric people and reconstruct their diets, diseases, and ecology. Together with the biologists and geographers, they reconstruct landscape and environment. All large-scale archaeological excavations are impossible without the use of the GIS and preliminary geomagnetic methods. Studies of the Paleolithic human remains in Sungir (Alekseeva and Bader 2004), diseases of prehistoric people in Eurasia (Buzhilova 2005), Chicha fortress in Siberia (Molodin et al. 2001a, b), kurgans of the Pazyryk culture in Altai (Polosmak 2001; Polosmak et al. 2006 etc.) are examples of such interdisciplinary research in Russia. These are only some examples and the actual number of such works is much larger.

As for the most interesting discoveries by Russian archaeologists in recent years, it is essential to note ceramics found on Paleolithic sites of the Far East (Derevyanko and Medvedev 1995; Zhushchikhovskaya 2005), unique Paleolithic artwork of central Russia (Amirkhanov and Lev 2008), a study of early provinces of metallurgy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia (Chernykh 1992, 2008), proto-urban centers of the Indo-European cultures in Eurasia (Zdanovich D. 1997; Zdanovich G. 1997; Jones-Bley and Zdanovich 2002), excavations of burial mounds of the elites of the nomadic polities in the Eurasian steppes (Polosmak 1994, 2001; Chugunov et al. 2004; Miniaev and Sakharovskaia 2006, 2007; Polosmak et al. 2008).

Regrettably, only few books devoted to theory of archaeology have been published in the last ten years. One of a few areas where there is an interest in theoretical problems is social archaeology. Within the past 20 years, several conferences on social archaeology were held in Kemerovo (1989, 1997, and 2003), Tomsk (1990, 1998), Barnaul (1994, 1997, and 2004), Moscow (2000, 2004, 2006, and 2008), St. Petersburg (2002), Irkutsk (2003), and other cities of Russia and their proceedings were published. Some achievements in this area will be discussed in the following sections.

Social Archaeology and Archaeology of Rank Inequality

A profound impact on social archaeology in the USSR was made by the American new (processual) archaeology. Vadim Masson (1976) has written a book titled *Economy and social structure of ancient societies*, in which he has summarized the major achievements of social archaeology and attempted to revise these ideas in terms of Marxism. For many Russian archaeologists, this book was a manual

(textbook) on archaeological theory. Recently other textbooks have been published presenting the current achievements of social anthropology and political anthropology (Kradin 2001; Koryakova 2002; Matveeva 2007).

Different aspects of social archaeology in the USSR/Russia were developed nonuniformly. After 1990, a limited number of processual studies concerning ecological subsystems and prehistoric cultures (Vostretsov 1998; Matveeva et al. 2005), demographic modeling in archaeology (Ivanov and Vasiljev 1995; Tortika and Mikheev 2001), craft production and metallurgy centers (Chernykh 1992, 2008), settlement patterns (Afanasyev 1990; Matveeva 2000), long distance trade and exchange of prestige goods (Matveeva 2000; Gelman 2006; Koryakova and Epimakhov 2007) was published. I may have missed some other major works but generally they are few in number.

Much attention has been given to the archaeology of inequality and social complexity. Questions about rank and inequality were always of interest to the Soviet archaeologists, especially in reference to the nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppes, which produced no settlements and towns but many burial grounds. Among them were graves of different sizes and quality of grave goods. Such discrepancy in the construction of burials and quality/quantity of burial offerings attracted researchers to study problems of social structure using archaeological data (Vasjutin 1998; Kradin et al. 2005).

In the 1920s, Russian archaeology was considered as auxiliary subdiscipline of history. Materials obtained through excavations were considered lifelike evidence for claims presented in ancient chronicles or to support abstract sociological Marxist patterns of the slave-holding mode of production in the antiquity and nomadic feudalism in the Middle Ages. Within the period from the mid-1930s to the mid-1960s, discoveries of outstanding new archaeological sites were made from the Black Sea Scythia to the Transbaikal region. The most significant works in the area of reconstructions of social organizations were written by Gryaznov (1950, 1980), Kiselev (1951), Rudenko (1948, 1953, 1969), Smirnov (1964) and Grakov (1947, 1950). Particular emphasis was on the criteria to identify social stratification, which enabled the construction of monumental architecture, spatial composition of settlements, organization of labor for the construction of burial mounds, etc. In those years, the concept of three social strata – elite, ordinary, and poor nomads – was widespread. Researchers became aware of an importance spatial analysis.

In the early 1970s, the Soviet school of social archaeology has been formed. Its informal leader was the director of the Leningrad's Institute of Archaeology of the RAS Vadim Masson (1976). In his book titled *Ekonomika i sotsialnyy story drevnikh obshchestv* [Economy and social structure of ancient societies], much attention was given to the middle range theory of American New Archaeology. In the 1970s and 1980s, many studies devoted to the reconstruction of social structures of the archaic societies including those on the methodology of researching mortuary rites in agrarian, nomadic, and maritime (Vikings) societies have been published (Grach 1975, 1980; Lebedev 1977, 1985; Alekshin 1986). The main idea was to determine relationship between the rank of the deceased and the effort-expenditures for his burial. This thought was expressed in the mid-twentieth century by a known

researcher of the Inner Asia nomads, Mikhail Gryaznov. In the paper devoted to the first barrow (*kurgan*) of Pazyryk, he calculated detailed expenditures for burial rites of high-ranking chiefs and kings (Gryaznov 1950: 68–69). In the early 1970s, this idea was propagated in different countries in form of well-composed concept of energy expenditure (Binford 1971; Tainter 1975; Masson 1976; Brown 1981; Dobrolubsky 1982; Bunyatyan 1985; Gening et al. 1990).

Descriptive archaeology was of fundamental importance for studying rank inequalities (Bulkin et al. 1982: 282). This approach has appeared in the 1960s when great construction projects were initiated in the USSR and investigations in the field of formalization of artifacts information became more vigorous. It resulted in the use of mathematical and statistical methods in archaeology. Such investigations were actively developed in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev (for instance, Kamenetsky et al. 1975; Fedorov-Davydov 1987; Gening et al. 1990; Martynov and Scher 2002). Because of the newly published textbook by Fedorov-Davydov (1987), and also by others, statistical methods became more available for unassisted examination by archaeologists. Mass introduction of personal computers during the post-Soviet period has further simplified this problem. Now, there is a wide variety of specialized programs for statistical processing of bulks of data – GENSTAT, Statistica, SPSS, SAS, Statgraphics, etc.

In the 1980s, the works of Ekaterina Bunyatyan (1985) received a wide-spread response. She has studied 293 mounds and ditches and 534 graves of ordinary Scythians of the fifth to third century BC found in nine burial grounds. This was the first attempt to present a detailed methodology for investigating social structures of archaic societies. Based on the factor analysis, she has identified five social groupings (ranks) for men and women and four for children. The most numerous social group included ordinary nomads (about 60%). The number of representatives of the dependent groups proved to be small (not more than 5%) and far lesser than the number of high-ranking individuals (rich stakeholders, elders, etc.) – in all, about 35%. The distribution of groups within individual burial grounds revealed a certain intergroup hierarchy of the Scythian society.

Later Vladimir Gening has generalized all of data on social ranking in the Scythian nomadic empire and proposed a model for five social strata (Gening 1984: Table I; Gening et al. 1990: 206, Table XXXI). He has shown that all the major strata of the Scythian society included: (1) “tsars” and superior nomadic aristocracy (0.5%), (2) tribal chiefs and elders (5–6%), (3) rich stakeholders (15–20%), (4) commoners (60–70%), (5) poor nomads and dependents (6–8%). He and his followers published a special book where this methodology was described in detail (Gening et al. 1990).

Another study on Scythian social organization has been carried out by the Ukrainian archaeologist Boiko (1986). The materials excavated at Belsky town and contiguous burial grounds within the Vorskla River basin became the source of his analysis. The region is located within the forest-steppe frontier of the Scythian kingdom. The examination of artifacts and spatial analysis of the town allowed for identification of several social groupings – craftsmen, farmers, merchants, and soldiers of different statuses. The cluster analysis of 129 graves allowed for identification of

three large groups: (1) burials of military horsemen, (2) graves with imports and without arms, and (3) burial places of craftsmen and ordinary farmers and stock-breeders. Burial places without goods or poor burial places were few in number. The author has also noted several important gender features of the mortuary rite – weapon in burials of high status women, funerals of minor wife's with their husbands, and concubines or bondwoman.

After the collapse of the USSR, scientific relations among researchers of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) were destroyed. The methodological crisis in history and archaeology has started. After getting rid of the demons of Marxism, Russian archaeologists were subjected to the poison of empiricism. This was reflected in the fact that many researchers refused to engage in interpretations regarding the past. Theoretical discussions regarding postprocessual archaeology went by Russia. Therefore, the current Russian archaeology rests in many respects on the theoretical foundation of science from the Soviet era. The achievements and errors of archaeology from the USSR epoch determine the development of social archaeology at present.

At the post-Soviet period, much attention was given to the studies of mortuary rituals among scholars representing the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Several special seminars and symposia were held and their proceedings published (Afanasyev 1993b; Gulyaev et al. 1999; Gulyaev 2005). In the mid-1990s, a discussion related to different approaches in interpreting mortuary rites took place in the journal *Rossiiskaya arkheologiia* (Russian Archaeology) (Pletneva 1993; Olkhovsky 1994). As presented by the proponents of social archaeology in the 1970s, it was assumed again by those who followed social archaeology in the 1990s that the energy expenditures (actually effort-expenditure and the quality of grave goods) is the principal criterion of rank.

It seems that any approach to use mortuary rites in order to assess social ranking should be flexible enough to allow for the use of different methods in calculating energy expenditures. Several scientists used the so-called riches curve or occurrence of exotic and scarce grave goods (Gei 1993; Medvedev 1999: 118–128; 2004; Kondrashov 2004), while others attempted calculating the value of grave goods in terms of precious metals and their real value at the time of burial. Nadezda Gavriilyuk from the Institute of Archaeology in Kiev, Ukraine published a book on the economy of the Scythian steppe empire (1999; 2000). It is the most detailed study of the Scythians after the well-known book by Khazanov (1975). Gavriilyuk attempted to determine the cost of constructing one tsar's burial mound using the value of ancient Greek currency. The cost turned out to have been about 50 slaves at prices of Attica or 500 slaves at prices used in Greek colonies on the Black Sea. Such a number of slaves could have been obtained in two or three raids. These costs are equivalent to those for the construction of one average house or not so rich temple in ancient Athens. Because the nomad's burial places were often looted, the most used method to classify graves was to compare their sizes, shapes, and accompanying goods (Afanasyev 1993a; Matveeva 2000; Korobov 2003; Tishkin and Dashkovsky 2003; Matrenin 2005). The cluster or factor analyses are often used for this purpose.

The variety of approaches and their combinations were realized by the Russian scholars. Aleksandr Medvedev (1999, 2004) carried out interesting investigations within the Don River basin, where he divided the Scythian barrows into three groups following the principle of rank-size distribution: small barrows with an area of 8 m² (25%), middle barrows of 9 m² – 22.5 m² in area (61%), and large barrows with an area of up to 49 m² (14%). The “riches curves” showed that the percentage of prestige artifacts had increased from the first group to the third.

The joint studies by the Russian and Italian scientists were devoted to the Sarnats and Savromats between the Don and the Ural Rivers (Moshkova 1994, 1997). The project participants have described in details the methods of determining the ranks of nomads (Bishone 1994) and proposed their own interpretation of Savromats within the Volga and Ural areas (Bernabei et al. 1994). The last chapter of their book is based on the examination of 464 graves from 114 burial grounds. The authors have also used such criterion as “riches curves” and in result offered histograms suggesting tendencies in goods distribution, but their interpretations were very cautious.

Analyzing the graphs and figures of the book, one can make a number of additional observations, for instance a sharp division into three groups, which is characteristic for male burials: (1) few graves of the lowest rank; (2) numerous graves of the major social ranks of population – ordinary nomads (?) which can be divided into 2–3 subgroups; (3) some burials of the highest ranks the number of which decreases in proportion to the rarity (scarcity) index of encountered signs. The histogram presenting female burials is characterized by a slightly other shape. It resembles the longitudinally cut half cone, which may suggest diffused female social groups. If my assumption is correct, it may suggest that the female status was to a greater extent related to that of her husband.

If the studies of the Scythians have prevailed during the Soviet period, presently studies of nomadic cultures to the east of Europe are more common. Important investigations concerning pastoral nomads of the steppe of Ural have been carried out (Koryakova and Epimakhov 2007). Natalia Matveeva (2000, 2007) researched the Sargat culture of 500 BC – 500 AD in western Siberia. Statistical data of this study consist of 949 burials from 57 cemeteries. First, she divided all the burials into four chronological periods and examined only burials that had not been robbed. Then she was able to reveal the characteristic features of male, female, and children burials and also classify them by age. It turned out that the elders had a higher status. This conclusion was confirmed by the abundance of grave goods and spatial analysis of burials. In result, gender inequality was suggested as one of the characteristics of the Sargat culture. At the early period, female burials located in the center of burial mounds were rare and male burials prevailed. The burials of the elder men are much more often found at the centers of mounds. However, some elder women had rather important status in the society.

Matveeva also revealed several groups in each sex-age aggregate. She has interpreted the structure of the Sargat society as consisting of three basic strata: (1) different groups of elite (25%), (2) commoners (average class, ordinary people, poor, about 75%), and (3) dependent categories (about 0.5%). At that, she notes that the arms are not characteristic for the ordinary group and the dependents. Beginning

with the middle-Sargat period, arms are found in the burials of predominantly young men (26.6%), who Matveeva attributed to men-at-arms. The author believes that this population has created a complex political hierarchy, which was close to the nomadic Xiongnu Empire in its level of social complexity. However, the Sargat nomads exploited their neighbors from distance (typical nomadic method for war, tribute, and trade), they had no towns, written language, and bureaucracy and therefore this society seemed to have been in the prestate level.

Others have studied the Sargat culture beyond its ranking system. Natalia Berseneva examined social inequality among the Sargats and focused on age and gender. She showed greater variations in the distribution of artifacts in burials by gender than earlier scholars have considered. In her opinion, a set of artifacts in male graves is more diverse than in females. Such discrepancy may suggest a greater range of social statuses among men. In Berseneva's opinion (2005, 2006, 2008), because all children burials are characterized by a similar set of artifacts, they are considered by the author as genderless in their status. These studies as well as Natalya Polosmak's (2001) study on the Pazyryk society women possibly represent the first attempt to gender archaeology in Russia.

Alexey Tishkin and Petr Dashkovsky (2003) researched the Pazyryk culture in the Mountain Altai, region well-known for the archaeology of elite burial mounds. Because of the permafrost, not only a great deal of material objects, fabrics, wood but also mummies of ancient people have remained intact. They established that the basis for the population's ranks was the sex-age structure. The hierarchy was based on the property, social, professional, and other differentiations. In this case, if, during the Early Scythian period, a weak differentiation of the above structures is observed then, during the Pazyryk time, the hierarchy was already more pronounced and was reflected in the funeral rites of nomads. The authors prepared computer database of the Pazyryk culture on the basis of 219 burial mounds found on 88 cemeteries. Their analysis includes the study of differences between sexes, ages as well as differences within these general aggregates. The main criteria for a division into groups were as follows: (1) sizes of the funeral construction, (2) peculiarities of a burial, (3) presence of grave goods and horse burial. In result, Tishkin and Dashkovsky have identified eight ranks for men and women and five for children. They believe that this assumes the complex stratification in the Altai society of the time. The existence of rich burial mounds of elite accompanied by groups of other, less lavish burials confirm it. Another trait of the Pazyryk culture revealed through burials was its militarization as in the majority of burials a weapon is present. A tendency of forming groups of professional soldiers was outlined by the authors. A ratio of warrior burials is about 30% of all men burials. Tishkin and Dashkovsky believe that this society has already passed through a level of complex chiefdoms and has been on the path to the early state.

Kradin et al. (2004) have studied the cemeteries of the Xiongnu culture on the territory of Buryatia, a tribal confederacy called the Nomadic Empire of Xiongnu. The social structure of Xiongnu had many levels of hierarchy and seems to resemble a tribal confederation in internal relations, and a conqueror *xenocratic* nomadic statehood to the other nations and peoples (Kradin 2002). For analysis the authors have selected the data from four most extensively studied cemeteries in the Baikal like area: Ilmovaya pad', Cheremukhovaya pad', Dyrestuisky Kultuk, and Ivolga

(total of 426 burials). The study of the cemeteries of the Transbaikal Xiongnu revealed complex social structure and the presence of hierarchical system of the ranks traced in different sex–age and ethnic groups of the society. The richest burials were concentrated in the Ilmovaya pad' cemetery. Here, three ranks were identified in the burials of both men and women. The men's burials of Cheremukhovaya pad' are combined into several different groups, which possibly reflects the nature of their activities during lifetime, and women's burials were represented by two groups. In Dyrestuisky Kultuk cemetery also three ranks are identified in the burials of both men and women. Four hierarchical ranks for men and five for women were identified in Ivolga cemetery. The certain differentiation of children burials into "rich" and "poor" ones can be traced (most pronounced differences were found for Ivolga cemetery where three to four groups were identified). However, it should be kept in mind that some lavish children burials were related to human sacrifices (Kradin et al. 2004; Kradin 2005).

When generalizing different approaches to researching social stratifications in the past, some key principles for the reconstruction of social ranks using archaeological data can be established. Most researchers consider that burial rites can be a reliable source of evidence concerning social differentiation in a given society. However, the evaluation of social ranks must be preceded by the assessment of sex and age of the buried persons. One reason is that the social status of males and females was unequal, and this must have been reflected in the burial rites. The second reason is that in the archaic society, rise in social status was only possible after the initiation rite had been performed. The typical analysis of burials includes several successive operations: (1) listing of features of the funerary rite, and feeding the information into the database for the formal statistical analysis; (2) revealing factors that correlate with age in the skeletal sample under analysis; (3) separating adult skeletons from those of immature individuals; (4) revealing factors relevant for sex differentiation of adult burials; (5) separating burials of males from those of females; (6) analyzing differences in the funerary rite within groups homogeneous in regard to age and sex, and attributing indeterminate burials; (7) revealing significant factors linking clusters within sex and age groups with various categories of burial goods; (8) interpretation of findings and study of spatial distribution of burials and cemeteries (Kradin et al. 2005).

Interpretations and reconstructions of the social structure of any society can be described from the viewpoint of both *functional* and *conflict* approaches. The social space can be considered in the *horizontal* plane (heterarchy, family, clan, tribal relations) and in the *vertical* (hierarchy, ranks, statuses) one. When studying statuses, it is important to distinguish criteria of social *rank* and political *power*. The reflection of social structure in the material artifacts is fixed through a creation of the middle rank theory – it is necessary to construct cultural model for each society. In it, it is needed to consider an effort-expenditure principle, authority symbols, and spatial analysis of burials. Of great importance are samples used in examining palaeodemographic data and mortality rates (Kradin 2002; Tishkin and Dashkovsky 2003; Kradin et al. 2005; Kradin 2007; Matveeva 2007).

A special concern should be addressed toward postprocessual critics of the archaeology of social ranks (Parker-Pearson 1982, 2001). It seems vital to translate a number of papers of this school of thinking into Russian simply because,

as I think, Russian authors are short of skepticism about the reliability of their own interpretations. However, I do not agree with certain criticism presented by this school, like the common negation of the relationship between the funeral rite and social status of the buried (*ibid.*). To confirm this thesis, Parker-Pearson studied the modern cemeteries in Cambridge and showed that the correlation between expenditures for gravestones and riches of individual is very insignificant. I do not attempt to analyze in details why postprocessualism could not propose a well-composed conceptual alternative to processual explanation (see Patterson 1990). It is unlikely, however, that the Christian rites used by Parker-Pearson provide the necessary argument to justify such conclusion. In Christianity (as also in other world religions), ideology impedes the unnecessary demonstration of social hierarchy. However, inequality is all the same manifested, for example, in the burial place (cathedral, location on the prestigious cemetery, etc.), in the presence of many people in the cemetery, in the spectacle of ceremony (hearse, flowers, information in mass media, national mourning, etc.). Quite a number of examples are known from ethnology when high social positions of individual are manifested in the pompous burial rite rather than in sizes and special shapes of the funeral structures (Wason 1994:70, 183). The problem is to determine how these differences are reflected in artifacts available to archaeologists. Sizes of tombstones vary substantially even in modern societies. To see why Parker-Pearson's conclusion was erroneous, it may suffice to visit any municipal cemetery in the territory of modern Russia. The graves of criminals are luxurious and that is the material reflection of their real (but hidden) influence in this country. I remember a visit of the anthropologist Peter Skalnik in Vladivostok in spring of 2006. We went to a cemetery where the Czech legionaries were buried, and while wandering around the cemetery saw burials of the local mafia members impressively different from the rest of burials. This is my answer to the postprocessual argument.

As for the archaic societies, archaeologists have a good chance to reveal the principles of past social structures. Undoubtedly, we are not able to determine accurate social groupings and ranks, as this task is also beyond the scope of modern sociologists who write about Russia, USA, or Brazil and present different opinions. General regularities of ranks in the archaic cultures can be identified, however. I cannot imagine a situation when the grave of the chiefdom's ruler was poorer than that of an ordinary peasant. The Egyptian and Mesoamerican pyramids, tsars' burials in Mesopotamia and China and magnificent barrows of the Eurasian nomads demonstrate the extraordinary status of persons buried in these pompous burial vaults (Smith 2003).

Alternative Pathways to Complexity and State

The idea of the military democracy as the only way to state origins has in fact dominated Soviet anthropology and archaeology until the mid-1960s (Guhr 1985). This idea has been formulated by Engels in the *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* who adopted it from Morgan. However, this concept poorly

correlated with observable cultural diversity. As soon as the political “thaw” (Russian *otpepel’*) has set in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev, new theoretical approaches have been proposed. First, the second stage of discussion concerning the Asian mode of production has started (Dunn 1982). The East has fallen beyond the orientalist interpretations of the world’s history. This has urged the Soviet scholars to search for new paradigms.

Anatoly Khazanov has expressed a seditious for those times opinion that the military democracy was not the only form of the prestate societies (Khazanov 1968) and that states were not its subsequent stage, but that it has given place to other form of political organization characterized by social hierarchy (Khazanov 1968; Neusykhin 1968). In essence, by the mid-1960s, the Soviet scholars have arrived at the idea of chiefdom independently of neo-evolutionists anthropologists. The historian-medievalist Neusykhin proposed to call such societies *pre-feudal*. He has studied the Middle Ages of western Europe and, therefore, for him a period preceding feudalism could only have been *pre-feudal* (Neusykhin 1968). This idea became immediately popular in the USSR. It has been a new step in the revision of the dogmatic Marxism. In any event, the idea had not included the slave mode of production and it was already revisionist. Later on, when Marxist anthropologists and historians have realized that not all roads led to feudalism, a term *pre-feudal society* gave place to terms such as *pre-class* and *early-class* societies (Kubbel 1988; Pavlenko 1989; Korotayev and Chubarov 1991).

In 1979, anthropologist Anatoly Khazanov proposed the term *vozdestvo* – which can be translated as chiefdom. With the lapse of time, a sinologist Leonid Vasilyev has written two large reviews where he has familiarized Russian readers with the neo-evolutionist ideas of chiefdom and early state (Vasil’ev 1980, 1981). These works had a pronounced effect on many scholars, especially younger generation. At that time, papers in foreign languages were available only to researchers in Moscow and Leningrad. *Chiefdom* and *early state* spread slowly among the Soviet anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians and presently one can find term *vozdestvo* in dictionaries.

The idea of chiefdom had a dramatic effect on the discussion concerning the Bronze Age Sintashta and Arkaim proto-urban cultures of Southern Trans-Ural region, which is called by some scholars as “Country of Town” (Berezkin 1995b; Zdanovich D. 1997; Zdanovich G. 1997; Jones-Bley and Zdanovich 2002). There were attempts to consider political organizations of tribe, chiefdom, and early state in a wider chronological context. Koryakova demonstrated changes on the border between Europe and Asia in 2000-500 BC and cyclic transformation from theocratic pastoral chiefdoms to early nomadic empires (Koryakova 1996; Koryakova and Epimakhov 2007). Pavlenko and Shinakov were first among Russian archaeologists to interpret the political evolution of eastern Slavic cultures using the term *chiefdom* (Pavlenko 1989, 1994; Shinakov 2002, 2007). Theories of chiefdom and early state are commonly used by nomadologists (Kradin 1992; 2000; Skrynnikova 1997; Vasjutin 1998, 2003; Tishkin and Dashkovsky 2003).

However, scholarly events that were happening in Europe decades ago did not occur in Russia. With the advent of a new paradigm, the Russian scholars did not begin

to consider tribes and confederations of tribes as chiefdoms and feudal kingdoms as early states. The reason is probably in the highly centralized and authoritative world of key scientific centers and small provincial nooks, where patterns for practicing science come from the top brass. Many historians, who study feudalism in Europe or the early kingdom of Rus, still use the old Morgan's term *military democracy*. In addition, changes in the Russian science coincided with the crisis of unilinear evolutionary theories in the study of social complexities and criticism of the idea of chiefdom propagated by the development of alternative approaches to complexity in archaeological research (Yoffee and Sherratt 1993; Chapman 2003; Yoffee 2005; Pauketat 2007).

Of fundamental importance in introducing new ideas were the international projects related to social archaeology in which Russian, European, and American scholars have participated. This has contributed to a certain integration of the Russian scholars to the world archaeology (Kradin and Lynsha 1995; Davis-Kimball et al. 2000; Kradin et al. 2000; Boyle et al. 2002; Jones-Bley and Zdanovich 2002; Kradin et al. 2003; Grinin et al. 2004; Peterson et al. 2006; Grinin et al. 2008; Linduff and Rubinson 2008; Hanks and Linduff 2009). After 1991, other methodological propositions have also spread into Russia namely multilinear neo-evolutionism, studies on origins of civilizations, and the world-system analysis. New ideas criticizing the unilinear evolutionism were proposed (Kradin et al. 2000; Grinin et al. 2004) and alternatives to chiefdom and early state were conceptualized.

Berezkin (1995a; 2000) compared the archaeological model of chiefdom with the data from excavations of a number of prehistoric societies in Central Asia and Turkmenistan and by evaluating a possible population size of these societies came to the conclusion that their populations correspond to those of typical chiefdoms. However, the usually accepted archaeological criteria to identify chiefdoms were not present in the archaeological record as dispersed separation of communities occurred instead of a hierarchical system of settlements; poor manifestation of the property and/or social inequality instead of sharply defined social strata in form of elite and commoners, and a great number of small (family?) ceremonial places instead of monumental temple architecture. Berezkin (1995a, 2000) used ethno-historical analogies of the Apa Tani society of the eastern Himalayas to back up his suggestions.

Andrey Korotayev (1995) pointed out the so-called mountain societies in connection with the ancient Greeks and showed that decentralized political systems of mountain associations bear fundamental similarities to the Greek *poleis*. Korotayev extended considerably the list of societies similar to *poleis* with the historical and ethnographic examples from Europe, Africa, and Asia. As Korotayev believes, the democratic character of political organization of the mountain societies should be considered as natural. This was caused by a number of the interconnected reasons as comparatively small sizes of societies enabled the direct participation of all members in political decision-making (*Montesquieu law*). The rugged terrain did not contribute to the integration of the mountainous communities into the greater hierarchical structures (e.g., chiefdoms) and equally prevented them from subordination to the neighboring states of the plains. The similar protective role against neighbors were performed not only by mountains but also bogs (Belarus), seas, deserts, lifeless territories as well as a combination of some of them (Carthage,

medieval Iceland, Dubrovnik, Kazaks of Zaporozhye, and similar free societies). It is obvious that Korotayev recognized that this ecological reason alone cannot explain the phenomenon of democratic social organization, nor that all of the mountain societies were democratic (e.g., the Inca Empire). However, there is no doubt that the peculiarities of the democratic system of ancient Greek *poleis* are based on exactly the above-mentioned regularities (Korotayev 1995).

These ideas intersect with other bilinear theories in the contemporary anthropology and archaeology. Woodburn (1982) and his followers (Artemova 2000) showed a considerable variability of complexity among hunter-gatherer societies. Some of them were really distinguished by the egalitarian social organization, equality of all their members (African bushmen, Hadza), while other foraging societies (e.g., Australian Tiwi; some Native American tribes can be used as a good example of political complexity among foragers, Ojibwa being one) are characterized by a concentration of the leadership in the hands of adult men, by development the internal sex-age inequality through polygyny and monopoly for information in the hands of adult men. These conclusions were later on extrapolated to the North-American materials (Fitzhugh 2000; Schweizer 2000). Similar complexity is also observable in the archaeological record, for example, in the Mesolithic of Denmark or in the Neolithic Jomon culture in Japan (Price 1981). Later on, these approaches were developed into such concepts as network and corporative models of social organization and hierarchical and homoarchival models of evolution of social complexities. The network model is characterized by the concentration of wealth, developed hierarchy expressed in burial places, and prestigious consumption by the elite. The corporative model is characterized by the dispersion of wealth and power, more moderate accumulation of wealth, segmentary social organization, and communal cults (Ehrenreich et al. 1995; Blanton et al. 1996; Kowalewski 2000; Wason and Baldia 2000). All these suggest a multilinear character of social evolution.

Two important conclusions follow from the above discussion. First, not only mountainous, but also other small polities protected by natural barriers can create complex forms of government other than hierarchical societies (chiefdoms and states), which suggests that there is another line of social evolution characterized by nonhierarchical complex societies (Berezkin 1995a, 2000; Ehrenreich et al. 1995; Korotayev 1995; Skalnik 1999; Bondarenko and Korotayev 2000; Kradin et al. 2000; Bondarenko et al. 2004; Bondarenko 2006, 2007; Grinin 2004, 2007). It is a common practice to call these two different patterns of social evolution as network and corporative (Blanton et al. 1996; Marcus and Feinman 1998; McIntosh 1999; Kowalewski 2000; Wason and Baldia 2000; Haas 2001). All of these give grounds to assume that social evolution is in fact multilinear. The essence of this phenomenon was well expressed by Ernest Gellner (1983). Political units of the agrarian epoch differ considerably in size and type, but they could be approximately divided into two kinds: local self-governing small polities and great empires. On the one hand, there are city-states, remainders of tribal communities, peasant communities, etc. doing their own business with very high coefficient of communal political participation and with unpronounced inequality, and, on the other hand, vast territories controlled by force concentrated at a single place.

Second, a high degree of political activity (called “protestness” by Eisenstadt (1978)) is characteristic of the residents of small (including mountain) societies, while members of agrarian states located in the plains (predominantly peasants) display a more passive political behavior. The last circumstance was noted by many researchers of the peasant societies (for instance, Wolf 1966; Scott 1976; Shanin 1979, etc.). It is interesting that the common for mountainous people participation in political processes caused the blocking of antidemocratic tendencies. In small polities, people can effectively control their rulers, as historic facts demonstrate. For example, the late eighteenth century so-called antiaristocratic revolution of the Caucasian Adygeis resulted in killing and expelling of many local princelings. The regime of the inherited chiefs of the Tibeto-Burman plateau was overthrown in the mid-nineteenth century. A similar democratic coup has taken place among the Naga of the North-Eastern India. On this basis, the victories of the Athenian *demos* over its aristocracy and the Roman *plebs* over patricians do not seem surprising or unexpected.

The attempts to check this model using cross-cultural methods demonstrate stable correlations between such indices as “family size,” “clan (tribal) organization,” on the one hand, and a degree of democracy of the political organization, on the other. In particular, hierarchical societies are characterized by strict supra-communal structures, clan organization, and kinship, whereas territorial organization, territorial community, and nuclear/extended families are typical for nonhierarchical societies (Korotayev 2004). It is also conceivable that this bilinearity has some more fundamental grounds because it is characteristic of not only high civilizations but can also be traced at the earliest stages of the history of humankind and even among primates (Butovskaya 2000).

Moshe Berent (1994, 2000) believes that the classic *polis* could not be considered a state (for a similar claim, see also Feinman and Marcus 1998, especially their Introduction and the chapter by Marcus). According to him *polis* was a society without a state for which Berent gives a great number of various arguments, among them that in the *polis* lacked state machinery and the control over the administration was exercised by all its citizens. Similar discussion about the character of the Roman statehood has taken place in 1989–1991 on the pages of the Soviet journal *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* (*Bulletin of Ancient History*). The initiator of the polemics, Elena Shtaerman posed a point of view similar to Berent’s. According to her opinion, the classic Roman *polis* of the republic period cannot be considered state. The machinery of the executive power was insignificant. There were no offices of the public prosecutor or police. There were no taxes and no personnel for their collection. The duties from provinces and rent for the public lands were collected by tax-farmers. The plaintiff himself guaranteed appearance of the defendant in court and should ensure the serving of a sentence. All of this suggests, in her opinion, that in Rome of the day, there were in essence no authorities able to enforce execution of laws and the laws themselves had no sanctions. Shtaerman considers the Sulla dictatorship, the Pompeius rule, the first triumvirate, and Caesar’s triumph as the stages on the path to the statehood and points out that the process of the state formation was completed during the reign of Augustus, when the elements of state-level social control like the administrative machine, praetorian guards, cohorts of guard, and professional army were in place (Shtaerman 1989).

The realization that ancient Greek and Roman societies had no states meant to look at many problems related to social complexities from different angles. If the viewpoint is taken that *polis* was not a state, it should be considered that stateless society does not need to be necessarily “primitive” and, therefore, a civilization does not necessarily suggest the existence of statehood. Proponents of theories suggesting a multilineal evolution of social organizations substantiate a viewpoint that the absence of statehood does not necessarily suggest a low-level social complexity (Bondarenko and Korotayev 2000; Kradin et al. 2000). As an example, one can cite the civilization of Celts (Gauls). The Celts have occupied a large part of western and central Europe in the first millennium B.C. Technologically the Celts had taken the lead over many peoples of Europe. They have constructed deep mines to produce salt and mercury, they have learned ahead of the others to smelt iron and make steel to produce steel weapons, glassy seamless furnishings, cradle in the Alps. This was large ethno-political community with common language, religion, and currency. Celtic society was complex with social differentiation and a great number of ranks. However, the Celts had no written language and no common state. All in all, about a hundred of Celtic polities have existed and archaeologists assume that they were mostly similar to chiefdoms (Crumley 1974; Arnold and Gibson 1986). During the transition from the Hallstatt to La Tène Period, the hereditary power of chiefs disappeared and the control passed into the hands of the nobility and elective city councils. Celtic *oppidia* represented true cities with long streets, blocks of craftsmen, sanctuaries, and powerful fortifications. The greatest of them had areas in the range of 600–1,600 ha. Judging from Caesar’s reports to the Senate, the legionnaires have destroyed several hundreds of *oppidia* and the number of killed Celts were estimated at hundreds of thousands (Crumley 1974).

Another alternative to the state formation is social evolution of complex pastoral nomads. The ethnographic investigations of the cattle-breeding people of Inner Asia and Africa show that extensive pastoral economy, low population density, lack of settled way of life do not suppose a necessity of establishing institutionalized hierarchy. Thus, one can assume that the need for statehood was not internally necessary among nomads (Khazanov 1984; Barfield 1989; Kradin 1992; Golden 2001; Kradin and Skrynnikova 2006). The complex hierarchical organization of power in form of nomadic empires and similar political formations has been developed by nomads only in those regions where they have been forced to have long and active contacts with higher organized agricultural-urban societies (Scythians and the ancient East and Mediterranean states; nomads of Inner Asia and China; Huns and the Roman Empire; Arabs and Khazars; Turks and Byzantium, etc.). Such contacts predetermined the dual nature of the steppe empires. On the outside, they looked as the despotic aggressive states as they were established to withdraw the surplus product from the outside steppe. The pastoral nomads have appeared in this situation as the class-ethnic group and specific *xenocratic* (from Greek *xeno* – outward and *cratos* – power) or *exopolitarian* (from Greek *exo* – out of and *politeia* – society, state) political system. Figuratively, one can say that they composed a form of superstructure over the settled-agricultural basis. From this viewpoint, the establishment of nomadic empires is a particular case supporting a theory of warfare and aggression behind the origin of states. At that, the nomadic elite functioned as the highest military and civil administration representatives, while the commoners formed the skeleton of the army. At the same time, the nomadic

empires retained tribal relations, without establishing taxation and exploitation of other nomads. The ruler's power was based on his ability to organize military campaigns and redistribute receipts from trade and spoils resulting from raids on the neighboring regions. From this viewpoint, it seems justified to characterize nomadic empires as super-complex chiefdoms (Kradin 1992, 2000; Kradin et al. 2003).

Conclusion

The successes and failures of the modern social archaeology in Russia are in many respects based on the Soviet scholarly heritage. At the turn of millennia, the Russian scholars made a great contribution to methodologies that enable archaeological studying of social inequality and the origins of state. Among the reasons why archaeology of social inequality is so strong in Russia are traditions of the Russian archaeological school in general and the importance of such topics for the Marxist-based archaeology. Postprocessualism has not practically influenced Russian archaeology as the ideas promulgated by processual archaeology, namely studies on civilizations, world-system analysis, and multilineal evolutionism are more popular. Russian scholars have reexamined the ideas of American neo-evolutionism and synthesized them with the world-system analysis and cliodynamics (Turchin et al. 2006; Grinin and Korotayev 2009). I think that this experience deserves much attention. Unfortunately, such important sections of the social archaeology as gender and childhood, ethnicity and boundaries, nationalism, world-system analysis, network of prestige goods and diffusion of information have been neglected. All of this can be simply explained. In western countries, racism, sexism, and chauvinism became a subject of the postmodern thinking (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991) and subsequently these ideas came to archaeology. I am not sure that time is ripe in Russia for critical intellectual revision of prevalent in the society views on inequality, gender, nature of ethnic groups, and nationalism. There is still time for such discussion.

As usual, the concept of archaeological culture, which is a signature of Russian prehistorians (Kohl 2007:16), not only illustrates prevalence of interests in the primordial social organizations, but it also indicates the fact that the Russian territory is poorly explored when compared with countries of high population densities and much smaller territories. Therefore, in the old dispute between the “splitters” and “lumpers,” Russian archaeologists for now follow the path leading to fragmentation of information. The perspectives for development of Russian archaeology depend on the intensification of field investigations, its integration to world archaeology, and its own reflection relative to the subject of their science.

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Dig Up–Dig in: Practice and Theory in Hungarian Archaeology

László Bartosiewicz, Dóra Mérai, and Péter Csippán

Introduction

The last (and possibly first) comprehensive English language review of theoretical issues in Hungarian archaeology appeared in 1991 (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991), the year the Soviet Union collapsed, as part of *Archaeological Theory in Europe (The last three decades)* edited by Ian Hodder. In the Preface to that book, Hodder admitted that most contributions had to be revised to take account of the major political changes of 1989–1990 that shaped European politics, such as the reunification of Germany (Hodder 1991a, b: XI). Political ferments were common in Europe and identifying archaeology as tailgating historical/political/ideological currents is neither new nor surprising. Studying the relationship between archaeology and its socioeconomic context contributes to an exciting field of intellectual inquiry as hermeneutics is inseparable from studies and interpretations of human behavior and social institutions, past and present.

In the present paper we are not providing an update of developments during the almost two decades that have elapsed since that 1991 landmark publication but attempting to review the *status quo* of archaeology in Hungary within a broader historical framework reflecting upon the relationship between archaeological praxis and theory in different political and cultural settings over the last 140 years. Before embarking on this enterprise, however, the SWOT aspects of our approach are worth a brief review:

Strength: the current state of Hungarian archaeology may be better appreciated in light of its broad historical/ideological context. As an interdisciplinary team of authors, we represent different areas of research (prehistoric and medieval archaeology, zooarchaeology as well as art history), permitting a multisided approach.

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Weaknesses: a comprehensive review would be impossible given the limitations of space. The examples used in highlighting major trends are thus inevitably arbitrary and subjective, their choice often governed by the need to make a point.

Opportunities: by adopting a multidisciplinary approach, long-range ideological trends and their impacts on archaeology can be easier defined.

Threats: because the authors are in various ways associated with institutions of higher education (a lecturer and PhD students from two universities), our approach might introduce certain “school” idiosyncrasies to the analysis. Some important works and prominent personalities will be inevitably left out as the paper’s focus is on the state of archaeology over the past 150 years, illustrated only by a limited number of examples thought to be characteristic of the problem discussed.

Setting the Scene

In an effort to identify significant characteristics reflecting upon the past and practice of archaeology in Hungary, we had to rely on a variety of sources. The aim of our chapter is not only a brief synthesis of previous reviews on various aspects of Hungarian archaeology and related disciplines (Lászlószky and Siklódi 1991; Bökönyi 1993; Fodor 1998a, b; Szathmáry 2000; Bartosiewicz and Choyke 2002; Török 2002; Choyke 2004; Raczky 2007), but also an analysis of diachronic trends to make the current situation comparable with attitudes towards archaeology around the world. An analysis of interviews with Hungarian (as well as Polish and Czech) archaeologists by Grietje Suhr (2005) offers a fresh outlook by a keen outsider on recent developments in Hungarian archaeology. John Chapman, who worked here for many years, wrote a concise summary of research on the Neolithic Period in Hungary during the last 25 years (Chapman 2000).

Hungarian archaeology will be discussed in reference of the four dimensions proposed for this volume:

History and archaeology in Hungary

- The early decades
- Between the two world wars
- Socialism on the rise
- On the road of “Goulash Communism”
- The status quo

Standardized models of archaeological theory and intellectual colonialism

- The traditional Hungarian model
- External “colonial” influences
- Freedom – of the market

Hungarian archaeology beyond academic and administrative functions

- Ideological issues
- Popular archaeology
- Populist archaeology

Perceptions of the Anglo–American model of archaeology in Hungary

- Local academic culture
- Languages
- Theoretical influence
- Forms of communication

Archaeology in Hungary has a long history. In fact, it is often regarded as a subdiscipline of historical inquiry rather than a branch of *lato sensu* anthropology (the latter term being applied to *physical* anthropology in our research tradition). As Cleuziou et al. (1991) pointed out, the development of theories in archaeology – or relative lack thereof – cannot be separated either from the concrete, daily conditions of research, or the social functions archaeology fulfills under ever-changing historical circumstances.

Relations between archaeology and dominating ideologies underlying the socioeconomic situation have a far greater impact on our discipline than intrinsic theoretical developments. By “relations”, however, we do not mean that archaeology has been consistently subservient to the political elites of the day as “the handmaiden of historiography”. The latter has rather acted as a buffer, taking far more direct political impact than archaeology.

Our description of these phenomena is preceded by defining trends found in *Archaeologiai Értesítő* (Archaeological Courier, abbreviated *AÉ* henceforth), the leading Hungarian professional journal. This journal has been published almost continuously since 1868. Its predecessor, *Archaeologiai Közlemények* (Archaeological Communications), began in 1859 as a newsletter. Relying exclusively on *AÉ* has its limitations; many of the later publications are available in foreign languages and are therefore more accessible to international audiences. In fact, our choice of *AÉ* was motivated by the fact that it, hopefully, best represents the history of self-perception by the Hungarian archaeological community.

The following variables were used in the analysis:

1. Number of coauthors.
2. Type of article (description of artifact or assemblage, site report, review article, interdisciplinary report, ancient monuments).
3. Period (Paleolithic, Neolithic/Copper Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Celtic/Antique/Classical, Roman Provincial, Migration Period, Hungarian Conquest Period, Period of the Árpád Dynasty, Late Middle Ages, Ottoman Turkish Period, Early Modern Age).
4. Regions 1–13 (see Fig. 1). This variable was of special importance since Hungary lost two thirds of its territory after World War I. Although the remaining central

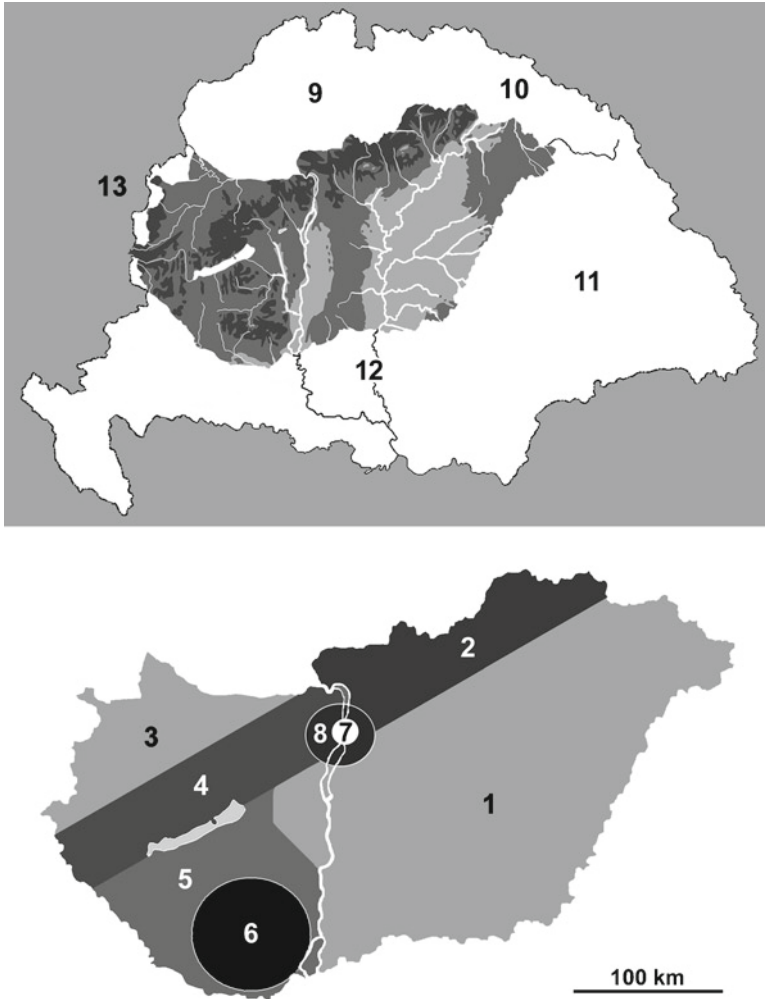


Fig. 1 Topographic regions of historical (*top*) and present-day Hungary (*bottom*, enlarged) as coded for the classification of articles published between 1868 and 2007. Legend: 1 Great Hungarian Plain; 2 Northern Mountains; 3 Small Hungarian Plain; 4 Transdanubian Mountains; 5 Transdanubian Hill Region; 6 Mecsek-Villány Mountains; 7 Budapest; 8 Budapest Region; 9 Highlands (Slovakia); 10 Sub-Carpathia (Ukraine); 11 Transylvania (Romania); 12 Southern Provinces (former Yugoslavia); 13 Burgenland (Austria)

part of the Carpathian Basin has been more intensively inhabited than some of the detached mountainous areas, the overall research area was reduced. Redrawing the political borders created qualitative problems as well. For example, what is still called the Great Hungarian Plain within the borders of modern-day Hungary extends into Romania (Banat) and Serbia (Bačka). Therefore, it is referred to as the

- “Pannonian Plain” in the foreign language literature.¹ Historical changes in multilingual site names also make archival research and manuscript editing difficult.
5. Number of pages.
 6. Number of illustrations.
 7. Number of references (footnotes).
 8. Language of abstracts (German, French, Russian, English, other foreign languages, Hungarian).

While all these variables will be discussed, the regional distribution of chronological topics in *AÉ* is worth a brief introductory review. Data have been consistently available in the core area that corresponds to modern-day Hungary. As shown in Fig. 2, the Great Hungarian Plain (half of its *ca.* 100,000 km² territory forms two-thirds of Hungary’s present territory, Gál 2007: 19) stands out. In addition to its size, this alluvial lowland had been relatively densely inhabited and was also more intensively affected by infrastructural developments (the nineteenth century river regulations, the construction of road and railway networks) that helped unearthing archaeological sites. Among the prehistoric sites reported in *AÉ*, topics on the Neolithic Period and Copper Age dominated. Roman provincial finds are relatively rare in this region, as it was part of the so-called *Barbaricum*, located east of the Roman province of *Pannonia* (Graf 1936). However, finds from the Migration Period and the Hungarian Conquest are well represented. (This is in contrast with the Small Hungarian Plain that is ten times smaller, but was incorporated into the Roman province of *Pannonia* and yielded numerous Roman finds reported in *AÉ*; Bartosiewicz 1989). The rural settlement network of the tenth – thirteenth centuries (Period of the Árpád Dynasty) has also been frequently discussed in *AÉ*. During the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire penetrated the underbelly of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom where the Great Hungarian Plain opened toward the south; therefore research on the Turkish Period has also been significant in this area.

Research on the Paleolithic Period is reasonably well represented in the calcareous Northern Mountains, where (similarly to mountainous areas in Transdanubia), ancient human habitations are not common and archaeological research on later periods is less intensive. Research on the Early Neolithic Period is relatively new in the Transdanubian Hill Region (Bánffy 2004). Sites dated to the Roman Period and Late Middle Ages have been frequently reported from the Transdanubian Mountains.

Among other regions, the metropolitan Budapest area deserves special mention. Although traces of prehistoric occupation have been obliterated by urban development, the Roman Period and Late Medieval finds have been extensively reported;

¹Lake Pannon, a brackish tertiary lake named after the Roman province of *Pannonia*, covered the Carpathian Basin between *ca.* 12–5.4 My BP (Gál 2007: 19). As an archaeological term Pannonian Plain is confusing, as the AD first to fourth century Roman province of *Pannonia* occupied exclusively the hilly part of Hungary west of the Danube, while the plain largely corresponds to the eastern half, the Roman Period *Barbaricum* (see Fig. 1).

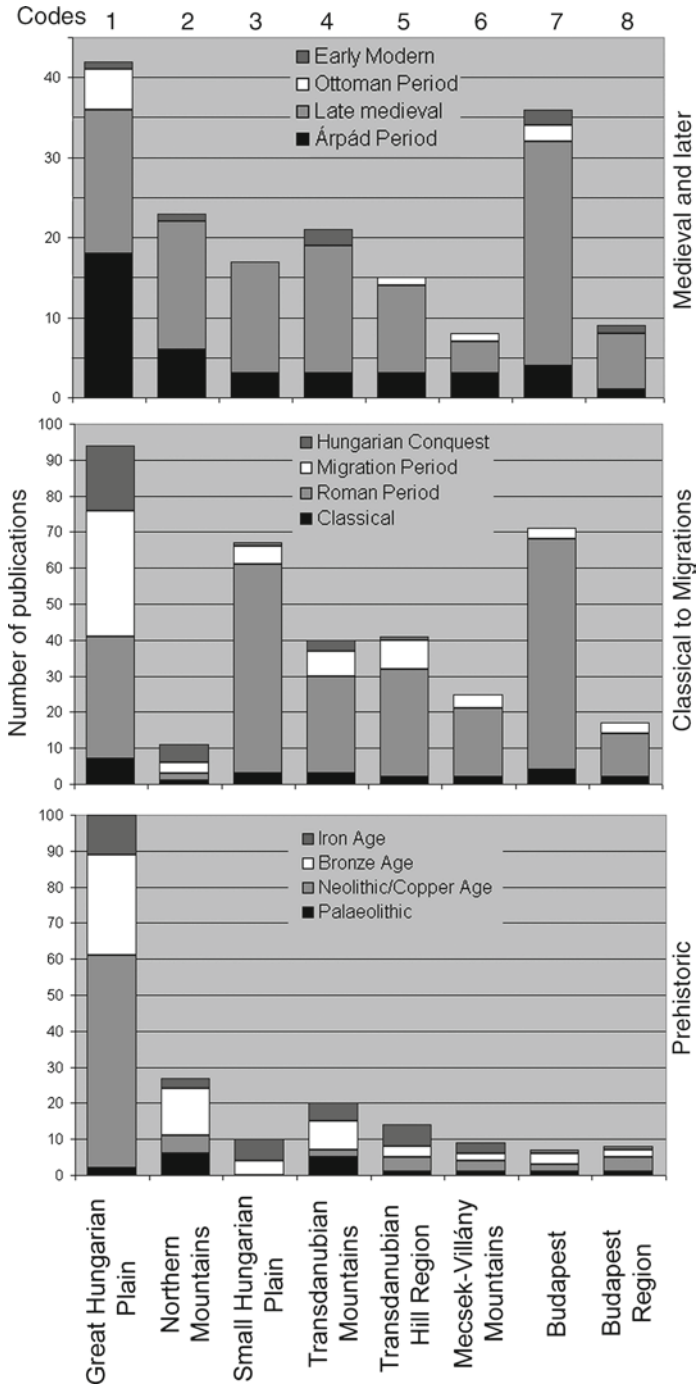


Fig. 2 The distribution of *AE* publications by archaeological periods in the regions of modern-day Hungary. For geographical codes also see Fig. 1

this intensively excavated area includes the Roman provincial capital *Aquincum*, as well as the Late Medieval royal centre of Buda.

Having briefly reviewed two of the three key ingredients of the drama, time, and space, let us turn our attention to “action”. How have archaeologists been exploring this scenario for well over a century?

History and Archaeology in Hungary

The article by Laszlovszky and Siklódi (1991) on the status of theory in the late twentieth century archaeology in Hungary was aptly subtitled “Theories without theoretical Archaeology”. Their detailed account, including a review of great personalities in modern Hungarian archaeology, has revealed the overwhelmingly culture-history orientation of archaeological discourse. As Milisauskas (1990: 285) summed up rightly, centralized political control and the ideological rigidity of social studies (including history) in Eastern Europe drove many to archaeology, which they saw as a field that was much less burdened with political dogma. We should add that many of them were attracted to archaeology because of its empiricism and stylistic analyses contributing to typological-chronological reconstructions of diachronic trends, thereby avoiding complex theoretical issues.

Looking at the recently published English language volume *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium* (Visy 2003), it is remarkable to notice that 10 years after the article by Laszlovszky and Siklódi (1991), the culture-history approach still defines the intellectual framework of that book, which begins with the history of archaeological fieldwork in Hungary, followed by discussions on environmental archaeology as well as the use of scientific methods. The latter clearly illustrates a methodological effort rather than a theoretical revolution as it regards the use and interpretations of modern procedures. The overall historical approach of the book becomes more evident as subsequent chapters offer strictly diachronic presentations of each major period of the past. This is neither bad nor good, but a fact that should not be ignored in our review. Adhering to the wisdom of the proverb, “If you can’t beat them, join them”, the presented evaluation should begin with a glimpse at the relationship between history and archaeology in Hungary, which offers a partial explanation of the roots of this dominant intellectual tendency.

Recently Tóth (2005: 45–46) subdivided the history of research on the origins of Hungarians into three phases, which reflect overall trends in intellectual history across Central Europe (Sklenář 1983). These are: (1) national-romantic and positivist (from 1850 to 1918), (2) dominance of phenomenology (between the two World Wars), and (3) Marxist and realist trends (post-World War II era of communist domination). Given the general scope of our paper, which includes both, prehistoric and historic archaeology, we have somewhat refined this broad classification.

The Early Decades

A Jesuit University established in 1635 at Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia), was the first Hungarian institution devoted to higher education. Its foundation document contained a clause that the university should be moved to the capital city of Buda as soon as it was liberated from the Ottoman occupation. Empress Maria Theresa dissolved the Jesuit order in 1773 and gave a special endowment to the university. Her 1777 education law (*Ratio Educationis*), among other things, defined numismatics as *the first archaeological subdiscipline in the service of historical research*. The university moved to Buda in 1777 and a Chair of Numismatics and Archaeology was established, largely devoted to the collection of coins and artwork from Antiquity. In 1802, the Hungarian National Museum was also established.

As part of the trend across Europe (Hodder 1991b: 6), Hungarian archaeologists also engaged in the search of the origins of Hungarian nation that turned into modern nationhood at the fringes of modern Europe during the early nineteenth century. Ethnic roots became increasingly important in strengthening national identity in a country that began seeking independence from the Habsburg Empire during the National “Reform” Diet held in Pozsony (present-day Bratislava, Slovakia) in 1832.

Equestrian burials from the Hungarian Conquest Period found during the mid-nineteenth century (e.g., at the sites of Benepuszta, 1834 and Vereb, 1853; Fodor 1998) contributed to the creation of stereotypes of rich and impressive burials of conquering warriors and became influential in subsequent research. Attempted reconstructions of national past, however, did not mean that other periods were of no interest to local archaeologists. Classical archaeology remained very strong; in 1858 the Archaeological Committee was established within the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (founded in 1825; abbreviated as HAS henceforth). A landmark publication of this era was Charles Darwin’s “The Origin of Species” (Charles Darwin 1859). While the date may look coincidental with that of the first zooarchaeological study ever published in Hungary (Kubinyi 1859; see below), it shows that evolutionary thinking was in the air and soon became influential in archaeological research, as theory and practice are inseparable of the “climate of thought of the day” (Stuart Piggott quoted in Lozny 2002: 139).

Flóris Rómer, considered the “Father of Hungarian Archaeology” (Fig. 3) received a personal chair at Pest University in 1868. He drafted an unusually broad curriculum offering education in almost all archaeological periods and related disciplines. Rómer also taught European archaeology and maintained an international research network to support his work.

The Austro–Hungarian Compromise of 1867 created the Dual Monarchy between Austria and Hungary and after 17 years of absolutism the Habsburgs formally settled their relations with the Hungarians. The Compromise granted the Hungarian government in Buda equal status to the Austrian government in Vienna and was also an attempt to attract Hungarian support for the Habsburgs who were



Fig. 3 The bronze bust of Flóris Rómer by Alajos Stróbl standing in Bratislava (Slovakia), his native town. Note the horse skulls decorating the pedestal, perhaps a romantic reminder of the ancient Hungarian past (Photo: Judith A. Rasson)

under mounting international pressure. The relative political strengthening of Hungary also resulted in dynamic economic development. River regulation, road and railway construction as well as urban growth turned up masses of archaeological finds. By the late 1860s, a quantum leap may be observed in the number of artifacts and more-or-less professionally excavated sites, which, according to the 1867 Compromise, belonged to the Hungarian state. Archaeological societies were established throughout the country and the professional journal *AÉ* was founded

in 1868. At those early times it served as an organizing tool connecting specialists, the growing number of amateur collectors and the wider public, and as a medium of communication designed to keep pace with developments not only in archaeology but also in ancient monument studies and art history.

In most of the late nineteenth century publications, the culture-history approach and ethnogenesis were intimately interwoven. This should not be perceived as a narrow-minded focus on the origins of Hungarians (that indubitably in later periods occasionally dominated the agenda), but as the first concerted effort to present culture change of ancient peoples from “lower to higher levels” in a truly evolutionary fashion. International recognition of Hungarian scholars materialized in 1876 when the eighth International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology took place in Budapest. This prestigious event was organized three years after the capital, Buda, was expanded to incorporate Óbuda (the former Roman provincial capital of *Aquincum*), and the booming commercial city of Pest across the Danube. Flóris Rómer along with Ferenc Pulszky, who was the director of the National Museum, invited notable European archaeologists to this event. The Congress received impressive press coverage and the weekly *Vasárnapi Újság* (Sunday News) published detailed accounts of the Congress along with portraits of its most distinguished participants (Fig. 4; Csetneki Jelenik 1876; Anonymous 1876). Of key importance here is its reflection of the yearning of many Hungarian intellectuals to assert their national identity through international recognition rather than introspective chauvinism. It must be emphasized that this conference was devoted to discussing prehistory, which had little direct historical/ideological implications as “prehistory” by definition was distinguished from “history” as a scientifically informed, international discipline, a dichotomy that has persisted for a long time in Hungary. It grew in the shadow of historical archaeology (closely related to art history) and matured as a separate discipline shortly after the Budapest Congress. In 1880, Rudolph Carl Virchow (Fig. 4, top), a leading scholar in the nineteenth century medicine, anthropology, and social sciences declared: “We have made German prehistory an independent discipline” (Sklenář 1983: 105). Before the end of the century, prehistory was taught in two Hungarian universities, Budapest and Cluj (then Kolozsvár, Transylvania).

Although a public education system emerged in Hungary along with general economic prosperity, somewhat surprisingly, medieval mythology – to be discussed below – remained the basis of both historical knowledge and the national consciousness of Hungarian citizens within the state’s historical borders defined as the Carpathian Basin (cf. Fig. 1). By the end of the nineteenth century, it became clear that historical sources were too scanty and unreliable to be used in the ethnogenesis of Hungarians. Thus, attention was directed to evidence provided by linguistics and physical anthropology. While a novel approach at the time, such overemphasis on language and race assumed dangerous dimensions across Europe a generation later.

At the time of the Austro–Hungarian Compromise, ethnogenesis was largely discussed in linguistic terms, contrasting Finno-Ugric and Turkic elements of the Hungarian language. An average reader of the popular encyclopedia Pallas would have been familiar with the thesis that topics related to increasing social complexity had fewer words reflecting Finno-Ugric etymology (Fig. 5).

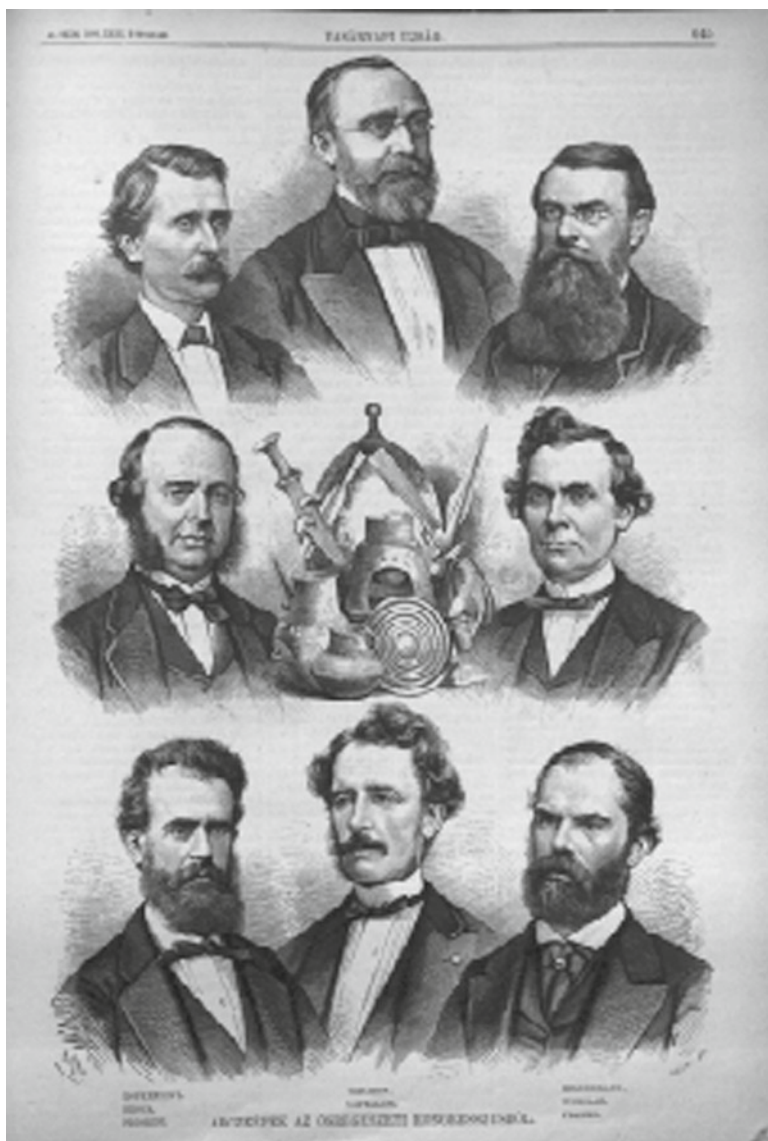


Fig. 4 Distinguished foreign scholars attending the eighth International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Budapest, 1876. Clockwise from top: Virchow (Germany), Hildebrand (Sweden), Worsaae (Denmark), Franks (England), Capellini, Pigorini (Italy), Broca (France) and Kopernický. After the weekly *Vasárnapi Újság* (Anonymous 1876)

A more complex picture began to emerge out of a more sophisticated historical approach and archaeology, however, and the so-called “Ugri-Turkic War” broke out between proponents of the two different theories regarding the origins of Hungarians. “Poor, fish-smelling” Finno-Ugri peoples studied by ethnographers in Western

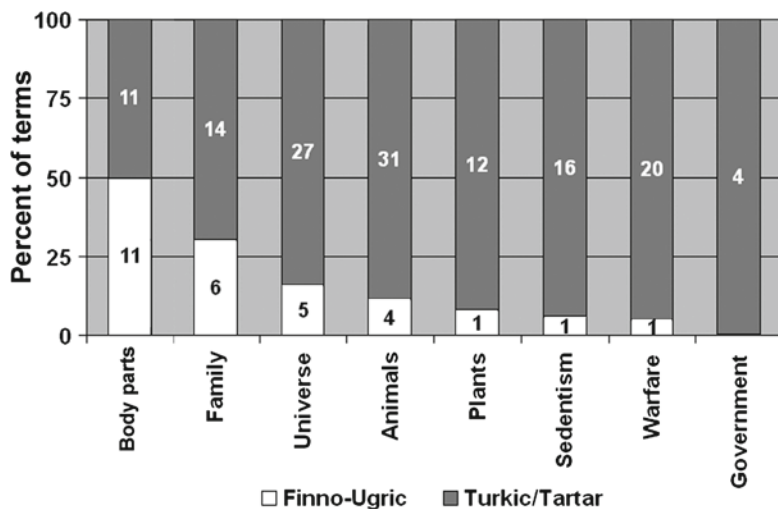


Fig. 5 Hungarian etymology was correlated with concepts suggesting an increase of the Turkic/Tartar component along with increasing sedentism and social complexity (based on raw data in Pallas 1893–1897)

Siberia were contrasted with the “high cultures” of Turania, the alternative Turkic ancestral land of Hungarians. The linguistic debate, thus, turned ideological and was to split both academia and the public for the century to come (Langó 2007: 137).²

The first comprehensive discussion of archaeology in Hungary was published by Ferenc Pulszky (1897–1898). By the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, the natural sciences were also increasingly integrated with archaeology. The study of human remains was best positioned in this sense. Paul Broca, who in 1859 established the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, was among the respected guests at the 1876 Budapest Congress. The Department of Anthropology, founded by Aurél Török at Budapest University in 1881, was the fourth of its kind in the world at that time.³ Physical anthropologists regularly worked with archaeological finds. In general, cooperation between archaeology and the natural sciences (Vékony 2003), including geology and the study of lithics, was remarkably good. The first conscious effort to use zoological evidence for answering historical questions began as early as 1859 (Kubinyi 1859), although attributing a Pleistocene camel bone to the conquering Hungarians was based on a clear stratigraphic error.

²The priority of one theory over the other also reflected geopolitical reality. For example, Finno-Ugric research flourished after World War II, not so much for ideological reasons but due to simple logistics: the opening of research opportunities in the Soviet Union that ultimately resulted in a respectable academic output (e.g., Hajdú 1976).

³The *Laboratoire d'anthropologie de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes études* established by Paul Broca in 1867 may have been the first such educational institution.

Collections and identifications of animal remains were already practiced at the time of the 1876 Congress (Vörös 1983). For example Zsófia Torma – the first known female field archaeologist in Hungary and evidently one of the earliest in Europe – sent 13 animal bones and teeth from her excavation at Tordos in Transylvania to the National Museum, and these were inventoried in 1875. Unfortunately, they were discarded in 1958 (Anders 1999: 69). Following the principles and methods used in physical anthropology (Lenhossék 1875), cranio-metric studies were carried out on relatively intact horse skulls found accompanying human burials (animal remains from ordinary food refuse would have been far too fragmented for such investigations). In addition to the analysis of horses recovered from burials of the conquering Hungarians (Besskó 1906), the Hungarian veterinarian József Marek published his comparative study of the Helvetian and Gaulish horses in Zürich (Marek 1898), which determined the early international nature of zooarchaeology in Hungary. Prehistoric plant remains were also studied (Deiningcr 1892).

Between the Two World Wars

Following World War I, Hungary was literally buried under the rubble of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. The country not only lost 2/3 of the territory of its 1,000 years old kingdom, but some parts of it were granted to its similarly defeated senior ally, Austria, during the 1920 Paris peace talks, known as the Treaty of Trianon. Territorial claims based on historical precedents have a long history in Europe and concomitant political shifts are known to have often directly influenced archaeological research (Kaiser 1995: 114). This historical shock has had lasting ideological consequences, most notably in the way it has strengthened a long-term nationalist agenda. During the time that spans a generation, a high-prestige artifact of historical dimensions, the “Holy Crown” of St. Stephen (the first Christian king of Hungary, 1000–1038), has subsumed a powerful role as a symbol of historical continuity. Emperor Franz Joseph was crowned with it at the time of the 1867 Compromise, and the crown was retained as the material evidence of *de jure* monarchy after World War I, even in the absence of a king. Far more than a “proper” archaeological artifact, this prominent historical object has consistently been used to connect ancient and modern national history in thinly disguised (and sometimes positive) efforts to manipulate the latter. The crown also became available for scholarly analysis, especially from a stylistic point of view, as shown by a publication in *AÉ* (Falke 1929). The journal itself also underwent changes. A strongly positivist, description-oriented style dominated and the scope of topics was narrowed down to purely archaeological issues. Discussions on ancient monuments were reduced and art history gradually disappeared from its pages.

Due to ever-changing political situation over the last 90 years the nationalist paradigm weakened and resurfaced in different forms. Manifestations of nationalist trends in Hungary were not extreme, but have been palpably present in

archaeology. This not only concerns the often emotionally overheated aspects of ethnogenesis, but also intellectual limitations posed by the objective fact that after WWI, the area available for archaeological fieldwork diminished to 1/3 of the country's former size. In a qualitative sense, sites that yielded special Bronze Age finds from Transylvania and the Highlands, which were among the main attractions of the 1876 Budapest Congress (Sklenář 1983: 107), were now outside the national borders. Although topics relevant to adjacent regions maintained their presence in Hungarian archaeology after 1920, their presentations in academic papers understandably declined as is shown by the number of publications in *AÉ* (Fig. 6).

Research on ancient Hungarians was not the only “hot” topic in archaeology of the times. Classical archaeology had the longest tradition being pursued at a very high level since the establishment of Budapest University, while the University of Szeged developed a strong interest in prehistoric and medieval studies as well as excavation methodology under the leadership of János Banner (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 274). Across Europe, archaeologists remained primarily interested in constructing typological-chronological sequences in order to present what they saw as the evolution of society in general. This became the dominant positivist approach in Hungary as well (Tompá 1934–1935). A theoretical synthesis on the “laws and roles of a typological sequence” was published in *AÉ* by Sándor Gallus (1942), with the abstract in French, a rare language of choice amidst the preponderance of German.

Other European scholars influenced by nationalism prevalent in the heyday of European empires began investigating the roots of putative national ancestors with renewed fervor. An article by Oswald Menghin, a professor at the Prehistoric Institute in Vienna, was published in *AÉ* sounding a cautionary note:

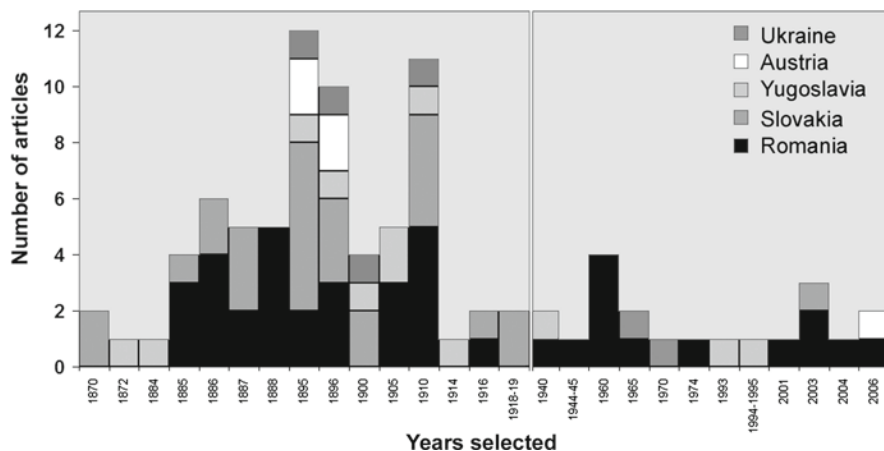


Fig. 6 The decreasing presence of topics in *AÉ* relevant to areas in neighboring countries detached from Hungary in 1920

Here, we run into the most horrific misunderstanding of modern race research, as often the view is voiced that psychic race characteristics depend on physical traits and these are inextricably bound (Menghin 1928: 38).

The thesis that cultural development can be explained through language and ethnic character became influential in European archaeology (Trigger 1980: 52). As this paradigm relied to a great extent on the idea of migrations, evolutionism and emerging diffusionism seemed contradictory in archaeological reasoning. Migration, a “fact” hardly ever contested in the early history of Hungarians, combined with their unique linguistic position of being isolated Finno-Ugric speakers in Central Europe, reinforced this approach.

Uniformitarianism, the principle that present-day processes can be used in interpreting past patterns, was popularized in Hungarian archaeology. Ferenc Móra, a prominent writer and museologist, called “ethnography living archaeology, and archaeology fossilized ethnography” (Móra 1932). Childe used literally the same terms a generation later in his last autobiographical note:

The archaeological data are interpreted as the fossilized remnants of behavior patterns repeatedly illustrated in ethnography... (Childe 1958: 74).

Although the wording seems purely coincidental, Childe’s (1929) influential early work on prehistory in our region was known among progressive Hungarian archaeologists. His concept of diffusion for explaining how societies evolved on their own, while their development was also influenced by the spread of ideas from elsewhere, was manifested in the evaluation of the early Neolithic Körös culture by Ida Kutzián (1944). Culture history became influential in Hungarian historiography and formed a special blend with ethnographic research in archaeology, best represented by the work of Gyula László. Although his research was not ethnoarchaeology in the modern sense, he took ample use of parallels reported from the nineteenth – twentieth century rural Hungary. As a trained artist he also illustrated his academic work on the life of ancient Hungarians (László 1944, 2003), setting a standard for decades to come. Instead of mechanically studying typological sequences, his school attempted to reanimate finds by trying to understand their origins and function embedded in the broader context of past daily life. He, thus, developed an anthropocentric approach comparable to, but independent of, cultural anthropology.

Socialism on the Rise

It cannot be emphasized enough that the former Soviet Bloc was not a politically homogeneous unit and some reviews on the ways archaeology was practiced there (e.g., Milisauskas 1997: 390) show that local interests have impacted differently on its involvement with politics. Although the Soviet military presence had been factual since 1945, the hardest Stalinist-type totalitarianism prevailed for six years after the erosion of the parliamentary majority of the Smallholder’s Party by “salami tactics”

and the rigged elections of August 1947 – in which a still unknown number of multiple votes were cast – that resulted in the Hungarian Communist Party becoming the largest political force (Szerencsés 1992: 73).⁴ However, the same way as nationalist extremism was not popular among Hungarian archaeologists during the period between two world wars (with a few notable exceptions), no significant influence of the Soviet-propagated pan-Slavism was observable after World War II. This was in contrast to historical research that many avoided in favor of ideologically neutral archaeology.

Following the Soviet model, the autonomous HAS was given a ministry-like, central administrative position in the structural organization of Hungarian sciences. The number of its research institutes increased from ten in the pre-war times to a network of 38, including the establishment of the Archaeological Institute (AI/HAS henceforth) in 1958. The communist regime interfered with the autonomy of the HAS only twice: in 1949, when it expelled a large number of members of the old cadre, a move termed plainly *Gleichschaltung* by Török (2002: 15), and when it kept an eye on the election of new members. According to Bökönyi (1993: 142):

...this did not necessarily mean that members were selected only on the basis of political merit (i.e., party affiliation). However, election could be blocked on the basis of political “misbehaviour”.

In 1949 an educational reform was implemented. The existing universities were divided up by discipline (e.g., Technical University, Economic University, Medical University, etc.) and thus comprised only one or a few faculties. The new universities were assigned to the relevant ministries. As research was largely bestowed on the Academy, universities were relegated to teaching while research was limited. On the positive side, the MA-level training in museology began and for the first time in Hungarian history, a formal degree in archaeology could be granted. A relatively rigid curriculum was offered with emphasis on chronological periods, an approach that still underlies archaeological education in Hungary. It is not a coincidence that the stages of economic (and cultural) progression from hunter-gatherer “savagery”, through agricultural “barbarism”, to the urban-based “civilization”, as outlined by Engels (1884), are propagated in teaching and practice by sharply separating for instance pre- and protohistoric, Roman provincial/classical and medieval archaeologies in Hungary. Specialization by chronological phases could not have been imposed on archaeologists by the party’s apparatchiks if the continuity of linear evolutionary thinking had not been deeply rooted among Hungarian scholars since the late nineteenth century.

Due to centralization of power, emphasis in research shifted to the newly empowered HAS, which was given the exclusive right to grant PhD-level degrees and a higher (so-called “Academy”) doctorate. This created a situation in which teaching and research in archaeology became increasingly separated from each other at the expense of theoretical development. Universities, largely isolated from

⁴Gati (1986) called the post-war years a “democratic interlude” in Hungary.

cutting-edge research possibilities, bogged down in near-full time teaching, could not always train theoretically apt researchers to fill the pampered HAS positions. Despite all these contradictions with technological development inferior to those of western countries – especially in the civil sphere – archaeology in Eastern Europe was one of the low-budget scholarly fields that could “compete or even excel in specific studies” (Milisauskas 1990: 285). In Hungary, however, this only meant well-organized, large-scale excavations of significant sites rather than advancements in archaeological theory. István Méri, who pioneered studies on medieval settlement patterns, also played a prominent role in introducing field surveys and sampling techniques at this time (Méri 1952). The abundance of spectacular data may equally foster new ideas or encourage theoretically passive reliance on their descriptive/empiricist evaluation, allowing the finds to speak for themselves. A “historical revolution” in archaeology occurred across Central Europe during the post-World War II period: mechanical analogies were gradually replaced by complex historical narratives (Sklenář 1983: 5). This new trend was reflected in an *AÉ* editorial:

Let us face this question courageously. We all know that our archaeological research was a function of Western, more exactly German scholarship as was the entire country... The majority of researchers studied (formal) characteristics, isolated from real life. Chronologies as well as dozens of “cultures” were created this way which often meant differences only in the shapes of vessels between societies living on the same level of development... the human factor was missing (Anonymous 1951: 67).

In hindsight it is impossible to evaluate the degree to which the pre-World War II scholars’ obsession with typology was a form of creative escapism (an attempt to avoid ideologically charged conclusions), or simply the mechanical adoption of the German-style of scholarship, or a bit of both. In any case, the first decade of post-war research helped archaeology to “develop into a historical discipline... instead of unilateral typological studies” (Anonymous 1955: 135) and historicity regained ground for decades to come.

On the Road of “Goulash Communism”

With Stalin’s death in 1953, a new era unfolded leading indirectly to the failed 1956 popular uprising against the Soviet rule in Hungary. In the aftermath of the uprising and initial retaliation, a pragmatic form of socialism evolved throughout the 1960s and sustained until 1989. Around 1968, the year the “Prague Spring” failed, this silent “compromise” brought about carefully engineered political and economic reforms with elements of market economy and relative political tolerance.

As part of the general trends, a new law decentralized museology in 1963, leading to a new, centrally administered nationwide network of county museums. By the 1970s – very much like goulash, the Hungarian national soup brewed using an admixture of colorful ingredients – the ideological landscape became far more varied as the Brezhnev Doctrine began tolerating local brands of socialism with

regard to national conditions (Janos 2000). In comparison with many other countries in Eastern Europe where archaeologists had little access to western archaeological journals, conferences, and personal contacts, Hungarian political leadership had learned its lesson from the 1956 uprising and became increasingly pragmatic. Except for political dissidents (none among archaeologists), most Hungarian scholars had better opportunities to travel than their colleagues in the communist-ruled GDR,⁵ Czechoslovakia or Romania. The proportion of card-holding members of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party oscillated around 10% of the population and their ideological role in post-1956 archaeology was not particularly prominent. This meant, as an American archaeologist working in Hungary observed, a transitional period when “generous central funding (of the past) and increasing political openness (of the future) met” in an optimal blend (Choyke 2004: 144). Some of the characteristic theoretical/ideological issues of this complex period were as follows:

- Hungarian ethnogenesis reentered the agenda, possibly as a result of ideological thawing. A theoretical critique of the seminal 1944 book by Gyula László, “The life of Conquering Hungarians”, acknowledged that it had been a progressive contribution in its time (Bartha and Erdélyi 1961: 71). However, it was not “sufficiently” Marxist in its attitude, avoiding subjects on social conflict, in favor of contextualizing the topic in terms of extended families. However, the critics referred to a reviewer from a “capitalist country”, who had emphasized that the strength of László’s 1944 book was its Marxist methodology (Bartha and Erdélyi 1961: 72). Soon early Hungarians attracted the attention of researchers in historical and physical anthropology, including those who had been engaged in studying other periods during their earlier careers (Bottyán 1968, 1972; Wenger 1971). A more sophisticated archaeological approach, however, showed how futile some ideas were in the face of real-life complexities (Fodor 1986: 99–114), and archaeologists temporarily abandoned this problem again. Following a strong tradition in cemetery analyses, it was the first planned Migration- and Hungarian Conquest Period settlement excavations that contributed a radically new dimension to research (Bóna 1971, 1973), beyond the traditional analysis of spectacular hoards and burials.
- Active links with western research strengthened thanks to carefully dosed freedom in Hungary. The complexity of this process is illustrated by the career of Sándor Bökönyi a veterinarian by education turned archaeozoologist who worked in the Hungarian National Museum pursuing the traditional German-style inductive fashion of reasoning, meticulously amassing information on animal bones. With the emergence of New Archaeology, his skills were in high demand among the US and British teams, who had been given excavation permits in politically nonaligned Yugoslavia. As a regional authority on prehistoric animals, Bökönyi won a Ford Fellowship to the US in 1966–1967. Taking advantage of a new cultural agreement signed between Hungary and Iraq, he was among the first to

⁵German Democratic Republic, Soviet-occupied part of Germany before re-unification in 1990.

visit that country, to find himself amidst the thriving cosmopolitan community of Near Eastern archaeologists (naturally representing mostly “western” countries at the time; Renfrew and Bahn 1991: 242). Research links to the Balkans, the Aegean, and the Near East became essential for Hungarian archaeology, due to relationships among the prehistoric cultures of those regions (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 284). By the mid-1970s, Bökönyi’s research across this area won him not only international acclaim, but also a position at the AI/HAS in the interdisciplinary team led by Ida Bognár Kutzián. She was first to apply Childe’s diffusionist model for the early Neolithic Körös culture in Hungary, to which Bökönyi’s studies of sheep and goats, domesticates of the Near Eastern origins, offered crucial backup information. Bökönyi’s 1981 appointment as director of the AI/HAS may look as a nod to processualism, since his aim was “to place man, that is past behaviors, and not material culture, at the centre of archaeological research” (Török 2002: 39). The scientific study of chronology and natural environment were strengthened under his leadership, but tension has remained palpable in research directions dominated by culture vs. nature debate (Chapman 2000: 16). While Bökönyi’s example was singled out here due to its unusual international and multidisciplinary complexity, other archaeologists also began building valuable foreign contacts, usually working in research areas of similarly broad international interest, for instance Roman and Celtic studies or Egyptology and Nubiology (cf., Mócsy 1974; Szabó 1988, 1992; Eide et al. 1994; Török 1997, 2002).

- The publication of monographs of large-scale works, largely by Akadémiai Kiadó, the publishing house of the HAS was also characteristic of this period. Almost all major scholars in that generation (e.g., Bognár-Kutzián 1963; 1972; Gerevich 1966; Bökönyi 1974; Bóna 1975; Kalicz and Makkay 1977; Makkay 1982; Mozsolics 1985) came up with ground-laying work during this time. The trouble was that editing and printing these books often took over a decade (e.g., the manuscript for Kalicz and Makkay 1977 was closed in 1963; Chapman 2000: 13), delays that one can ill-afford even in a discipline dealing with millennia of Antiquity. Prehistoric research was especially hard hit by the inertia of centralized publishing, as during this time radiocarbon studies also began in Eastern Europe (Kohl and Quitta 1963, 1964; Quitta and Kohl 1969). Contradictions between the long awaited publications and new absolute dates decelerated the acceptance of the new method that still suffered from its own childhood diseases (Makkay 1985a, b). Of these monographs Chapman (2000: 13) singled out the analysis of the Basatanya cemetery by Bognár-Kutzián (1963), who beyond the typological analysis and relative dating also addressed questions of social archaeology, and whose *oeuvre* was finished posthumously in a similar spirit by Eszter Bánffy (Bánffy and Bognár-Kutzián 2007), representing a new generation of prehistorians, interested in social and spiritual issues in prehistory (e.g., Raczky 1990; Bánffy 1997, 2001; Zalai-Gaál 1991, 2002).
- In protohistoric archaeology the role and perception of diffusion was also refined by Bóna (1979: 44–45) who noted that groups of eastern origins are characterized by a new material culture in the Carpathian Basin, whose elements

are often unknown in their native Eurasian steppe. Instead of processual analysis, however, he relied on historical interpretation. Cultural interaction among the newly settled peoples and their neighbors in the Carpathian Basin has not been scrutinized before.

- A politically charged but intellectually noteworthy project was the publication of a tripartite “*History of Transylvania*” (cf. Fig. 1) by the HAS. It created understandable tensions between Hungary, where *glasnost* had been around for a while, and Romania which was impoverished and demoralized by the wake of Nicolae Ceaușescu’s dictatorship. Volume I (Makkai and Mócsy 1986) included chapters by authorities in Hungarian archaeology, infringing on sensitive issues such as competing theories of ethnogenesis that have been a staple for polemics since the nineteenth century. It is impossible to ascertain to what extent the archaeological chapters were censored by the governmental agency and how much was due to the editors own initiative⁶ (Makkay 1999a). However, they were certainly written in a moderate tone, maintaining a distinct air of scholarly objectivity. One of the explicit and officially accepted reasons for a subsequent 1987 conference on research in Transylvania was a view that:

Hungarian historians... cannot rely on other nations to do this task, the less so, because they may distort it as experience has shown (Rácz 1988: 259).

For example, Bálint (2007: 546, footnote 6) noted that the Avars or Hungarians were not represented along the (Southern) Slavs and Bulgarians on the general map captioned “*Zonen unterschiedlicher Herausbildung des Feudalismus*” published in the GDR (Herrmann 1979, 5, pl. 1b).

In the field, the AI/HAS engaged in a diachronic microregional survey around Gyomaendrőd (SE Hungary) in 1984, investigating interconnections between environmental change and human settlement from the Early Neolithic period until the seventeenth century. This was the first large-scale project of its kind undertaken in Hungary, and one of a few anywhere in the world (Bökönyi 1992: 2, 1996). A similar project followed in the Hahót Basin (SW Hungary; Szőke 1996). In prehistoric archaeology, the Late Neolithic tells (Aszód, Herpály, Gorzsa, Öcsöd, Polgár), especially but not exclusively on the Great Hungarian Plain, were systematically excavated for many years, yielding impressive stratigraphic sequences. Having reached overall agreement on the importance of absolute dating, an unprecedented cooperation between Hungarian prehistorians created the possibility for major dating projects under the direction of Ede Hertelendi, a nuclear physicist in the Nuclear Research Institute of

⁶The senior author’s (LB) experience with censorship at the Publishing House of the HAS in 1978 seems relevant here. As junior editor at the time, he was flatly warned that responsibility for sensitive content rested with the editor. Encountering a statement that compared Stalin’s pet geneticist Trofim Denisovich Lisenko to Adolf Hitler, because he had academic opponents purged from held positions and many imprisoned, was deemed too steep a parallel. Hitler had to be negotiated out of the equation, but the truth about Lisenko’s diabolic wrong doings could be spelled out at the editor’s responsibility.

the HAS in Debrecen (Hertelendi et al. 1995, 1998a, b; Figler et al. 1997). Equipped with series of radiocarbon dates, Hungarian archaeology has grown to face “one of the most crucial questions raised by New Archaeology” (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 284), contemporaneous parallel development vs. the sequential appearance of cultures. The prolonged analysis and publication of these results, however, leads us already into the recent past of Hungarian archaeology, a time when “scientific archaeology started to bear fruit” (Chapman 2000: 18), but also a time when the broader setting of archaeology began changing.

The Status Quo

The majority of archaeologists across Eastern Europe were employed in the public sector, by museums, academies of sciences, and universities. As Milisauskas (1990) predicted, many countries of the region, including Hungary, faced economic decline and the number of archaeologists has steadily declined.⁷ His prediction that the national academies of sciences will have to bear the brunt of financial pressure also came to pass in Hungary. In addition, political attacks were launched against the “Soviet style” HAS network of institutes immediately after 1989. Some wanted to structurally integrate them with universities, others hoped to make them independent, and yet others proposed to organize them into a national research network (Bökönyi 1993: 143). The latter idea stemmed from models in Western Europe, where two research networks have evolved: in universities and in a parallel system of full time research institutes, such as the Max Planck institute in Germany or the CNRS in France. During the early 1990s, the HAS lost some of its importance as the main financial supporter of research (this role has partly been taken over by the Hungarian National Science Fund) and overseer of archaeological research. However, because of its respectable, early nineteenth century tradition and less aggressive recent political conduct it suffered much less than academies in other East European countries (Bökönyi 1993: 145). Nevertheless, financial restrictions disrupted the previous steady publication of some journals while books, even those published in Hungary, have become prohibitively expensive for individual researchers.

⁷The opposite happened in Poland where in the mid-1990s over 2000 students enrolled to the Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University and many joined the group of professional archaeologists by the end of the decade. By that time Poland accepted new laws regarding cultural heritage protection, which, combined with the increasing spending on infrastructure, opened up employment opportunities in cultural resource management. This might be a short-term phenomenon and on a longer time-scale Milisauskas’ prediction might come true (Ludomir Lozny, personal communication based on research during a Fulbright scholarship in Central Europe in 1997–1998).

According to Bökönyi (1993: 143) the three main tasks of the AI/HAS were worth continuing after the circumstances changed in the early 1990s:

- The centralized, nationwide survey of sites, called “Archaeological Topography”, a valuable project with *minimal theoretical* implications.
- Organizing and promoting interdisciplinary research, a *methodological* objective in the service of archaeology.
- Carrying out large-scale regional projects, including interdisciplinary cooperation, aimed at reconstructing *historical and environmental* developments in specific areas.

These aims represent the mentality of a long-gone epoch of stability in Hungarian archaeology. The grandiose field surveys required by “Archaeological Topography” (a project that began in 1961 under the direction of the AI/HAS, but always involved numerous local archaeologists from county museums) were sustainable only under strictly planned economy, since this nationwide systematic archaeological survey was estimated to require more than a century of coordinated work (Torma 1969: 75; Jankovich 1985). As prescribed by the 1997 law, the database of the Archaeological Topography has been taken over by the Office for Cultural Heritage and turned into an official digital registry. Today, it contains about 55,000–60,000 sites and only sites registered in the database can be defined according to specific criteria as archaeological sites in Hungary (Bozóki-Ernyey 2007). In December 2008 lawmakers modified Statute 308/2006 (XII. 23) on heritage management to make this database publically accessible. In addition to creating an open source for looters, this move narrowed the options for identifying “archaeological site” to those already entered, limiting the professional purpose of the database from research to simply cataloging. The new statute has been unanimously contested and provisionally stalled by the Hungarian archaeological community, but as of 1 January 2011 no revision has taken place yet.

Large-scale archaeological excavations of the 1970s and 1980s were centrally managed and funded. After the systemic transformation of the 1990 alternative resources such as research grants began developing far too slowly. Hungarian archaeology was bracing for a rough landing in the “real world”. On the positive side, technical developments, resulting from the 1989 political changes, should be mentioned. When Andrew Sherratt began his research in the Great Hungarian Plain in 1979, he had to work with captured World War II-era maps, “kneeling on Nándor Kalicz’s floor in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences tracing the newly reported site distributions off the forbidden maps” (O’Shea 2006: 762). Long after gradual political liberalization that opened channels to western colleagues, the archaeological use of aerial photography reappeared in an almost revolutionary fashion. Although initial steps were already taken after World War I (Miklós 2008a: 28), during the Cold War aerial photographs became classified military material and taking such pictures was a carefully guarded exercise. Even during the rather relaxed 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists were granted access to such information only in exceptional cases through a lengthy bureaucratic procedure. After 1990 aerial surveys became a routine, often in the form of international cooperation.

During the early 1990s several large aerial photography archives were accumulated in Pécs (Visy 2003), at AI/HAS (Miklós 2008b), and at the Loránd Eötvös University (Czajlik and Bődöcs 2008).

The Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom) was responsible for the embargo on Western exports during the Cold War. During the 1979–1989 Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the CoCom’s Industrial Core List contained 116 categories, which by 1991 was cut back to only 10, and IBM and Apple Macintosh computers as well as hard disks over 4 GB (!) capacity became available in Hungary. The first digital maps could have been produced (Zentai 2002), and from 1994 onwards museums began developing their local geographic information systems (GIS). By 1999 the number of GIS applications tripled and the number of PCs used in Hungarian museums rose from 27 in 1989 to 658 in 1999, while the number of users of database management systems increased from 4 to 81 during that decade (Jankovich and Nagy 2004: 28, Fig. 43, Tables 17 and 19).⁸ These developments had a synergetic effect with the increasing application of GIS in archaeology (Csáki et al. 1995) and the need for large-scale surveys, complementing the motorway constructions and other industrial projects that have led to the commercialization of most field work in Hungary. Soil boring and geophysical survey methods have long formed an integral part of this complex work (e.g., Raczky et al. 1985; Jerem et al. 1992; Sümegi et al. 2003) and have also aided scholarly analysis (most recently Raczky et al. 2007: 51–55, Figs. 1–3).

After World War II, rescue excavations were organized by the Central Directorate of Museums supported through state-level funding since the entire economy was planned in five-year cycles. After 1989, however, political changes and concomitant decentralization of decision-making included the transfer of provincial museums to local governments, which had no experience in running large-scale excavations (Raczky 2007: 6). The administrative (financial) separation of provincial museums resulting in their dependence on county-level authorities initially produced contradictory results (Bökönyi 1993: 145). Maintaining adequate standards had become a problem, which was not solved by the much awaited new Museum Law. Subsequently, mounting economic hardship and inflation limited rescue excavation funding previously used to fill yawning gaps in the local museum budgets. In spite of the preponderance of good examples, some funds were undeniably mishandled (e.g., sub-contracted to inefficient projects, to mention only mistakes made in good faith). One of the main challenges has become the clarification of protocols for rescue excavations and establishment of operational bases along with setting up a professional board that would organize and oversee the protection of archaeological sites and built heritage. This was recognized as an imperative at the time of political changes. Such an inspectorate:

⁸The first database in Hungarian archaeology was developed by László Vértes (1965), who used mechanical edge cards (with holes around their edges, selectively slotted to indicate the presence/absence of traits), and sorted sets of Paleolithic stone artifacts by combined search terms enabling “faceted navigation”, *i.e.*, choosing the order by which the hierarchy of categories was defined.

...should be similar to the *Bodendenkmalpflege* organizations in Germany and should be loosely connected with the network of county museums, though with an independent budget (Bökönyi 1993: 145).

Established in 2007 the Field Service for Cultural Heritage was to be developed into an institution of nationwide competency, supervised directly by the minister of Education and Culture. It has been put in charge of conducting excavations preceding large-scale developments, which previously were the responsibility of local museums. The definition of large-scale development is determined by the overall cost (Bozóki-Ernýey 2007: 118–120). This recent turn of events is still in progress and since it concerns redistribution of power and money in archaeology, it generates conflicts in financial and personal interests. Figure 7 shows the 2008 situation in which museums still employed almost half of the country's active archaeologists, many of them involved in excavation work. Another third worked directly in the field (dark grey in Fig. 6), mostly on short-term contracts or were employed by the newly established Field Service for Cultural Heritage. While less than 10% of fully administrative positions (white in Fig. 6) appears attractive, only 13% were engaged in more theoretically inclined research at the AI/HAS and various universities.

Having discussed the history of Hungarian archaeology, it is not surprising that recent projects across the borders are of special interest. Much of this work is aided by the European Union, if not by direct financial means, at least through the spirit of cooperation expected from member states. In eastern Hungary the András Józsa Museum of Nyíregyháza cooperates with the County Museum of Satu Mare County in Romania, conducting surveys of archaeological monuments in the region (Szócs 2008a, b, c, d, e). The irrelevance of modern borders to ethnic history has finally been recognized.

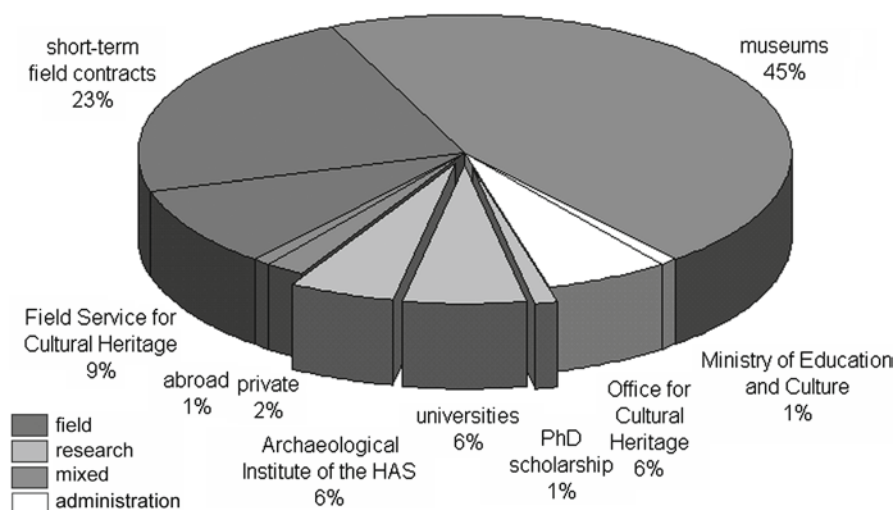


Fig. 7 The distribution of 527 active Hungarian archaeologists by forms of employment in 2008

Hungarian excavations of a medieval manor house in Székelykeresztúr (Cristuru Secuiesc), Romania (Benkő and Székely 2008) included the reintroduction of archaeological research into the region (Gál 2008) following local initiatives (Udrescu 1987; Haimovici 1992). In Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda), a regional dendrochronological dataset of medieval monuments is being built, with contributions from present-day Hungary. A generation of ethnic Hungarian archaeologists from Romania educated in Hungary returned home with extensive Hungarian and international connections. Much of this discourse, however, is limited by language as few archaeologists born in Romania of Romanian and German descent read Hungarian, and archaeologists born in Hungary also have a limited knowledge of publications in Romanian. Annual conferences on medieval architecture in Transylvania have been organized by the Museum of Satu Mare County (Romania), and in 2008 by the Jósa András Museum (Hungary). Efforts were made to invite to these interdisciplinary events participants of various ethnic backgrounds from both countries.

Standardized Models of Archaeological Theory and Intellectual Colonialism

Within the context of Hungarian archaeology the problem of standardized models of archaeological theory has two aspects. Historically, the country included ethnically mixed territories on its periphery. The Austro–Hungarian Monarchy possessed no colonies, but a somewhat similar role was played by these vast areas to the east and south, including Bosnia and Herzegovina annexed in 1908 (Sklenář 1983: 131). It is therefore of interest to see how was Hungarian historical thought imposed on ethnic issues and how this impact was expressed in archaeology given the organic relationship between the two in our research tradition.

During the late nineteenth century several European countries established archaeological institutes in the Near East. However, similar initiatives by Béla Pósta and others in Hungary have remained fruitless (Pallag 2003: 121). Egyptology, regarded as different from archaeology, has been present in the form of smaller excavations, and recently a survey project in Syria (Szécsi and Major 2004) has developed into a medieval archaeological project. “Intellectual colonialism” in other areas never materialized. Interest in Eurasia is represented at least by three major strains in Hungarian archaeology: “Orientalism” (Pallag 2003: 117) concerned with classical Near Eastern studies, “Orient preference” (Bálint 2007: 547), has permeated the study of Hungarian ethnogenesis, while the delayed influence of Childe (1939; “*ex oriente lux*”) turned prehistorians towards Southwest Asia after World War II.

The second aspect relates to “standardized models” promoted in the names of ruling ideologies by shifting outside powers (the Third Reich and the Soviet Union respectively), which exerted pressure on Hungarian historical and archaeological thinking and deserve brief discussion. Unfortunately, whether ideological “adaptations”

occurred due to the expectations or demands on the part of the occupying forces, resulted from the servility of local elites, or simply reflected the atmosphere of certain political ages cannot be ascertained without detailed study of the history of research, which would exceed beyond the scope of this short review.

The Traditional Hungarian Model

Until the mid-nineteenth century the paradigm of Hungarian ethnogenesis was based on the definition of Hungarian aristocracy laid out in István Werbőczy's law book entitled the *Tripartitum*, drafted after the peasant uprising of 1514. According to a medieval myth, descendants of the Huns, who in the sixth century AD reconquered (!) king's Attila ancient homeland in the Carpathian Basin, became the Hungarian aristocracy. Those, who had proven cowardly during the fights of the Conquest (AD tenth century) or belonged to the subservient local peoples, formed the lower strata of serfs. Although by the end of the nineteenth century the theory of Hunnish origins lost its social content (Fodor 1998a, b: 10), it has survived as a myth. Under the influence of these ideologies, József Hampel (1907) subdivided the tenth century Conquest Period burials into groups A and B. The grave goods (weapons, jewelry, and horse gear) of war-like elite represented the conquering Hungarians. Coeval cemeteries of commoners were assigned to the local Slavic population enslaved by the Hungarians. This was nothing but the archaeological reflection of the aforementioned medieval paradigm. Although this was a scholarly, empirical study, it reinforced the ruling stereotype of glorious and rich conquerors, worthy ancestors of the modern Hungarian nation. These notions were completely revised 55 years later when the archaeologist, Béla Szőke, studied social variability in Hungarian burials, therewith securing a place for these "poor" graves that had been previously classified as representing the so-called "Slavic" Bielo Brdo culture (Szőke 1962). Until then, however, Hampel's (1905, 1907) ideas strengthened competing pan-Slavic arguments concerning the early inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin. Why would this have been of any interest? The Nationalities Law (1868: XLIV) of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was the first in Europe to have codified the rights of ethnic groups in the country. The Compromise, however, was not popular with most ethnic minorities of the multinational Empire. The Czechs and Romanians in particular, resented the Austrians having negotiated the deal only with Hungarian aristocracy, without actively involving minorities in the process. In addition, the implementation of the Nationalities Law fell behind its enlightened principles. Hungarian aristocracy and nascent bourgeoisie nipped in the bud attempts by minorities trying to strengthen their cultural identity (Sklenář 1983: 131).

In the aftermath of World War I, Hungary experienced a short-lived revolution of 1919 (second only to the 1917 October Revolution in Russia). Dwelling on the prominent roles played by some Jewish intellectuals in the communist movement, Lajos Méhely, a respected zoologist, began proselytizing Hungarian

supremacy first on a Darwinian basis, then relying on his own theory. The trauma of the Trianon Treaty combined with the emerging racial ideology is captured in the following quote (Méhely 1933):

The nation results from a uniform genesis, that is, homogeneous origins. Therefore, it is a community of peoples sharing morphological characteristics, which shows that nation and species are congruent concepts. [Although an opponent] says correctly that “sons of a nation are bound by a common mentality and heart”, this is possible only on an organic basis... This is shown by minorities in Hungary who, although had shared our fate for centuries, betrayed us when the rooster first crowed. They are racially different from us and have never been part of the same nation...

His views were considered absurd even at those times. In 1930, he had resigned his prestigious membership of the HAS and retired in 1933.

Most skulls unearthed in the first decades of the twentieth century were professionally described by Lajos Bartucz who, in addition to numerous scholarly articles published two comprehensive monographs (Bartucz 1926, 1938). His research method may best be characterized as visual disjunction of cranial types. In his opinion, the Conquering Hungarians developed as a result of contacts between the Europid and Mongolid great races. He documented two principal craniological components: East-Baltic and Asiatic Turanid of the tenth century that had dwindled under the influence of “Europeanization” by the eleventh–thirteenth century. Discussing the origins of the horses ridden by the Conquering Hungarians, Béla Hankó (1935) emphasized the importance of [European] *tarpan*, in favor of the Przewalski horse, by that time limited to the hinterlands of Mongolia. “Our ancestors came from the East, but not from Asia!” he cried out passionately. Asserting the vaguely defined “sufficiently European” character of Hungarians at all levels, however, has remained an emotional issue that resurfaced even at the time of the country’s 2004 accession into the European Union.

External “Colonial” Influences

Following World War I, much research was spent on detecting ancestral groups in the archaeological record, most notably – but not exclusively – in Germany, where Gustav Kossinna attempted proving the “pure” Indo-European origins of modern-day Germans. Following Virchow’s death in 1902, Kossinna emerged as a leading figure in German archaeology and in opposition to Virchow applied historicity as the core of his inquiry. Hungarian archaeology has traditionally been strongly influenced by German schools in methodology and the structure of university training (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 274). However, the Aryans were defined linguistically as speakers of a primeval Indo-European language from which most European languages evolved. Hungarian is one of the few exceptions represented by a sizeable modern population in Europe. In 1910 this meant approximately

6.7 million Hungarian speakers living within the subsequent, 1920 borders while 3.2 million were separated by the Trianon Treaty (KSH 2001: 21).⁹

With Hitler elected chancellor of Germany in 1933, the racial fantasy of Aryan supremacy became the cornerstone of his ideology. Kossinna's archaeological work inspired the Nazi ideology. However, as Hodder (1991b: 21) points out, Kossinna represented only an extreme (and often overemphasized) example of a general trend in Europe where archaeology is often embedded in social life. Even Childe (1958: 69) admitted some affinity to Kossinna's approach:

Like Gustav Kossinna I came to prehistory from comparative philology; I began the study of European archaeology in the hope of finding the cradle of the Indo-Europeans and of identifying their primitive culture.

Hungary's role in World War II as the last ally of the Third Reich has been a hotly debated issue. It is far beyond the scope of this paper to distinguish true collaborators from short-sighted opportunists who until March 1944 were hoping to avoid a full-blown German military occupation in exchange for loyalty. In archaeology, however, German influence was far more present in the inductive-positivist approach and the work ethos – adopted long before the emergence of Hitler – than on the level of vulgar propaganda. Shortly after the passing of the 1941 “Third Jewish Law” (Statute XV) in Hungary, prohibiting intermarriage and changing the definition of Jew to a racial rather than religious definition, anthropologist Miklós Fehér (1942a, b) desperately tried to advocate for the immensely complex relationship between nation, people, and race through the conservative daily *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation), a forum for anti-Nazi views. Even some noncommunist intellectuals saw the 1945 liberation from German dominance as the lesser evil, after they had experienced direct German occupation during the final year of the war, when Hungary – no longer considered an ally – was *de facto* invaded by the Nazi forces.

The simplistic Marxist-Leninist “theory” that ruled everyday propaganda after 1948 was indeed difficult to be directly applied into archaeological theory, and, as Hodder (1991b: 5) noted, this kept many archaeologists within:

...the culture-historical framework in which they had been trained, albeit with the obligatory Marxist introductory and closing words.

On closer inspection, however, it seems that the preference for certain plebeian topics, most notably the archaeology of medieval rural settlements (Méri 1952), was a product of political changes, although its professional content was not tainted by ideology. This trend, however, paralleled historical research related to studying serfdom under “feudalism”.

In addition to the traditional emphasis on typology and chronology, prehistoric studies were the first to be affected by the interdisciplinary character of processual archaeology. In addition to osteoarchaeology that had a long tradition, lithic studies

⁹Even the evidently increased present-day populations of linguistically related Finland and Estonia include only 5.2 and 1.3 million inhabitants respectively (including other ethnic minorities).

(T. Biró 1988) and environmental research (Jerem and Poroszlai 1999) also strengthened. Meanwhile, fitting the European trend (Hodder 1995: 115), the archaeology of historical periods was still influenced by the positivism of “historical archaeology”. Researchers of the Migration Period, armed with early documentary sources and spectacular grave assemblages, were given a good opportunity for reconciling history with artifactual evidence. An early attempt was carried out by Attila Kiss (1979), who compared the composition of artifactual assemblages with their geographical distributions, thereby reconfirming and refining historically documented settlement areas of the Eastern Goths in Pannonia. Traditional historicism gradually assumed a more synthesizing role, represented by the school that formed around István Bóna in Budapest (closely related to the ideas of Herwig Wolfram in Vienna). Central to the new approach of studying ethnogenesis through archaeology. A much respected archaeologist studying pre- and protohistoric times, he claimed:

Archaeological finds always had to be matched with critically handled written sources, linguistics ... and other disciplines. It is impossible to write early medieval history without site data and finds, and maintain the slightest touch of reality (Bóna 1986: 107).

Historical reasoning and material studies began forming a more subtle blend in the scholarship of András Kubinyi, who in 1978 began teaching medieval and Early Modern Age archaeology at Budapest University largely along the same principles: supporting the ample written record using the material evidence recovered during archaeological excavations. As a medievalist, he pointed out the startling discrepancy between written sources and the scanty nature of archaeological evidence (intangible to a prehistorian), but also recognized the key importance of interdisciplinary approach in documenting everyday history rather than “feudalism” *per se*. He brought up a generation of archaeologists weaned from the Marxist dogma. His refreshing approach has recently been summarized in an edited volume reflecting the mentality of his university lectures (Kubinyi et al. 2008).

Aside from methodological deviations from Marxist orthodoxy, a linguistic trend is also worth noting. In relation to a pan-Slavic surge observable in the 1950s and 1960s (even until the late 1970s in the GDR) as well as in the Soviet Bloc countries of non-Slavic origins, Bálint (2007: 546, footnote 6) pointed out that, for instance in Romania, a number of essays published in the local journals *Dacia* and *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice* until the late 1950s were in Russian. The half-heartedness of political posturing in Hungary is revealed by the sporadic occurrence of exclusively Russian language abstracts published in *AÉ*, usually in conjunction with another summary in a western language, but consistently preceding it in order (Fig. 8). After 1989, however, even such bilingual abstracts are rare: in addition to omnipresent German, only English abstracts – typical of interdisciplinary papers – began to be consistently provided. Politics, however, played a bad game with foreign language education in Hungary. The regrettable side of Russian having been forced is that despite 12 years of training for anyone with a master’s degree, only a few took Russian studies seriously (*cf.* similar attitudes to English in parts of Latin America). Familiarity with the Russian archaeological literature, however, is indispensable in

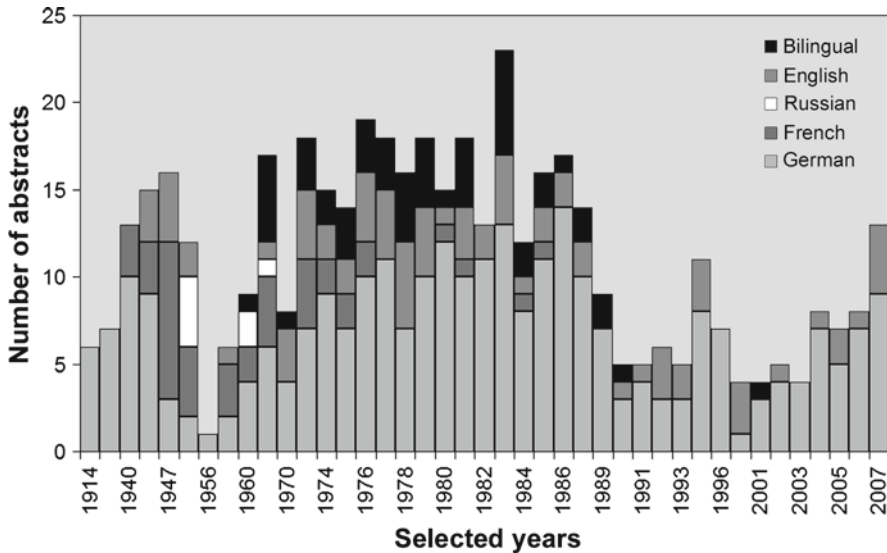


Fig. 8 Changes in the language of choice for foreign language abstracts in AÉ (before 1945 German was almost exclusively used)

the in-depth study of many archaeological questions, ranging from research on the Paleolithic to Hungarian ethnogenesis. The superficiality of work by some of the new generation scholars who are “free” from the mandatory Russian language education may also be attributed to a language barrier (Fodor 2008: 160–161, 163), indirectly created by changes in the political setting.

Freedom: Of the Market

In a globalized, free market economy funding for archaeological research is in short supply. In Hungary, the expanding motorway network has become the most important and best organized source of funding along with other infrastructural developments, including the construction of plants and shopping centres. “Motorway archaeology” has evolved into a genre of its own. Its scale and significance has been unparalleled since the river regulation and railroad construction works of the mid- to late nineteenth century (Fodor 1998a, b).

Preventive excavations (financed by the investors according to cultural heritage legislation), created a 100 m wide network of test trenches, whose net length grew between 1990 and 2007 to a total of almost 650 km, not including junctions, auxiliary roads and roadside facilities, such as the 400,000 m² construction site along the Budapest bypass southeast of the capital, where settlements from several archaeological periods were excavated (Tari 2006). By 2007, almost 700 major

sites were uncovered over a total of seven million m² surface (Raczky 2007: 5). The effect of this sudden growth was twofold: on the one hand, excavations on this scale often became inevitably hasty and consequently less precise. Recognizing this bias, however, has had a very positive effect on developing efficient strategies of surveying and sampling. Opening and studying large, contiguous surfaces has also favorably effected interpretation.

Although, test trenching allowed for exposing surfaces of previously unprecedented size, the placement of “trenches” is far from random; they understandably follow viable traffic routes. Plotting the number of sites discovered (*y*) against the size of areas excavated (*x*) as published by counties (Raczky 2007: Table 1) reveals a wide range of variation (Fig. 9). The high, positive correlation ($r=0.859$) between the excavated area and the number of sites recovered may be described by the following regression equation:

$$y = 61.860x + 11.601$$

Some regions fell behind this trend, while other exceeded it impressively. Counties with hilly terrains (Nógrád and Veszprém) and those with centrally located flatlands where roads had already been expanded as the backbone of the existing traffic system built during the previous decade (e.g., Győr-Sopron-Moson County) are particularly underrepresented. However, the previously estimated total number of archaeological sites in Hungary may have indeed risen from 100,000 to 672,000 (Bozóki-Ernyey 2007: 114).

These developments inevitably influenced attitudes towards archaeology within the profession and in a wider social context. The business-like atmosphere contributed to a sense of accountability towards not only investors but also the broader public in the form of exhibitions and publications (Raczky et al. 1997). On the other hand, it may decelerate, if not bring to a halt, theoretical development that is of little interest from a marketing point of view.

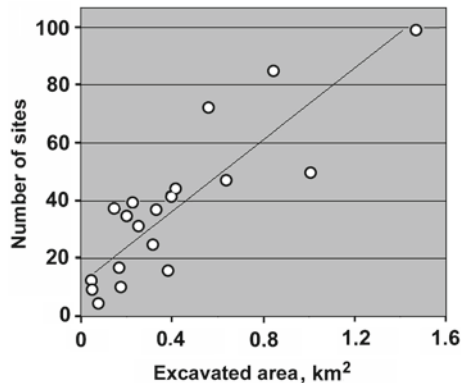
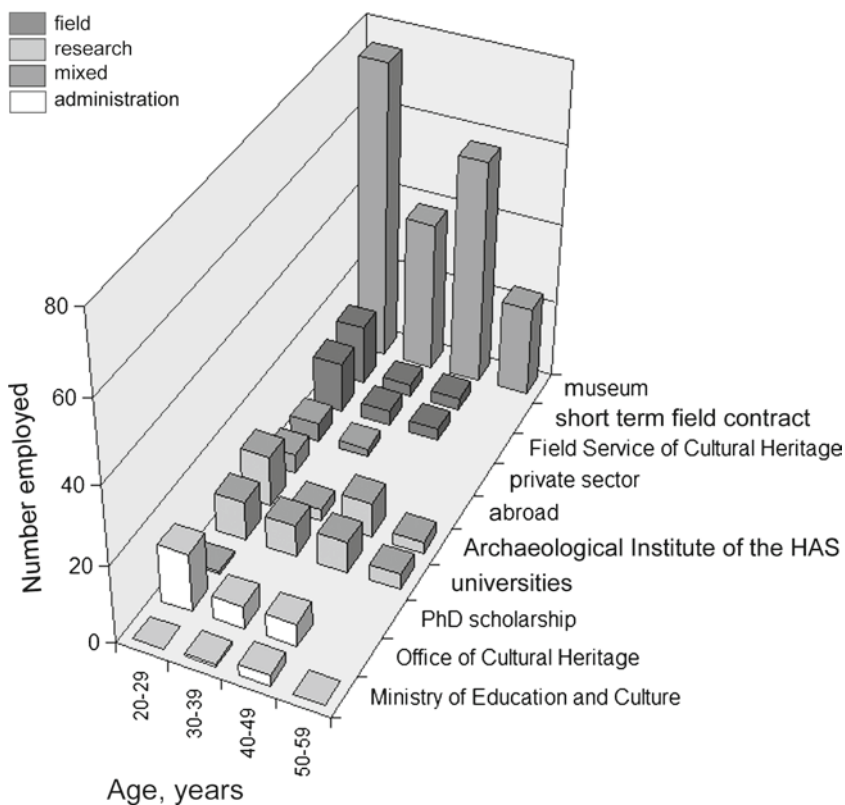


Fig. 9 The relationship between the area uncovered in motorway rescue excavations and the number of sites found by counties (based on raw data by Raczky 2007: Table 1)

The inventory of registered archaeologists in Hungary was analyzed in detail by Mérai (2008) within the framework of the project “Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe” (2006–2008). She compiled data on 508 archaeologists, covering 80–85% of the profession. The term “archaeologist” is legally defined as a person with at least an MA degree in archaeology (authorized to conduct excavations). There are no data at our disposal on the number of those working in the field of archaeology but without such formal qualification. This data set was narrowed down to active archaeologists with identifiable forms of employment (Mérai 2008: Fig. 1) for the purposes of the present paper.

Milisauskas (1990: 284) predicted that the less centralized control of political life in Eastern Europe would facilitate the emergence of numerous younger archaeologists in the forefront of archaeology, thereby diversifying methodological and theoretical approaches. Unfortunately, a tension between demographics and forms of employment does not hold much promise in this respect as shown in Fig. 10. A great majority of archaeologists of all ages are employed by museums. The number of archaeologists working for short-term contracts will probably increase at the expense



of this group while the Field Service of Cultural Heritage also absorbed some young colleagues, providing a reasonable livelihood at high intensity rescue excavations (Suhr 2005: 177), where contracts may typically fall within the constraints of a specific construction project. Well-trained young talent may thus be forced to survive as itinerant excavator on short-term contracts, having neither the time nor the possibility to interpret and publish their material, since postexcavation work does not fall within the immediate purview of the developer. Professional careers would be available only in scholarly institutions, where the young generation is relatively less represented as new job openings are rare due to economic constraints.

This alarming trend has already crystallized in the USA (and some other developed EU countries), where Culture Resource Management (CRM) turned many archaeology units into small departments within large international development companies (Reitz 2008). Their archaeologists thus function as corporate employees who must be cost-effective, resulting in client-driven data recovery rather than curiosity-driven research. Archaeologists under such circumstances are less likely to publish, circulate data, or join professional organizations. Being under pressures of their daily chores they tend to have reduced oversight and no academic peer review. While over three decades positive responses to this challenge have begun emerging in the USA,¹⁰ CRM-type work is still in its initial, ascending phase of a steep learning curve in Hungary and solutions are yet to be worked out. For example, postexcavation work and publication (not to mention the time-consuming analysis in-between) tend to suffer (Choyke 2004: 173) unless “informally” financed as field work. Pursuing only excavations is not enough to enter the archaeological profession in Hungary. Archaeologists buried in field work for many years after graduation without publishing the results, may easily remain on the periphery of the profession (Mérαι 2008).

Gender archaeology, often related to active female participation in the field, has never explicitly emerged in Hungary. One may wonder whether this could partly be related to the disparity of genders in the field. The first woman in Hungarian archaeology was Zsófia Torma, who already took part in the 1876 prehistoric Budapest Congress, but faced tremendous difficulties in the androcentric academic setting of the nineteenth century. During the last half century, several women have played prominent roles in archaeological research, although only recently they began assuming leading administrative positions. Currently, no significant difference is noticeable in contributions by women and men in the profession. Among those registered, no age was available for 55 archaeologists, and another 70 colleagues

¹⁰Editor’s note: All CRM-related reports in the US are reviewed by at least two agencies: the client and the local State Historic Preservation Office; both having different goals, however. This is not the kind of peer-review process found in scientific journals or academic publishing houses, but is limited to evaluating the project’s methodology rather than theory or relevance of interpretations and conclusions to overall knowledge. Often CRM, compliance-driven reports are of better quality than many academic books. CRM archaeologists also publish a lot and join many professional organization including the Register of Professional Archaeologists.

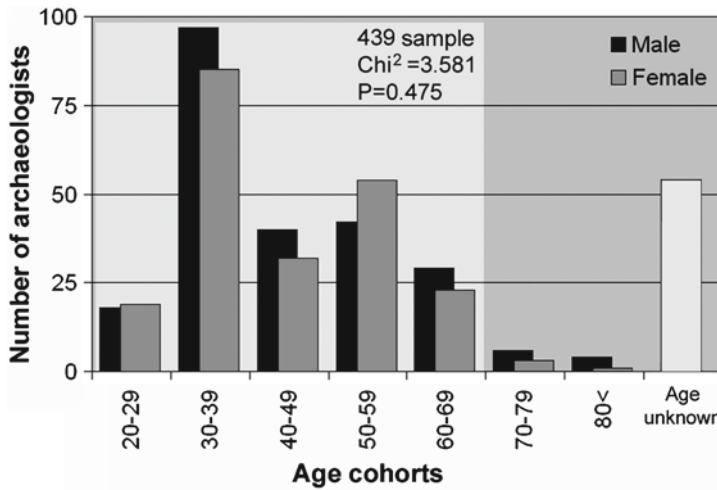


Fig. 11 The homogeneous age distribution of a sample of 439 female and male archaeologists in 2008



Fig. 12 Anachronistic, late nineteenth c. Hungarian Grey oxen shown in the romantic rendition of the late ninth c. Hungarian Conquest by Árpád Feszty (Morelli 1895)

35 years old and younger should also be reckoned with. The gender distribution of the 439 archaeologists of known ages is shown by age in Fig. 11. Minor differences within various age groups of the active work force (highlighted in Fig. 12) are not significant in formal statistical terms. Despite the fact that many of 20–40 year old

women never take a job, but dedicate themselves to child rearing, the number of females is also higher among those who give up their profession. It appears that more females than males are employed with short-term contracts. Therefore, while the trend of equality seems true for the existing positions, there is more risk that women will not be accounted for. However, it is possible that the diagram does not reflect the real situation, as only 80–85% of Hungarian archaeologists are represented by the sample. Thus, it may not show the real situation but points out to a trend, which may be interpreted as gender discrimination. Moreover, formal statistics do not reveal the fact that the higher echelons of decision-making (for instance HAS committees) have traditionally been male dominated.

Hungarian Archaeology Beyond its Academic and Administrative Functions

Archaeology in Hungary concerns the remains of material culture from prehistory up to 1711, the end of the Rákóczi War of Independence against the Habsburgs. Archaeological methods are used outside archaeology to collect samples and determine chronologies of the researched contexts and therefore archaeologists assist military historians in battlefield research or landscape historians and archaeological methods are also involved in ethnographic research. However, in the strict sense, these fields, as well as paleontology, fall beyond the frames of archaeology (Mériai 2008).

Aside from archaeological methodology, the past has been exploited beyond the academic and administrative sphere in numerous ways. Milisauskas (1990: 284) suggested that as political changes unfolded in Eastern Europe archaeology, covering a nation's unwritten history, would retain its importance, especially research into the ethnic origins of national groups. Interest in ethnic origins is not a novelty in European history and should have been expected. Recent times have proven that nations of 1991 Eastern Europe are not different from the rest of Europe in their interest in ethnohistories:

Since due to their origins Hungarians are different to all the Indo-European peoples of Europe – although it was “impolite to talk” about this during the past half-century – their character and forms of behavior are different (Kiszely 2001: 103).

Politeness, however, was justified as this type of “most horrific misunderstanding...” (Menghin 1928) has all too often had tragic consequences:

...anthropology's original sin... [is] the confusion between the purely biological notion of race... and the sociological and psychological products of human cultures (Lévi-Strauss 1952).

Fortunately, such ideas have remained outside the mainstream of Hungarian academia, but their “novelty” rediscovered after 1990 is a source of tremendous popular influence.

Ideological Issues

As mentioned in relation to imperial ideologies, archaeology has remained perhaps the most nonideological of all disciplines in Hungary. No archaeologists have assumed prominent political roles and those in power positions had little intellectual impact on the rest. This may be explained by the fact that despite their almost singular historical approach, archaeologists in Hungary could always retreat to the empirical/formalistic study of material culture, rather than constructing models, dangerously applicable to general social theory (the same “materialistic” survival strategy could be applied in ethnography). This was in sharp contrast with, for instance, psychology and sociology, branded “bourgeois disciplines” during the 1950s. Abstaining from ideologically committed forms of archaeology under political hardship may be considered a form of passive resistance and as such, a political stance in itself. This interpretation, however, should not be overemphasized, given the genuine professional interest in ancient material culture that has driven generations of Hungarian archaeologists.

Certain strands of archaeology and history, however, gained ideological weight in the postmodern political atmosphere around 1989. During the spring of 1989 archaeologists were enlisted to assist the historical exhumation of Imre Nagy and his fellow revolutionaries. Nagy, who was prime minister in 1956, had sided with the revolution and was executed in great secrecy in 1961 and buried under a false name. The recovery and identification of these human remains should have been routine forensic work, however, the HAS delegated senior physical anthropologists and an archaeologist to lend scientific credibility to the procedure that carried considerable ideological weight at a time of accelerating political change. Indirectly, this gesture was also a recognition of professional archaeology yet again as an important *method*.

A noisy sideshow to this respectable event was the alleged discovery of the skeleton of Sándor Petőfi – heroic poet of the 1848 revolution, lieutenant of the war of liberation – in Siberia (Kiszely 1989). Incidentally, this event was first announced in a daily newspaper, 6 weeks after June 16, when the martyrs of the 1956 uprising had been ceremonially reburied. The remains labeled as bones of Petőfi have never been made available for scientific examination and even the over 500 pages scholarly analysis refuting the case (Kovács 2003), could not put an end to this myth.

The symbolic significance of the past has been shown in the political gesture made on 1 Jan 2000, when the crown of St. Stephen, Hungary’s first Christian king, originally on display at the Hungarian National Museum following its return to Hungary from the USA in 1978, was transferred to be exhibited permanently in the Parliament’s building in Budapest. The contradiction is in whether this artifact (a precious fine art item of unique historic meaning) should be primarily perceived as belonging to a museum collection and cared for by professionally trained museologists, or as a symbol pertinent of the political sphere. The perception obviously depends on individual views, thus the analysis of emotional complexity of the problem lies beyond the scope of this paper.

At times of renewed national enthusiasm, public interest in Hungarian ethnogenesis attained centre stage again. In 2000, this political trend produced an academic spin-off in form of Laboratory of Archaeogenetics established within the HAS, a joint project between its Genetics and Archaeological Institutes financed with the help from the National Research and Development Programme in Hungary. Its goal was to carry out DNA research specifically on the tenth century human and animal remains (Bálint 2008: 1166; DNA testing from all periods has been carried out since 2006 in the Laboratory of Molecular Anthropology of the Hungarian Natural History Museum). This fortunate crossover between a historicist motivation and improved research technology reconfirmed previous scientific information concerning the origins of Hungarians. While DNA samples from the graves of the conquering Hungarians contained comparable proportions of mitochondria of Asiatic and European types, their distribution was radically different in two contemporary populations:

- Third generation “Hungarians” identified according to cultural/national self-definition and the use of language.
- Modern-day Seklers from Transylvania, a relatively isolated Hungarian ethnic group in Romania.

Both groups of modern Hungarians carried almost 90% European mitochondria, suggesting that the group of medieval conquerors was rapidly diluted in the European gene pool encountered in the Carpathian Basin (Bogács-Szabó et al. 2008). Meanwhile an important cautionary note was issued that research had just gotten underway and these DNA results could not be directly translated into “peoples” (Bálint 2008: 1167). This tone recalls the innocent age of late nineteenth century physical anthropology, when Virchow began voicing similar concerns about “Nordic mysticism”. Josef Kollmann, Virchow’s coworker, flatly warned that the people of Europe belonged to a “mixture of various races”, furthermore asserting that their “results of craniology” led to a “struggle against any theory concerning the superiority of this or that European race” (Orsucci 1998: 7). Unfortunately, the publicity of the latest DNA results and their carefully measured interpretations is frequently drowned out by the bombastic dilettante literature that ranges from naïve, faith-driven demagoguery to lucrative, politically motivated quackery.

Popular Archaeology

Popular writing has been somewhat looked down upon by the academic community in Hungary as something done either by mediocre scholars or for mercenary purposes. Nevertheless, entertainment and education remain important uses for archaeology, beyond its academic, administrative, and ideological functions.

The nineteenth century public interest in the 1876 prehistoric congress has already been mentioned. Naturally, the millennium of the Hungarian Conquest generated even more interest. According to an educated consensus reached by a

committee of historians in the HAS, the Hungarian Conquest was estimated to have taken place between AD 888 and 900. The time of millenary celebrations was thus estimated by the government in Statute II/1892 as 1895. This deadline, however, could not be met given the grandiose preparations; therefore the official date was postponed to 1896. This event marked a political climax after the 1867 Compromise, mustering achievements of 1,000 years by the “Hungarian nation”.

One piece of art to commemorate the event that was already finished by 1894 was the Árpád Feszty’s panoramic painting completed in cooperation with several painters on a 120 m long and 15 m high Belgian canvas woven in a single piece. This fashionable form of popular entertainment (patented by Robert Barker in 1787 with a semicircular view of the landscape near Edinburgh), was a perfect medium for promoting romantic historicism to the masses. Feszty’s magnificent imagery has consolidated the nineteenth century stereotypes that, for well over a century, have proven difficult to be updated or corrected even in light of mounting archaeological evidence (or lack thereof). The long-horned, Hungarian Grey cattle is an emblematic example: more than 50 years of intensive zooarchaeological research was unable to come up with a single long horn core older than 300 years and not even those specimens reach the size of the horns depicted on this late nineteenth century painting (Fig. 11; Csippán 2009: 198, Fig. 4) that represent the modern breed in the form known today. Undeniably, however, this piece of artwork incorporates the historical and archaeological knowledge of the time and should be respected as a precious record of mentalities of the era. Feszty’s badly damaged panorama picture was restored and re-exhibited in 1995. During the 1996 mille-centenary (1100) ceremonials this presently more tangible late nineteenth century nostalgia after the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy seemed to have been celebrated as much as the far more elusive tenth century Hungarian Conquest itself.

While it would be impossible to review museum exhibits in Hungary, the development of archaeological parks is a new phenomenon that was recently appraised at a national conference (Mester 2008). Ancient monuments, especially Roman ruins (*Baláca*, *Aquincum*, *Gorsium*, *Scarbantia*), have for long been used for archaeologically-inspired classical theater plays, gladiator games, and craft activities. The first prehistoric park in Hungary was established at Százhalombatta in 1996, in close proximity to Budapest (Poroszlai 1997). At least 80 Iron Age (Hallstatt Period) burial mounds are visible there, as well as several reconstructed Bronze and Iron Age dwellings and an in situ Iron Age *tumulus*. Established in 2007 the M3 Archeopark at Polgár is located farther away from Budapest, along the M3 Motorway. Rescue excavations related to the construction of the motorway led to its founding through intensive data recovery (both rescue and research excavations) which brought to light a large Neolithic settlement and associated tell. This place is also a gateway to the Hortobágy National Park, the best known nature reserve in the Great Hungarian Plain (Anders et al. 2008). Prehistoric parks are places for experimental archaeology, including professional reconstruction of houses and experimental ancient crop cultivation. Architectural reconstructions of the medieval palace in Visegrád and its royal gardens were controlled by professionals (Buzás 2008).

A number of rural medieval houses were reconstructed at the “Berzseny Falu” archaeological park in Kisrosvágy (Sabján and Wolf 2008). Experimentations include popular traditional food preparations. Parks also offer archaeological and environmental education for the public.

There is no popular archaeological journal in Hungary; relevant articles are published in popularizing science weekly magazines *Élet és Tudomány* (Life and Science), *Honismeret* (Homeland Knowledge), and *História* (History) depending on the period and scope of the topic. The Hungarian edition of National Geographic also offers reports on spectacular projects.

Popular books written by respected authorities on Hungarian archaeology have also been relatively rare. In addition to the classics authored by Lambrecht (1931) or László (1944), popular books published after World War II included work by László Vértes (1969) on his early hominid find from Vérteszőlős (similarity between the author’s name and the place-name is a coincidence). Gyula László, the archaeologist–artist wrote and illustrated a 250 pages book on all periods up to the Hungarian Conquest (László 1974). Following the success of two archaeology books published by a firm best known for its travel guides (Szombathy 1968, 1973), three volumes (Dümmerth 1977; Szombathy 1978; Szombathy and László 1985) were edited in a series entitled *Utazások a múltban és a jelenben* (Travels in the past and present). Other popular books of high standards (Dümmerth 1986; Szombathy and László 1988) by the same publishing house were produced until its privatization after 1989. A series entitled *Hereditas* by the Corvina Press also published popular archaeological books by well-known authorities (Szabó 1971; Kovács 1977; Kalicz 1980; Fitz 1982; Pálóczi-Horváth 1989; Bóna 1991; László 1996), in Hungarian as well as in German, English, and French. The English language volume entitled *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium* (Visy 2003) is also written in a style to attract educated nonprofessionals.

Gyula László’s much debated hypothesis concerning the “Dual Conquest”, stating that the Avar Empire – that first united the Carpathian Basin as a political entity – in fact represented the first wave of Hungarians was also published in a popular form (László 1978). He maintained a moderate stance in the face of mounting criticism:

Everything learned and taught about the Hungarian Conquest is true... the 896 Conquest stands firm. My only addition is that [the ninth c.] Hungarians led by the Grand Duke Árpád found Hungarians already in the Carpathian Basin, people who had flooded into the area during the AD 670s (László 1999: 142).

Although there was no evidence supporting this hypothesis, László inadvertently reopened the Pandora’s Box of what we call below populist mythology that claims Hungarian continuity based on the evidence of various waves of war-like equestrian groups who periodically inundated the Carpathian Basin. All conquerors of the Carpathian Basin beginning with the Early Iron Age Scythians, the Late Roman Period Huns, and the Medieval Period Hungarians have been routinely confused in Europe (Bóna 1999; for a brief summary in English see Bartosiewicz 2004: 393). At the other end of the time-scale, the Cumanians, who most likely practiced a form of nomadic pastoralism similar to that of the early medieval Hungarians were settled

in Christian Hungary during the thirteenth century. The perception of diffusion in the culture history of the Migration Period was refined by Bóna (1979: 44–45), who noted that groups of eastern origins were characterized in the Carpathian Basin by new elements of material culture, unknown in the Eurasian steppe. Aside from their *lato sensu* Asiatic origins, nomadic lifestyles and light cavalry tactics resulting in the use of artifacts of comparable functions and sometimes styles, there is little these peoples would have shared during the eight centuries, between the fall of the Roman Empire and the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1242 (Bartosiewicz 2003). This, however, has been little understood by the public. During the 2001 census, hundreds claimed Hunnic (!) identity, although a thousand signatures would have been needed for a minority status. Due to the similarity in spelling in Hungarian, the public may confuse the Late Roman Period *Huns* of Far Eastern origin with medieval *Kuns* (Cumanians) of Turkic ancestry.

Populist Archaeology

Hardly ever tapping its popular appeal, Hungarian archaeology has mostly operated within the ivory tower of academia. Serious academic work typically meant creating a dry narrative of chronological sequences, largely nonintelligible to outsiders. A combination of this high-brow attitude and the fact that most experts are bogged down in daily field work or administrative responsibilities resulted in a counter-selection that catapulted mediocre but nonscrupulous “scholars” specialized in what will be discussed here as “populist literature”. While populism began having an exponentially increasing impact since the 1980s, members of the academic establishment watch in a combination of horror and jealousy their voice being dwarfed by noises made by a loud minority, more-or-less detached from all scholarly values.

After 1989 the vacuum created by public interest in archaeology began rapidly filling as full freedom of expression naturally brought about a flurry of populist writing largely focused on Hungarian ethnogenesis. As Kiszely noted:

During the last 160 years a monarchic-bolshevik-liberal version of Hungarian prehistory has increasingly gained a place, a version produced by non-Hungarians in the service of foreign powers (Kiszely 2001: 65).

Products of the new trend started occurring side by side with respectable scholarly works not only in commercial bookshops but even in public libraries (Vida 2008: 7). A typical genre of these books would be a colorful but arbitrary refitting of fragmentary facts, reminiscent of Erich von Däniken’s paleoastronautic research, both in its random line of argument and largely faith-based popularity. It differs from the latter, however, in its narrowly focused nationalistic agenda. Many such authors had worked in political emigration, during decades of isolation from reliable data and other primary sources of archaeological information in Hungary. Their contacts have been limited to like-minded mavericks operating largely outside academia in Hungary itself. A characteristically holistic but superficial attitude to Hungarian

origins frequently involves unsubstantiated links to other, widely romanticized, elusive groups such as Celts, Etruscans, and Basques (e.g., Botos 2008), often intangible to routine academic scrutiny beyond the nineteenth century romantic stereotyping. Even in better substantiated research, such authors tend to assume that they are dealing with a chain of arguments whose individual elements are more or less right. Yet, it is the manner of their conjunction and especially the resulting conclusions that tend to be completely distorted (Bálint 2007: 548).

One of the typical theories revolves around the connection between Hungarians and Jesus, a Parthian prince in “reality” (Badiny Jós 1998). Badiny Jós denounced the Vatican as a Judaistic institution and founded the “Church of Hungary”. If progress is seen as the rule of secular ideologies (Lozny 2002: 143) also determining attitudes towards the past, such developments may be considered the diametric opposite of archaeology as a scholarly discipline, warped by emotions that are reinforced by rituals. At times of change marked by existential instability and ideological disorientation many are attracted to irrationality: members of the “Church of the Lights of Arcadia”¹¹ ritually sacrificed a black stallion (with police protecting their freedom of faith against animal rights activists and a veterinarian overseeing EU standards of food hygiene), in order to:

...celebrate the rebirth of light between December 21–24 [2007] in Árkádia village. For the first time in 760 years we will again show a sacrifice to the God of Hungarians in the most noble, holy fashion. Thereby we wish to turn the fate of our people and sow the seeds of awakening (Anonymous 2007).

Another favorite is the interpretation of Hungarian runic script based on its similarities to Etruscan, Egyptian, Hittite, and Chinese calligraphy suggesting a “genetic relationship” that may be traced back to the Bronze Age (Varga 1993). The “evidence” supporting this theory is symptomatic: official academic research has been unable to come up with an alternative explanation. The Sumerian descent of Hungarians has been a stubbornly popular but completely unfounded theory for well over a century (Zsuffa 2004).

Confusion has been exacerbated from abroad by Heribert Illig (2001), author of “The Invented Middle Ages”, who asserted that the 297 years between late August AD 614 and early September 911 were a secondary addition to European written history. Since this time interval includes the *ca.* 888–900 Hungarian Conquest, a relevant sequel on the topic was written by Klaus Weissgerber (2003) and published by Illig himself, who coauthored the Hungarian version (Illig and Weissgerber 2003) exactly at the time such a book on Hungarians was predicted in a critical review of Illig’s original work (Orosz 2003). From a theoretical point of view the antihistoricism of these influential books, often citing the evidence of existing monuments, is a remarkable feature.

While political parties on either side have exploited these sources of nationalistic ideology with varying consistency (either as a shining example or as retrograde ideology), there is a pertinacious audience for this type of literature

¹¹NB: named after Arcadia in Greek Peloponnesus.

among the disgruntled, but archaeologically illiterate segment of the dwindling middle class in a society that has been polarized both economically and politically during the early 2000s. While politically committed archaeology has not been strong in Hungary, relying on their past academic credentials, a weird minority of apparatchiks in the previous leadership of archaeology resurfaced after 1990 as neophyte nationalists on the right wing of the rich ideological spectrum.

Physical anthropology, always important in Hungarian archaeology, produced its own peculiar case. The ethnic stereotyping and traditional taxonomy practiced by István Kiszely (1979) represented a largely visual and univariate methodology, characteristic of the early 1900s (Szathmáry 2000: 97). He began adopting a holistic approach to Hungarian ethnogenesis:

In search of the origins of a people we must proceed in time and space until we find a similar people in the past or present, fit for understanding our ancestry, that is characterized by identical physical constitution, physiology, music and dances, beliefs, fairy tales, poetic universe, written culture, folklore motifs, gastronomic culture, flora and fauna and perhaps the same or similar language (Kiszely 2001: 5).

The diabolic dilemma in all these examples is that – as Hodder (1991b: 5) observed – traditional, personality-driven, frequently authoritarian schools have visibly dominated many European universities and academies. Therefore, *anyone* attacking these “sclerotic” structures in the name of academic freedom can pose in the public eye as a lonesome genius, defying an inbred and corrupt system. While there were real victims among the genuinely talented ideological “misfits” under the 40 years of socialism, unscrupulous and often half-educated pseudo-scholars have recently been ruthlessly exploiting their image, thereby generating great appeal to a significant segment of the wider public that has nurtured centuries of distrust toward official opinions.

The audience of these freak views has also changed. While dilettante “archaeological” theories have always been popular among technical intelligentsia (engineers, doctors), during the last 20 years their ranks have been joined by some educated in the arts and humanities.

Perceptions of the “Anglo–American Model” of Archaeology in Hungary

Lastly, a general question raised in this volume must also be addressed, although a silent answer has already been offered between the lines of this chapter. First of all, seen from our corner of the world, the Anglo–American model is far from being homogeneous, and is characterized by dynamic shifts in theory (often between extremes) hardly imaginable in Hungarian archaeology. Shortly after the 1989 changes in Eastern Europe, Hodder (1991a: viii) warned that the developmental sequence from culture-history to processual and postprocessual approaches cannot be mechanically transposed to the diverse ways archaeologies have been practiced across Europe.

The example of Hungary shows that in addition to the apparently unyielding preponderance of the culture historical paradigm, elements of the processual and postprocessual academic strains are manifested sporadically, sometimes in peculiar combinations with local tradition. Lozny (2002: 142) observed a similar phenomenon among Polish archaeologists.

Local Academic Culture

Even at the risk of being accused of geographical determinism, one might argue that the Anglo–American model represents a vast and diverse culture-geographical area (the Commonwealth and the former colonies, which include the USA, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Egypt, etc. countries not represented in this volume), whose rate of generating and power of disseminating new ideas cannot be compared to that of a country in the “wheat belt” of Europe as large as the US state of Indiana. For example, the emergence of the oft-mentioned authoritarian schools of archaeology is a lot more likely in a small community, whose members have no place to go, unless they emigrate, thereby abandoning national archaeology both in terms of language and scope of research. Even “schools”, however, were more likely to be represented by prominent individuals who shaped the attitudes of their students towards archaeology, through making their private libraries available and involving their followers with their personal international network. Informal contacts have played an important role in both selecting the sources and determining the speed of assimilating new ideas (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 274).

The traditional centre for archaeological training has been the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest. Smaller departments (or institutes composed thereof) of archaeology in the ever changing process of accreditation include those at the universities of Szeged, Pécs, and Miskolc in the countryside. Aside from the inevitably “compressed” atmosphere of such a small academic circle, to some extent, continuity and predictability may be mentioned in defense of the silent backwaters of Hungarian archaeological theory in comparison with what – to the outsider – looks like a roller-coaster of competing ideas in the broad landscape of Anglo–American archaeologies. The tempered influence of these Anglo–American archaeologies in Hungary has not been filtered at all by political censorship but by chance personal contacts with American and British archaeologists who have vested intellectual interests in the Carpathian Basin, with a special focus on the Great Hungarian Plain, as the northwestern outpost of the Near Eastern type tell settlements and the westernmost fringes of the Eurasian steppe belt in environmental terms (Bartosiewicz 2003). This tendency was accelerated by a political gesture laden with historical symbolism. In 1978, under the tenure of President Jimmy Carter, the “Holy Crown” (transferred to American authorities at the wake of World War II), has been returned to Budapest. Intensifying US-Hungarian relations not only improved the political atmosphere within Hungary but also broadened channels of professional communication.

As was shown by the aforementioned example of Bökönyi's career, most creative interactions between archaeology in German speaking Central Europe and Anglo-American archaeologies began in the Near East, especially in the form of interdisciplinary cooperation, possibly less burdened by national(ist) traditions. This phenomenon, however, is far from being uniquely Hungarian or even particularly recent. It was already exemplified at the turn of the nineteenth – twentieth century by the employment of Swiss archaeozoologist Ulrich Duerst at excavations in Turkestan directed by Raphael Pumpelly of the Smithsonian Institution (Duerst 1908).

Languages

The term Anglo–American model implies the linguistic definition of a dynamic and diverse, world-wide conglomerate of archaeologies that, until recently, seem to have had relatively little direct influence in Hungary. Language seems to lie at the heart of this matter. It must be admitted, that the lack of proper foreign language skills emerges as a problem even among some young archaeologists in Hungary: occasionally graduation must be postponed, only because some students did not pass the required foreign language exam in time (Méraï 2008). English was only taught as an option for the mandatory foreign language requirement, which until 1990 was usually fulfilled by Russian in most high schools. A new generation of archaeologists, who use English more often, is discouraged by the ever-changing esoteric vocabulary of the English-language theoretical archaeology. This may have played a role in the fact that some admittedly did not see too much use for the works of, for instance, Lewis Binford and David Clarke (Suhr 2005: 88). Somewhat sardonically, the question may be posed whether extremes of ever-changing jargon have evolved as a means of linguistic self-definition of archaeological elites even among native English speakers.

This tendency seems to have been strongly manifested at the time of New Archaeology, as terms used in cutting edge science (e.g., cybernetics, systems theory) permeated archaeological texts in English. The semantics behind these changes adapted to the Hungarian archaeological terminology are very telling. The watered-down influence of New Archaeology is reflected in the superficial use of mathematical terms in the mainstream of Hungarian archaeology, such as *statisztika* (“statistics”=percentual proportions), *szórás* (“standard deviation”=simple minimum-maximum values or, alternatively, bivariate scatter plots) and *szignifikancia* (“significance”=importance, without testing a phenomenon in probabilistic terms). Unfortunately, the in-depth understanding of these words would be indispensable in, for instance, critical evaluation of radiocarbon dates.

A stable culture-history tradition also seems a preferable alternative to postprocessualist archaeology, a manifestation of overall postmodernism in our field. According to postprocessualist prehistory especially, people in the past appear to have lingered in a socioeconomic vacuum, constructing alternative “identities”, focusing on investing the landscape with “meanings”, engaging in multiple “negotiations”

and largely evoking “agencies”. From a traditional Hungarian perspective, staples of mundane archaeological inquiry such as typology, technology and subsistence seem to have been forgotten, pushed into the background.

In 2000, a conference entitled “Archaeologies East–Archaeologies West Connecting Theory and Practice across Europe” was organized in Poznan (Poland) in an attempt to integrate new trends which had emerged in archaeological discourse resulting from a decade of open communication between the political East and West of Europe. During discussions on the history of archaeological thought and the epistemological backgrounds of “national archaeologies”, however, it became clear that mentalities were much more strongly influenced by dominant languages than any formal political division imposed on Europe during the twentieth century. All of Central Europe (*sensu* Sklenář 1983: 3) fell within the German sphere of linguistic influence, where English only played a small role and Russian could never be effectively popularized in academia, despite political influence.¹²

In *AÉ* more diverse foreign language abstracts started appearing after 1990. German, however, remained the language of choice in 95% of the cases. In 1985, the foreign language yearbook of the AI/HAS was officially changed from “*Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*” to “*Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*”. Antaeus in Berber and Greek mythology was the Giant of Libya, who retained his strength by staying in touch with the ground, a symbol of the spiritual power gained when one rests his/her faith on the immediate fact of things. However, the symbolism is also worth noting. It was “not intended against the use of German, just to be more elegant” (Bökönyi, pers. comm. 1985).

During the sensitive decade of the 1990s, the number of archaeological books more than doubled (Jankovich and Nagy 2004: Tables 35–37). The yearly output of foreign language books, however, oscillated between 20 and 40%, and a proportional decline followed after 1995. The greater sample of scholarly articles shows a more consistent contribution of foreign languages, although they rarely exceed 25% of the annual output (Jankovich and Nagy 2004: Tables 38–40).

Theoretical Influences

In spite of these fundamental differences, if the Anglo–American model is simplified to fit the quasi linear trend from culture-history archaeology through processual archaeology to postprocessual archaeology (Hodder 1991b: 11), a formal parallel to this three-stage trend may also be detected in the “Central European model”.

¹²Editor’s note: see also discussion of the Central European tradition in Polish archaeology by Marciniak in this volume.

The only difference is that the latter spans three centuries (Sklenář 1983: 5). In the eighteenth century antiquarian period, original historical narrative (mythological, biblical or ethnographic models) was merely illustrated by artifacts. During the “archaeological revolution” in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, the principles of evolution were adopted and positivist analysis ruled, ending in a synthesis of typologies. After World War II, a “historical revolution” followed in which mechanical analogies were rejected in favor of more complex historical narratives.

The most subtle influence of the Anglo–American model pre-dates the collapse of the Iron Curtain by decades. Marxism–Leninism has never been successfully force-fed onto scholars working in the mainstream of Hungarian archaeology. Marxist social theory, however, has found its way into Hungarian archaeology through an unexpected back door, since it offered a sensible general platform upon which the historical emphasis in European archaeology could be best approached on a theoretical level (Hodder 1991b: 10). In the case of Hungary this was not achieved under a special political directive, but through the scholarship of V. Gordon Childe, who between 1934 and 1946, elaborated and adopted to archaeology the model of social evolution first drafted by Morgan (1877), and refined by Engels (1884). This line of thinking fit well within the official ideology in communist-ruled countries even during the Cold War, but meanwhile it may be considered archaeologically progressive. Hence it left a lasting imprint on archaeologies in Eastern Europe as shown by an entire volume of essays commemorating his work published in Poland (Lech and Stepniowski 1999).

Childe’s influence on Hungarian archaeology was consolidated by his 1955 research visit (Childe 1956), a rare opportunity for a Western scholar those days, possibly related to his Marxist-inspired views. A year later, as the uprising against the Soviet rule broke out in Budapest, he wrote a personal letter in which he regarded “events in Hungary with equanimity” (Green 1981: 122), and refrained from signing an open letter published by British communists in the *New Statesman* condemning the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Apart from this personal decision of anecdotal significance, having reviewed the history of archaeology in Hungary, it is easy to see, how his persona and *oeuvre* fit logically between the late nineteenth century European thinking and the mid-twentieth century official ideology within the context of fundamentally empiricist Hungarian archaeology:

Since “means of production” figure so conspicuously in the archaeological record, I suppose most prehistorians are inclined to be so far Marxists as to wish to assign them a determining role among the behavior patterns that have fossilized. They can do so even in the U.S.A. without invoking the fifth Amendment, since it was to the “mode of production” (“means” plus “relations”) that Marx attributed such a dominating influence (Childe 1958: 72).

Childe formulated the so-called long chronology and pointed out the necessity of using absolute dates in constructing theories within the culture-history paradigm. These ideas gained importance during the Hungarian debate concerning the validity and usefulness of the newly introduced radiocarbon dating (Makkay 1999b: 356). Culture-history is a methodology rather than theory (Hodder 1991b: 4) and New Archaeology is also methodology-driven. The radiocarbon discussion has further

increased the slow but steadfast contribution of natural sciences to Hungarian archaeology, which already had had a strong tradition of analyzing osseous remains and studying biochemical polymorphisms in humans (Lengyel 1975). Therefore criticism posed by a historian (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 282) that New Archaeology had not been embraced by Hungarian archaeologists was met by indignation. One source of misunderstanding was that the ruling culture-history paradigm did accommodate deductive reasoning (Kalicz and Raczky 1977: 77). An interdisciplinary approach present in Hungarian archaeology has been largely treated as a method with little theoretical implications. The initial “we’ve seen it all before” reaction (Hodder 1991b: 12) to New Archaeology thus becomes understandable. In spite of this early knee-jerk reaction within a generation of archaeologists, relative chronologies were tested using radiocarbon dates by the same scholars who criticized the new approach. By the 1980s, a number of coauthored articles (showing the participation of multidisciplinary teams; e.g., Raczky 2002 et al.) exploded in *AÉ* as well (Fig. 13). Partly under the logistic pressures of motorway archaeology, the traditional “One man show – do it yourself” (Raczky 2007: 36) approach has often been replaced by tightly organized teams. Chapman (2000: 16) also pointed out the theoretical consolidation of “Hungarian processualism” of the 1980s. New Archaeology has gradually found its way into university education since, especially prehistoric research, could not have kept abreast with international developments relying only on formal typologies and chronologies. Archaeologists who followed the traditional culture-history approach created a steady demand for absolute dating methods. Dendrochronological research, previously deemed hopeless in Hungary “due to poor wood preservation”, was initiated by András Grynaeus (1995). His relentless search for datable wood samples in Hungary and Transylvania produced spectacular results for the Middle Ages and promising floating chronologies (sequences of tree-rings that are internally consistent but not yet tied to absolute dates) for earlier periods. In 2002 he cooperated with Miklós Kázmér

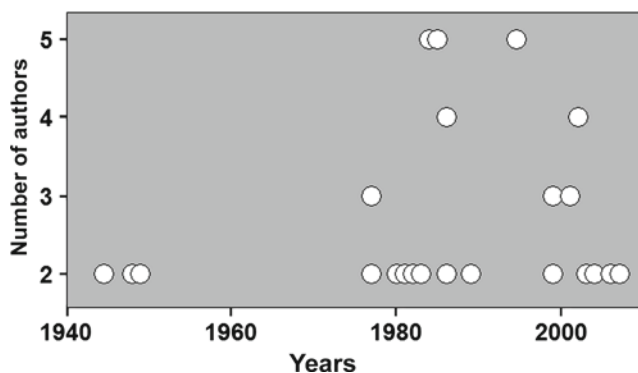


Fig. 13 Increase in the number of multi-authored articles in *AÉ*. Much of this growth may be attributed to the publication of multidisciplinary articles, coauthored by natural scientists

establishing the Tree-Ring Laboratory at the Department of Paleontology of the Loránd Eötvös University. From a theoretical point of view, the development of dendrochronology means a breakthrough. This was the first discipline in archaeological science in Hungary where *a priori* data were from the medieval period and its applications for earlier periods would have been impossible without building a continuous diachronic sequence beginning at present. The aforementioned debate revolving around New Archaeology was seen as an internal crisis of prehistory. Prehistorians have, in a way been seen as disadvantaged archaeologists who were *forced to resort to* scientific methods in the absence of written historical sources. The development of dendrochronology, however, strengthened the existing trend of the emerging research of medieval environments (Laszlovszky 1982; Pálóczi-Horváth 1989) that have led to studies on medieval climate and landscape history (e.g., Rácz 2003).

The empiricist tradition in Hungarian archaeology has recently manifested at the 36th Annual Conference of Computer Applications in Archaeology held in Budapest in 2008. Of the 165 presentations in 19 sessions, 23 were given by Hungarian scholars and further 7 by archaeologists from the former Soviet-bloc countries in Eastern Europe (Jerem et al. 2008). In this part of the world, computers appear to have been used chiefly to answer specific questions: Central and Eastern European presentations were concentrated in sessions focusing on the existing field data while absent in sessions dealing with theoretical consequences of IT applications in archaeology (Fig. 14).

Social constructivism, the idea that social constructs may appear to be obvious to those who accept it, but in reality they are artifacts of a particular culture or society, was one of the important points in postprocessualist criticism against New Archaeology. This idea has already been summed up by László (1977: 56):

One of the greatest pitfalls of history – and of archaeology – is that, intentionally or unintentionally, we tend to approach the past with our modern concepts (translated by Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 277).

His criticism, however, was not targeted against New Archaeology, as postprocessualism has not surfaced in such explicit terms in Hungary as, for example, in the Czech Republic (Beech 1993: 375).

The transmission of new concepts from the English language literature has been slow and without spectacular theoretical implications. It took an entire generation to translate (Piggott 1987) and publish a book by Stuart Piggott (1965). By comparison, a ground-laying collection of papers in cultural anthropology published in 1966–1967 became available in Hungarian relatively quickly (Service et al. 1973), through the official publishing house of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. It took three years to publish the 1996 second edition of the handbook by Renfrew and Bahn (1999) published in Hungarian to be used as a general textbook in undergraduate courses. The historical paradigm is being reevaluated in both pre- and protohistoric archaeological research (e.g., Raczky 1983; Fodor 2006) in the same way as questions related to ethnicity (Makkay 1982; Bálint 2006).

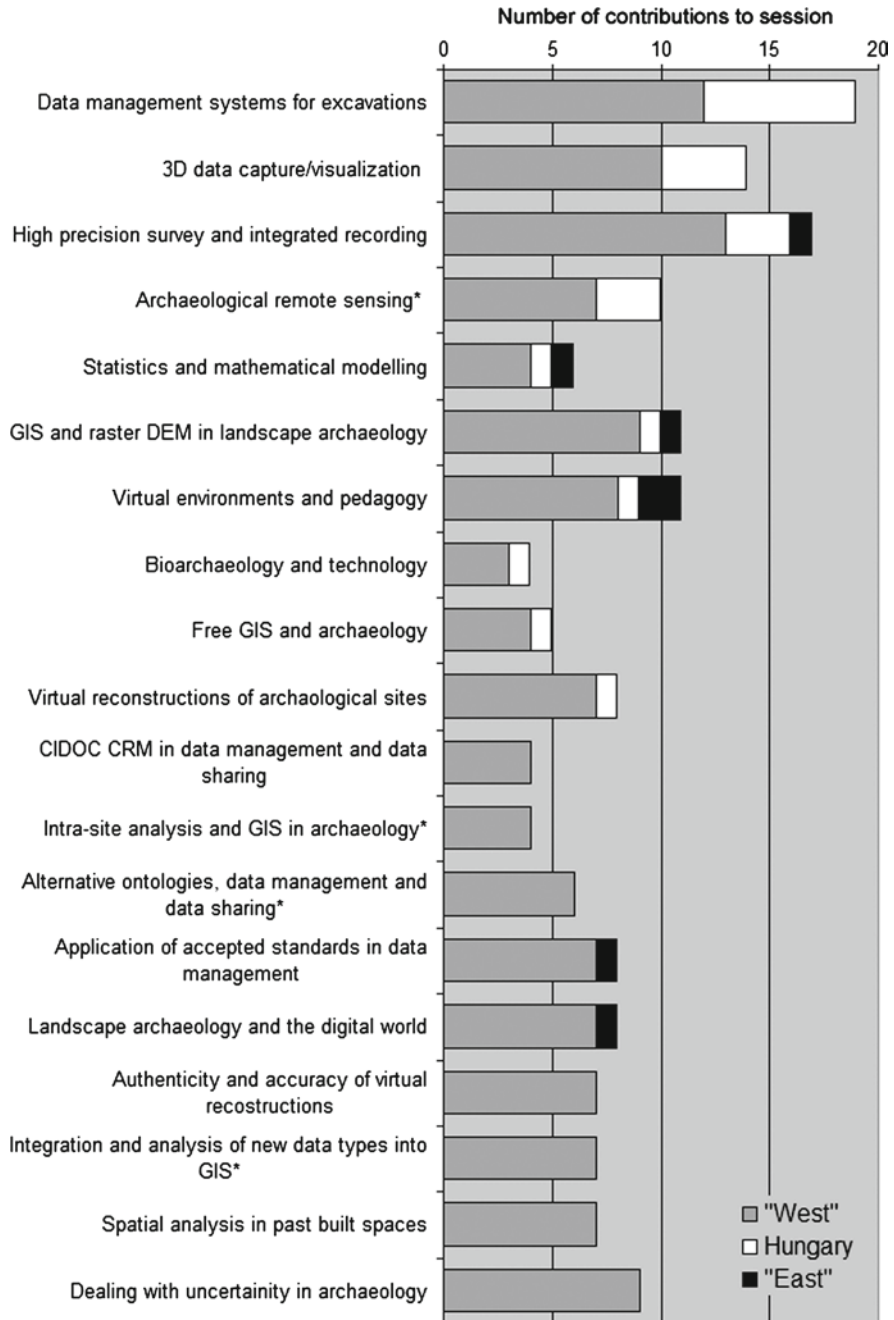


Fig. 14 The distribution of various topics between “Western”, “Eastern” and Hungarian contributors in the relevant sessions of the 2008 CAA conference in Budapest

Forms of Communication

In many parts of the world the Anglo–American model spread in a direct colonial fashion.¹³ The exposure of Eastern European archaeologists to western-born ideas in general varied over the 40 years preceding the 1989 political turning point. American and British teams have conducted field projects in Poland and Hungary (Milisauskas 1990: 284). Some in Hungary feared that early collaboration had a “quasi colonial” aspect, namely that funding and technology were provided by the guest teams, whose members sometimes worked in relative isolation with limited regard to local archaeology, especially the archaeological literature published in Hungarian or even German.

Given the small community of Hungarian archaeologists, personal contacts gradually helped to overcome this animosity, with sporadic methodological and theoretical articles published in Hungarian in *AÉ* (Choyke 1981, 1983; Nacev-Skomal 1985) having little or no impact, before cooperation was eventually formalized as joint projects with British and US universities spanning several years in various parts of the Great Hungarian Plain (Sherratt 1982, 1983; Chapman 2003; Parkinson et al. 2004; Whittle 2007; Parkinson and Gyucha 2007). Due to the aforementioned strong influence of British archaeology in particular, a project run in Százhalombatta with the cooperation of the University of Göteborg (Sweden) is also worth mentioning (Poroszlai and Vicze 2000, 2005). Archaeologists working in the adjacent Archaeological Park have contacts with their colleagues of the Butser Ancient Farm (UK) and cooperate in conducting long term experiments such as monitoring prehistoric crop yields and experimental research on textiles and ceramics (Vicze 2008). A welcome feature of joint excavation projects is the increasing involvement of Hungarian participants on a truly peer basis. Such cooperation not only fosters the most intensive exchange of ideas, but is also important in educating the students from the partner countries in international relations.

One aspect of cooperation between Hungarian archaeologists and their Anglo–American counterparts will remain asymmetric in the foreseeable future: in geographical terms, Great Britain, and especially the US fall way beyond the focus of Hungarian archaeology. Therefore a 1 to 1 ratio in exchange projects is unlikely to take place. Continental cooperation is better positioned from this point of view. Hungarian archaeologists carried out excavations in Southern Italy in 1861, and since 1983 at San Potito di Ovindoli (AI/HAS; Gabler and Redő 2008), preceded by fieldwork carried out by Izidor Mátyus (Pallag 2003: 120). Since 1988 a team of the Loránd Eötvös University carries out a project at the predominantly Gaulish settlement at Mount Beuvray in France (Szabó 1999). This field exchange relates to studies on Classical Antiquity in Hungary.

Medieval archaeology has been a channel for “Anglo–American” scholarship propagated through the Medieval Studies Department at the Central European

¹³Editor’s note: see the chapters on African, and especially South American archaeology in this volume.

University in Budapest. Established in 1991, this US accredited institution has offered postgraduate training in medieval history by an international faculty for 15 years (including British and North American teaching staff [e.g., Alice M. Choyke] as well as Hungarian members of the department such as József Laszlovszky and Katalin Szende, both Kubinyi's students) and shared its international library with the Loránd Eötvös University. Although archaeology alone is not part of the curriculum there, numerous Hungarian graduates in medieval archaeology have entered English-taught programmes. This is an important phenomenon, making up for the fact that New Archaeology in Hungary has been strongly associated with prehistoric research (Laszlovszky and Siklódi 1991: 283), where scientific method seemed to have been in greater demand in the absence of written sources. Thus, while “Anglo-American” research in archaeology and history has affected different areas of archaeology in Hungary, it has had a combined result of broadening the perspectives of local scholars in general.

Recently, young archaeologists have become active in international organizations (e.g., European Association of Archaeologists, World Archaeological Congress, International Council for Archaeozoology) and actively attend conferences abroad. The latter are often financed by combinations of small travel grants both from Hungary (typically low-fare travel expenses within Europe) and allowances by host organizations (reduced registration fees, cheap accommodation) as well as by the archaeologists themselves (complementing or substituting grants). Although these scholars are too young to be considered the “elite” of Hungarian archaeology, as a result of political changes, not only has traveling become easier, but – perhaps more importantly – the mentality of archaeologists opened up as well. This new intellectual mobility has had a motivating effect on learning languages. It may take years before this trend will materialize in the form of publications in peer-review international journals, but for the young entries in conference proceedings are a very important vehicle towards that aim.

Some young archaeologists fit into the network of their older colleagues, while others began their own networking efforts by applying for foreign grants or taking field assignments abroad in order to gain a different field experience and learn English, in addition to the undeniable financial benefit of better wages. During its recent economic boom, Ireland became a favorite destination. At this point, however, these young people take only temporary jobs, hoping to return to Hungary better equipped in every sense to carry on with their careers. Permanent employment abroad is rare (cf. Fig. 10).

Summary

Having reviewed the status of Hungarian archaeology within the last 120 years, including its intellectual history and reactions to external influences, we return to the question of how these phenomena have been reflected in the articles published in *AÉ* during this time period.

Functional Trends in *AÉ*

It has been hypothesized that the eight variables recorded in *AÉ* and analyzed diachronically in detail throughout this study would outline general trends that characterized Hungarian archaeology as represented in the volumes of its main journal. Correlations between these variables were mapped using correspondence analysis (Hammer et al. 2007). This method shows clustering between variables in the plane of synthetic background variables called eigenvectors. The original variables were plotted in Fig. 15, within the plane defined by two axes representing eigenvectors one and two that (with eigenvalues of 0.248 and 0.127) incorporate 60.3% of the total variance.

The most characteristic group of variables is formed by the number of authors and the type of article since interdisciplinary papers tend to require the expertise of several contributors on equal basis (*cf.* Fig. 13). These variables are also linked to the area and period of research (*cf.* Fig. 2), often connected by personalities with chronologically and geographically determined research interests. Chronology is an especially powerful tie that has defined research trends and careers in Hungarian archaeology.

In the loose, separate cluster formed by the number of pages and illustrations a positive correlation between these two is shown: the longer the paper, the more illustrations it contains. The number of notes, however, shows the opposite tendency: longer articles use relatively fewer references. Regardless of the actual scholarly quality of the paper, this may be the quantitative reflection of a phenomenon recognized in retrospect by the first author of this chapter in his work. Small subjects (most typically

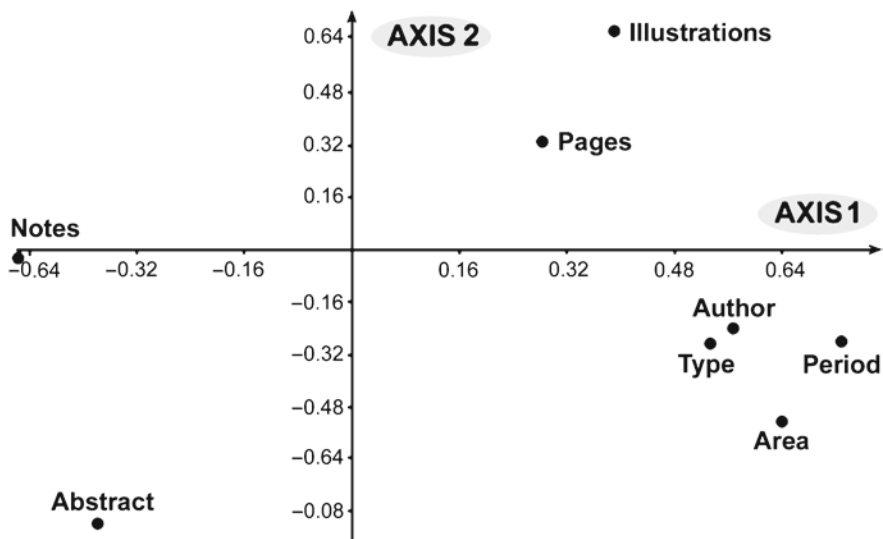


Fig. 15 The configuration of variables recorded in the 1868–2008 issues of *AÉ* in the plane defined by the first two eigenvectors represented by Axes 1 and 2. See text for explanation

individual *Sonderfunde*; e.g., Bartosiewicz 1993) tend to be more thoroughly researched in the literature to provide “at least” firm theoretical foundations, while large bodies of data that “speak for themselves” in a most inductive-empiricist fashion are supported only by the most relevant references (Bartosiewicz 1996).

The language of abstracts, not a very essential trait of our study, seems most dissociated from the rest of the variables in Fig. 15. While both research trends and publication formats were rather conservative in *AE*, languages seem to have reacted most sensitively to ideological/political changes, regardless of the permanent and overwhelming dominance of German used in foreign language abstracts.

Concluding Remarks

The basic epistemology we offer in result of this admittedly selective review is that changes in Hungarian archaeology cannot be considered intrinsic to the discipline. They have usually emerged in response to more extreme, but often spontaneous or uncontrollable changes in the external political and social environment. Among these changes long-term evolutionary trends rather than “revolutionary” episodes prevail. Archaeological thought in Hungary seems to be characterized by a certain inertia, something that is probably a key to survival in the academic community of a small country, often exposed to unstable political situations. A hierarchical academic structure and need for continuity somewhat limit theoretical debates, while rewarding data-oriented empiricist work. The repertoire of reactions to external ideological/political change has been relatively limited. For example, the acceptance of methodological innovation or (renewed) emphasis on questions regarding ethnogenesis can be viewed as analogous to responses to various socioeconomic or political pressures both external and internal. As Hodder (1991a: IX) emphasized:

In Eastern Europe, the recent development of archaeological theory cannot be understood without reference to the practical conditions set by Soviet domination and the intellectual traditions set by Marxism.

In reference to Hungarian archaeology this statement should be understood as applying to both archaeological practice and theory:

- On the one hand, for the last 20 years the practical conditions for archaeological research have increasingly been defined by free-market economy, and its constraints seem more restrictive to theoretical development in archaeology than the reluctantly adopted Soviet ideological clichés.
- On the other hand, “vulgar Marxism” as a form of mundane propaganda never significantly changed the existing historical paradigm in Hungarian archaeology. It rather helped to preserve the previously described traditional views genuinely linked with late nineteenth century intellectual achievements such as evolutionary theory and its sophisticated applications to social sciences by Karl Marx and especially Friedrich Engels.

This subtle traditional link may not always be recognized, or admitted, but it has served as a dominant background factor shaping Hungarian archaeology and its deeply historicist theoretical basis during the past 140 years. In addition to the undeniable effects of political liberalization, theoretical development seems to derive from methodological innovation to a large extent, partly forced by the economically-driven restructuring of archaeological practice in Hungary.

Since the second half of the twentieth century archaeological practice was linked first to the socialist and subsequently capitalist economic planning. Understandably, archaeological work had to be justified in practical terms. In arguing for the need for archaeological research the argument that understanding the past helps in planning the future was used although it contradicted the fact that historical disciplines are, by definition, *retrospective*. Even biological evolution is random (nonpredictable) and contingency has always belonged to the essence of history even when studied through material remains. The most one can hope for is the cultural anthropologist paradigm by which the study of diachronic variability in human behavior can be added to contemporary observations of patterning in culture and society.

In addition to the effects of recent political liberalization, theoretical development seems to result from methodological innovation, partly forced by the economically-driven, overall restructuring of archaeological management in Hungary. Recently, the inductive, data-oriented tradition in Hungarian archaeology has also been favored by large scale rescue excavations that provide masses of valuable information. While many archaeologists in Hungary see a point in combining their traditional work with “theory” (usually *methods* developed by and used in New Archaeology), purely theoretical problems provoke little interest as they tend to have little practical implications. Part of the resistance of Hungarian archaeologists stems from the trend that Anglo–American archaeology is stereotypically seen as relying on small find assemblages, often treated superficially (Suhr 2005: 189–190). Such views are being gradually replaced by a more sophisticated assessment of international working conditions, as young Hungarian archaeologists acquire a far broader international expertise as compared to previous generations, and foreign teams working in Hungary are also getting better at integrating their work within a more pragmatic local academic tradition.

Epilog

As this manuscript was under preparation, we witnessed a relevant scene in our university’s department in Budapest. Before Christmas the traditional nativity play was performed – in perfect archaeological detail – by first year archaeology students. Following much commotion around the makeshift manger, the 1999 Hungarian edition of the Renfrew–Bahn textbook was pulled out from underneath Mary’s cloak. One of the shepherds cried out: “The Savior was born!” as the volume was held up high in the air.

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Archaeology in the New Countries of Southeastern Europe: A Historical Perspective

Predrag Novaković

Introduction

This study addresses a highly challenging task – reflection of the development of archaeology in the southeastern Europe (wider Balkan area) in the cultural, infrastructural, epistemological, and also political settings during the last few centuries. Although to many who are not living or working in this area this task may not seem very different from similar attempts in presenting other regional schools or trajectories in development of European archaeology, for the “insiders,” such task is extremely difficult if not next to impossible. Awareness about the extreme complexity of history of this region, which requires extensive knowledge and mastering of a number of linguistic, cultural, religious, and political intricacies to understand historical and cultural trajectories and contingencies in this area, demands great caution and critical reflection to avoid simplifications and superficial conclusions.

So far, I know of only one similar attempt in the archaeological literature (*Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*, 1966 (vol. 1) and 1969 (vol. 2)),¹ but the aim and nature of this text substantially differs from this chapter. Although Filip’s *Handbuch* attempted to provide a concise information on

¹Jan Filip (ed.), *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*, published in two volumes by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague in 1966 (vol. 1) and 1969 (vol. 2). This unrepeatable and monumental work of more than 1,750 pages required more than 200 contributors from all over Europe. However, in certain sense, the authors had to face a similar dilemma of defining the “units of observation” when dealing with national archaeologies in an area of so many historical and political changes on one side and, correspondingly, with so few fixed and coherent criteria for taking into account these changes while classifying and listing national, regional, or continental traditions of archaeology. With the encyclopedic genre of the texts and entries attributed to the actual states existing at that time, this problem was only partially solved, if at all. Moreover, one could also see an irony of fate in the very fact that the publisher itself (the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences) “fell victim” of the same kind of changes, as the country split into two separate political entities.

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archaeology in Europe in encyclopedic form, the present study faces a much greater challenge to put forward coherent perspective and criteria for reflecting on the national archaeological schools in the area of Europe, which exhibits great differences in a number of fundamental cultural traits (e.g., language, religion, highly diverse courses of history, etc.), and consequently, also in the ways how archaeology and local disciplinary traditions developed within such differing contexts and circumstances.

At this point I would like to introduce certain changes to the perspective, which was typical for most of the classical works on history of European archaeology (e.g., G. Daniel's, *150 Years of Archaeology*, 1977 or B. Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 1989, 2006 and also in M. Díaz-Andreu's *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 2007). This change is not meant as a critique of the traditional principles guiding classical writings of history of the archaeological discipline, but as a necessary mean for better and more accurate understanding of regional and local developments in southeastern Europe. First and foremost, what is needed is an adjustment of the "model" or "view" of global disciplinary progress as developed since 1960s in western archaeological discourse, and which came to dominate the general disciplinary discourse. In other words, the notorious developmental sequence: traditional archaeology, processual archaeology, postprocessual archaeology, contributes little to the understanding history of the discipline in southeastern Europe. I do not completely deny the usefulness of this sequence in some cases, but, generally speaking, this sequence developed in the western (mostly Anglo-American) archaeological discourse, with only a few references to the developments in Central and southeastern Europe.

Looking at the archaeologies of southeastern Europe through the western perspective of history and progress of the discipline would in certain sense repeat the traditional general attitude of Western Europe toward the Balkans. From its very conceptualization (some would say invention), the term "Balkans" was much more than just a geographic label. It frequently signified the culturally "different," non-European, "oriental" others. The apparatus from which these connotations originated was basically very simple and efficient – binary oppositions to the values of the West. The reasons for this were many: increased anti-Ottoman and anti-Muslim propaganda in the West in the nineteenth century favoring national liberation of the Greeks, Serbs, and other "Balkan" nations; the lack of information on cultural, historical, and social aspects of life of non-Ottoman dominated populations; imperial and colonial attitude of the Western powers gradually conquering the Ottoman spheres of influence; contact of progressing western capitalism with nonindustrialized and technologically underdeveloped societies in the East; linguistic barriers, religious differences, and others.

Though the earliest appearance of the term "Balkans"² can be actually dated back to the end of the fifteenth century (Todorova 1997, 2006:79³), it effectively entered into geopolitical discourse rather late, at the end of the eighteenth century, to increasingly appear since the 1850s onwards. Because of the extensive political and cultural

²The name *Balkans* (Turkish for wooded mountains) is taken after the mountain ridge in north-western Bulgaria.

³Page references are from the Serbian translation of the second edition (Marija Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 2006); all references hereinafter refer to the Serbian edition.

changes (e.g., national liberation movements of the Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, retreat of the Ottoman Empire, political competition of the European powers, etc.) it acquired the meaning of a particular “political” region.⁴

To avoid certain denigrating connotations, the term “Balkans” has been replaced in the actual geopolitical discourse with “southeastern Europe.” Interestingly enough, this term, proposed first by Johan Georg von Hahn (1811–1869), Austrian consul in Ioanina and Athens, specialist in Albanian history, became also very compromised in the following decades when the German expansionist politics, especially during the Nazi period, included *Südost* in their geopolitical plans (Todorova 2006:88–89). Obviously, the recent reintroduction of “southeastern Europe” has no reference to these earlier cases, but one wonders whether its recent proposers had actually studied the history of the term and all implications it had in various historical contexts.

However, it is not my intention to go much deeper into the “phenomenology” of the Balkans. For the purpose of this study, it suffice to point to one of the key issues – to the “invention” of the Balkans in which a particular western view and attitude became embedded, and which for many decades served as a general matrix through which images and representations of the Balkans and its history were spread across Europe.⁵ Indeed, any study of historical and cultural phenomena

⁴It is in this context the term “balkanization” appeared. It refers to the division of multinational states into smaller ethnically homogeneous entities. This term is also used for labeling the ethnic conflicts within multiethnic states. Balkanization was coined in the geopolitical discourse after World War I for describing the fragmentation which followed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in southeastern Europe.

⁵Some influential scholars (e.g., Bakić-Hayden 1995) find this attitude similar, if not equal, to the concept of orientalism proposed by E. Said, according to which the West “invented” the Balkans’ and its “content” to accommodate its views and ideology, and the politics, toward the East. And it is in this context in which the Balkan studies appeared. They have been initially conceptualized at the beginning of the twentieth century and stemmed from regional geography, history, and ethnography. We should not forget that this was a period when major national geographical schools embraced anthropogeography and leading national geographers (e.g., F. Ratzel in Germany, H. Mackinder in the UK, and to some extent also P. Vidal de la Blache in France) very seriously studied political-geographical aspects of the principal strategic issues in modern politics in Europe).

Prior to the conceptualization of Balkans studies, the most popular genre were travelogs authored by great number of travelers and visitors to the area, especially in the Ottoman ruled lands. However, systematic study of the Balkan phenomena through the framework similar to the orientalism of E. Said is of rather recent date, since the early 1990s. For further reading on this topics, we suggest text of M. Todorova (1997), which provides basic framework for understanding the historical and cultural conjunctures, which led to the “invention” of the Balkans. Vesna Goldsworthy in her book *Inventing Ruritania. The Imperialism of the Imagination* (Yale university Press 1998) explored the ways how the Balkans provided sources (motives, metaphors, scenery, heroic figures, etc.) for British literary production and entertainment, metaphorically speaking, much like colonies provided raw materials for British industry (as metaphoric colonialism). Milica Bakić-Hayden (1995) provides a valuable piece on the Balkan variation on the orientalist theme. Orientalist framework of analysis is also a subject of highly quoted paper by Milica Bakić-Hayden and Hayden (1992) in which authors explore power of symbols and signifiers in cultural geography of former Yugoslavia. In a book edited by Andrew Hammond (2004) several papers deal with modern cases of denigration of the Balkans. It should be stressed that the recent scholarly production in Balkan studies has been further catalyzed by the wars and ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

associated with the Balkans cannot ignore the existence and action of such images and representations, and one has to admit that these meanings and connotations are still alive, particularly after the recent wars in former Yugoslavia, when frequently, due to the lack of competent in-depth analysis of factors causing the war, old stereotypes were revived and reused (e.g., see in Allcock 2000:1–3).

With regard to the history of archaeology, and the history of antiquarianism in general, one should be aware of the effects of several processes, which stemmed from this “western” attitude toward the Balkans. But, applying simple colonial model of the western appropriation of the Balkans past would not help us much in understanding the origins and development of archaeology in this region.

There were cases of selective “domestication” and “appropriation” of the Balkans’ past in the western academic discourse. Greek classical antiquity is the most notorious case of how one essentially regional historical phenomenon became exempted from the overall regional setting, history, and culture. It is a clear case how western academia played double and somewhat paradoxical role: while it depicted prehistoric and ancient southeastern Europe as the area of paramount cultural achievements in the Europe’s distant past, as the bridge to the high civilizations of Egypt and the Near East and classical antiquity as the inspiration to the creation of modern European cultures, the western academia and western political and cultural elites, being possessors and producers of this particular knowledge, also claimed symbolic inheritance to it and in this way justified the selective appropriation of the past of this region. In a way, as it was with the Byzantines, “another” Balkan region (Orthodox, “eastern,” alien, etc.) emerged with almost no references to earlier regional history and became even more distant from Europe with the Ottomans and post-Ottoman domination. It is in this process that much of the local scholarship was either marginalized or assimilated in the western discourse, as part of the “modernization” process of southeastern Europe.

Although a great deal of features in the development of archaeology in the Balkans seems to correspond to “colonial” archaeology, I am not fully supporting this view. Instead, it is my opinion that the development of the discipline in this area would be much better described by the core-periphery models of interactions. This model is useful for one major reason. As opposed to the “colonial model,” which in general distinguishes between two opposing sides (colonial vs. colonized), the core-periphery model allows (actually requires) much more varieties of relationships between the sides and subjects involved. In other words, not all “western” archaeologies (national or subject-oriented) treated the Balkan past equally, and neither the Balkans nor the southeastern Europe could be treated in a generalized, uniformed way.

Let us take for example eastern Adriatic coast (e.g., the historical region of Dalmatia). There, highly developed urban culture continued from the Early Roman Empire with almost no interruptions, to the Late Medieval, post-Medieval, and modern periods. Part of Dalmatia was ruled by Venice between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries, the cultural and economic superpower in southern Europe. This political domination impacted the region and the neighboring areas culturally and economically. Numerous Dalmatian writers, scientists, clergy, etc. of the local Slavic

origin, who developed a genuine Renaissance Slavic culture (language, poetry, theater plays, philosophical and theological texts, etc.) testify that we are not dealing here with just simple “transplantation” of the Italian culture or Venetian colonization of the eastern Adriatic coast. As it will be shown later, among them there were also some of the earliest antiquaries in Europe. It is obvious that these facts strongly oppose to the general western image of the Balkans history and culture.

It should be also stressed that southeastern Europe is an area of highly contrasted developmental trajectories, probably the most contrasting in European perspective. It is true that large parts of this area were, indeed, remote peripheries of political or economic powers. Since the Medieval Period, this area became dominated by greater regional powers with their centers outside the region (e.g., Byzantium, Venice,⁶ Hungary, and Austria), and this “peripheral” position further increased with the Ottoman rule from the fifteenth century onwards. But, it did not necessarily meant “passive” position of local populations and throughout the area we could encounter personalities, episodes, and achievements, which by far exceeded the conditions of periphery and shed different light on the image of the discipline in this region.⁷

The “western” archaeological discourse, fixed on the principal works of history of archaeology, defined the traditional model of general history, or progress, of archaeological discipline with a number of common *topoi* such as the role of the nineteenth century Scandinavian antiquaries in developing major analytical tools and categories (typology, relative and indirect absolute chronology, etc.), the impact of major scholars on wider disciplinary development (e.g., O. Montelius, C. Schuchhardt, G. Kossina, G. Childe, G. Clark, S. Piggott, G. Mortillet, F. Bordes, D. Clarke and others), a model of periodization of history of archaeology (e.g., antiquarian phase – phase of establishing (prehistoric) archaeology as modern autonomous discipline – culture-history phase – new (processual) archaeology – postprocessual archaeology), a list of referential sites, case texts, and studies, which made large impact on further development, etc. Although this may be true for certain areas of Europe or regional archaeological schools, it cannot be fully useful when applying to other European areas, southeastern Europe in particular. It is not

⁶Foreign scholars frequently overlook Venice when discussing the major political and cultural divisions of the Balkans (e.g., between the Austria and Turkey, see Allcock 2000 and Todorova 2006). Venice controlled large territories on eastern Adriatic and in its hinterlands from the twelfth century until the end of the eighteenth century, when after the Napoleon’s defeat these territories were included into the Austrian Empire. The influence of Venice and Italian culture in general was key in cultural development of modern Croatia and Montenegro, and greatly impacted political developments in western Balkans. In terms of history of archaeology, the Venetian rule and contacts with Italy left strong traces in traditions, which shaped modern archaeology in parts of Slovenia, Croatia, and Montenegro.

⁷For the “core-periphery” model used for describing the development of archaeology in western Balkan countries and its relationships with archaeology in Western Europe see in Novaković (2011).

so much about the fact that such views (or perspectives) are clearly western biased, but it is simply that such views cannot be equally useful in forming the frame of reference for observing and understanding histories of archaeology in other regions and countries. In other words, if we consider archaeology as a process of the production of knowledge, one cannot ignore the social, economic and cultural structures, conditions and circumstances within which such production takes place.

Another, paradoxical feature, stemming from the western “generalizing” gaze, is the double treatment of the southeastern Europe or the Balkans. Although, on the one hand, this area is generally described as highly ethnically, religiously, linguistically and culturally mixed region (probably the most complex in whole Europe), this complexity, on the other hand, was rarely taken into account when presenting the image and history of this region when compared with other regions in Europe; on the contrary, the Balkans region was frequently conceived as one single entity.

It is clear that the concept of the “single Balkans” or “single southeastern Europe” cannot be applied to describe the development of archaeology there. What this text reveals is that except its geographical location between the Eastern Alps, the Carpathian Mountains, and the Black, Aegean, Ionian and Adriatic Seas, there are not so many other things, which could be used as common points of departure operable for the whole area when observing the general archaeological disciplinary development. The presentations of individual national schools of archaeology in this chapter will clearly corroborate this point.

It could also be argued that my view accentuates regional diversities and peculiarities, and neglects commonalities and shared features. I do not deny this, but the position of the “insider” gives me the privilege to such particularizing view, which will hopefully more productively contribute to new insights in the debate about history of our discipline. One could find much greater deal of common traits in historical, conceptual, and infrastructural developments of archaeology, for example when speaking of Scandinavian or Iberian archaeologies. In the case of the discussed region, if one wants to look for more homogenous regional archaeological traditions, one should apply terms such as the Aegean, (Eastern) Adriatic, Alpine, Pannonian, Danubian, Balkan (*sensu stricto*), or Black Sea archaeologies. Indeed, it could be said that all these traditions do in fact exist, and local scholars are very much aware of them, but they are, unfortunately, frequently lumped together under a common label – that of southeastern European or Balkan archaeology.

It is almost a rule that in modern countries national disciplinary frameworks have to include a number of different regional archaeologies (i.e., traditions) and accommodate different regional archaeological corpora of evidence into one general (national) framework. Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina serve as prime examples of such approach. In characterizing their archaeological traditions (or interests in antiquity), one could distinguish a number of different components, such as Venetian, Austrian, and to a certain extent also Ottoman. These traditions, logically, originate from the regional historical geopolitical conditions. But, when observing the nature and character of the archaeological evidence from a perspective

of major regional ecological zones in these regions, these traditions acquire additional dimensions (e.g., Mediterranean, Pannonian, central Balkans, etc.). It is obvious that this reasoning could lead us into even deeper partitioning of the units of observations, and for these reason I have decided to consider the individual national schools (i.e., archaeologies in the presently existing countries) as the appropriate units of observation. But certain caution is needed here, since this could not necessarily be fully applicable in all cases.

In favor of such “ordering” of units of observation speaks the fact that archaeology in Europe, and in Central and southeastern Europe in particular, is to a great extent considered as a historical and national science closely associated with the issues of national history and history of the national territory. But, can this rule be easily applied to national archaeologies in southeastern Europe? With what sort of national frameworks are we actually dealing here? If this issue is to be addressed properly, one needs to, at least briefly, look at the nature and history of the nation-making processes in the region, which greatly influenced the establishment and course of national archaeologies.

To illustrate this point it suffices to look at the political maps of the region from 1878 onwards at more or less regular intervals (e.g., of approximately one generation length) to realize the magnitude of changes that took place after the Balkan wars, WWI, WWII, and recent wars in former Yugoslavia. Needless to say that much of this political processes and changes in the last two centuries were orchestrated by the competing European and global powers and that inevitably adds another dimension to the processes of nation-making and state-making in the region.

While at the end of the nineteenth century most of the area was divided among the two Empires – the Ottoman and the Austrian Empire – the Berlin Congress confirmed the independency of four new states (Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Montenegro). In the aftermath of the Balkan wars and WWI, both great empires not only retreated from the region, but also ceased to exist, giving way to the emergence of a large state of Southern Slavs (without Bulgaria), national state of Albanians, and Italian annexation of some former Venetian territories in northern Adriatic. With the exception of Italy, which retreated from northern Eastern Adriatic, the political map did not change much after WWII. This time the greatest change was of a different kind and introduced different powers to the scene – the Soviet domination and the Communist rule. And finally, after recent wars in Yugoslavia, seven independent states emerged (plus Moldova on the extreme edge of southeastern Europe) and all abolished Communism.

Considering the political history and ethnic diversity of the region, it is not always easy to identify fixed national frameworks of archaeological development in each country. Although this may be the case for countries with somewhat longer history of existence (e.g., Greece, Romania, or Bulgaria), it is less visible in archaeologies of the western Balkan countries where larger multiethnic states incorporated a number of ethnic or national groups with varying degree of political rights. Large groups of ethnic population lived outside of their core territories (e.g., Slavic

Macedonians, Albanians, Turkish population, Serbs, etc.), which contributed to a greater ethnic diversity of countries such as Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, etc.⁸

To illustrate this problem, let us briefly look at the state of Montenegro. This state first emerged as sovereign political entity in the aftermath of the Berlin Congress in 1878, and existed as such until 1918, when it was first united with the Kingdom of Serbia and then incorporated to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1929–1941). In this union, Montenegro retained weak administrative unity, reappeared as autonomous republic after WWII and remained as such until the collapse of former Yugoslavia (1945–1991). After the collapse, Montenegro remained in the union with Serbia (in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1991–2003, later renamed as Serbia and Montenegro, 2003–2006), and became again an independent state in 2006. In this 130 years long period, the territory of Montenegro (and its peoples), or parts of it, belonged to six different states, each of them affecting in its own way cultural development of the country.

Another case that demonstrates disadvantages of applying the “western” model of the progress in archaeology is the separate treatment of prehistoric (and early medieval) and classical archaeology. This division originated in the nineteenth century and gradually contributed to the treatment of these two archaeological disciplines as almost completely different sciences, also in epistemological terms. The division still exists and has been reinforced especially with the rise of prehistoric archaeology.

The already mentioned “appropriation” of the classical studies by nations dominating Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and making it one of the *Hochwissenschaften* had much to do with the imperial politics and elitist (upper class) attitudes. In this context, prehistoric archaeology initially received much “lower” status among the historical disciplines, since it could not compete on equal terms with history and highly persuasive powers of the written sources. Instead, prehistoric archaeology either looked for shelter in natural history or in regional or local histories and *Landeskunde*, which had been more relevant to local or regional identities, and only gradually, in an attempt to develop its own methods and epistemological tools, it achieved its present-day status and reputation. However, it should not be forgotten that prehistoric archaeology in Europe could not achieve its present status without being recognized as nationally relevant, thus – historical study.

Development of both prehistoric and classical archaeology can be actually best viewed in those countries that dominated archaeological discourse in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, in the UK prior to the 1940s, archaeology of the British Isles was generally taught in Geography Departments (Wilson 1986:7), as regional/local science. In Germany, university chairs of prehistoric archaeology were established several decades later than chairs of classical

⁸As for national archaeological schools, (FYR) Macedonia presents an interesting case; in the country where some 30% of the population is of Albanian origin, there were no Albanian archaeologist for the past 50 years, until the last few years.

archaeology. In France, prehistoric archaeology, with the exception of the Paleolithic studies, made substantial advances only after WWII; similarly in Italy and Greece.

In the case of southeastern Europe such separate treatment of these two archaeological disciplines cannot be shown as fully effective. First, all countries in this area were parts of the Roman Empire and some southern areas also constituted a periphery of the Greek Aegean and Ionian worlds. In this respect, the presence of Greek and Roman archaeological evidence was abundant and embedded in local pasts, and not an “alien” or “exotic” object as would be the case of Europe beyond the Rhine or Danube Rivers. The earliest local antiquarian traditions in southeastern Europe, particularly in non-Ottoman lands, were, therefore, based on studying the (mostly) Roman regional past for which there was abundant epigraphic, architectural, and other archaeological sources, and the knowledge required to study them was that of the classical disciplines (philology, art history, classical archaeology) as well as the principal frame of reference, which was ancient (regional) history.

Prehistoric archaeology was introduced to the region where basic archaeological disciplinary structures and infrastructures developed within the concept of the Roman provincial (i.e., regional) archaeology. Prehistoric periods were, in a certain sense, approached as an “extension” of Roman provincial archaeology into centuries prior to the arrival of the Romans. Ancient Greek and Roman texts mentioned the indigenous peoples in eastern Alps and the Balkans and cultural developments of those peoples that lived in contact zones were studied with references to the Greek and Roman worlds.

The subject of more distant prehistory, for which no evidences or references existed in ancient sources, came into focus later, in the nineteenth century, as in the rest of Europe. A different frame of references was needed for comprehending the archaeological evidence since ancient (general and regional) history was of little help. “Region” or “landscape” was such a frame of reference and various *Landeskunde* projects in Slovenia and Croatia date back to the late Renaissance and reached their peak with the Enlightenment. The observations typical for such projects included vast geographic, ethnographic, topographic, linguistic, and naturalist evidences synthesized in a regional developmental histories and narratives. *Genre d’vie* – the approach to explain how was it possible to live in a particular region or landscape served as a perfect tool for “circumstantial,” “analogous,” and functionalist conclusions about the structures from distant past.⁹ In these regional or landscape histories, Roman provincial history assisted in the understanding of earlier epochs by making the narrative about the historical development of a region continuous and well established chronologically. In this particular way of abridging the distant past with the present prehistory was not presented as something “different.” Even if those scholars may have not fully and accurately understood all the features, they have definitely made some sense of them.

⁹This early archaeological practice in Central and Northern Europe was explained by Alain Schnapp (1993:156–167 in particular); his explanation can also be applied to southeastern Europe.

One should also look at the infrastructural development of archaeology in southeastern Europe. The earliest archaeological museums and collections were established either at places where major archaeological sites existed or collections of artifacts were associated with such places. Those sites were mostly Roman towns, the earliest archaeologically studied places. Most of these museums became local and regional centers of archaeological knowledge and provided infrastructural base for the development of other archaeological disciplines, including prehistory, archaeology of the early and late medieval periods, archaeological science, etc.

In attempting the very challenging task of presenting archaeologies in southeastern Europe, I encountered more problems than presented earlier. The sheer quantity of evidence proved to be a great obstacle for the time available (and the editor's patience). Although I have initially attempted to cover the whole area of the southeastern Europe, this proved to be too ambitious.

My "insider's" position limited the analysis to only those countries of southeastern Europe where I could gather enough data and from which I had a fair personal experiences. The data which I was able to obtain from the assembled bibliography were simply not enough to present a coherent account of archaeologies in the region. Histories of institutions, professional and personal biographies, circumstances that greatly influenced discoveries of important sites and their subsequent research, social, economical, and political conditions in which certain ideas or practices were put forward, all these and more constitute the essential sources for understanding the development and fortunes of archaeology, but not much of these can be read in archaeological publications, such as catalogs of sites and finds, research report or interpretative papers or monographs. Much of the evidence collected from publications I discussed with colleagues who were either more personally involved in processes and events that produced the data, or had extensive knowledge of wider contexts in which archaeological activities took place.

In this way, I have limited myself to seven new countries, which emerged after the collapse of former Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, FYR Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. The eastern part of southeastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, and Moldova) and Albania are not discussed here; I chose to focus on the western Balkans with which I am much more acquainted.

However, by limiting this study to the wider western Balkans area, I have not avoided or reduced the issue of complexity and heterogeneity of the disciplinary development in the last two centuries. Indeed, it is in this area where this complexity is the greatest. Eight states, none exceeding ten million people, three major religions (Roman Catholic, Orthodox Christianity, and Islam) with Jewish and Protestant populations being present as well, a zone of influence of the three large traditions (Italian/Venetian, Central European/Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman) and local Slavic and Albanian cultures, an area of ten major languages (mostly different Slavic, but also Albanian, Wallachian, Romanian, Hungarian, Turkish, Italian, and Roma are native languages in this region), and where history is abundant in major political and demographic changes during the last two centuries. Archaeologies in these countries bear the impressions of all these circumstances, conditions, and trajectories.

Two other archaeological traditions inherent to southeastern Europe are not discussed here. Greek archaeology, particularly classical, with its specific historical and cultural significance, was the subject of numerous studies (foreign and local) for almost two centuries. It is probably one of the best and the most intensively researched archaeological fields in the global context and the Greek classical archaeology (in *sensu lato*, spanning from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period) developed into a “global” rather than regional archaeological issue. Although much could be said about Greek archaeology in southeastern Europe, the mere dimensions of its history and research problems require a much larger study, which definitely exceeds the scope of this chapter and, also, the author’s competence. Also, any survey of southeastern European archaeologies without Turkey is bound to be incomplete. Not because of considering Turkish archaeology “Asian,” but, as in the Greek case, the very scale and complexity of Turkish archaeology, which by far exceeds the level of “small archaeologies” we are dealing with in this chapter.

This chapter will neither deal so much with the epistemological issues, nor with listing of the major sites and discoveries. They will be mentioned, but because the aim is to present national disciplinary frameworks in their historical and socio-cultural perspectives, I will put more stress on history and significance of “infrastructure” and institutions (museums, universities, research centers, academies and other scholarly societies and their agendas, aims, personnel structures, statuses, and powers in academic and wider public discourse, etc.), which much better reflects the conditions and contexts of archaeological discipline and its practice. I found these aspects crucial to the understanding of cultural history of the discipline and of its developmental trajectories as they are frequently overshadowed or underrepresented in texts focused mostly on presenting the advances in archaeological knowledge. Moreover, these aspects are probably the least known of archaeologies in southeastern Europe and definitely deserve more attention. My approach is not meant as a critique of the traditional style of writing histories of the discipline, but as necessary supplement, which in the case of archaeology in southeastern Europe is particularly needed to present a more accurate and critical account of its development and fortunes.

An inevitable aspect when considering archaeologies of the region is politics. All major changes especially in the practice of archaeology, for instance in public heritage service, were either directly triggered by major political changes (such as the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, the emergence of new states, two world wars and local wars, introduction and collapse of communist regimes, integration with the European Union, etc.), which impacted the political status and structure of states and their populations due to new social and economic conditions to which archaeology had to adapt. This aspect, although not explicitly presented in specific sections, will constantly be referred to when appropriate and relevant. In the last few decades, the issue of nationalism and archaeology was the most researched and published within the wider context of politics and archaeology. This issue, while extremely important for understanding not only history of archaeology and its social practice but also its present-day conditions, will not be explicitly discussed in this chapter.

Slovenia

Geography and History

Slovenia with its two million mostly Slovene speaking population and slightly more than 20,000 km² of territory is among the smallest countries in the region. Its geographic location between northern Adriatic, the eastern Alps, southwestern Pannonian Plain, and northwestern Balkans (the Dinaric Mountains) makes this country one of the most geoecologically diversified in Europe. Northern and northwestern parts are typical Alpine landscapes with peaks reaching more than 2,500 m above the sea level and intersected with a number of smaller valleys traditionally suitable for agriculture and alpine-type (semitranshumant) cattle keeping. According to the percentage of the Alpine landscapes in the overall territory of the country, Slovenia is on the third place in Europe, next to Switzerland and Austria. The largest contrasts to the Alpine regions present northeastern and eastern regions of Pannonian and sub-Pannonian well-drained lowlands. The natural landscape here is very similar to the Great Hungarian Plain, and is the richest agricultural land in the country. A different landscape is in southwestern Slovenia along the Adriatic Sea. Here are Mediterranean and sub-Mediterranean interchanging limestone and sandstone landscapes with vegetation and agriculture typical for such zones. Between these three major geo-ecological zones, there is also a great variety of transitional landscapes.

Modern Slovenia was united rather late. Its central and eastern territories (belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Empire prior to 1918) were incorporated to the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (in 1929 renamed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) after the WWI. Slovenia enlarged its territory after the WWII with the annexation of its western parts, which belonged to Italy between 1918 and 1943. In 1945, Slovenia became administratively and territorially united as one of the six Yugoslav republics and in 1991 it proclaimed independence.

From the second century BC to the beginnings of the first century AD, Slovene territory was gradually conquered by the Romans. Its western parts were administratively parts of Italy (as *Regio X – Venetia et Histria*), while its northern and eastern areas belonged to the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia Superior. The major Roman towns with their administrative territories in Slovenia were *Emona* (Ljubljana), *Poetoviona* (Ptuj), *Celeia* (Celje), *Neviodunum* (Drnovo), and *Tergeste* (Triest; nowadays in Italy). With the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, a number of Germanic peoples settled in it for a short period of time, Western and Eastern Goths, and the Longobards, but only the Slavs (from the sixth century onwards) settled there permanently and formed their local principalities in the eighth century AD.

From the beginning of the ninth century AD, when the “Slovene” territory was conquered by the Charlemagne, the country became part of the Holy Roman Empire and remained so until the Empire’s end in the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the Late Medieval Period, the country was divided into several provinces

(Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Gorica/Gorizia, and Istria) under the Austrian Habsburg's Imperial rule. The exception was northern Istria, which was divided between Austrians and Venetians until the end of eighteenth century, when all the Venetian territories in eastern Adriatic were annexed to Austria after the Napoleon's defeat.

One millennium of German political and cultural dominance strongly influenced culture of the Slovenes, which exhibits strong features of Central European cultural development. Slovenia, in this sense, is not a "typical" country of southeastern Europe (or Balkans), but is included in this study because of its shared history with other countries in this area in the twentieth century.

History of Archaeology in Slovenia

Antiquarians and Landeskunde

Together with Croatia, Slovenia has the longest tradition of antiquarian and archaeological activities in the region, dating back to the Renaissance. The earliest local antiquarian centers were Ljubljana, the capital of the province of Carniola (the central Slovene province), and in the Venetian-ruled coastal towns of northern Istria: Koper/Capodistria, Izola/Isola, and Piran/Pirano. The antiquarian works mostly included itineraries, geographic studies, epigraphic collections, and historical syntheses. The author of the earliest record of Roman inscriptions from Slovenia was Paulus Santoninus (?–1508/10), chancellor to the Patriarch of Aquileia. During his inspection visit to Celje as a cleric officer, he recorded a number of inscriptions in his manuscript *Itinerarium*.¹⁰

The earliest known proper antiquarian from Carniola is Augustinus Tyffernus¹¹ (around 1470–1535), chancellor to the Bishop Raubar in Ljubljana, who maintained contacts with a number of Italian academies and scholars. Tyffernus (recorded also as *Antiquus Austriacus*) is an author of two manuscript collections of the Roman inscriptions from the Austrian lands, which were later referred to by Theodor Mommsen in his *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinorum*.

Well-developed were antiquarian and historian activities in the Venetian coastal towns in northern Istria.¹² Here we find scholars like Pier Paolo Vergerio, the Elder of Koper/Capodistria (1370–1444), author of an essay *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* on ancient town of Aegida (now Koper/Capodistria); and Giacomo Filippo Tommasini, Bishop of Novigrad/Cittanova (1595–1654), who was the author of the

¹⁰For more details on his visit see Santonin Paolo, *Popotni dnevnik (Travel Diary)*, Ljubljana 1991, (translated and edited by P. Simoniti).

¹¹His real name was Auguštín Prug(e)l or Prygl, native from Laško (Tüffer) near Celje in South Styria.

¹²For more details on the Renaissance antiquaries from Istria see Cunja (1992), and Slapšak and Novaković (1996).

most complete geographical and historical description of Istria *De commentarii storici-geografici della provincia dell'Istria libri otto con appendice*.¹³

With the early Enlightenment, the antiquarian activities in the Slovene provinces were considerably advanced and fully comparable with the neighboring Italy and Austria. Janez Ludvik Schönleben (1618–1681), theologian, philosopher and historian, professor of rhetoric in Linz, Vienna, and Ljubljana, in 1681 published the first text on regional history of the Carniolan province.¹⁴ His work was continued by Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693), topographer and graphic publisher, natural historian, member of the Royal Society in London, who in 1698 published a monumental 15-volume synthesis on geography, topography, ethnography, and history of Carniola (*Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain/The glory of the Duchy of Carniola*), which for almost two centuries served as referential text on regional history of Slovene lands.¹⁵ Another scholar who contributed important pioneering works in local antiquarian science was Janez Gregor Dolničar (Thalnitscher), nephew of Schönleben, jurist and historian, who in 1693 wrote a manuscript on the antiquities of the town of Ljubljana (*Antiquitates Urbis Labacensis*).¹⁶

In Venetian Istria most notable was Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720–1795), economist and founder of the Accademia degli Operosi in Koper/Capodistria, author of two very influential texts: *Delle antichità di Capodistria* (Venice, 1743) and *Antichità Italiane* (1788–1791), and one of the first excavators of the Roman amphitheater in Pula/Pola (now in Croatia).

The earliest works on national history of the Slovenes appeared toward the end of the eighteenth century in the context of the “national rebirth.” The principal work from this period was written by Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795) *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und der übrigen südlich Slaven Österreichs* (1788–1791). It is here where the Slovene nation was for the first time defined not only on linguistic basis¹⁷ but also on the ground of common history in the earlier (medieval) periods. Of particular interest is the first part of his book, which deals with periods prior to

¹³His work remained in manuscript until 1837 when it was published by Domenico Rosetti in the journal *Archeografo Triestino*.

¹⁴J.L. Schönleben, *Carniola antiqua et nova sive annales sacroprophani*, Ljubljana 1681, vol. 1 covers the period of Old Carniola until the Christianization in AD 800. He is also the author of two volumes of drawings of archaeological objects (*Numismata e rudibus veteris Labaci erruta*).

¹⁵Janez Vajkard (Johann Weichard) Valvasor was, from 1687, a Member of the Royal Society. Other important works: *Topographia Ducatus Carniolae modernae* (1679); *Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae modernae* (1681); *Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae antiquae et modernae* (1688).

¹⁶Dolničar was also a member of the Academia Gelatorum from Bologna, Academia Arcadum from Rome, and Academies from Venice and Forli. His other major works are as follows: *Cypressus seu Epitaphia Labacensis* (1688–1691), systematic collection of historical sources for Ljubljana; *Nucleus selectarum Inscriptionum Vetrum et Novarum* (1709).

¹⁷The origin of the Slovene language is of much earlier date and is associated with the activities of the Slovene Protestant scholars in the second half of the sixteenth century when first books in Slovene (including the translation of the Bible) were published.

the arrival of the Slavs. Here, Linhart applied critical reading of ancient sources and known archaeological evidences and produced the most correct account on ancient history of the Slovene lands until that time.¹⁸ Linhart's close collaborator and member of the same scholarly circle was Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819), priest, poet, and writer of historical textbooks. His most known achievement in the antiquarianism was a copy of the Roman itinerary *Tabula Peutingeriana* he made in Vienna. He is also known for conducting probably the first excavations in Carniola.¹⁹

Modern Archaeology in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1800–1918)

The decisive step in introducing modern archaeology in Slovenia was the establishment of provincial museums and heritage protection service in the Austrian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Carniola (and later in Slovenia), the essential role was played by the Provincial Museum in Ljubljana established in 1821, and two scholarly societies: the Museum Society for Carniola (est. in 1839) and Historical Society of Carniola (est. 1843).²⁰ Other provincial museums that existed on the territory of the present-day Slovenia were established in Graz (1811) for Styria, and in Klagenfurt (1843) for Carinthia.

The Provincial Museum for Carniola (in 1882 renamed *Rudolphinum*, after the Austrian Archduke Rudolph) became intensively engaged in archaeological research since the mid-1870s when Karl Dežman (K. Deschmann) (1821–1889), curator of the museum, challenged by the discoveries of pile-dwellings in Swiss lakes, and encouraged by the Anthropological Society from Vienna, undertook the first large systematic archaeological excavations in *Ljubljansko Barje* (Ljubljana Moors) between 1875 and 1878. This event is considered in the history of Slovene archaeology as the beginning of systematic development of the discipline.

Karel Dežman,²¹ natural historian by profession, working in close collaboration with the Anthropological Society in Vienna, successfully introduced anthropological and evolutionary concepts into his practice of prehistoric archaeology. In the decade following his first excavations, he succeeded in developing a firm conceptual

¹⁸A.T. Linhart was a member of the major scholarly circle in Ljubljana and all Slovenia at that time – the circle of Sigismund Zoiss, wealthy landlord and businessman, and natural historian. Linhart's endeavors were not limited to national history only. He was also important figure in development of the modern Slovene literary language and culture. He is the author of the first play in the Slovene language (translations of the Beaumarchais' Figaro's Wedding). For more on Linhart's historiographical endeavours see Slapšak and Novaković (1996).

¹⁹Together with E.M. Siauve, officer in French administration of the Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces, they visited numerous sites and probably excavated the Iron Age hillfort at Stična. Ettiene Marie Siauve (?–1813), French archaeologists, member of the Académie Celtique, He published his research in Slovenia in *De Antiquis Norici viis, urbibus et finibus epistola*, and in Verona in 1811.

²⁰Both societies merged in 1885.

²¹Also Dragotin or Carl appeared as his first name. For more on K. Dežman see Novaković (2001).

basis for a new discipline: he published the first syntheses of the prehistory of Carniola,²² defined the La Tène Period in Slovenia, only few years after O. Tischler's definition of this chronological epoch, and for his endeavors and quality of work he achieved high esteem by his fellow colleagues in Austria.²³ At the end of his career, Dežman succeeded in lobbying for a new museum building (opened in 1888), whose archaeological collections and the museum guide (*Führer durch das Krainische Landes-Museum Rudolfinum in Laibach*, Ljubljana 1888) became the pride of the scientific community in Carniola and excellent example of activities of a provincial institution in Austria.

Curators in the Provincial Museum in Ljubljana who succeeded Dežman did not match his level, especially in evolutionary archaeology. In the following decades, archaeological discipline turned back mostly to the more traditional concepts of regional and local ancient history, where the greatest advances were made by Walter Schmid (1875–1951), who after 1909 moved to the Provincial Museum in Graz.

Because of the lack of personnel, funding, and changes of the political status of Slovenia after WWI, the importance of archaeology in the Provincial Museum in Ljubljana (which changed its name to the National Museum in 1921) declined. It regained its status after 1945.

Another key institution instrumental to the development of archaeology was the Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Historic and Art Monuments (*Kaiserlich-königlich Central Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmäler*²⁴) established in Vienna in 1850. The most important components of the Commission were its provincial offices governed by the “conservators.” Such offices, responsible for the territory of Slovenia, were located in Trieste (for Littoral), Ljubljana (for Carniola), and Graz (for Styria). Though the principal engagement of the Commission's staff was recording and protection of monuments, most of the provincial conservators were also encouraging and undertaking archaeological research activities, particularly in archaeological topography.

²²Prähistorische Ansiedlungen und Begrabnisstätten in Krain I. Bericht, *Denkschriften der k.k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Classe* 42, Wien 1880, 1–54; Zur Vorgeschichte Krains, in: *Die österreichisch-ungarisch Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Kärnten und Krain*, Wien 1891, 305–324.

²³In 1879 he also organized the annual meeting of the Austrian Anthropological Society in Ljubljana (Deschmann et al. 1880, *Versammlung österreichischer Anthropologen und Urgeschichtsforschers in Laibach am 28. und 29. Juli 1879, Mittheilungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien X*, Wien, 163–164).

²⁴Its official name was the *Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Building Monuments*. In 1873 it was renamed *Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Historic and Art Monuments*. The Commission was under the Ministry of Trade, Craft and Public Building but was also supervised by the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Education, and the Academies of Arts and Sciences. It consisted of three sections: (1) Archaeology (Prehistoric and Ancient monuments), (2) Art History, (3) Written records from the Medieval times until the eighteenth century.

The conservators maintained their networks of “correspondents,” local scholars, priests, teachers and other educated people, who regularly informed conservators about local discoveries or threats to sites. The most prominent among the conservators was Simon Rutar (1851–1903), who held the office in Ljubljana. A historian by education, Rutar also published a series of archaeological studies, among them the seminal study on the Roman roads and fortresses in Carniola²⁵ and a short dictionary of the Slovene-German archaeological terminology,²⁶ which can be considered the pioneering work in establishing archaeology as the national discipline in Slovenia.

Particularly attractive to many local and Viennese scholars was southern Carniola for its very rich and monumental Iron Age burial mounds. Prior to WWI, these sites were mostly excavated by amateur diggers supplying the provincial and Viennese museums with bronzes and decorated vessels. However, the largest excavation campaign were organized by the Duchess of Mecklenburg,²⁷ who between 1906 and 1913 excavated more than 700 Iron Age graves at Stična, Magdalenska gora, and Vinica, and discovered some extraordinary artifacts (e.g., the Greek style bronze cuirass from Stična, which she donated to Kaiser Wilhelm II). Her work attracted some prominent European scholars (e.g., J. Dechelette and O. Montelius) who visited her excavations. After her death a great part of her vast collection was sold to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and is still the largest collection of European prehistoric antiquities outside Europe.

As for the other “Slovene” provinces, the tradition of archaeological research was particularly strong in the Littoral (southwestern Slovenia), where the leading role was played by the scholarly societies and museums in Trieste. Because of the strong irredentist (anti-Austrian and anti-Slavic) politics of the Italian speaking community mirrored in the research agendas of the local archaeological institutions,²⁸ Slovene scholars rarely regarded this tradition as an essential component of Slovene national archaeology. However, one scholar needs to be noted here – Carlo Marchesetti (1850–1926), Head of the Natural history Museum in Trieste, surgeon and botanist by profession. Most of his career he devoted to the research of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Littoral Province (*Adriatische Küstenland*), where he undertook a series of large scale excavations of the Iron Age cemeteries in the area (e.g., Most na Soči/Santa Lucia cemetery with more than 6,000 graves, Škocjan/San Canziano,

²⁵A. Premerstein and S. Rutar, *Römische Strassen und Befestigungen in Krain*, Wien 1899.

²⁶S. Rutar, Slovensko-nemška starinoslovska terminologija, *Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko III*, Ljubljana 1893, 46pp.).

²⁷Princess Marie Gabrielle Ernestine Alexandra von Windischgrätz (1856–1929), was a cousin of two Emperors, the Austrian Franz Joseph I, and German Wilhelm II, and both financially supported her archaeological enterprises. For more detailed study of her archaeological activities see Gloria Polizzoti Greis (2006).

²⁸For more details on cultural and research agendas of local Italian-speaking learned societies and institutions see Forlati Tamaro (1984) and in Bitelli (1999).

Tominčeva cave/Grotta Tominz, Beram/Vermo, and others). His excellent work on topography and settlement patterns of the Bronze and Iron Ages hillforts in north-eastern Adriatic²⁹ – which remained a fundamental study for prehistoric settlement pattern for almost a century – made him one of the most influential scholars in the northern Adriatic area.

In the province of Styria (its southern part included eastern and northeastern Slovenia), the principal archaeological center was Graz, an academic center with a university, large museum, and the provincial seat of the Central Commission. In the Slovene parts of Styria, major archaeological activities were undertaken in the town of Ptuj, former Roman colony of Poetovionia, where in 1830 a lapidarium was established, and in 1893 a local museum, which hosted great quantity of finds from large excavations of Roman cemeteries excavated in the first decades of the twentieth century.

In general, archaeology in the “Slovene lands” reached a respectable level of development in the last decades of the “Austrian” era, comparable to archaeologies in developed Central European countries. This development owes much to extraordinary scholars (e.g., K. Dežman, C. Marchesetti, W. Schmid, S. Rutar...), but also to well organized state and regional institutional structure, networks of learned societies, scholarly journals,³⁰ and other publications. The structure was that of a pyramid with top institutions in Vienna (the University, Natural History Museum, Anthropological Society and other historical learned societies, Central Commission) and provincial and local institutions in the middle or bottom of the pyramid. In this system, “Slovene” archaeology prior to 1918 could hardly be considered as national but rather as provincial or regional component of larger imperial framework. The principal factor necessary for the creation of national archaeology, the united Slovene nation, was missing. It emerged after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 when most of the former “Slovene” Austrian provinces (Carniola, southern part of Styria, southern part of Carinthia, and the Hungarian-ruled region of Prekmurje) were united in a newly established state – the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.³¹

²⁹Carlo Marchesetti, *I castellieri preistorici di Trieste e della regione Giulia*, Museo civico di Storia naturale, Trieste 1903.

³⁰The major scholarly journals published by the Provincial Museum of Carniola, the Museum and Historical Societies in Ljubljana were as follows: *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* 1–23 (1846–1868); *Mittheilungen des Museal-Vereins für Krain* 1–20, 1866, 1889–1907; *Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko* 1–19 (1891–1909), *Argo* 1–10 (1892–1903), *Carniola* 1–2 (1908–1909), *Carniola* (new series) 1–9 (1910–1919).

³¹The Littoral, Istria, and the western parts of Carniola were annexed to Italy (1918–1945), while central and northern Carinthia remained in Austria.

Slovene Archaeology in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941)

Despite more adequate political context for the national autonomy of Slovenes, and the development of principal national cultural and scientific institutions,³² the new state could not match the level of public services of the previous period. Poor economy, broken ties with the former (Austrian) regional and state networks, lack of professional personnel,³³ and much weaker heritage protection service soon lead to a considerable decline of archaeological practice in Slovenia.

However, notable progress was made by the introduction of archaeological curriculum at the University of Ljubljana in 1923, although it took some years before the study of regional archaeology became a subject that gradually complemented the standard topics focused on classical Greece and Rome. Balduin Saria (1893–1974), professor at the University, ancient historian and epigrapher, was the leading figure who established systematic teaching of archaeology in Slovenia in this period, and was able to develop certain archaeological disciplines (e.g., epigraphy, ancient military history, archaeological cartography, and surveying) to top levels of Central European archaeology of his time. Among his achievements are the following: first systematic (and commented) publication of the Roman inscriptions from the territory of Yugoslavia,³⁴ coordination of the project of archaeological map of Yugoslavia,³⁵ principal texts on ancient military history of the western Balkans, a series of entries on the Roman Period in referential Pauly-Wissow-Kroll's *Realencklopedie der Klassische Altertumswissenschaft*, etc. He published his works in Serbian, Italian, Austrian, German, and Hungarian archaeological and historical journals, and was among the organizers of the first larger international archaeological meeting in Slovenia (*Tabula imperii Romani* 1937 in Ptuj). Saria has a special place in the history of Slovene archaeology for his endeavors and achievements in keeping archaeology at high level and maintaining communication with the international circles at times not favorable for the discipline. However, his personal fortune and biography became an obstacle to his career after WWII.³⁶

³²In 1919 the long awaited national university was established in Ljubljana, in 1921 former Provincial Museum in Ljubljana became the National Museum, and in 1938 the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences was founded.

³³Alltogether 2–3 professional archaeologists worked in the country in the period between the two world wars.

³⁴B. Saria and V. Hoffiller, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien (I. Noricum und Pannonia Superior)*, Zagreb 1938).

³⁵This very ambitious project of making maps of archaeological sites in scale 1:100,000 with accompanying interpretative texts was designed after the German project of *Archäologische Landesaufnahme* and met the highest cartographic standards of the time. B. Saria was the author of two volumes: *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien: Blatt Ptuj*, Beograd – Zagreb 1936; *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien: Blatt Rogatec*, Zagreb 1939 (co-author J. Klemenc).

³⁶B. Saria, ethnic German from Slovenia, left the Italian occupied Ljubljana during WWII and moved to Graz University where he retired from teaching after 1945 because of his pro-German reputation. Although he remained active as a researcher, he almost completely broke ties with archaeology in Slovenia and Yugoslavia to which he substantially contributed prior to WWII.

Another important figure from this period is Srečko Brodar (1893–1987), a pioneer of the Paleolithic studies in Slovenia. Between 1928 and 1935, he excavated the cave of Potočka Zijalka, which soon proved not to be just the first discovered Paleolithic site in Slovenia but actually one of the richest Upper Paleolithic (Aurignacian) sites in the Alpine area in general and essential for the interpretation of the process of the Würm glaciation in this part of Europe. The site is located in high Alps, above 1,700 m altitude, and was dated to the transitional warm phase of the Würm glaciation (Würm I/II phase). It contained more than 100 stone tool types and 133 bone points. Another peculiar feature of this site was a large number of faunal remains of the cave bear (*Ursus speleaus*), 99% of all faunal record of more than 3,000 individual animals estimated.³⁷ Encouraged with this success S. Brodar started systematic research of the Paleolithic Period in Slovenia and Yugoslavia.³⁸ After WWII he became professor at the University of Ljubljana and contributed greatly to further developments of archaeology of the Paleolithic Period in other parts of Yugoslavia.

The activities at the National Museum in Ljubljana in this period were mostly limited to research by Rajko Ložar (1904–1985). He was among the first students of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana in 1923, but received his PhD (in the Roman provincial archaeology) from the University of Vienna. Employed at the National Museum as librarian, later became curator of archaeology until 1939. Being the only archaeologist in the museum, and among two or three archaeological professionals in the country, his duties covered a great number of tasks, including museum tasks, protection of cultural monuments, and research. Furthermore, his research agenda also included ethnography, art history, and literature critique. He actually developed a sort of eclectic and rather heterogeneous approach to archaeology using some basic concepts from art history and analysis of style as presumed synthesis of cultural matrix of time and place. R. Ložar is worth noting also because he was the first who actually designed the concept of archaeology as national discipline in Slovenia. He published two seminal works in this respect – the pioneering study on the Early Slavic pottery,³⁹ which was the first attempt of chronological and typological systematization of any Slavic artifact type in Slovenia; and the first historical synthesis of Slovene archaeology⁴⁰ in which he presented the outline of archaeology as national discipline with its component traditions, referential scholars, institutional history, and conceptual issues. However, the career of this

³⁷For more details on this site see J. Bayer and S. Brodar, Die Potočka Höhle, eine Hochstation der Aurignacschwankung in die Ostalpen, *Prähistorica 1*, Wien 1928; S. Brodar and M. Brodar, *Potočka zijalka, visokoalpska postojanka aurignacijskih lovcev (Potočka zijalka, highalpine station of the Aurignacian hunters)*, Dela SAZU 24, class I and IV, Ljubljana 1983.

³⁸S. Brodar, Das Paläolithikum in Jugoslawien, *Quartar 1*, 1938, 140–172.

³⁹R. Ložar, Staroslovansko in srednjeveško lončarstvo v Sloveniji (Early Slavic and Medieval Pot-making in Slovenia), *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 20, 1938, 180–225.

⁴⁰R. Ložar, Razvoj in problemi slovenske arheološke vede (Development and problems of Slovene archaeology), *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 17, 1941, 107–148.

very promising scholar was abruptly stopped by the outbreak of the WWII and his political orientation lead him to migrate from the country in 1945, first to Austria and later to the USA.⁴¹

The National School of Archaeology (1945–1991)

Significant changes in Slovene archaeology were initiated after WWII in the “Second” Yugoslavia. Two major political changes impacted the future development of the discipline – the status of Slovenia as autonomous republic within the federation gave additional boost to the development of national frameworks, archaeology included; and introduction of the communist regime, which attempted radical transformation of the whole country. In this context, the Yugoslav (and Slovene) Communist regimes, following their ideology of modernizing the country, strongly supported the development of science, culture, and national emancipation of the Yugoslav nations. It should not be ignored that the country came out of the war greatly impoverished and with much of its public and economic infrastructure destroyed or highly underdeveloped.

The renewal of archaeology was not an easy task at all, since literally all professional archaeologists but one junior professional left the country during or immediately after WWII. Furthermore, the experiences with the Nazi and fascist instrumental use of archaeology were very much felt and alive. On the one hand, the Italian annexation of the Littoral and Istria (1918–1943) and subsequent occupation of western Slovenia (1941–1943) were being “justified” also by claiming “historical borders of Roman Italy,” and much of the Italian institutional archaeology in these regions was involved in providing “scientific” basis for such claims and demonstrating Italian cultural and racial superiority over the Slavic population (see Bitelli 1999). On the other hand, the Germans invested great efforts in proving the “Germanic character” of the lands south of the Alps and in providing “historical” arguments for ethnic cleansing of tens of thousands of Slovenes from Styria (eastern Slovenia) for which the annexation to the Third Reich was planned.

In such circumstances, the leading historians, art historians, and linguists from the University of Ljubljana and the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences played a seminal role in reestablishment of the institutional framework of archaeology. Two new institutions were established – the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1946) and the Archaeological Commission at the Academy of Sciences and Arts (1947; later transformed to the Institute of Archaeology).

⁴¹ Similarly to B. Saria also R. Ložar broke all ties with Slovene archaeologists after WWII. After several unsuccessful attempts to get a job at the Peabody Museum at Harvard – R. Ložar was one of the best connoisseurs of the vast Mecklenburg’s collection of the Iron Age items acquired by the museum in the 1930s – he finally got a job at the Municipal Museum in Manitowoc, Wisconsin.

At the university, for the first time a full curriculum in archaeology was introduced (prehistoric, classical/Roman, and medieval archaeology) with three professors (Josip Korošec (1909–1966), Josip Klemenc (1898–1967), and Srečko Brodar (1893–1987)); all three also coordinated the founding of the Archaeological Commission. Immediate improvements were also made in the National Museum with the appointment of Jože Kastelic (1913–2003) as director of the museum and Stane Gabrovce (1920) as head of the archaeological department.

The heritage service also needed urgent measures. In 1945, the Office for the Protection and Scientific Research of Cultural and Natural Monuments was established (later renamed the Office for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage), and a series of acts were passed to secure proper level of protection and management of sites and monument. Another important step in completing the disciplinary framework was the establishment of the journal *Arheološki vestnik* (Acta Archaeologica) in 1949, aimed as the principle archaeological journal in Slovenia, published by the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences.

In general, the first two decades after WWII can be labeled as the formative period of Slovene modern archaeology (similarly to all other national archaeologies in former Yugoslavia), during which all the principal archaeological national and regional institutions were established and the conceptual frameworks fixed. The general structure of this framework was based on the “threefold division of labor”: research, education, and heritage service, all being exercised solely by public institutions.

While in the earlier periods in the Slovene archaeology, due to the great lack of trained experts and only few jobs in archaeology available, there was virtually no specialization and, consequently, no real labor or task division among the archaeologists existed. In the 1950s and 1960s, the process of specialization started due to substantial increase of the number of professionals in archaeology. It is in these 2 decades when more than a half of the existing regional and local museums with archaeological posts were founded.⁴² Apart from the institutional specialization, the most common specialization was that in the specific archaeological periods. The Paleolithic (traditionally the domain of geologists), the Neolithic and Eneolithic Periods, the Bronze and Iron Ages, Classical and Roman provincial archaeology, and the Early Medieval and Slavic archaeology were the five major fields of specialization, which has also been reflected in the number of archaeological chairs at the University, characterization of research projects, publications, and professional careers.

The principle figure of Slovene archaeology in the period 1945–1965 was Josip Korošec (1909–1966), a prewar student of Miloje Vasić in Belgrade, who obtained his PhD from the University of Prague in the late 1930s. J. Korošec’s first

⁴²In new regional and local museums eight archaeological jobs were established in Postojna (1947), Brežice (1949), Novo mesto (1950), Nova Gorica (1952), Kranj (1953), Piran (1954), Murska Sobota (1955), Kamnik (1961), Slovenj Gradec (1981) and Mengeš (1998); a substantial number of new archaeological jobs were created in museums founded earlier, e.g., in Celje (1892), Ptuj (1893), Maribor (1903), Koper (1911), Ljubljana (Municipal museum 1937), Škofja Loka (1939).

professional employment was in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1939 he was appointed as the curator for prehistoric archaeology at the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo, definitely the most renowned archaeological center in former Yugoslavia in the first half of the twentieth century. He stayed there until the end of the war and then he moved to Slovenia, to the municipal museum in Ptuj, where he immediately launched a very ambitious research program in Slavic (national Slovene) archaeology. In 1947, he published his first archaeological monograph (the first archaeological monograph published in Slovenia after 1945), dealing with Slavs at their contact zone with the German speaking world.⁴³ The political atmosphere in the country demanded urgent establishment of archaeology as a national science and tool to challenge prewar, pan-Germanic expansionist archaeology. In 1946, Korošec initiated large excavation campaign in Ptuj, where he discovered the Early Slavic settlement and large cemetery (with presumed Slavic shrine), which proved instrumental for further development of the national archaeology and history in Slovenia.

These early successful campaigns and publications had far reaching consequences; in a country severely lacking competent professionals in archaeology, and in Slavic archaeology in particular, J. Korošec was almost immediately enthroned as a leading archaeologist of the new, postwar generation in Slovenia (and also in Yugoslavia). In the following years, J. Korošec – since 1947 also professor of the prehistoric and Slavic archaeology at the University of Ljubljana – became one of the principal officials in a number of national Slovene and Yugoslav scientific and archaeological bodies and institutions. His research agenda was very extensive and included research and excavations of early Slavic sites in Slovenia, Neolithic archaeology in Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia (Croatia), and Macedonia. His most long-standing contribution to the prehistoric studies was discovery of the rich Middle Neolithic site of Danilo in Dalmatia, and, consequently, his definition of the dominant Middle Neolithic culture in the eastern Adriatic area (i.e., the Danilo culture).⁴⁴

In the field of Roman and classical archaeology, postwar revitalization was in hands of Josip Klemenc (1898–1967), who since 1946 was professor of ancient history at the University of Ljubljana and former curator in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Croatia). Although he could not match J. Korošec's level and in his work was mostly limited to the teaching at the university, he made substantial advances in Slovene Roman provincial archaeology. His discovery and publication of monumental artistic masterpieces of sepulchral architecture in Šempeter was one of the key contributions for understanding the Roman provincial arts and crafts in Noricum and Pannonia in general.⁴⁵

⁴³Josip Korošec, *Staroslovenska grobišča v severni Sloveniji. (Early Slavic cemeteries in northern Slovenia)*. Celje: Tiskarna Družbe sv. Mohorja, 1947.

⁴⁴J. Korošec, Neolitska naseobina u Danilu Bitinju: rezultati istraživanja u 1953. godini (*Neolithic settlement at Danilo Bitinj: research results from the 1953 campaign*). Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1958–1959.

⁴⁵Although he intensively researched these phenomena since the 1950s, the full publication came later, after his death in 1972: Josip Klemenc (with V. Kolšek and P. Petru), *Antične grobnice v Šempetru (Ancient Sepulchres in Šempeter)*, Katalogi in Monografije 9, Narodni muzej Ljubljana 1972.

The major national archaeological project in the 1950s and 1960s was the Archaeological Map of Slovenia. This long-term project, in which virtually all archaeologists in the country participated, was coordinated by the Institute of Archaeology, and in 1975, after more than two decades of collecting and revising the data an exhaustive gazetteer of more than 3,000 archaeological sites was published.⁴⁶ The importance of this project – and an illustration of considerable underdevelopment of Slovene archaeology in the pre-WWII periods – can be best illustrated by the fact that this gazetteer contained ten times more sites than any previous archaeological map. Indeed, it was this very gazetteer, which actually for the first time, enabled larger syntheses of the individual archaeological periods in Slovenia, and also provided a fundamental tool for a number of regional studies. In addition to this, its importance for heritage management was also substantial.

Along with the collection of data for the archaeological map of the country, the agenda also included a conceptual modernization of archaeological studies of individual epochs. It should not be forgotten that prior to WWII the only archaeology-related discipline in Slovenia to achieve international standards and recognition was epigraphy. For this reason, virtually all fields of archaeology urgently needed their conceptual infrastructure: regional typologies, chronologies, reference sites, and systematized data for analysis and interpretation. Being well aware of such situation, an extensive research program of excavations and publication of data was undertaken on a relatively large number model sites from all periods.

Instrumental in these endeavors was a series of national conferences in the 1960s and 1970s, where research achievements were discussed, evaluated, and compared with the results in neighboring countries. Following this, long-term developmental strategies were proposed and results were published in the principal national archaeological journal *Arheološki vestnik*.⁴⁷ Similar conferences were also organized by the Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies; regularly every four years with one major theme discussed at each of such meetings. These conferences proved essential for further advancement of Slovene archaeology, which in very short time was able to develop all major aspects of the archaeological discipline, and its achievements were comparable to archaeologies in the neighboring countries, including Italy and Austria.

In the years 1967–1969, a short crisis appeared in the Slovene archaeology due to death of two major scholars at the University of Ljubljana – J. Korošec and J. Klemenc and abrupt retirement of F. Stare (1924–1974). Slovene archaeology recuperated very quickly by appointing two new professors from the ranks of already acknowledged scholars – Jože Kastelic (1913–2003) and Stane

⁴⁶*Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*. Ljubljana 1975.

⁴⁷Issues from 1962 and 1977 were on the Late Iron Age; 1965 issue was dedicated to the Late Roman, Early Medieval and Slavonic periods, 1967 to the Paleolithic; 1968 issue again to the Slavic period; issue 1970 to the Neolithic and Eneolithic Periods; 1972 to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age; 1974 issue presented achievements in the studies of the Roman provincial material culture; and the 1986 issue dealt with the Bronze Age.

Gabrovec, both from the National Museum. At the same time, Peter Petru (1930–1983) was appointed as director of the museum.

In conceptual terms, the Slovene archaeology in the post-WWII period fully embraced the Central European cultural history approach, which remained effectively unchallenged until early 1980s when some pioneering publications of the British and US processual archaeologists (especially L. Binford, D. Clarke, and C. Renfrew's works) became available, a decade or so after their original publication.⁴⁸

The firm basis of conceptual framework of archaeology in Slovenia, established between the 1950s and 1970s, succeeded in connecting some earlier (Austrian, German, Central European) traditions and practices with the actual requirements of modern science of archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s. In the first place, the most successful were the attempts of including large and intensive research activities on the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sites and Roman sites performed by foreign excavators prior to WWI and collections of which ended in museums outside Slovenia. These collections and archives were meticulously studied and provided essential data for the establishment of regional chronologies and referential artifact typologies for these two periods. The efforts of the Slovene experts in this field were soon recognized on the international level, and the term "the Ljubljana school of the Bronze and Iron Ages archaeology" appeared in 1970s and 1980s, labeling the circle of Stane Gabrovec (1920) and his PhD students from the 1970s as a distinguished regional school. Joint works of these and other experts from the National Museum, Institute of Archaeology at the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, and experts from the University of Ljubljana in detailed research, and numerous publications of the Late Bronze Age and the Hallstatt Period regional groups and sites (especially in Lower Carniola and Slovene Styria) are considered exemplary in wider southeastern European and Central European contexts.⁴⁹

Another important connection with the earlier traditions remained in the field of archaeology of the Roman Period. Very large excavations of the cemeteries of the major Roman towns (e.g., Ljubljana/*Emona*, Ptuj/*Poetoviona*, Drnovo/*Neviodunum*)

⁴⁸Personally I cannot recall any "prohibition" of western archaeological literature at all. Libraries at the University of Ljubljana or at the Academy of Sciences were annually acquiring and exchanging hundreds of scientific journals worldwide. In fact, the only limiting factor was the lack of financial resources, and institutions were encouraged to publish their own journals and exchange them with foreign academic institutions. At present, the level of annual exchange of these two institutions reaches some 1,400 journals and other periodical publications exchanged for two major Slovene archaeological periodicals (*Arheološki vestnik* and *Documenta praehistorica*). The reason why the USA and the UK processual archaeology publications came with certain delay was simply because of a more "continental" perspective of Slovene archaeology.

⁴⁹S. Gabrovec's international reputation is well reflected in his memberships in some major scholarly societies: full member of the Center for Balcanological Studies at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1962), correspondent member of the Italian Institute for Prehistory and Protohistory (1963), member of the Institute for Etruscan and Italic studies (1972), member of the German Archaeological Institute (1967), correspondent member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

and of other sites dated back to the years prior to WWI and their results awaited modern evaluation. During 1960–1980, large efforts were made to reexamine the archives of these sites and also of the newly excavated Roman urban areas. The application of modern criteria in chronological and typological determination of the materials rescued vast amounts of the material from oblivion. In the field of Roman archaeology and ancient history particularly valued was the work of Jaroslav Šašel (1924–1988) who in the 1960s and 1970s achieved a reputation of a referential scholar for epigraphy and ancient history of the Roman Pannonia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Venetia and Histria.⁵⁰ In the field of Roman urban archaeology, for decades of studying the urbanism, construction techniques and house ornaments in Emona and other Roman towns in Slovenia Ljudmila Plesničar Gec (1931–2008) also achieved high international recognition.

Similar steps in progress characterized studies on the Neolithic and Eneolithic Periods. Though the beginnings of the Slovene scientific archaeology are symbolically linked to the first excavations of the pile-dwellings in the Ljubljana marshes (1875), it actually took more than 80 years to launch another series of field campaigns in which some 40 new sites were discovered in the marshlands south of Ljubljana, spanning from the fifth to the third millennium BC, and enabling much clearer understanding of the phenomenon of early farmers and also the earliest traces of metallurgy in the region. Some of the recent finds from this area are highly spectacular.⁵¹ Because of the excellent preservation, research of sites in the Ljubljana marshes was important for systematic development and testing of a spectrum of scientific methods and techniques (pollen analyses, dendrology and dendrochronology, C14, archaeobotany and archaeozoology, anthracotomy, etc.). The first systematic applications of these scientific methods was in the early 1980s, and cannot be associated with the incoming influence of the processual archaeology but were normal step forward in the local development; processualism made its impact later and is not directly associated with the introduction of the mentioned techniques.

After WWII, Srečko Brodar, pioneer in archaeology of the Paleolithic Period in Slovenia, continued his career at the University of Ljubljana and in the following decades contributed much to the development of studies on the Pleistocene. Together with France Osole (1920–2000) and Mitja Brodar (1921), they also strongly influenced archaeology on the Paleolithic Period in whole Yugoslavia.

⁵⁰J. Šašel authored 160 studies published in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, Italy, Germany, France, in journals and lexicons (see more in Jaroslav Šašel, *Opera selecta*, Situla 30, Narodni muzej Ljubljana 1992).

⁵¹For example, the discovery of one of the oldest wooden wheels and fragments of a chariot, dated to the end of the fourth millennium B.C. (see Anbton Velušček, *Ostanki eneolitskega voza z Ljubljanskega barja* (The remains of an Eneolithic cart from the Ljubljana Marshes), *Arheološki vestnik* 53, 2002, 51–57). Another extraordinary piece found in this area is a recently discovered wooden point dated to 30,000–40,000 BC (B. Odar, M. Erič, A. Gaspari, poster presented at the 51st Annual Meeting of the Hugo Obermaier Society in Ljubljana, 14th–18th April 2009).

After four decades archaeology of the Paleolithic Period in Slovenia turned from “tabula rasa” in terms of known sites and finds into regionally and chronologically well distinguished research on complexes of sites. However, it is important to note that the Paleolithic research in Slovenia (and in other Yugoslav republics) was traditionally a domain of the natural scientists – geologists and paleontologists, and at the University of Ljubljana the Chair in Paleolithic studies was, until very recently (2005), at the Department of Geology. This “geological” background had quite an important impact on studies of the pre-farming periods where stress was given mostly on the geological and naturalistic aspects rather than cultural interpretations of hunter-gatherers communities. Brodar’s successors were able to further advance the Paleolithic research and develop more refined regional typologies of stone and bone artifacts as well as to advance many scientific methods and techniques necessary for modern research in this field. Some discoveries from this period became world known, such as the flute from the cave site of Divje Babe.⁵²

Slavic archaeology and archaeology of the Early Medieval Period in general were properly established in Slovenia after 1945. Since there was almost no local tradition or scholarship in these fields, national archaeology of the Slavs was considered as one of the most urgent tasks in the postwar Slovenia. This initiative could not be separated from the general process of national emancipation of the Slovenes, after their separation from Austria. The economic and also political conditions of rather underdeveloped state in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were not very much in favor of such enterprise, but the situation radically changed after WWII, when Slovenes (and also other nations in Yugoslavia) were not only granted extensive autonomy but were also encouraged to further develop their own national institutions.

There was also another momentum that required competent scholars and works in the field of archaeology of the Early Medieval Period, and Slavic archaeology in particular. In quite charged international political atmosphere of the early Cold War years, additionally burdened by still fresh experiences with the racist Nazi and fascist interpretations of the past in the expense of Slavic peoples, and with Slovene (Yugoslav) borders with Italy and Austria still disputed, the need for developing Slavic (national) archaeology seemed most urgent. As noted earlier, the first Slovene archaeological monograph published after WWII was indeed about the Slavic cemeteries in northern Slovenia. And also the motives for large excavations of the Slavic sites in Ptuj and Bled in the late 1940s and a number of museum exhibitions of Slavic archaeology need to be considered in the context of strengthening Slovene (and Slavic) identity. However, in roughly 2 decades, the experts in Slavic archaeology and history moved away from such “engaged” archaeology and developed strong critical approach to the subject and competently participated in

⁵²The flute – its function and origin are still disputed by some scholars – is dated to the period around 45,000 BC, and challenges a series of fundamental questions about the mental and cognitive capacities of the Neanderthals (see Turk, Ivan, ed. (1997). *Mousterienska koščena piščal in druge najdbe iz Divjih Bab I v Sloveniji (The Mousterian Bone Flute and other finds from Divje Babe I Cave site in Slovenia)*. Znanstvenoraziskovalni Center SAZU, Ljubljana 1997.

the international discourse on the issues of ethnic groups and histories of the Early Medieval Periods. Here the knowledge and critical attitude and expertise of Zdenko Vinski (1913–1996, curator at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and for a short period in the early 1970 also guest professor at the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana) provided crucial contribution.

Prior to the 1980s, the traditional foreign partners in international projects were from the neighboring countries of Central Europe, mostly Germany, Austria, and Italy. By far the most fruitful and influential proved to be ties with scholars stemming from the so-called Merhart's School (e.g., H. Müller-Karpe, G. Kossack, J. Werner, W. Dehn), and in the 1950s some key Slovene prehistorians (S. Gabrovec was also among them) specialized at the University of Marburg am Lahn where G. von Merhart taught. This collaboration was essential for modernization and reestablishment of the Bronze and Iron Ages studies in Slovenia on more positivists, non-Kossinean basis, with strong emphasis on the critique of sources with detailed chronological and formal typological analyzes supporting historically oriented interpretations. Another important person in establishing closer ties between Yugoslav (also Slovene) and German archaeology in 1960s was Vladimir Miložić (1918–1978; PhD with O. Menghin in Vienna, habilitation with G. von Merhart in Marburg; professor at the universities of Munich, Saarbrücken and Heidelberg), who also hosted some Slovene prehistorians specializing in archaeology of the Neolithic Period. However, despite of the very close collaboration with different foreign partners mostly visible in a number of joint publications, study visits, etc., there were very few larger international field projects in Slovenia (as opposed to other countries of the Yugoslavia Federation). The largest one were the excavations of the large Iron Age princely hillfort at Stična in a number of campaigns spanning from 1960 to 1974, led by Stane Gabrovec, who collaborated with the Archaeological Seminar of the University of Marburg am Lahn and the Smithsonian Institution. But also in this case the presence of foreign teams in the fieldwork was rather limited.

The reasons for such relative lack of international projects in Slovenia are not easy to ascertain: one may think of a lack of "spectacular" sites (nevertheless, Slovenia had quite a long tradition of archaeology, and great deal of larger excavations with spectacular finds were conducted since the 1870s onwards); general orientation of Slovene archaeology more toward regional than transregional issues; in certain period, Slovene priorities were more in publishing vast bulks of "Slovene" materials kept in foreign museums (e.g., in Austria and Italy); foreign (e.g., German) partners already had competent field experts in Slovenia, and collaboration with them was more on interpretative aspects rather than in the field, etc. However, no ideological or political reasons contributed to not having larger field projects with "western" partners.⁵³

⁵³Compared to the countries of the former Soviet Bloc, Yugoslavia was much more open to collaboration with "western" institutions. Since the late 1950s, archaeologists in all former Yugoslav republics carried out a number of joint research projects with teams from the USA, Germany, Austria, Italy, France etc., and large number of foreign scholars were frequently visiting Yugoslav sites and museums.

The Second Cycle of Modernization of Slovene Archaeology: The Impact of Cooperation with the USA and the UK Archaeology (1990 –) and Slovenia's Membership in the EU

In the field of international cooperation, great changes appeared since the mid-1980s as new partners from British and US archaeology expressed interests for collaborating with Slovenian archaeologists. American archaeologists and institutions were relatively frequently present in projects in Serbia and Macedonia, since the late 1960s (more on this in sections on Serbian and Macedonian archaeology), but this time the collaboration with Slovene archaeologists was of somewhat different kind – scholars from the US and the UK were invited for their ideas and concepts, which contributed to major changes in archaeology in these countries – “new” archaeology. The leading role in introducing new ideas was played by the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana.

Lewis Binford lectured in Ljubljana in winter of 1985 and incited an interest for archaeological theory and methodology among younger scholars and students. An important turning point was the establishment of the journal *Arheo* in 1981, which was modeled after the *Nouvelle d'Archéologie* (produced by the French “Young Turks” in the 1970s), and which aimed at discussing theoretical and conceptual issues in Yugoslav and international archaeologies. It remained the major voice of “new” archaeology (not necessarily processual) in the whole area of former Yugoslavia until present. In 1988, a course in archaeological theory was introduced to the university curriculum and was initially taught by British archaeologists, who later handed it over to the local staff. In 1991, a “Slovene” session was organized at the Theoretical Archaeology Group conference in Leicester. In the 1990s, incited by the recent Yugoslav wars, a debate in Slovene archaeological theory focused on issues of nationalism, identity, and role of archaeology in modern society.

Intensified collaboration with British and American archaeologists on joint projects and a number of study grants at the UK and the USA universities proved essential also for the developments in field archaeology: introduction of systematic surface surveys, stratigraphic excavation techniques, geophysical prospecting, and computer aided recording, LIDAR scanning, etc. The application of this methods and concepts was a great success, tested and proved in the development of preventive and rescue archaeology during the major development initiated by the motorway construction during the last decade.⁵⁴ In one field, the Department of Archaeology actually contributed some pioneering works in world context, i.e., in the archaeological application of the geographic information systems (GIS).⁵⁵

One of the earliest applications of the GIS in archaeology (in 1990) did not appear by chance but it stemmed from a decade long and intensive development of spatial and

⁵⁴About 2,000,000 m² on approximately 350-km long project of new motorways were excavated within this project between 1995 and 2008 (after Djurić et al. 2003).

⁵⁵Gaffney, Vince and Zoran Stančič, (1991) *GIS approaches to regional analysis: a case study of the island of Hvar*. Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete 1991.

settlement studies jointly by the scholars at the University of Ljubljana and partners from mostly British universities. And it was this field which was the most influenced by processual archaeology and archaeological theory of the 1980s and 1990s. One project in particular deserves to be mentioned here – large scale survey project on the Croatian island of Hvar, which continues since 1987, proved essential for the development and application of a great number of various research methods and techniques in studying the ancient land division and settlement patterns from prehistory to the Medieval Period.⁵⁶ In retrospective, one could say that this was the key “incubator” for a number of advances in landscape and spatial studies in Slovene archaeology in the years that followed the time when the University of Ljubljana gained its reputation of a regional center for landscape and field archaeology in general.

Other fields also greatly benefitted from international cooperation. Important advances were made in research on the Neolithic Period due to influence of processual (and later to a certain extent also postprocessual perspectives), especially in topics of neolithization, economy, and symbolic aspects of culture of the early farming communities in the wider Balkans area. In the mid-1990s, the Department of Archaeology launched the annual Neolithic Seminars and a journal *Documenta Praehistorica* dedicated to the international debate on archaeology of the Neolithic Period, where prominent experts from Europe and worldwide debated major issues of the archaeology of the early farming populations and culture. The proceedings account for more than 2,500 pages of texts of the most updated achievements in this field in Europe and Asia.⁵⁷

It is very important to note that such genuine developmental “boom” was to a great extent due to the accession of Slovenia to the European Union. Since the mid-1990s, the Slovene institutions and organizations were increasingly using the EU funding for joint research projects, grants, students and experts mobility, etc. In fact, by a rule of thumb, the level of mobility in research and education during the last 15 years by large exceeded the overall mobility in the period from 1900 to 1991. The Slovene archaeologists seized this opportunity quite well, compared with other countries in the region.⁵⁸ The paramount event for Slovene archaeology of the 1990s was the Inaugural Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists organized in 1994 by the University of Ljubljana.

Recent comparative studies of the archaeological profession in Europe (Aitchison 2009; Collis 2009) demonstrated that Slovene archaeology is fully

⁵⁶Between 1988 and 1990, this project was probably the largest survey project in the Mediterranean. Some 50 researchers (archaeologists, geographers, soil scientists, geologists, architects, etc.) and students from the Universities of Ljubljana, Zadar, Skopje and Bradford (UK), and staff from the institutes from Split (Croatia), London, Newcastle, Zagreb worked on this project.

⁵⁷On line issues of *Documenta Praehistorica* are available at: http://arheologija.ff.uni-lj.si/documenta/index_si.html.

⁵⁸In 2006 the University of Ljubljana (65,000 students, 4,500 staff members) was listed among the top 15 universities in Europe (in the Erasmus program), according to the number of the inbound and outbound exchange trips. Out of approximately 1,000 such exchanges, 4% were used by the Department of Ljubljana; more than half of them were foreign student coming to Ljubljana.

comparable in all professional aspects to archaeologies in countries with much longer archaeological traditions.

The two recent cases illustrate well further advancement of archaeological discipline in Slovenia, the establishment of curriculum in archaeological heritage preservation of the Mediterranean at the University of Primorska (Littoral), and private enterprise in the market of archaeological services, which opened at least 25–30% of new jobs compared with the total number of archaeological jobs in the country. The major stimulus for this was provided by the national program of motorway construction, and much of the preventive and rescue archaeology were offered for bidding. Improvements were also made in the field of heritage protection, where a number of new standards from other countries were introduced. By far, the largest change meant the introduction of the preventive archaeology, largely modeled after the French concept of *archéologie préventive* as recently developed and directed by the INRAP (*Institute Nationale de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives*), which further generated large number of small-scale research on local and regional levels, and, better founded strategies of archaeological heritage protection, maintenance, and planning within the general framework of growing strategies of sustainable development.

To conclude, since 1991, when Slovenia became an independent state and abolished the communist regime, one could witness another phase of Slovene archaeology in all fields. However, no radical transformation of the discipline happened due to the ideological shift from the communist to the democratic regime. The real modernization of archaeology was initiated in the early 1980s including a number of aspects of the Anglo-American discourse, methods, and technologies. But, it is probably this very aspect which made Slovene archaeology much better “prepared” for social, economical, and political changes of the last two decades.

Croatia

Geography and History

Croatia is an independent country since 1991, with 4.5 million people and about 56,000 km² of territory. The country extends around the northern, western, and southern edge of the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, from eastern Adriatic to southern Pannonian Plain. Its crescent-like shape was acquired due to the merging of the former Austrian Military Province (*Militärgrenze*; existed between 1578 and 1881) formed around the Ottoman Bosnia, and civil Croatian territories in the hinterland of the Military zone, with coastal Dalmatia (Venetian territory until Napoleon, in 1815 annexed to Austria). During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (between the two world wars), it was divided into several administrative regions, but reappeared in its traditional crescent-like form as one of the Yugoslav republics after 1945.

The earliest historical sources mentioning Croatian regions are from the second half of the first millennium BC when Greeks intensified their commercial and political networks in the Adriatic area, and also established some of their colonies

and emporia on eastern Adriatic shores and islands around 500 BC. With the rise of the Romans, the Croatian coastland gradually fell under their control since the beginning of the second century BC to be fully included into the Roman state toward the end of the first century BC. Pannonian areas were conquered by the Romans later, in the first half of the first century AD. The early imperial Roman administrative organization divided Croatian territories among three major units: the Istrian peninsula in northern Adriatic became part of the X Italian region (*Venetia et Histria*), the vast coastal area between northern Adriatic (*Quarnaro*) and northern Albania were joined with the territories of the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, western Serbia and Montenegro into the province of Dalmatia, while continental Croatia belonged to the province of the Upper Pannonia, extending from eastern Slovenia across Croatia and southwestern Hungary.

With the fall of the Roman Empire, these territorial units disintegrated and for a certain period of time they were controlled by a number of regional forces: Byzantium kept the coastal areas, while the continental parts were until the end of the sixth century AD in the hands of various barbaric peoples moving around the southern Pannonian lowlands (e.g., Gepidi, Longobards, Avars, etc.). From the late sixth century onwards, strong presence of the Avars (together with Slavs) was felt in northern Croatia until the Charlemagne crushed their *khaganate*. The retreat of the Avars enabled intensive colonization and settlement of various Slavic populations, who soon permanently settled vast area extending from the Drave and Danube Rivers on the north to the eastern Adriatic coastland, and in the following centuries established a number of regional political entities. Among them especially strong was the Kingdom of Croats with its center in central Dalmatia. The arrival and settlement of the Magyars in the tenth century, who rapidly conquered large parts of the Pannonian lowlands and soon developed into one of the major regional forces in southeastern Europe, was a strong blow to the Slavic dominions in the area (Croatian included). The other regional power from the eleventh century onwards was Venice, which gradually extended its control onto eastern Adriatic shores.

After a short period of political sovereignty (until the eleventh century), for the most of the Medieval and post-Medieval Periods, Croatian lands were under Hungarian, later Austro-Hungarian (continental Croatia) and Venetian rule (Istria, Quarnaro, Dalmatia). This dualism between the continental areas (Hungarian/Austrian) vs. Adriatic areas (Venetian) is strongly reflected in political, cultural, and linguistic divides among the present-day Croats. A strong national movement started at the beginning of the nineteenth century and after WWI, Croatian territories (with the exception of Istria, some Quarnaro islands and town of Zadar), were united in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. After the WWII, Croatia, to which great part of the Istrian peninsula was annexed (Italian territory 1918–1945), became one of the autonomous republics in renewed Yugoslavia and in 1991 it proclaimed independence, followed by the war until 1995.⁵⁹

⁵⁹After the collapse of Yugoslavia, Croatia was involved in the civil war with the Serbian minority in its territory (backed by Milošević's Serbia) and in ethnic war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991–1995). After 1995 it gained full control over its territory.

In terms of its natural characteristics, Croatia is highly heterogeneous country. Its western parts extend along eastern Adriatic shores with hundreds of small and medium size islands. These areas are typically Mediterranean in character with barren karstic landscapes. Another very characteristic geographical feature is large and very high limestone mountain chain (Velebit, Dinara, Kozjak, Biokovo) rising only few km behind the very narrow coastal strip and reaching heights of more than 1,500 m creating a natural barrier between the coastal and inner Dalmatia. On the opposite side of the country (eastern and northern Croatia), there are large areas of well drained Pannonian Plain along the Sava and Drava Rivers and their tributaries. Between these two major regions, there is a transitional “balcanic” zone – the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina.

History of Archaeology in Croatia

Antiquarian Background (The Thirteenth to The Nineteenth Centuries)

Among the countries of southeastern Europe, Croatia has undoubtedly the richest tradition of archaeological activities compatible with antiquarian traditions in Italy and France. The key factors that contributed to this tradition are the following: extraordinary richness and preservation of the Roman monuments and sites in Dalmatia and Istria, centuries-long Venetian ruling in eastern Adriatic, which significantly influenced cultural development there, and two millennia of urban culture on the sea shores and islands.

The earliest reported antiquarian tradition in Dalmatia started with Thomas Archdeacon (1200–1268), chronicler of the Dalmatian town of Split, who made several observations about the Diocletian palace and about the nearby Roman ruins of Salona (former capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia). The richness of Roman antiquities attracted some famous names like [Ciriaco Pizzicollì](#) (Ciriacus from Ancona, 1391–1452), considered one of the pioneers of antiquarianism in Europe, who visited Dalmatian sites in 1436, and on this occasion produced a text *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum*, one of the earliest catalogs of Roman inscriptions in European archaeology in general.

Among the local scholars, Šimun Kožičić Benja (Simon Begnius; app. 1460–1530), bishop of Zadar and Senj, Marko Marulić (1450–1524), one of the founders of the literature in Croatian language, Ivan Lucić (1604–1674), historian from Trogir, are just some of the most renown names from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who studied antiquities in their homeland.⁶⁰

The Dalmatian scholars were also the first to develop the idea of (ancient) national history of the Slavs. Vinko Pribojević (Priboevius, mid-fifteenth century – died

⁶⁰See Zaninović (1993) for more on early traditions in Roman archaeology in Croatia.

after 1532), historian, Dominican priest from Hvar, delivered in 1525 a speech in his home town titled *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (On the origin of the Slavs),⁶¹ in which he associates the Slavs with the Illyrians and their glory. He was among the first promoters of the pan-Slavic idea. Pribojević's text inspired Mauro Orbini (1550–1611?), historian from Dubrovnik, nicknamed Dalmatian Thucydides, who published a book *Il regno de gli Slavi* (*The Kingdom of Slavs*) in 1601 in Pesaro, Italy.⁶² Another important figure in this respect was Faust Vrančić (1551–1617), historian, bishop of Csanad in Hungary, author of the essay *De Slowinis seu Sarmatis* and manuscript *Illyrica historia*.

Another “center of excellence” in the antiquarian and historical scholarship in Croatia was further north, in Istria, which was divided between the Venetians (predominantly western Littoral) and Austrians. Of the Istrian scholars,⁶³ one should mention famous cartographer Pietro Coppo (1469/70–1555/56), and highly influential manuscript *De' commentarii storici-geografici della provincia dell'Istria libri otto con appendice* authored by Giacomo Filippo Tommasini (1595–1654), bishop from Novigrad/Cittanova in Istria.

The reputation of Dalmatia and Istria for their ancient architectural remains attracted a number of foreign scholars. Jacob Spon (1647–1685), antiquarian of international fame from Lyon, and George Wheeler (1650–1723), English botanist, stopped in Dalmatia during their trip from Venice to Constantinople (1675–1676) and visited several sites there. They also studied and depicted the Diocletian's palace.⁶⁴ In Istria, the town of Pula became another “pilgrims” place for studying the Roman architecture. From the sixteenth century onwards, large number of scholars from all over Europe made their study trips to this town.⁶⁵ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the rising interest in the Ottoman lands in Europe, Dalmatia, being the neighboring region to the Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina another group of scholars appeared – travelers who explored Dalmatian and Bosnian hinterlands. Among them the most renown was Augustine priest Alberto Fortis (1741–1803), who in his *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Venice 1774) also documented

⁶¹The speech was published in Latin in Venice in 1532; the Italian translation was published in 1595.

⁶²This work was very popular among the Slavic rulers in Europe because of its pan-Slavism and glorification of the Slavic distant past. Peter the Great ordered a translation of the shorter version of the Orbini's text, which was published in 1722 in St. Petersburg.

⁶³Some other Istrian scholars were also mentioned in the section on Slovenia.

⁶⁴*Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant. Fait aux annes 1675 et 1676 par Jacob Spon, Docteur Medecin agregé a Lyon et George Wheeler, Gentil-homme Anglais, Lyon 1678.*

⁶⁵Among them were Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), famous Venetian architect; Ingo Jones (1573–1652), English architect; Jacob Spon and George Wheeler; James Stuart (1713–1788), English painter; Gianbattista Piranesi (1720–1778), Italian graphic artist and painter; Julian David Le Roy (1724–1803) French architect; Robert Adam (1728–1792) Englishman, Architect to the King; Louis François Casas (1756–1827) painter; Thomas Allason (1790–1852) English architect. For more details about travelers and scholars who visited Pula and Istria see Kečkemet (1966–1969).

a number of unknown sites in the hinterland of the coastal towns. The major figure from this period is considered Matija Petar Katančić (1750–1825), the first Croatian professor of antiquities and numismatics (at the University of Budim), author of numerous essays on ancient numismatics, geography, and history.

The Origins of Modern Archaeology: Museums, University, and National Croatian Archaeology (1750–1918)

Such a rich tradition resulted in the early establishment of the archaeological institutions in Dalmatia. Already in 1750, the Archdiocesan Museum in Split was founded and housed ancient inscriptions and objects from Salona. In 1820, the Split Archaeological Museum was founded after the visit of the Austrian Emperor Franz Josef I to Dalmatia and Diocletian palace. In Pola, the first collection of ancient monuments in the Augustus temple was founded in 1802 by Marshall Marmont, the French Governor during the Napoleonic era. In Zadar, Ante Danieli Tommasoni, local medic, owned the largest collection of the Roman sculptures in Dalmatia, with eight imperial statues discovered near Zadar in 1768.⁶⁶ In 1832, the Austrian government decreed the establishment of the Provincial Museum of Dalmatia in Zadar.

The development of archaeology in continental Croatia was progressing at a different pace and in different directions. In a culture history sense, continental Croatia was much more oriented toward Central Europe and its centers in Vienna, Budapest, and Prague, and that is reflected in the development of local archaeology. Also here, in continental Croatia, the earliest interest in antiquities was in those from Dalmatia, and only later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the interest turned also to the archaeological sites in continental part of the country. The first major national institution was the National Museum established in 1846 in Zagreb, which in 1866 was divided into the Archaeological and the Natural History Departments. Since 1869, with the appointment of Šime Ljubić (1822–1896), the first trained archaeologist in Croatia, archaeological activities intensified. Among most important achievements was the establishment of the journal *Viestnik narodnoga zemaljskoga muzeja u Zagrebu*, which is, under changed name, still published today and is considered one of the principal scientific archaeological journals in Croatia.⁶⁷

The beginnings of academic archaeology in Croatia date back to the 1878 when first archaeological courses were introduced by Isidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927) at the University of Zagreb. However, the curriculum was fully developed and

⁶⁶According to the catalog published in 1818, this collection contained some 300 sculptures, 6,000 coins, numerous inscriptions and a library. This collection was later sold to Italy, and the objects can be found in many museums in Europe (e.g., Vienna, Aquileia, Milano, Copenhagen).

⁶⁷Its present name is *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*.

implemented in 1896, with the appointment of Josip Brunšmid (1858–1929) as curator at the Archaeological Department of the National Museum.

In the history of Croatian archaeology, J. Brunšmid is considered as one of the founding fathers of modern archaeology in this country, particularly prehistoric, Roman provincial and medieval archaeology. His research interests and career are typical for many scholars in southeastern European countries at the turn of the century. After studying ancient history and geography at the University of Vienna,⁶⁸ he started his professional career at the National Museum in Zagreb. It should be noted that the museums were at that time in most of the countries in Central and southeastern Europe the principal research institutions, frequently involved in rescue archaeology, and their staff involved in teaching at the universities. Brunšmid's carried out large excavations all over the country and his archaeological activities spanned over all archaeological periods and types of sites. After his death, he was succeeded by Viktor Hoffiler (1877–1954), an expert of a quite similar scholarly interests and reputation.⁶⁹

Another two important pre-WWII scholars who greatly influenced the development of archaeology and gained international reputation were: Don Frane Bulić (1846–1934) and Dragutin Gorjanović – Kramberger (1856–1936). Don Frane Bulić, priest, historian, studied philology and archaeology at the University of Vienna, and was appointed as the curator of the Archaeological Museum in Split, and Conservator of the Central Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments for the Province of Dalmatia. Despite his extensive works on numerous sites and monuments in Dalmatia, he remained tightly connected with the site of Salona, former capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Much of his long career, he devoted to the large scale research and restoration of the Roman, and particularly early Christian monuments of Salona.⁷⁰ During his career, he was able to undertake major restoration works on Roman monuments and also contributed to the development of marine archaeology in Croatia. Undoubtedly, he was probably the most renowned Croatian archaeologists of his time.

Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger contributed to the development and reputation of the Croatian archaeology from a different direction and perspective. Geologist and paleontologist by profession, studied in Zurich, Munich, and Tübingen became the Head of the Mineralogical Department of the National Museum in Zagreb (1880) and also professor at the University of Zagreb (since 1884). In 1899, he discovered a cave site near Krapina in northwestern Croatia, with abundant remains

⁶⁸The University in Vienna was the most important academic center for southeastern Europe and many local archaeologists were trained there. Nearly a half of all professionals in archaeology working in the western Balkan countries prior to 1941 received their degrees from this university.

⁶⁹More on J. Brunšmid and V. Hoffiler in Kolar-Dimitrijević and Wagner (2008).

⁷⁰After decades of Bulić's extensive research of Salona this site became the second most important archaeological place in Europe, next to Rome, for studying the Early Christian archaeology. In 1894 Bulić organized the First International Conference on Early Christian Archaeology in Split.

of the Neanderthals and undertook detailed anatomic analyses of the remains, some of them (e.g., X-rays or fluorine contents dating) were among the pioneering attempts in archaeological research. He was able to distinguish the bones of the Neanderthals and anatomically modern humans. In 1906, he published a comprehensive study on the Krapina Neanderthals, which was at that time regarded as one of the most complete and influential studies on human paleontology in Europe and greatly contributed to the promotion and dissemination of the evolutionary theory of mankind, which made Gorjanović-Kramberger one of the world's pioneers in this field.⁷¹

Croatia was the only country in former Yugoslavia, which was able to develop its national archaeology (i.e., archaeology of early Croats during the Early Medieval Period) since the beginnings of the twentieth century. The first steps in this direction were made in the 1880s and 1890s in Dalmatia where well-developed antiquarian tradition mixed with a strong Croatian national movement contributed to national archaeology of the Croats. The pioneering efforts were made by Lujó (Stipe) Marun (1857–1939), Franciscan priest, who conducted the first excavations of the early Croatian church in Biskupija near Knin, in northern Dalmatia, and founded the Society for Croatian antiquities (1887) and the Museum of Croatian Antiquities (1894) in the town of Knin. His efforts proved essential for further development of Croatian national archaeology.

Archaeology in Croatia After WWII (1945–1991)

After WWII, archaeology in Croatia considerably developed in conceptual and infrastructural terms. However, it must be noted that compared with other “Yugoslav” countries, Croatian archaeology was able to maintain a much greater level of continuity from the prewar period. One of the main reasons was a better developed and stable tradition and infrastructure of archaeology, not so much depending on individuals, as was the case, for example, in neighboring Slovenia or Serbia.

Since the mid-1960s, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Zagreb substantially increased the number of teaching personnel, enabling full curriculum in archaeology. Similarly, the major archaeological museums in Zagreb, Split and Zadar, and a number of regional and local museums throughout the country enlarged, and a considerable number of new archaeological jobs became available. Also the public Heritage Protection Service opened several regional branches as well as increased the number of its staff in the central offices and departments. Of the great importance for the development of the archaeological science was the establishment of the second university curriculum in 1957 in Zadar (as a branch of the University of Split), where major archaeological experts from Dalmatia took the leading role and soon developed it at a level fully comparable to other archaeology departments in Yugoslavia and in neighboring countries.

⁷¹UNESCO proclaimed 2006 as the year of Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger.

This department, together with strong and well-organized Archaeological Museum, made Zadar an important regional center of archaeology not only in Croatia but in whole Yugoslavia in the following decades.

In the 1980s, archaeology was at its peak in Yugoslavia, and Croatian archaeology was, compared with the other republics, undoubtedly the most developed in terms of infrastructure. In 1989, in a country with 4.7 million people some 160 archaeologists were working professionally in 68 institutions (54 museums (national, regional, local)), 10 public heritage service offices, 2 universities, 2 research institutes; altogether the figure of employed archaeologists was very high – about 3.5 archaeologists per 100,000 people. Indeed, the only comparable republics were Slovenia and Macedonia. For more details see Tables 1 and 2 below.

Well-developed archaeological structure and public service in Croatia, combined with numerous and quite spectacular sites and monuments, mostly, but not exclusively from ancient Dalmatia, resulted in a series of extraordinary projects in Croatian archaeology in the last 6 decades.

Among a large number of sites from the Greek times and the Roman Period, we find three listed on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage list: the Emperor's Diocletian palace in Split, the Greek field division/cadaster of the Hellenistic colony of Pharos on the island of Hvar, both in central Dalmatia, and Basilica of Euphrasius in Poreč, Istria.

The Diocletian palace belongs to a particular group of imperial palaces of the first tetrarchs from the late third and early fourth centuries (Diocletian, Maximianus, Galerius, and Constantinus Chlorus), who built their residences (palaces) for the period that followed their abdication after 20 years of ruling. Three of these palaces are known: the Diocletian palace in Split, the Galerius' Palace of Felix Romuliana in Gamzigrad, eastern Serbia, and Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina, Sicily (probably the palace of Maximianus).

The Diocletian palace, listed by UNESCO in 1979, is the most important and best preserved imperial palace ever built by the Romans. It covers an area of approximately 40,000 m², laid out in a Roman military camp pattern as the fortress-like residence on the coast, with high and strongly fortified outer walls. Another important aspect of this monument is its unbroken continuity. After the fall of the nearby town of Salona in the beginning of the seventh century, the palace became resettled by the refugees from Salona and gradually transformed into a core of the medieval town of Split. It remained in use until present day and contains architectural elements from the late Roman, the Early and High Middle Ages, the Renaissance and Baroque.

Another spectacular "site" is that of Stari Grad Plain, listed by UNESCO World chart in 2008. In fact, it is not a single site but genuine cultural landscape with some 15 km² of the preserved land division laid down originally by the Ionian Greeks, who colonized this island (colony of Pharos) at the beginning of the fourth century BC. It is considered as the best preserved ancient Greek cadastre in the world. The cultural landscape was marked by hundreds of geometrical parcels enclosed by dry walls, containing traces of Greek farmhouses, Roman villas, cisterns, stone shelters and many other features needed for growing vine and olives, which remained major

Table 1 Professional archaeology in former Yugoslavia as of 1988

	Museums		Heritage service		Universities		Academy/similar institutes		Total	
	Museums	Staff	Offices	Staff	Universities	Staff	Institutes	Staff	Institutions	Staff
Bosnia and Herzegovina	13	27	4	7	1	2	1	1	19	37
Montenegro	11	16	2	3	0	0	0	0	13	19
Croatia	54	103	10	22	2	19	2	15	68	159
Kosovo ^a	2	6	2	5	1	1	1	2	6	14
FYR Macedonia ^b	9M+5MH	21	2H	3	1	6	1	13	18	68
Slovenia	17	32	8	14	1	12	1	12	27	70
Serbia	30	76	6	11	1	24	2	25	40	137
Vojvodina ^a	11	32	4	8	1	2	0	0	16	42
Yugoslavia	152	305	43	77	8	66	8	68	207	546

M museum only; *MH* museum and heritage service combined; *H* heritage service only

^aKosovo and Vojvodina were autonomous provinces within the Republic of Serbia

^bIn Macedonia the figures on staff in regional museums and regional heritage services (frequently organized in the same joint institution) were not separately reported in the 1989 survey

Table 2 Number of employed archaeologists in the Federation

Employed archaeologists*	Total	Population 1991	Area (km ²)	Area (km ²)/1 archaeologist	Population/1 archaeologist
Bosnia and Herzegovina	37	4,364,574	51,129	1,382	117,961
Montenegro	19	615,267	13,810	727	32,382
Croatia	159	4,760,344	56,524	355	29,939
Kosovo	14	1,954,474	10,686	763	139,605
FYR Macedonia	68	2,033,964	25,720	378	29,911
Slovenia	70	1,962,606	20,246	289	28,037
Serbia	137	5,824,211	56,169	410	42,512
Vojvodina	42	2,012,517	21,506	512	47,917
Yugoslavia	546	23,527,957	255,790	468	43,091

*Only professional archaeologists are taken into account

crops in this plain since the Greeks. Probably the most remarkable feature is that the Greek field system remained maintained throughout the centuries and is virtually unchanged until today.

The Basilica of Euphrasius in Poreč represents one of the masterpieces of the Byzantine art and culture from the sixth century AD in the region. The most spectacular are the mosaics that decorate the walls and the ceiling of the basilica, which matches the famous mosaic decoration of the San Vitale Basilica in Ravenna in Italy.

There are, indeed, numerous other extraordinary sites and monuments in Dalmatia, which would merit similar treatment. Particularly spectacular are remains of large Roman coastal towns: Pola in Istria, Zadar in northern Dalmatia, Salona near Split, and Naronia in the mouth of the Neretva River in southern Dalmatia. Recent research in Naronia revealed the remains of the temple dedicated to Augustus with 16 imperial statues, which represents the largest collection of imperial statues ever discovered from one site.

Among other famous Roman sites and monuments from Istria and Dalmatia, one could find well preserved amphitheatres in Pola, Salona, and Burnum (in the hinterland of Zadar), the Roman forum and triumphal arch of the Sergii in Pola. However, one site definitely stands out – that of the Roman city of Salona. The city was established during the Caesar's rule and soon became the capitol of the province of Dalmatia. It reached its peak in the second and third centuries AD when it hosted more than 60,000 inhabitants, the number that placed it among the ten largest cities in the Roman Empire. Archaeological research revealed a theater for about 3,000 spectators, amphitheater with 19,000 seats, and a number of civil and mortuary basilicas and hundreds of stone sarcophagi. Because of its particular richness in the Late Roman Period, Salona is considered as one of the birth places of the Early Christian Archaeology in general.⁷²

⁷²In 1894 in Salona (actually in a nearby lying Split) the First International conference on Early Christian archaeology was held.

In the last six decades also prehistoric archaeology in Croatia made a giant leap. Dense network of archaeological national, regional, and local institutions in a rather short period of few decades produced hundreds of new prehistoric sites from the Paleolithic Period to the Late Iron Age engaging numerous experts in their study. It is not our intention to list all the major prehistoric sites and discoveries, which mark the developmental stages of Croatian archaeology, but some of them are worth mentioning: The Early and Middle Bronze Age hillfort Monkodonja, Istria with traces of trade with the Mycenaeans, the Iron Age hillfort – Histrian capitol Nesactium near Pola, the Late Copper Age site of Vučedol near Danube – the eponym center of the particularly rich pottery ornamentation style typical for large areas in Pannonia and the western Balkans in the third millennium BC, and a place where one of the presumably earliest “calendars” in European prehistory was discovered.⁷³ Experts on the Neolithic Period would also be very interested in the earliest farming sites of the fifth millennium BC: Starčevo culture in the Pannonian area of Croatia, and the impresso-cardium pottery style of the early Neolithic communities along the Adriatic coast. There are also highly attractive monumental hillforts of the late prehistoric principedoms in Dalmatia and Istria.

Such a relative richness of archaeological sites and discoveries confirm high status and publicly recognized importance of archaeology in Croatia. In neither of the republics of the former federation, archaeology gained such recognition.⁷⁴ It must be kept in mind that until very recently all archaeological activities were government-funded, especially during the Communist period, and even today the level of public sponsorship remains very high.⁷⁵ Such relatively high status must be accredited to the long tradition of national archaeology (i.e., archaeology of the

⁷³Aleksandar Durman, *Vučedolski Orion i najstariji europski kalendar (The Vučedol Orion and the oldest European calendar)*, Arheološki muzej Zagreb, Gradski muzej Vinkovci and Gradski muzej Vukovar 2000.

⁷⁴About 225 public museums, art galleries, and collections are listed in Croatia, which is quite impressive figure for a country of about 4.7 million people, (data from <http://www.mdc.hr/muzeji.aspx>). By comparison, in Slovenia, with population of two million and much greater GDP, there are proportionally far less institutions of this kind, about 70–80. Greater attention dedicated to archaeology in Croatia can be also seen in the public heritage protection service. Originally established during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, this service with its headquarters in Zagreb (under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture) has 21 regional branches with professional archaeologists (11 more than in the late 1980s).

⁷⁵Archaeology in former Yugoslavia 1945–1991 was public in terms of practice and funding. Public property and public resources accounted for more than 90% of all nonprivate property and the public funds have been used for wide range of projects. Rescue archaeology was executed by public institutions and paid through public funds since the threat to archaeological sites was caused by public developments. Prior to 1991, the ratio of real private developers paying for rescue archaeology is ignorable.

early Croats), which since the last decades of the nineteenth century has been considered as an important tool in the national emancipation.⁷⁶

Two Components of Croatian Archaeology: Mediterranean and Continental

When speaking about the major conceptual developments in Croatian archaeology, one should take into account the already mentioned dualism in traditions: the Dalmatian and continental. It can be best illustrated by the developments at two universities – in Zadar (Dalmatian) and in Zagreb (continental). Of course, this dualism is not exclusive, and there is a great deal of mixing,⁷⁷ but, nevertheless, the general dual character is still clearly visible.

The “Dalmatian” tradition, principally focused on the classical/Roman provincial culture, is traditionally oriented toward studies of Roman, Greek, and Byzantine sites and monuments with great emphasis on studying written, epigraphic, artistic, and architectural sources; the main focus is on ancient history and ancient art history. Regional ancient history with its long tradition provides a great number of strong anchor points and fundamental historical narratives against which new archaeological discoveries can be tested or applied. In this field, no major or radical conceptual changes or turnovers can be seen in the twentieth century, post-WWII period included. A gradual advancement of knowledge and widening of the topics or agendas in classical/provincial archaeology is noticeable, which incorporates studying major historical events and processes such as the establishment of the Roman and Greek towns, regional military and political history, the artistic and architectural contents of the Roman culture, onomastics, prosopography, ancient cult and religion, numismatics, etc., to more recent interests in various economic, cultural, and symbolic facets and subtleties of the process of Romanization, settlement patterns, landscape studies, land use, iconography, identity, etc. Within this field, an important tradition of early Christian archaeology was established, because Croatia provides some of the richest sources for this topic in archaeology, and also because it presents a certain bridge to archaeology of the early Slavs in Croatia (seventh to eleventh centuries AD), which is in its own turn very abundant in sacral architectural remains, especially in Dalmatia.⁷⁸

⁷⁶The only museum of national (Croatian) antiquities in former Yugoslavia was in Croatia. It was established in 1893 in Knin where it remained until the beginning of WWII when it was closed and collections moved to Solin and Klis near Split. It was reopened in 1978 as the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and is housed in one of the most sumptuous buildings ever constructed for archaeological museum in southeastern Europe.

⁷⁷In Croatia, prior to WWII, the University of Zagreb was the only with curriculum in archaeology, especially classical and Roman provincial archaeology, with stress on epigraphy, numismatics and ancient history, propagated by J. Brunšmid and V. Hoffiler, and later (after 1945) continued by Duje Rendić Miočević (1916–1993).

⁷⁸Studies and activities in early Christian archaeology are also considerably supported and promoted by the Croatian Catholic Church.

Mate Suić (1915–2002), professor of ancient archaeology at the Universities of Zadar (1956–1968) and Zagreb (1968–1981), and director of the Archaeological Museum, Zadar (1954–1966), was a personality of great reputation among the experts in ancient history, art, and epigraphy (see Tomičić 2002). He was elected as a member of a number of international learned societies (e.g., the German Archaeological Institute, Corpus inscriptionum latinarum Committee, Tabula Imperii Romani Committee for producing an archaeological map of the Roman Empire, Committee for Research of the Roman Limes, and others). He dealt with a number of different issues in proto-historic and ancient archaeology, from epigraphy, art history, ancient religion, toponymy; however, his most influential work and culmination of his research was a comprehensive study on the development and history of the ancient landscapes and urbanization (Greek and Roman) in eastern Adriatic, which he synthesized in a comprehensive monograph in 1976⁷⁹ – a genuine masterpiece, which in many respects remained the referential text in the following decades.

Duje Rendić Miočević (1916–1993) was a scholar of similar interests and reputation as Mate Suić (see Zaninović 1992). He started his career in 1941 in the Archaeological Museum in Split, where, after WWII when appointed its director, he made great efforts in rescue archaeology in Salona and in reviving the major archaeological journal in Dalmatia (*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku/Bulletin of Archaeology and History of Dalmatia*). After 1954, he moved to the University of Zagreb, where he became the principal professor of archaeology of ancient period, and also director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. He was among the founders of the Institute of Archaeology at the University and of the university' archaeological journal *Opuscula archaeologica*. For his scientific excellence, he was elected as a member of the Academies of Sciences and Arts of Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, to the German Archaeological Institute, Austrian Archaeological Institute, Italian National Institute for Prehistory and Proto-history in Florence, and was a member of the UNESCO International Committee for Greek and Latin Epigraphy. In his long career, D. Rendić Miočević published some 200 works, mostly focusing on Illyrians and their contacts with Greeks and Romans, on Romanization of eastern Adriatic and on culture and religion of the indigenous peoples and Romans in Dalmatia.

As for the trends in the “continental” Croatian archaeology in the second half of the twentieth century, one could say that they are still strongly influenced by the traditional (Central European) culture history paradigm. However, in research on the Paleolithic Period, the tradition of natural history was also very strong. And only very recently (with the appearance of American scholars and local scholars educated in the USA) the dominant discourse here was that of naturalist sciences with rather minor use of social theory and cultural interpretations stemming from cultural anthropology discourse about pre-farming modes of life, production, and cultural patterns.

⁷⁹Suić Mate, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu (Ancient town on Eastern Adriatic)*, Zagreb – Liber 1976. The second (revised and supplemented) edition published in 2003.

In archaeology of the Neolithic and Eneolithic Periods, the dominant approach was developed by Stojan Dimitrijević (1928–1981), professor at the University of Zagreb, who specialized at the University of Heidelberg with V. Miložčić (1918–1978), one of the leading specialists in southeastern European and Aegean prehistory in the 1950s–1960s. Typical for the Dimitrijević's approach is strong focus on morphological and stylistic analyses of pottery and other assemblages and sequences serving for developing regional typological and chronological series and for defining regional archaeological cultures and styles. In many respects, this approach can be considered as a sort of *mélange* of ideas of the German positivist archaeology and early Childean archaeology with emphasize on diffusionism. This tradition has only recently been supplemented by topics that attempt to explore other aspects of early farming cultures and populations (e.g., early metallurgy, symbolic systems, social structure, etc.).

Archaeology of the Croatian Bronze and Iron Ages was also fully established after WWII. Here, a fusion of two approaches can be observed. One is that of the school of Gero von Merhart and his students from Marburg am Lahn (see also the Section on “Slovenia”) with strong emphasis on material culture analysis but with rather cautious use of historical analogies for interpretation. In the introduction of this approach, the important role was played by France Stare, visiting professor from Ljubljana, specialized in Marburg. The second approach, or rather perspective, originates from the ancient history concept, Roman provincial archaeology and linguistic/philological studies applied to the proto-historic periods (first millennium BC) and pre-Roman peoples and communities reported in written sources (Illyrians, Histrians, Liburni, Delmati, Pannonians, etc.). Here the leading and most influential scholars were Mate Suić and Duje Rendić Miočević, already mentioned.

From many points of view, archaeology of the early Medieval Period was extremely challenging (and also politically charged in Yugoslavia and in a wider southeastern European context). For the period between the fifth and tenth centuries AD, historical and archaeological records suggest a variety of different peoples migrating through or settling in the territory of the present-day Croatia: late and post-Roman towns and hinterland communities, Byzantines, Eastern Goths, Gepidi, Avars, various Slavic groups, Carolingian Franks, and Magyars. However, major advances were made during the post-WWII period in establishing the level of critical apparatus needed for competent and correct understanding of historical and cultural contingencies. The works of Zdenko Vinski (1913–1996) proved essential in establishing these standards not only in Croatian archaeology but also in whole former Yugoslavia.

While speaking in terms of recent theoretical developments, one could hardly find any elements or influences of processual and/or postprocessual approaches in Croatian archaeology until very recently. In a very few cases where some features of these two approaches may be traced, they are either associated with some American or British scholars participating in joint projects in Croatia, or with some Croatian archaeologists who spent some time in the USA or the UK. Nevertheless, this fact should not be used for qualifying Croatian archaeology simply as “old fashioned.”

For example, compared with Slovenia, where, indeed, new (processual and postprocessual) could be traced since the 1980s onwards, but in rather limited circles and aspects, Croatian archaeology exhibits more conservative attitude. However, it should be stressed that the mainstream Slovene and mainstream Croatian archaeology were very similar in terms of conceptual development since both were established on the same Central European tradition of culture history.

In general, archaeology in Croatia exhibited fast and stable growth since WWII, and much of this growth can be accredited to the cooperation with other academic centers in former Yugoslavia, but also to intensive international contacts. With respect to the latter, compared with other Yugoslav countries, Croatia leads in the number of international teams from Germany, Italy, France, the UK, and the USA in recent times. We have seen that the tradition of foreign scholars studying antiquities from Croatia dates centuries back. In the twentieth century, this tradition continued. One of the most influential researchers of Salona was a Dane – Einar Dyggve (1887–1961), who worked in the archaeological museum in Split, excavated in Salona since 1921 and restored a number of major architectural monuments there. And the presence of foreign teams and scholars was especially intensive since the 1980s. One of the most recent international mass events was the 13th Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists held in 2007 in Zadar.

At the end of this section, I cannot avoid the issue of the recent war (1991–1995). There were many contexts and episodes where archaeology and archaeological heritage became involved and serious analysis would require much more space and exceeds the scope of this chapter.⁸⁰ For the same reason, we will also leave out the issue of damaged sites, monuments and plundered museums, and their restoration.⁸¹ Here we will just note one of the most striking phenomena – an outsized growth of pseudo-archaeology and pseudo-history. These phenomena could be observed throughout former Yugoslavia, and Croatia was no exception. Much of the pseudo-archaeology was clearly nationalistic, and even racist, and can be easily associated with nationalistic ideologies and reactions on war and ethnic and religious conflicts. However, in spite of the very charged atmosphere and strong political pressure from the highest levels in favor for the “alternative” pasts,⁸² Croatian professional archaeology, in general, succeeded in preserving its integrity, credibility, and achieved standards, and resisted the attempts of undermining the principle academic interpretations of national past.

⁸⁰Literature on instrumental uses of the past and cultural and historical heritage in recent wars in former Yugoslavia is abundant and was written from various perspectives, political, sociological, and anthropological. Here are some texts published in English, which explicitly deal with archaeology and archaeological heritage: Slapšak (1993), Chapman (1994), Brown (1998), Novaković (2007a, b; 2008).

⁸¹Editor's note: a preliminary report was presented by Iva Mikl Curk during the 12th UISSP Conference in Bratislava in 1991, in the section 15 “Protection du Patrimoine Culturel: Archeologie et Temps Actuels,” co-chaired by Ludomir R. Lozny.

⁸²The Croatian President Franjo Tuđman (1991–1999), historian by profession, on many occasions publicly promoted pseudo-archaeological ideas on the Iranian (prehistoric, non-Slavic) origin of the Croats.

Another process worth noting here, which is not directly related to the war but to the development of market economy, was the emergence of private enterprises in the field of archaeological practices and services in the last decade. The level of private enterprises is still relatively low, compared with Slovenia, but is growing at steady rate. Also here, major infrastructural works (e.g., motorways) and large pressure on rescue archaeology created a demand for other business forms for providing archaeological services.

Serbia

Geography and History

Present territory of Serbia (without Kosovo) measures about 77,000 km² and extends from Hungary in the north to (FYR) Macedonia in the south. It borders Croatia along the Danube River and Bosnia and Herzegovina along the Drina River. In the easterly direction, Serbia spans from lowland of Romanian Banate to the southern Carpathians, Balkan, and Rhodope Mountains. The central axis of the country is the Morava River Valley running from the border with Macedonia in the south to the Morava's confluence to the Danube River. This valley separates the Dinaric Hills and mountainous regions on the west from the Carpathian, Balkan, and Rhodopian Mountains on the east. The Morava River Valley combined with the Vardar Valley in Macedonia is the most important route connecting the Danube region with the Aegean.

Serbia is also a highly heterogeneous country in geographical and morphological terms. Northern Serbia (the province of Vojvodina) lies in the low, very flat, and well-drained Pannonian Plain of the Danube and Tisa Rivers (about 20% of the country's territory). The Danube River, after leaving the Pannonian Plain, enters into the southern Carpathian Mountains through a narrow gorge (the Iron Gates), the border with Romania. To the south of the Danube lies the central Serbian region – Šumadija – which extends along the lower and middle Morava River Valley. Its relief is marked by hilly terrain increasing in height toward south. Its western parts are marked with the Dinaric Mountains and hills intersected with numerous rivers. Morphologically similar but with slightly more undulated hills and mountains are eastern regions of Serbia. The western border with Bosnia and Herzegovina is on the Drina River, running from the mountains in the contact zone between Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro to its confluence into the Sava River in the north. The best farming land is in the Pannonian Plain and along central and lower Morava Valley. In hilly regions, areas of good arable land are much smaller and dispersed. These areas are best suited for livestock-keeping especially flocks of sheep and goat. Serbia is also rich in ores, especially northern and eastern parts (the areas of Bor and Majdanpek) where copper mines were known in the Late Neolithic Period. In terms of major communication routes, the Vardar – Morava axis connecting the

Aegean with Danube was (and still is) the most important communication route. Other important routes include the Danube and Sava axis in the primarily east-west direction, and communication routes leading from central and southwestern Serbia to Adriatic.

The territory of the present-day Serbia was included into the Roman Empire in the first century AD and was composed of three provinces Lower Pannonia, Moesia, and Dalmatia. The Romans founded three major towns – Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), Viminacium (Kostolac), and Naissus (Niš), which played important roles in economic and political history of this region. Since the third century AD, a number of military Roman Emperors came from these towns. With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the area of Serbia came under the dominance of the Byzantine Empire, and lands south of the Danube remained Byzantine domain for a number of centuries. In the Late Medieval Period (the twelfth to fourteenth centuries), after gaining independence from the Byzantine Crown, the Serbian principedom of Raška developed into an important Serbian Kingdom in the western Balkans, extending in its primetime from the Danube River to the Aegean Sea. After the Ottoman occupation in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Serbia was annexed to the Ottoman Empire for the next four centuries. In the same period, the region of Vojvodina was mostly under the Hungarian/Austrian rule. National liberation movement developed in the first half the nineteenth century and after gradually gaining autonomy, the country was finally recognized as an independent state in 1878 in the territorial extent similar to present-day Serbia (without Vojvodina).

Serbia considerably expanded after the Balkan wars (1912–1913) and WWI when it doubled its territory by incorporating northeastern Macedonia (1913–1914) and Vojvodina (1918), while the Kingdom of Montenegro, renouncing its own statehood, proclaimed the unification with Serbia (1918). The same year Serbia merged with the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from former Austro-Hungarian Empire into the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was ruled by the Serbian royal dynasty until WWII.

After 1945, within the Communist ruled Yugoslav Federation, Serbia became one of the six constitutive republics (with two autonomous provinces – Vojvodina and Kosovo). The same status was also granted to Montenegro and Macedonia, which did not belong to Serbia after 1945. In 1992, a year after the cessation of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (in 2003 renamed Serbia and Montenegro). In 2006, Montenegro seceded and formed its own independent state. In 1999, with the intervention of NATO forces, former autonomous province of Kosovo became *de facto* separated from Serbia and for almost a decade remained under UN protectorate. In 2008, Kosovo proclaimed its independence. Serbia was also involved in the recent wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991–1995), both having large Serbian populations. After 1995, the Serbian population in Croatia was granted a status of autonomy in linguistic, cultural, and educational affairs while in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the peace agreement in 1996, a new political entity with very high level of autonomy has been created – The Republic of Srpska (the Serbian Republic).

History of Archaeology in Serbia

The Ottoman Legacy and the Emergence of Local Antiquarian and Archaeological Interests (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)

Very weak tradition of antiquarianism prior to the nineteenth century is common to all European countries, which remained under the Ottoman rule for a longer period of time (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYR Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania). Reasons why the Ottoman culture involved limited antiquarian tradition, despite long tradition of local travelers (e.g., Evliya Celebi, 1611–1682), still remains to be studied. The fact is that genuine antiquarian activities in Rumelian lands (i.e., Ottoman territories in Europe) emerged in the nineteenth century and were mostly associated with the rising national movements of the local non-Turkish and non-Muslim nations (Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Greeks).

In the eighteenth century, the majority of Serbs lived in four major territories: in the Ottoman ruled Serbia proper, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Hungarian/Austrian ruled parts of Croatia (in the region called the Military Frontier, the *cordon sanitaire* around Turkish Bosnia and Herzegovina), and in Vojvodina (now northern region of Serbia, east and north of the Danube, between Croatia, Hungary, and Romania). This division had important consequences on cultural and political history of the Serbian nation and its relationship with the neighboring nations and countries in centuries which followed.

While today the undisputed political, cultural, and economic center of Serbia is Belgrade (the city of some 1.7 million people in the country of 7.5 million; Novi Sad the second largest city in the country has almost six times smaller population), this was not the case in the eighteenth century. In this period, the core area of the Serbian cultural and national development was in Hungarian/Austrian ruled Vojvodina,⁸³ in the town of Novi Sad and in Serbian Orthodox monasteries in Fruška Gora. There the first ideas and attempts of national history and distant past of the Serbs developed, including the interest in antiquities and national monuments.⁸⁴

⁸³ After the Great War between Vienna and Constantinople (1683–1699) and a series of peace treaties (1699, 1718), the territory of Vojvodina belonged to Austria, which immediately started an intensive colonization of the area. This made Vojvodina probably the most ethnically mixed territory in Europe where Serbs, Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Slovaks, Croats, Ukrainian Ruthenians, and Wallachians settled in an area of approximately 21,500 km². Today its population is estimated to about two million people.

⁸⁴ It should be noted that it was here – among the Serbian scholars in Vojvodina – where the beginnings of the Kosovo myth and the idea of historical and political continuity of the statehood from the medieval Kingdom of Serbia originated. Both, the Kosovo myth and the glory of medieval kingdom of Dušan Silni, together with the renewed patriarchy at Peč, played an extremely important role in the creation of modern Serbian nation and identity. Needless to say that much of the historical discussion in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was marked by the romantic attitudes and speculations about the glory of the medieval Serbia and the historical rights of the Serbs to regain this glory. Indeed, the power and persistence of these myths have been shown also in the recent Yugoslav wars (more on this matter in Novaković 2007a, b).

Among the first recorded personalities who promoted the idea of collecting and recording national antiquities and monuments were priests from the Fruška Gora monasteries: Zaharije Orfelin (1726–1785) who published an appeal for collecting the antiquities, and Lukijan Mušicki (1777–1837), writer and poet, who was visiting and recording historical ruins, and was among the initiators of Matica Srpska (Serbian Society) the first major Serbian national cultural organization established in 1826 in Budapest (in 1864 moved to Novi Sad).⁸⁵ It was in this circle where the idea of the national museum was initiated, and in 1844 the museum was formally established, together with the Act on Protection of Historical Heritage in Serbia. However, it took another 4 decades, until 1881, to get the first appointment of “professional” archaeologists – Mihajlo Valtrović.

Although Serbia lacked genuine local antiquarians in the eighteenth and most of nineteenth centuries, it definitely did not lack various sorts of foreign travelers who published descriptions of the country, its peoples, cultural features, and history. The motives of these travelers were extremely varied, from personal enterprises and adventures, sympathy with the local non-Turkish populations, geographical and ethnographical curiosity and requirements of getting better knowledge of the Ottoman areas in Europe, to genuine military and economic espionage. It should be kept in mind that the Balkans in the nineteenth century was one of the major grounds where Germany, Austria, Russia, France, and the UK competed for strategic dominance.

Felix Kanitz (1829–1904), historian, ethnographer and archaeologists, curator of the Viennese Anthropological and Prehistoric Society, born in Budapest, studied art at the University of Vienna, has a special place among such travelers who should be noticed in history of archaeology in Serbia. Since 1858 he undertook several journeys to the Balkan countries and published several texts on archaeological sites he visited. His bibliography on ancient history of Serbia contains some of the most important early works on archaeology in Serbia.⁸⁶ F. Kanitz also influenced the establishment of the first archaeological society in 1869 in Sremska Mitrovica (former Roman capitol of Lower Pannonia) in Vojvodina.

The central figure in mid-eighteenth century antiquarianism was Janko Šafarik (1811–1876), ethnic Slovak, born near Budapest, studied medicine in Budapest and Vienna, teacher in Gymnasium in Novi Sad and in Lyceum in Belgrade, nephew of Pavel Jozef Šafarik⁸⁷ under whose influence engaged himself in studies of history

⁸⁵ Short information on both scholars were obtained from personal communication with Aleksandar Palavestra from the University of Belgrade.

⁸⁶ *Die römischen Funde in Serbien* (Vienna 1861); *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente* (Vienna 1862); *Reise in Südserbien und Nordbulgarien* (Vienna 1868), *Serbien – historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien* (Leipzig 1868), *Römische Studien in Serbien* (Vienna 1892), *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Vol. 1, Leipzig 1904).

⁸⁷ Pavel Jozef Šafarik, scholar in Slavic languages, literature and history, Headmaster of the Gymnasium in Novi Sad, editor of the Journal of Czech Museum, curator of the Prague University Library, poet and author of several important works in Slavic philology where he published one of the first systematic encyclopedic studies in Slavonic languages, literature history and antiquities. His most famous work is *Slovanske starožitnosti* (Slavic Antiquities), Prague 1837, which was translated in most Slavic languages.

and antiquities of Slavonic peoples, Serbs in particular. He was appointed as the director of the Serbian National Museum in Belgrade (1848–1870). In 1846, he undertook the first archaeological survey in Serbia (Milinković 1998:427). In 1865, Šafarik went on a genuine “archaeological journey” (Milinković, *ibid.*) to western central parts of the country, where he also conducted some small scale excavations.⁸⁸ In 1867, Šafarik founded the Society for Archaeology and Ethnography in the Balkans. He was a member of several foreign scholarly societies – among others the Moscow Archaeological Society, Society for History and Antiquities in Zagreb, and also a corresponding member of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb.

Among the early “archaeologists” from Vojvodina, another important person was Felix Milleker (1858–1942), a German from Banate, curator at the Museum of Vršac. Having no formal education in archaeology he dedicated much of his efforts to revealing the antiquity of this region. He conducted several excavations, survey campaigns and published more than 200 works on antiquities and history of the Banate region in Vojvodina.

Toward Modern Archaeology and Its Institutionalization (1880–1941)

A distinctive group of scholars of the second half of the nineteenth century, important for developing archaeology as a national discipline, came from natural history sciences. Josif Pančić (1814–1888), Croat, studied medicine in Budapest, physician and botanist, professor at the University of Belgrade, the first president of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, was among the pioneers of evolutionism in Serbia. In the 1870s, he propagated the three-age system and the role of archaeology in understanding the development of the human civilization.⁸⁹ He also introduced the works of Boucher de Perthes to the Serbian audience and maintained contacts with Gabriel de Mortillet (Palavestra, personal communication).

Jovan Žujović (1856–1938) studied natural sciences in Belgrade with Pančić, and geology and anthropology in Paris with Mortillet. Žujović is nowadays considered the pioneer of geological and paleontological science in Serbia, professor at the University of Belgrade, and founder of the Natural History Museum in Belgrade, also served as Minister of Education and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In his book *Kameno doba (Stone Age)*, published in 1893, he wrote the first synthesis on the European and world prehistory from the Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age in the Serbian language in which he quoted all European experts in these fields (Mortillet, Lubbock, Cleziou, Hoernes, Quatrefages, Zaborowski, Lartet and others).

⁸⁸Šafarik’s excavations of the Roman temple at Rudnik are considered as the first professional archaeological excavations in Serbia (Milinković 1998:427).

⁸⁹See Pančić, J.: Čovek u predistorijsko doba (Man in Prehistoric Times) – *Starinar* 2/1, 1885, 1–18.

However, proper institutionalization and professionalization of archaeology in Serbia started with the appointment of Mihailo Valtrović (1839–1915), who had a degree in architecture from the University of Karlsruhe, Germany, to the position of the Curator of the National Museum and professor of archaeology at the University of Belgrade in 1881. Valtrović is also to be credited for founding the Serbian Archaeological Society (1883) and the first archaeological journal in the country – *Starinar (Antiquarian)*, established in 1884, which is still published. Valtrović also conducted some of the earliest archaeological excavations in Viminacium, the capital of the Roman province of Moesia Superior, on the right bank of the Danube River, east of Belgrade.

An extremely valuable contribution to the development of the Roman archaeology was given by Nikola Vulić (1872 – 1945), student of Valtrović, PhD in Munich, in 1897 appointed to a post of professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade. Vulić achieved a reputation of one of the top ancient historians in the first decades of the twentieth century in southeastern Europe. He was a corresponding member of the French, Viennese, and Romanian Academies of Sciences. His numerous publications (over 550!) dealt with all major aspects of regional ancient history, classical philology, and epigraphy. In archaeology, he is mostly known for discovery of the sixth century BC princely graves with golden masks in Trebenište (nowadays in FYR Macedonia). His contribution to archaeology and history is particularly valuable in two fields: very extensive research of regional ancient history and in application of a rigorous critical methodology. Indeed, it is N. Vulić who should be credited for the application of strict scientific standards, which dismissed a number of popular national-romantic “theories” and speculations on ancient history of Serbia. His authority and reputation was also instrumental for development of ancient history studies in wider Yugoslav area.

However, it is Miloje Vasić (1869–1956) who, without any doubt, was the most prominent figure in Serbian archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century. Vasić studied in Munich with A. Furtwängler and succeeded M. Valtrović at the University of Belgrade (1903) and in the National Museum (1906).⁹⁰ He became famous for his research at the Neolithic tell at Vinča, on the right bank of the Danube River near Belgrade. The Vinča tell raised attention during the 1890s due to thousands of objects (terracotta, prosopomorphic lids, vessels, etc.), which were collected from this site and brought to the National Museum prior to any proper excavations.

In 1908, M. Vasić conducted the first systematic campaign at Vinča, one of the most prominent prehistoric sites in southeastern Europe. Other campaigns (1911, 1912, and 1913) were subsidized, among others, by the funds from the Russian Archaeological Institute. Although the results of these campaigns were published only in short articles, it was enough to raise attention of experts in other countries. In 1918, M. Vasić established contacts with a British archaeologist John Lynton

⁹⁰With short interruption during WWII he held the professorship until 1955.

Meyers who served in the British Army in Greece, and they agreed on a joint research project on Balkan prehistory. Their first campaign in 1924 remained rather modest and was left uncompleted due to lack of funds. But Vasić's friendly relations with Alec Brown, lecturer of English at the University of Belgrade, and his wife Catherine, led to a genuine "strike of luck". In 1929, Catherine Brown was able to raise interest of Charles Hyde, a philanthropist and wealthy owner of the editorial house from Birmingham, who provided substantial funding for excavations at Vinča and for establishing a collection at the University of Belgrade. The Hyde's donations enabled several excavation campaigns (1929–1931, 1933–34) when large areas of the tell were examined to the depth of more than 10 m. It is, indeed, these excavations and subsequent publications which enthroned Vasić as an undisputed authority in the Balkans prehistory.⁹¹

M. Vasić, in his more than a half a century long career, undertook archaeological excavations on many other sites in Serbia, but it is Vinča which made him famous and later also turned to be his greatest fiasco, especially with regard to chronology and the origins he proposed for Vinča which proved to be genuine *cul-de sac*. Undoubtedly, Vasić discovered one of the richest and most significant sites for understanding the Neolithic Period in southeastern Europe and the earliest metallurgy in Europe, but in his final synthesis (*Prehistorijska Vinča*, 1936) he insisted that Vinča was a Ionian colony from the archaic period (the seventh to sixth century BC) founded by the Greeks.

Despite many contemporary well-argued critiques by a number of prehistorians who argued for the Neolithic age of this site, Vasić stubbornly insisted on very late dates.⁹² This position gradually isolated him from the most of European prehistorians. The reasons for his insistence on late dates are still not known. Some Serbian scholars (e.g., A. Palavestra) stipulate Vasić's position reflected his character, undisputed power, and authority he had in Serbian archaeology, competition with N. Vulić, his rather uncritical fascination with the Aegean civilizations, and opposition to German "Nordic" interpretations. Nevertheless, M. Vasić digressed from the

⁹¹In 1930s Vasić received numerous invitations by the most prominent scholarly societies and archaeological conferences in Europe, and many known European scholars visited him at Vinča (e.g., V. Gordon Childe, W.A. Hartley and others).

⁹²It is very interesting to observe the "sliding-down" of Vasić's dates for Vinča. In his early publications of Vinča he attempted to synchronize the finds and chronology with the Near Eastern and Aegean sites, especially with the lowest layers of Troy (Troy I and II; which he interpreted as the Bronze Age epochs), and with A. Evans' excavations of Knossos. In this way he refused the "Nordic" theories advocated by German scholars (e.g., Kossina, Furtwaengler, Schuchhardt) (Palavestra 1999–2000:17) and instead proposed a sort of diffusionist "ex-orientale lux" theory, structurally, but not chronologically, similar to that of V. Gordon Childe, which appeared in his *Danube in Prehistory* in 1929, where Vinča is clearly placed in the Neolithic Period (third millennium BC). In 1932 Vasić dated Vinča to mid-second millennium BC and interpreted it as a settlement of the Cycladic colonizers. And finally, in 1936 he proposed even younger dates – the seventh to sixth centuries BC, and the Ionic colonizers as its founders.

mainstream discourse in the Neolithic archaeology, and this had substantial consequences on generations of his students.⁹³

Modern Archaeology (1945 – Present)

Serbian archaeology made the greatest advances after WWII. Serbia, compared with Slovenia and Croatia, was traditionally based on agrarian economy and had, accordingly, less developed network of urban and industrial centers. The capital city of Belgrade was by far the largest and most developed urban, economic, and industrial center in the country. Such structural imbalance contributed to a strong centralization of the country including the concentration of archaeological infrastructure and developmental potentials in the capital. The establishment of regional network of museums and heritage protection service dates to the late 1950s and parallels the industrialization and urbanization of the country in the post-WWII periods.

With the exception of the National Museum and the University of Belgrade, almost all other archaeological institutions were established after WWII. In the first place, the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy of Sciences was given the major role in planning and monitoring archaeological activities in the country. The institute was established in 1947 and its first aim was to organize and coordinate local experts working in different institutions and to establish its own team of experts. In less than two decades it succeeded in creating the largest team of archaeologists not only in Serbia but also in former Yugoslavia as well, employing more than 20 professionals.⁹⁴ One of the first great tasks was the archaeological map of Serbia. The first such gazetteer of sites appeared already in 1951 under the authorship of Milutin Garašanin (1920–2002) and Draga Garašanin (1921–1997), and was soon (1953, 1956) supplemented with a two-volume publication by the Institute of Archaeology.⁹⁵

In 1950s and 1960s, the Institute of archaeology played crucial role in developing archaeology in the country. Their members not only undertook research projects on

⁹³The most informative is the case of Milutin and Draga Garašanin, the leading prehistorians in Serbia after the WWII, who graduated with M. Vasić but due to great dissatisfaction with theories of Vasić they had to complete their PhDs with J. Korošec in Slovenia. In the 1950s and 1960s, they invested large efforts in developing new concepts of prehistoric archaeology in Serbia, on the basis of a new German school (that of Merhart and Milojević).

⁹⁴On the early years of the Institute of Archaeology at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences see Bošković (1968).

⁹⁵Milutin Garašanin and Draga Garašanin, *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji*, Prosveta-Beograd 1951; *Arheološki spomenici i nalazišta u Srbiji*, Knjiga 1, Zapadna Srbija (Archaeological monuments and sites in Serbia, vol. 1, Western Serbia); *Arheološki spomenici i nalazišta u Srbiji*, Knjiga 2, Istočna Srbija (Archaeological monuments and sites in Serbia, vol. 1, Eastern Serbia), Arheološki institut, Srpska akademija nauka, Beograd 1953, 1956.

major sites but also were also included in the teaching staff at the University of Belgrade and helped in establishing a network of archaeological experts in regional museums. The Institute played very important role in the archaeological heritage protection activities, conducting major rescue projects and developing principle strategies in this field. Needless to say, that in the context of rather centralized administration and management of the country in post-WWII decades, the agenda of the Institute was actually national agenda in archaeology. The leading experts in Serbia were well aware of this role (and power) and actually succeeded in establishing a firm basis for the national framework of archaeology until 1970s.

There was also another unit at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, which worked in the field of archaeology – the Institute of Balkan Studies. The institute, established in 1934, aimed primarily at historical, linguistic, cultural, and social studies of the Balkans, and also archaeology from its very beginnings (Palavestra 1999–2000:16). Miloje Vasić was one of the most frequent authors published in the 1930s in the Institute’s journals, especially in the *Revue internationale des Études balkaniques*, which was quite international in character.⁹⁶ After WWII, with the concentration of archaeological work at the Institute of Archaeology, the Institute of Balkan Studies still kept his archaeological staff and continued its research projects. Here, it was Nikola Tasić (1932), specialist in Neolithic and Eneolithic periods who was for decades the principal researcher.

The next developmental “phase” was regionalization of archaeology. With the exception of very few local museums established in “Inner” Serbia prior to WWII,⁹⁷ other regional and local museums in major towns were established in the late 1940s and 1950s: Kikinda (1946), Užice (1947), Pirot (1947), Leskovac (1948), Prokuplje (1948), Kragujevac (1949), Priština, (1949, the first museum in the province of Kosovo), Čačak (1951), Kruševac (1951), Zaječar (1951), Valjevo (1951), Smederevo (1950), Jagodina (1954), Vranje (1960); however, not all of them immediately employed archaeologists. In any case, the Serbian archaeology of the 1970s was relatively well organized at the central and regional levels.

Trends in regionalization can also be seen in the case of heritage protection service. In spite of having one of the earliest legislations in southeastern Europe

⁹⁶Other authors published in the 1930s were as follows: N. Vulić, Rudolf Egger, Tadeusz Zelinsky, Guglielmo Ferrero, Ronald Syme, Carl Patsch, Marin Nilsson, R. Marić, Karl Kerényi, Charles Dilles, Georgiye Ostrogorski, Alexander Solovyev, Vladimir Moshin, Franz Delger, Ivan Skazov. Another very influential publication was a monograph *Knjiga o Balkanu* (Book on the Balkans) published in two volumes in 1936 and 1937 where among the authors were Mikhail Rostovceff, Charles Piccard, Paul Kretschmer and others (Palavestra 1999–2000:21–23).

⁹⁷The earliest museums were established in Vojvodina during the Austro-Hungarian rule: in Vršac (1882), Sombor (1883), Subotica (1895), Sremska Mitrovica (1895) and Zrenjanin (1906). Especially in the museum in Sremska Mitrovica archaeology was the most important aspect due to works at Roman town of Sirmium. The only “archaeological” museum on the territory of Serbia in that period was established in Požarevac 1895, because of a great amount of attractive finds coming from the nearby Roman town of Viminiacium (Capital of the Roman province Moesia Superior). All other “archaeological” museums were of a much later date, from 1920s and 1930s – Pančevo (1923), Niš (1932), Novi Sad (1933), Šabac (1933).

protecting cultural heritage (since 1844, when the *Decree on Protection of Ancient Monuments*⁹⁸ was issued), Serbia, nevertheless, properly developed the public heritage service until WWII. In 1947, this service (the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments) was reestablished at the national level with its headquarters in Belgrade and later, in the 1960s and 1970s, developed its regional branches.⁹⁹

Apart from the Institute of Archaeology of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, which held the central position (and power), the Department of Archaeology at the University of Belgrade gradually increase its significance on national (and even international) levels, especially from the 1960s onwards. With the appointment of a number of experts from the Institute of Archaeology as university professors, most important being Milutin Garašanin, the University of Belgrade succeeded in becoming a national center, which greatly influenced the developmental trajectories of Serbian archaeology.

After suspension of teaching at the University of Belgrade during WWII,¹⁰⁰ archaeology was reintroduced there in 1947. In the first years, M. Vasić was (for the third time) called from his retirement and asked to initiate teaching of archaeology. However, it was clear that the program needed more professors.¹⁰¹ In 1947, Branko Gavella (1914–1994), classical philologist by education, was appointed as lecturer of prehistoric archaeology, and in 1954 two new courses were introduced: Slavic archaeology with Jovan Kovačević (1920–1988) and archaeology of the Near East with Dušan Glumac (1899–1980), former professor at the Faculty of Theology, student of universities in Berlin and Leipzig, and in 1957 Milutin Garašanin was appointed as professor of classical archaeology. Until 1962, when the Department of Archaeology was officially established, four other teachers joined the staff¹⁰² making the Department of Archaeology of Belgrade University the most numerous in teaching and research staff compared with all other

⁹⁸*Uredba o zaštiti spomenika drevnosti.*

⁹⁹Today the Institute has 11 regional branches; the 12th branch is in Kosovo, which Serbia does not recognize as an independent state.

¹⁰⁰However, in spite of the suspension decreed by the Germans, the teachers and students of archaeology organized a sort of courses, lectures and discussions with professors (mostly with M. Vasić) in private homes and in other institutions, trying to preserve certain level of teaching and social network of the archaeological “professionals,” which were at that time rather small in number. Also a nonofficial “museum course” was organized for these students, which lasted for three semesters and finished with an exam. And some of the students also participated in the excavations of the Belgrade citadel (Kalemegdan) lead by Ahnenerbe’s archaeologist Wilhelm Unverzagt in 1942. On the German SS Office for heritage research – “Ahnenerbe” and its activities in Serbia and the Balkans see Katel (2006); on personal experiences in this “private” courses see the interviews with M. Garašanin (who was one of these students) in Babić and Tomović 1994; also Milinković 1998:435).

¹⁰¹For more details on the history of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Belgrade see in Milinković and Tasić (1990) and Milinković (1998).

¹⁰²Prehistorian Dragoslav Srejšević (1931–1996), classical archaeologist Aleksandrina Cermanović-Kuzmanović (1928–2001), Savo Tutundžić (1928) for the archaeology of the Near East and Vojislav Jovanović for medieval archaeology.

universities in former Yugoslavia, as 40% of all teaching and research staff in archaeology in the mid-1980s in former Yugoslavia was, indeed, associated with the Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade.

Enlargement of the Department of Archaeology led to the establishment of two units, which also considerably contributed to the development of the Serbian archaeology since the 1970s: the Archaeological Collection and the Center for Archaeological Research. The Archaeological Collection was founded in 1929 (see more in Lazić 1998a) based on agreement between M. Vasić and Charles Hyde, who financed the excavation of Vinča between 1929 and 1934, and materials from these excavations were donated to the Faculty of Philosophy where Vasić taught. Later, with the establishment of archaeology as an autonomous discipline, the collection (and the staff responsible for it) was included into the Department of Archaeology and extended their work on materials from other sites excavated by the departmental staff. Major tasks of the Archaeological Collection were restoration of artifacts, publication, and presentation of archaeological finds, and assisting in teaching students practical skills in manipulating with archaeological objects. The other unit, the Center for Archaeological Research, was established in 1978 (see more in Lazić 1998b) with the aim to concentrate and coordinate the research of the Department's staff and to develop archaeological sciences (palaeobotany, faunal analyses, etc.) and the infrastructure needed for such specialized analyses. Very soon, this center initiated a number of large-scale projects and became a sort of university "counterpart" of the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy of Sciences and Arts.

In the mid-1980s, Belgrade was, without the doubt, one of the most important archaeological centers in this part of Europe. About 85–90 professional archaeologists were working in the institutions based in this town, accounting for more than 60% of all professional archaeologists in Serbia (and 15% of all archaeologists in former Yugoslavia). Such structuring clearly reflects the "centralization" typical for development of archaeology in many smaller Central and Eastern European countries.

When speaking about the international dimension and reputation of Serbian archaeology, one cannot avoid starting this topic with the Neolithic tell-site of Vinča, which from its very first excavations at the beginning of the twentieth century raised great interest of many scholars from Europe and the USA, which still continues. More than 10-m deep tell dated from the mid-sixth to mid-fifth millennium BC revealed in a number of excavations campaigns (in the 1930s, and from the late 1970s to present days) extraordinary evidences on southeastern European early farming communities and cultures. Hundreds of terracotta's, very high quality pottery, great variety of stone and bone tools, and evidences of the earliest metallurgy in Europe make Vinča and the Vinča Culture (Central Balkans) as one of the key issues in the studies of the Neolithic Europe.¹⁰³

¹⁰³The bibliography of Vinča and the Vinča Culture is abundant. The principal recent works, where further bibliography could be found include: Milutin Garašanin, Vinčanska kultura. In: *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II*, Sarajevo 1979, 144–212; Nenad Tasić (ed.), *Vinča metropola kasnog neolita*, Beograd, 2008.

Another extraordinary site from early prehistory is that of Lepenski Vir – the Mesolithic/Early Neolithic complex of sites in the Danube Gorge discovered in 1965–1970 during the construction of the dam and power plant in Djerdap. This site contained more than one hundred unique trapezoidal houses located on the Danube's bank, with hearths, house altars and small stone sculptures, and individuals buried under floor. It was dated to the period between the seventh and sixth millennium BC.¹⁰⁴

Almost all international research collaboration was channeled through the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy. Two topics were especially attractive to foreign scholars: early prehistory (the Neolithic and Eneolithic Periods) and major Roman towns. Very rich archaeological records on the earliest farming communities attracted a number of researchers from the UK and the USA in the 1970s: Harvard University and the University of California at Berkeley carried joint projects with the National Museum and the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade on the Vinča Culture sites at Selevac (1976–1978) and Opovo (1983–1984; along with the Institute of history from Novi Sad), while the Brooklyn College, CUNY was involved in a large survey of prehistoric sites in the Lower Morava Valley. In the 1980s and early 1990s, a German team from the Free University of Berlin excavated the Bronze Age hillfort at Feudvar, Vojvodina.¹⁰⁵

Among Roman towns in Serbia, it was Sirmium which has been targeted by international teams since the late 1960s. The first international project there was the Yugoslav (Serbian)-American cooperation (with Denison University, Ohio and New York University) in 1969–1971, which continued in 1973–1975 with French partners (the Museum of Louvre and the French School at Rome).¹⁰⁶ From the 1990s date the Serbian-French cooperation on the early Byzantine site at Caričin grad (presumed town of Iustiniana Prima)¹⁰⁷ while in the last decade two larger international projects on Roman towns are under way: on in cooperation with Berlin

¹⁰⁴Out of a number of studies and publications the two “classical” are: Dragoslav Srejić, *Lepenski vir*; Beograd 1969; Dragoslav Srejić and Ljubinka Babović, *Umetnost Lepenskog vira (Art of Lepenski vir)*, Beograd 1983.

¹⁰⁵Ruth Tringham and Dušan Krstić, *Selevac: A Neolithic Village in Yugoslavia*. (with Dušan Krstić). University of California, Los Angeles: Los Angeles 1990; Ruth Tringham, Bogdan Brukner, Barbara Voytek, The Opovo Project: A Study of Socioeconomic Change in the Balkan Neolithic, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Winter, 1985), pp. 425–444; Arthur H. Bankoff and Frederick A. Winter, The Morava Valley Project in Yugoslavia: Preliminary Report, 1977–1980, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer, 1982), pp. 149–164. Hänsel B. – Medović P. (Hrsg.), *Feudvar I Das Plateau von Titel und die Šajkaška – Titelski plato i Šajkaška*, PAS Band 13, Kiel 1998.

¹⁰⁶See the series *Sirmium* published by the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade (1971–1982).

¹⁰⁷Mano-Zisi, Đorđe, Caričin grad – Justiniana Prima, Narodni muzej Leskovac and Narodni muzej Beograd, 1979; Duval, Noël and Vladislav Popović (eds.), *Caričin Grad I*, Belgrade : Institut archéologique, Rome: École française, 1984.

University at Gamzigrad (UNESCO listed site of Felix Romuliana, the imperial palace of the Roman Emperor Galerius (260–311)), while at Viminacium, former capital of the province Moesia Superior Serbian scholars cooperate with the New York State University, Albany, USA.

Conceptual Renewal: Escaping Vasić's Shadow

Conceptual reconstruction of Serbian archaeology started immediately after WWII. The principal reason was revitalization of archaeology on modern basis, comparable to neighboring countries. An important issue here was to escape the shadow of M. Vasić's dominance in prehistoric discourse and his insistence on erroneous "Aegean" hypothesis about the Vinča site and prehistory of Serbia in general, which, being rejected by many foreign and local scholars, still influenced local archaeology in Serbia. The key scholar to modernize Serbian archaeology was Milutin Garašanin, student of Vasić, PhD with J. Korošec in Ljubljana, who, having based most of his conceptual apparatus on the strict positivist comparative typology and chronology advocated by G. von Merhart's concepts, proposed completely new chronological and typological scheme for the prehistoric periods in Serbia (Babić 2002:313). Another, minor influence came from G. Childe's works on the Neolithic Period of the Balkans and the Danube area. M. Garašanin, individually or in collaboration with his wife Draga Garašanin from the National Museum in Belgrade, contributed some of the fundamental works (especially their analysis of the Vinča and Starčevo Cultures), which formed a backbone of a new prehistoric archaeology in the first decades after WWII.¹⁰⁸ In the following decades, M. Garašanin achieved a reputation of one of the most renowned experts in Balkan archaeology and became a member of a number of international scholarly societies, such as the German Archaeological Institute, the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the Italian Institute for Prehistory, and the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc.

¹⁰⁸Garašanin, Milutin: *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji (Archaeological sites in Serbia)* (with D. Garašanin), Prosveta Beograd 1951; Hronologija Vinčanske grupe (Chronology of the Vinča Group), PhD Dissertation at the University of Ljubljana; Neolithikum und Bronzezeit im Serbien und Makedonien, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanisch Kommission* 39, Berlin-Frankfurt 1958, 1–130; Chronologische und ethnische Probleme der Eisenzeit auf dem Balkan, *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale delle scienze preistoriche e protostoriche*, I, Firenze Sansoni ed. 1962, 179–195; The Neolithic in Anatolia and the Balkan, *Antiquity* 35, Cambridge 1961, 246–280 (for full bibliography of M Garašanin – some 350 published works, see in Miletin 1989–1990). *Praistorija na tlu SR Srbije (Prehistory on the territory of Serbia)*, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1973, 2 volumes. Draga Arandelović Garašanin, *Starčevačka kultura (Starčevo Culture)*, University of Ljubljana 1950, PhD Dissertation.

M. Garašanin also contributed pioneering works on Slavic archaeology. Together with Jovan Kovačević (1920–1988), professor of medieval archaeology at the University of Belgrade, he published one of the first monographs on the Slavic material culture in Yugoslavia in 1950.¹⁰⁹ With the exception of Croatia, Slavic archaeology was almost nonexistent in the pre-WWII period, became one of the major developmental priorities of archaeology in Yugoslavia, and many efforts were invested for its proper constitution not only in Serbia but also in all other republics of former Yugoslavia. As it has been repeatedly said, this process was motivated and accompanied also by the internal and external political factors. Internally, the Communist party promoted the ideology of “brotherhood and unity” among Yugoslav nations and it required its historical dimension and legitimizing, and archaeology of the Slavic peoples was one of the topics, which were set very high on the agenda in the developing discipline of archaeology in Yugoslavia.¹¹⁰

The monograph by Garašanin and Kovačević appeared during a very heated debate as a step in fulfilling the urgent archaeological requirements. At that time, the Merhart’s concepts of source criticism was not fully developed and applied in Yugoslavia, and archaeologies dealing with ethnic and ethnogenetic issues, were still rather Kossinean in their general approach, including all simplifications and reductions of social and cultural categories used in their apparatus. This was also the case with this monograph, which soon became the target of strong criticism. Bogo Grafenauer (1916–1995), leading Slovene medievalist, was the one who clearly pointed to a number of problems with a simplified archeo-historical methodology and, consequently, constructs that are not justifiable according to the modern historiographical standards (Grafenauer 1951:170–174). However, in spite of the criticism by Grafenauer and some other historians, the monograph of Garašanin and Kovačević served as an important textbook for generations of students of archaeology in Yugoslavia, and it took almost 20 years to apply more critical methods and develop more critical archaeology of the Slavs. However, this issue, particularly the appeal of “simple and effective methods in ethnogenesis” was again at stake in the context of recent wars in Yugoslavia (for Serbia see Babić, 2002:318).

Another very influential figure in Serbian archaeology was Dragoslav Srejšević (1931–1996), whose name is associated with the discoveries at Lepenski vir and Gamzigrad. Compared with M. Garašanin and his insistence on rather strict archaeological methods in chronological, typological, and cross-cultural comparisons, archaeological interpretations by Srejšević went beyond the typical “cultural

¹⁰⁹Milutin Garašanin and Jovan Kovačević, *Pregled materijalne kulture Južnih Slovena ranom srednjem veku* (Overview of the material culture of southern Slavs in the Early Medieval Period). Prosveta, Beograd 1950.

¹¹⁰The development of Slavic archaeology is listed among the principle priorities in the Resolution of the First Conference of Yugoslav archaeologists in Niška banja in 1950 (on conclusions and documents of this conference see Korošec 1950).

historicism” of the Garašanin’s school crossing the disciplinary boundaries (Babić 2002:313). Srejić saw the practice of archaeology as an “art of unlocking past human culture” and he never explicitly defined or clarified his concept of archaeological interpretation, which, indeed, remained very intuitive and implicit in character.¹¹¹

Although presenting rather opposite archaeological discourse both Garašanin and Srejić were very reluctant to accept ideas coming from the processual and postprocessual archaeology, and they also saw no real use or importance of Marxism as well. At the basic conceptual level, they both remained quite faithful to culture history, and their authority and reputation in the academic archaeology had impact on rather late appearance of processual and postprocessual ideas in Serbian archaeology.

Since the mid-1960s basically no restriction on traveling abroad, studying at foreign universities, having joint projects with foreign teams, and inviting foreign professors existed in Yugoslavia. In the 1980s, the general political atmosphere was even more liberal due to the diminishing powers of the Communist party. Except for relative lack of funds, communication with western countries and archaeological schools was easier than communication with Eastern Europe due to restrictions imposed in those countries. “Processual” and “theoretical” issues were discussed in Slovenia in the mid-1980s, and a number of “processual” articles by foreign archaeologists dealing with Serbian archaeological record have been published in the 1980s and 1990s. However, Serbian archaeology in general showed rather little interests in this direction. Actually, only after 2000 some elements of processual and postprocessual approaches have been used by local archaeologists.

The Dark 1990s

One should not forget the effects of the recent wars and nationalist discourse that dominated in the 1990s in Serbia. Although in Slovenia reflections on theory and practice of archaeology since the late 1980s aimed at going beyond the culture history tradition, mostly by targeting topics such as nationalism, analysis of historical conditions in forming national archaeologies, criticism of intensively increasing and politically motivated pseudo-archaeology, as well as debating some “standard” issues of processual vs. postprocessual divide, in a war milieu in Serbia, this kind of discussion in the archaeological academic and professional discourse was nonexistent.¹¹² Here, perspectives for academic archaeology, not properly serving the nation and its cause, and forced to exist in condition of extreme lack of funds

¹¹¹Srejić himself on one occasion described his approach as “poetic” archaeology (Babić 2002:313).

¹¹²On the contrary, the issues of nationalism, nationalist abuses of history, archaeology and the past in general were discussed in the 1990s in Serbia in semiclosed and limited circles of anthropological scholars, among nongovernmental organizations, “parallel” education institutions, etc., which all stood against the politics of the Milošević’s regime. Some archaeologists took the active role in such opposition.

(salaries included), were actually very bleak, especially between 1992 and 1996 (during the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). The atmosphere again worsened in 1998 with NATO's bombings of Serbia and subsequent secession of Kosovo, but started to gradually improve after the end of Milošević's rule in 2000. In general, during the 1990s, academic archaeology was marginalized (Staša Babić 2002:318, also adds "self-marginalized") since it never very actively and publicly opposed the claims for different past proposed by numerous popular pseudo-theories on glorious Serbian history. In fact, in some cases, it was actually indulged in rewriting the past and answering the ideological/national calls (Babić *ibid.*).

Genuine attempts to advance archaeology, which survived the "dark" 1990s,¹¹³ soon revealed its great potential after 2000. Younger generation of scholars took over the responsibilities in a number of key institutions and was able to reestablish intensive communication with colleagues from neighboring and other countries and to reengage Serbian archaeology in the current discourse in regional and international context. Change were mostly visible at the University of Belgrade, where a group of critically oriented professors were able to introduce several courses on processualist and postprocessualist topics,¹¹⁴ published several critical reflections on developments and social role of national archaeology, and, last but not least, to clearly condemn nationalist discourse, which greatly pervaded historical sciences in Serbia of the 1990s. The process was not easy and is still under way.

To conclude, archaeology in Serbia reflects much of the fortunes of its country. Since 1900, Serbia was involved in three regional and two world wars, and after each of them rather radical societal, political, and also cultural changes occurred, which inevitably affected archaeology. During the twentieth century, Belgrade was established as the paramount archaeological center on national level and maintained this position ever since, also due to the fact that the country had (and still follows) the tradition of strong centralized administration. Archaeology in Serbia was developing mostly within the general matrix of the culture history paradigm, and in the 1970s and 1980s, it achieved the level that made the "Belgrade" archaeology among the most developed schools in former Yugoslavia and in neighboring countries. Although it could not match Croatia in terms of developed regional and local infrastructure (e.g., number of regional and local museum, and regional heritage preservation branches), the concentration of Serbian archaeology in Belgrade produced one of the strongest scholarly centers in southeastern Europe in this time.

Two major archaeological disciplines could be distinguished as "top" research fields where achievements were especially evident on international levels – the Neolithic archaeology and Roman provincial archaeology (especially of the major Roman towns in the country). It is not by chance that these two fields were so

¹¹³It should not be forgotten that the UN economic embargo imposed on Serbia in the 1990s made many practices almost impossible, among other things, also traveling by scholars, books exchange, and joint projects.

¹¹⁴In this context, two centers were established since 2000 by the Department of Archaeology: the Center for Digital Archaeology and the Center for Theoretical Archaeology.

developed as both had the longest local tradition of archaeological research, dating from the end of nineteenth century, and both revealed spectacular discoveries. This is also evident in the fact that almost all international projects in this country targeted these two periods.

But the 1990s was clearly a period of great set-back in many respects: economic, infrastructural, and conceptual. It is true that all archaeological institutions survived this period but they are left with very few resources and developmental potential in the era of “new capitalism,” particularly at local and regional levels. And here is one of the key issues and responsibilities of the archaeological centers in the capital city to help in establishing a stronger network of archaeological institutions in “inner” Serbia, and to make archaeological practice and research not exclusively a domain of public institutions. The examples from Croatia and Slovenia clearly demonstrate positive aspects in involving private management in preventive archaeology, rescue archaeology, and other projects. Some of the major goals should be the widening of archaeological interests, increased relevancy of archaeology, and the enlargement of expert labor market.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Geography and History

Bosnia and Herzegovina measures slightly more than 51,000 km² and is presently inhabited by 4.6 million people. It extends from the Sava River in southern Pannonia to the north to the Dinara Mountains to the south and southwest where Bosnia and Herzegovina borders with Croatian inner Dalmatia, a region with similar geographical characteristics. Country’s eastern border with Serbia is marked by the Drina River. Major settlement areas are along the principal rivers in central Bosnia (Bosna, Vrbas and Sana), all flowing from central Bosnia northwards to the Sava River, and along the Neretva River in the region of Herzegovina, running from central Bosnia to the Adriatic Sea.

In morphological terms, the country comprises three major zones: the northern zone of lower and flatter lands along the Sava River and its tributaries, the central zone with largely mountainous relief intersected by narrow river valleys, and flatter and lower areas along the Neretva River in southern and southeastern parts of the country.

The name of the country comes from two historical regions – Bosnia comprises northern and central regions (approximately three quarters of a country), while southern regions belong to Herzegovina. The difference between the two regions is clearly visible in geological and ecological characteristics. Herzegovina is a region typical for the Adriatic (i.e., Mediterranean) hinterland, with large areas of barren karstic and rocky landscape with series of flatter and lower lying karstic fields, and with Mediterranean climate and vegetation, while Bosnia exhibits more characteristics of the continental areas, heavily forested mountain areas intersected with river valleys in central parts and lower sub-Pannonian and Pannonian terrains in the north.

In the Roman era, Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of a large province of Dalmatia, which extended from the Sava River in the north to the Adriatic Sea in the south and almost to the Morava valley in the east; its capital was Salona near Split. Because of Christianization and influence of the Frankish feudalism, firmer local feudal state structures developed in the twelfth century AD when Bosnia appeared as an autonomous political entity. The Bosnian Kingdom reached its peak in the fourteenth century, when it became an important regional power, controlling large parts of the Adriatic coast. With the arrival of the Ottomans in the fifteenth century and particularly after the annexation of the Bosnian Kingdom by the Ottoman Empire, radical changes occurred in political and cultural aspects; new administrative, religious, and social orders were introduced, together with new system of landholding, military organization, etc. Bosnia was turned to a province, which because of its strategic position and overall importance (bordering zone with Christian states) enjoyed a special treatment at the Sultan's Court in Istanbul for the next four centuries. During this period, the country was intensively Islamized with a large portion of the local population converted to Islam, much more than in Serbia or Macedonia.

During the Ottoman era, large urban centers developed in central regions of the country (away from the military controlled borders) – Travnik, Mostar, and Sarajevo – and became important regional centers of trade and manufacture. In the mid-seventeenth century, Sarajevo grew into a very large city having more than 70,000 inhabitants and became the most important Ottoman city in the western Balkans with very strong local elite.¹¹⁵ It is also important to say that at the edges of the Muslim cultural, public and political life, also the Catholic and Orthodox populations, although economically and politically disadvantaged, were, nevertheless, able to preserve a great deal of their identity at local levels.¹¹⁶

After the Berlin Congress (1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina became the protectorate of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (officially incorporated the Empire in 1908 raised into a status of province). In this newly acquired land, culturally so different from the rest of the Empire, the Austrians attempted to promote a sort of Austro-Bosnian ideology accompanied with large-scale process of modernization (Europeization) of the country, also in the field of science. The government in Vienna invested great efforts in establishing new (“western”) cultural matrix to change the character of the country and secure its loyalty to the Crown. However, Austrian attempts were constantly challenged by the local Muslim, Croatian, and Serbian national movements, also often opposing each other. The Austrian politics definitely

¹¹⁵Sarajevo had its first high school (*Hannikah*) for studying Islamic theology, law and philosophy opened in the 1530s, together with the university's library, and was ranked equal to the Sultan Bayazit's Medressa (university) in Istanbul. From the sixteenth century come the most beautiful architectural monuments of the Ottomans in the Balkan (e.g., Gazi Husref-bey's Mosque). Since the late sixteenth century groups of Sefardic Jews were moving to Sarajevo and also contributed to the economic and cultural prosperity of the city and country.

¹¹⁶Their major institutions in this respect were monasteries; especially the Franciscan Order was very active in this field.

failed in 1914 with the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand II in Sarajevo by Serbian nationalists – *casus belli* for World War One. After the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina was included into Yugoslavia and administratively divided among several units that persisted until 1941, the outbreak of WWII in the Balkans. After 1945, the country became one of the six Yugoslav republics. In the 1970s, the Muslim population was granted a status of a nation.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was mixed ethnically and religiously. Most of the population was composed of three groups Muslims, Serbs, and Croats but no nation had absolute majority in the country. In Tito's Yugoslavia, the period between the 1960s and 1980s is marked by great economic progress. Heavy industry was built in areas rich in ores of different kinds, and was accompanied by modern transportation infrastructure and many new urban centers across the country.

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, and subsequent war between all three major ethnic groups (to a large extent orchestrated by neighboring Milošević's Serbia and Tuđman's Croatia both having plans to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina), the country came out highly divided and impoverished. At present, the country is composed of two autonomous political entities (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina made out of territories controlled by the Bosniaks¹¹⁷ and Croats, and the Republic of Srpska composed of territories held by the Serbs). The process of recovery and reconciliation is still very slow and painful, and closely monitored by the Office of the UN Special Envoy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

History of Archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Archaeology as Colonial Enterprise in the Austro-Hungarian Politics in the Balkans (1880s–1918)

Bosnia and Herzegovina presents a particular case in the introduction and early development of archaeology in the Balkans. Although archaeology in some countries of former Yugoslavia was built up from the local traditions originating in the Renaissance (Croatia, Slovenia) or from the nineteenth century development of national histories (Serbia), in Bosnia and Herzegovina, archaeology was introduced as a genuine “colonial” project.

With the exception of some activities of the local Franciscan Order,¹¹⁸ one could barely speak of any significant local antiquarian tradition during the Ottoman era.

¹¹⁷The term “Bosniak” replaced the previous term “Muslim” as ethnic name.

¹¹⁸After the Ottomans arrival, the Catholic Church retreated from the country and abolished its traditional administrative structure. The only organized Catholic cleric structure that remained in the country were the Franciscans to whom a sort of a missionary status was given to continue their service in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina was much more fragmented during the Ottoman period.

Indeed, it is only with the growth of national movements in the Balkans when an increased interest in local and national histories and antiquities is visible.

After the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 and the subsequent retreat of Turks, process of radical modernization (Europeization) was launched. Chief role in this process played Beni Kallay (1839–1903), Austrian minister of finances and chief secretary for Bosnia (1882–1903), great connoisseur of the Balkans and author of *History of Serbia* (*Geschichte der Serben*, Budapest 1878). Crucial ideological aspect of Kallay's politics was Austrian civilisatory role in the former Ottoman lands (Kraljačić 1987:61), while in more pragmatic perspective this meant creation of a new "Bosnian" (three-confessional) nation, loyal to the Austrian Crown (Kraljačić, 1987:186). By splitting local nations, the Austro-Hungarian Empire attempted to prevent formation of a stronger southern Slavic state in western Balkans (Serbia was a very probable candidate) and to weaken national movements among southern Slavs in the newly annexed territories, which may threaten the Empire's rule. In this process of major societal change, culture was given a very important role of introducing and propagating "western" cultural norms and values, and great attention was given to pre-Islamic cultural traditions (Kraljačić 1987:195–201).

Austrian politics was very keen on establishing new scientific and cultural institutions through which messages of "new" European civilization (and Austrian rule) could be conveyed and widely promoted, and it is in this context that archaeology was introduced from the "above," with new rulers.¹¹⁹ In 1888, a large central scientific institution – the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo – was established¹²⁰ with the aim to carry out principal scientific, cultural, and educational tasks under the instructions of the new government and Benjamin Kallay personally (Kraljačić 1987:266). How much attention was given to the Museum and its role could be best illustrated with the fact that the new building to which the museum moved in 1908 was one of the most expensive public buildings constructed in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 4 decades of the Empire's rule (1878–1918).

The Museum was planned as multidisciplinary scientific institution, with emphasis on archaeology, history, geography, ethnography, and natural sciences. Archaeology was, indeed, given very important role and under the "mentorship" of Moritz Hoernes (1852–1917) and Viennese scholarly societies (Anthropological Society from Vienna, in the first place), archaeology in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo very soon developed to the level other archaeological institutions in this

¹¹⁹Particularly active in this field was Austrian scholar Moritz Hoernes, who in 1879–1880 undertook several research trips to Bosnia and Herzegovina to document archaeological and historical monuments (Moritz Hoernes, *Dinarische Wanderungen*, Wien 1888).

¹²⁰In 1850 Ivan Franjo Jukić (1818–1857), Franciscan priest, historian, and author of one of the most influential nineteenth century text on geography and history of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Zemljopis i poviestnica Bosne* (Geography and History of Bosnia), Zagreb 1851), being well aware of the antiquities in his country, proposed to establish a museum. However, due to Jukić's 'Illyrian' (i.e., pan-Slavic) reputation, this proposal was not met with sympathy by the Ottoman Bosnian Government. In 1874 the Ottoman government in Istanbul accepted the act on protection of cultural monuments, but this act had no real consequences in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The "Austrian" initiative for the museum was based on a different political agenda (Dautbegović 1988).

part of Europe could barely match. The Museum staff consisted of a number of foreign and local scholars, and their number was much larger than in any similar institution in the region (e.g., Ćiro Truhelka, Karl Patcsh, Vaclav Radimsky, Filip Baliff, František-Franjo Fiala, Vejsil Čurčić).¹²¹

Since Bosnia and Herzegovina was in many respects “terra incognita” to the European science, additional steps were taken to promote the new Austrian land and “success” of the Austrian rule and culture. In 1894, the Provincial Government (sic!) organized an international meeting of archaeologists and anthropologists in Sarajevo and scholars from Italy, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Great Britain, Sweden, and France participated (Oscar Montelius and Gabriel Mortillet were among the attendees), and in 1895 the Anthropological Society from Vienna held its meeting in Sarajevo.

Archaeology proved to be a great success and pride at the Museum. In less than 2 decades since the establishment of the Museum, the archaeological staff excavated more than 30 prehistoric, Roman, and medieval sites. Even a quick glance on some of them reveals highly impressive figures: 1,200 burial mounds excavated at Glasinac; more than a 1,000 Late Bronze and Early Iron Age graves, hundreds of Late Iron Age graves, three large prehistoric pile-dwellings, tons of slag and remains of iron metallurgy, dozens of Roman inscriptions, a number of Roman sanctuaries and basilicas, as well as medieval monasteries and cemeteries with sarcophagi-like tombstones (*stećki*), etc. (Čović 1988; Paškvalin 1988, Miletić 1988). Some of the sites immediately gained international reputation, for instance, the Neolithic Period site of Butmir (excavated by the Museum staff and M. Hoernes, 1888–1896), because of its richness in decorated pottery and terracotta, at the beginning of the twentieth century, became one of the key sites for studying the Neolithic Period in southeastern Europe in general; more than 4,000 m² of the Bronze Age pile-dwellings in Donja Dolina revealed almost perfectly preserved wooden structures, site plan, and some extraordinary objects like bronze helmet. No less intensive was research of the Roman Period and in a very short period of time a number of studies on the Roman roads in Bosnia, epigraphy, and numismatics were published.¹²² In short, if Bosnia and Herzegovina prior to 1880s was genuine archaeological “terra incognita” in a period of 3 decades, it became one of the systematically best researched countries in the western Balkans.

¹²¹It is important to note here, that the first staff was carefully selected among the scholars from wider areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, among Croats (Ć. Truhelka), Croatian Germans (K. Hörmann), Czechs (Fiala, Radimsky), Austria (K. Patcsh, K. Maly, V. Apfelbeck, O. Reiser) clearly mirroring the Austrian political intentions.

¹²²Fascination of foreign scholars with rich archaeological record from Bosnia and Herzegovina and endeavors of local scholars is best illustrated by the quote of Robert Munro, British archaeologists and participant of the 1894 international meeting in Sarajevo: *...during the few years... there has been accumulated throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina a mass of scientific materials unsurpassed, in a corresponding period of time, by any other country in Europe* (K. Hörmann, Sastanak arheologa i antropologa u Sarajevu, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja VI*, Sarajevo 1894, 530–531, cf. Čović 1988, 78).

Decline in New State

However, after WWI, a period of considerable decline of archaeological work of the Provincial Museum followed. Archaeology strongly depending on ties with Austrian archaeological institutions than similar institutions in other former Austrian provinces in Slovenia and Croatia strongly felt the collapse after 1918. An additional factor, which contributed to this decline, was economic crisis and administrative fragmentation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Conditions for continuing scientific research also worsened with the departure of the pre-WWI scientists, who moved back to Austria, where they retired or were transferred to other posts. New staff appointed after 1918 could not match the previous activities or simply did not have enough resources (Dautbegović 1988:19).

Despite of rather unfavorable economic conditions, there still were some exceptional scholars who contributed much to the maintaining of high level of archaeological work and reputation of the Provincial Museum. Among them was Mihovil Mandić (1871–1948), geographer and archaeologists, student of M. Hoernes and Albrecht Penck, curator and director of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo (1918–1941). Left as the only professional archaeologist employed in the Museum, he had to deal with a wide range of archaeological problems, from excavations of prehistoric and Roman sites, archaeological surveying, publishing scientific and popular papers, etc. Indeed, Mandić had to be accredited for keeping considerably high level of archaeological work until new generation of scholars was employed at the end of the 1930s (Josip Korošec and Alojz Benac).¹²³ In securing the continuity of archaeological work in the pre-WWII periods an important role was also played by Dimitrije Sergejevski (1885–1965), epigraphist, expert in the Roman history and art.

Return to Old Glory: Revitalization and Growth of Archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1945–1991)

The period after WWII brought about major changes and improvements to archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the atmosphere of fast growth of the discipline and services (promoted by the new Yugoslav government), the Provincial Museum was able to substantially enlarge archaeological personnel in less than 2 decades: after Josip Korošec (1939–1945) who moved to Slovenia, four new archaeologists from younger generation were appointed: Alojz Benac (1914–1992), Borivoje Čović (1927–1995), Zdravko Marić, and Đuro Basler (1917–1990). These

¹²³The work of Mihovil Mandić and his contribution to archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been evaluated only very recently. In the 1940s, he was discredited as anti-Serbian, not loyal to the Yugoslav Crown, who collaborated with the Germans during WWII, and this fame continued also after 1945 in new Yugoslavia. For this reason he was frequently ignored or omitted in texts dealing with the Provincial Museum and archaeology in this country. D. Periša (2007) in his analysis of Mandić's archaeological work sheds new light on his personality and circumstances he worked in, and provides more correct image of this scholar.

appointments catalyzed genuine boost of archaeology in the country, accompanied by reestablishment of archaeological heritage service in the early 1950s. Newly appointed experts divided archaeological tasks among themselves to simultaneously develop various branches of archaeology: A. Benac's domain were the Neolithic and Eneolithic Periods, Borivoj Čović specialized in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Zdravko Marić's primary domain was the Iron Age, while Đuro Basler started to develop research of the Paleolithic Period. The most important figure in this group was, without doubt, Alojz Benac, who not only contributed large number of essential works in prehistoric archaeology of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and Yugoslavia as well)¹²⁴ but also took over a number of important organizational tasks and coordinated a great deal of archaeological work in the whole country.¹²⁵

At regional levels due to lack of infrastructure, archaeology was not as developed as in Sarajevo. The only museum from the pre-WWII period was in Banja Luka, the second largest city in Bosnia in Herzegovina, the capital of the Vrbas Banate (1929–1941). From the mid-1950s onwards, regional museums were gradually established throughout the country only, in Tuzla (1949), Mostar (1950), Bihać (early 1950s), and gradually developed their own archaeological research agendas. Ten years later, there were altogether 15 museums employing a number of archaeologists.

Until the 1960s, archaeological research in Bosnia in Herzegovina concentrated in the Provincial Museum, which remained the largest archaeological institution in the country until the present day. Its peak was in the late 1980s when 13–15 archaeologists worked in it (a number equal to the total number of archaeologists employed in all other regional and local museums and regional heritage protection units).¹²⁶

With the establishment of the Institute of Balkan Studies (1954) at the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with the archaeological unit there (the Center for Balkan Studies, established in 1963), Sarajevo became one of the leading archaeological centers in the Bronze and Iron Ages studies in Yugoslavia. A. Benac played the key role in enlarging archaeological research and infrastructure. He envisaged an interdisciplinary structure of this center, with archaeology, ethnology, history, linguistics, aimed at attracting top researchers in the country, and

¹²⁴ A. Benac, *Prehistorijsko naselje Nebo i problem butmirske kulture* (Prehistoric settlement of Nebo and problem of Butmir culture), Univerza v Ljubljani 1952; A. Benac, B. Čović, *Glasinac I and II. Dio I. Bronzano doba*. (Glasinac. Vol. 1, Bronze Age), *Glasinac II. Dio II. Željezno doba* (Glasinac. Vol. II. Iron Age), Zemaljski muzej Sarajevo 1957, 1959; A. Benac, *Studien zur Stein- und Kupferzeit im nordwestlichen Balkan*. BRGK 42, Walter de Gruyter 1962; A. Benac, *Prediliri, Protoiliri i Prailiri* (Before-Illyrians, Proto-Illyrians and Pre-Illyrians). Simpozij o teritorijalnom i hronološkom razgraničenju Ilira u praistorijsko doba, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, knj. I, Sarajevo 1964, 59–94; Obre I – A Neolithic settlement of the Starčevo-Impresso and Kakanj cultures at Raskršće, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen des Bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesmuseum*, Band II, Heft A, Sarajevo 1973.

¹²⁵ Alojz Benac during his career acted as director of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, head of the Center for Balkan Studies, professor at the University of Sarajevo, president of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society, and MP in the Republican parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹²⁶ Combining all archaeological institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1980s, two-thirds of all archaeologists in the country were employed in Sarajevo.

undertaking major research projects at the national level. The Center also initiated a publication of the journal *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* (Yearbook of the Center for Balkan Studies; the first issue came out in 1954), which together with the publication of the Provincial Museum *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* (Journal of the Provincial Museum; it started as the German-language *Mitteilungen der Landesmuseum fuer Bosnia and Herzegovina* in 1894) present two major archaeological scientific periodicals with international reputation.

However, what Bosnia and Herzegovina lacked in all these years was a university curriculum of archaeology. With the end of the Ottoman era, the university tradition in this country was limited to religious studies and the first modern faculties in Sarajevo were established in 1940 and early 1950s (Faculty of Philosophy was established in 1950). Courses in history were taught at the Faculty of Philosophy since its establishment, while the first (and only) chair in archaeology was established in 1957 with the appointment of Alojz Benac, who at that time became the most influential personality in archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, combining the leading position in the Provincial Museum, in the Institute of Balkan Studies and professorship at the University of Sarajevo. However, in spite of his great authority, a proper Department of Archaeology did not develop at the University of Sarajevo. The chair of archaeology was part of the Department of History and was more oriented to ancient history rather than archaeology. In fact, until now, all professional archaeologists presently working in Bosnia and Herzegovina graduated from universities in other former Yugoslav republics (mostly Belgrade and Zagreb).

Besides Alojz Benac whose authority in wider academic, cultural and political circles in the country secured a rather high status of archaeology, Borivoje Čović was another scholar who greatly contributed to the achievements of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina (as well as in Yugoslavia). Čović studied in Belgrade and in 1957 became a curator of prehistory at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, where he stayed until his retirement in 1992. Since 1973, he was also professor at the University of Sarajevo. Čović was primarily an expert in the Bronze and Iron Ages and in his career published some of the key studies on these two periods in western Balkans.¹²⁷

The 1970s and early 1980s mark the developmental peak of archaeology in Bosnia in Herzegovina. Very strong Provincial Museum and Alojz Benac's

¹²⁷ A. Benac and B. Čović, *Glasinac I and II. Dio I. Bronzano doba*. (Glasinac. Vol. 1, Bronze Age), *Glasinac II. Dio II. Željezno doba* (Glasinac. Vol. II. Iron Age), Zemaljski muzej Sarajevo 1957, 1959; B. Čović, Osnovne karakteristike materijalne kulture Ilira na njihovom centralnom području (Basic characteristics of the material culture of Illyrians in their central area). *Simpozijum o teritorijalnom i hronološkom razgraničenju Ilira u praiستosijško doba*. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja IX, 95–134; *Od Butmira do Ilira (From Butmir to Illyrians)*, Sarajevo 1976; and particularly his studies in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, vol. IV (Prelazna zona (Transitional zone)); Regionalne grupe ranog bronzanog doba (Regional groups of the Early Bronze Age); Srednjobosanska kulturna grupa (Central Bosnian cultural group); Glasinačka kulturna grupa (Glasinac culture group), Sarajevo 1983; and Vol. V (Grupa Donja Dolina – Sanski Most (Donja Dolina – Sanski Most group); Srednjodalmatinska grupa (Central Dalmatian group); Glasinačka kultura (Glasinac culture) co-author S. Gabrovec) Sarajevo 1987. B. Čović, Die Ethnogenese der Illyrier aus der Sicht der Vor- und Frühgeschichte. In: B. Wolfram and A. Kandler-Pálsson, *Ethnogenese Europäischer Völker*, Stuttgart – New York 1986, 55–74.

influence in academic and cultural politics of the country created rather favorable milieu for the development of archaeology. Decades of great efforts invested by the “founding” generation in 1950s and 1960s (A. Benac, B. Čović, Đ. Basler, Z. Marič, D. Sergejevski and others) yielded excellent “harvest” in form of two very large projects: the five-volume syntheses on prehistory of Yugoslavia and Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja (Prehistory of the Yugoslav Lands)¹²⁸ was by large the most ambitious (and successful) archaeological publishing project in Yugoslavia. It was initiated and coordinated by A. Benac and B. Čović, who succeeded in coordinating a group of accomplished prehistorians from all of the Yugoslav republics. The contributors wrote over 3,500 pages presenting comprehensive synthesis of prehistory of Yugoslavia still considered the major referential text for prehistory of the western Balkans.¹²⁹

The second project, the *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina*¹³⁰ (edited by B. Čović) was another monumental publication. A seven-volume gazetteer contains information on more than 7,000 archaeological sites in the country and syntheses of the individual archaeological periods. The work on this lexicon was initiated in the 1950s when such archaeological maps had priority in the archaeological agenda in Yugoslavia, and it took more than 3 decades to collect, sort, review, and publish the enormous quantity of information.

Archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the very moment of its introduction at the end of the nineteenth century very quickly achieved high academic level and reputation. The Provincial Museum of Sarajevo was without the doubt the prime case of successful provincial institution in all Austro-Hungarian Empire. And it is exactly this high level of scientific and expert work that provided basis for successful continuity in the twentieth century. In this period, Sarajevo with its major archaeological institutions ranks among the top five archaeological centers in whole southeastern Europe in the period between 1918 and 1990.

It was recognized also by the international archaeological community, which from the mid-1960s made its presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country’s archaeological potential was particularly attractive for the American institutions. The following project have been jointly organized: in 1967–69 joint research of the Neolithic sites at Obre with the UCLA and Maria Gimbutas; in 1967 rescue project with the Smithsonian Institution and Stanford University; in 1986–88 the University

¹²⁸*Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*; Sarajevo Svjetlost, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979–1987; vol. 1 (*Paleolitsko i mezolitsko doba.* – 1979; 453 pages with 53 figures); vol. 2 (*Neolitsko doba.* – 1979; 705 pages with 99 figures); vol. 3 (*Eneolitsko doba.* – 1979; 500 pages, 51 figures); vol. 4 (*Bronzano doba.* – 1983; 908 pages with 112 figures), vol. 5 (*Željezno doba.* – 1987; 1006 pages with 138 figures).

¹²⁹The 6th volume – synthesis in English – was also planned but due to death of Benac in 1990 and the war in Yugoslavia it was never published.

¹³⁰*Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1988.

of Michigan joint project with the Provincial Museum at the Paleolithic site of Badanj. French schools were also interested in archaeology of the Paleolithic Period: project with the Museum of Man, Paris, and the Institute of Quaternary Archaeology, Bordeaux, on Paleolithic art (1990–1991). The increased interest of foreign scholars can be also seen in recent years, for instance, the Butmir culture project conducted with the German Archaeological Institute (2002–2008). However, presently the most intensive is the cooperation on restoration of heritage sites destroyed during the recent war.

As for conceptual developments, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not differ from other national archaeological schools in former Yugoslavia where the leading theory throughout the second half of the twentieth century was culture history. However, it contributed very much to development of something what could be labelled as genuine “Yugoslav” archaeological school. The topic around which this school was organized could be seen in “Illyrian” archaeology and studies of ethnogenesis of the western Balkan peoples in late prehistoric periods. This topic was put very high on the “Yugoslav” archaeological agenda in the 1950s (Korošec 1950), and became the research focus of the Center for Balkan Studies’ (with A. Benac and B. Čović as leading figures).

Also in other fields, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina followed general trends present in Continental Europe. The study of the Neolithic Period was seen as part of regional Neolithic studies in southeastern Europe, with standard interpretative apparatus (e.g., migrationist theories to explain neolithization, pottery forms and decorations used as basis for distinguishing regional groupings (i.e., cultures), detailed chronological analyses, “historical” interpretation of social processes, cross-cultural comparisons, etc.). Roman provincial archaeology had very long tradition of relying on epigraphy, numismatics, architectural analysis, and studying historical sources, which enabled the understanding major processes and structures of the Roman period. All these sources were also fundamental for studying the key question of ethnic structure of Bosnia at Roman times, and western Balkans in general. Slavic archaeology, which gradually developed after WWII, followed general “Yugoslav” developmental trends in this field, comparable to developments in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia.

However, archaeology of the Ottoman period is missed in medieval studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the country is a perfect place in southeastern Europe for developing such studies. In the field of heritage preservation, there were plenty of cases of studying and restoring monuments from the Ottoman period, this period was also extensively studied by historians, ethnographers, literary historians, art historians, but in archaeology it existed more on the fringes of the discipline and has never been developed as a subject *per se*. Similarly marginal status Ottoman archaeology has in Macedonia and Serbia. There are at least two reasons why this subject should be of interest to local archaeologists. The liberation from the Ottoman rule presents one of the major steps in nation-making process and constitutes abundant reservoir of national myths. Here, critical approach is clearly needed. The other reason is the status of the Muslim

nation (i.e., “heirs” of the Ottoman heritage), which was officially recognized in the Yugoslav constitution in 1974. Prior to that this population was frequently referred to as “muslimized Croats” or “muslimized Serbs” and so national conservative circles, especially among the Croats and Serbs, were reluctant toward the development of “Muslim” national identity. There could be also another reason for not pursuing Ottoman archaeology. The largely accepted traditional opinion holds that the subject of archaeology ends with the tenth to eleventh centuries AD and from then history takes over. Though this opinion is changing and in the 1990s chairs in late medieval and postmedieval archaeology were established at the universities in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and many museums intensively study collections from these periods, it had strong influence in the past, regarding funding, academic politics, publication, etc. However, under new political circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in other former Ottoman territories (e.g., Serbia), the prospects for developing this subject are getting better.

Archaeology and War in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Hundreds of cultural and historical monuments (mostly religious objects of all kinds but also architectural objects such as the Old Bridge in Mostar, etc.) and institutions (e.g., the National Library and the University Library in Sarajevo) destroyed in the last war in Bosnia and Herzegovina deserve attention, but since much on this subject has already been published elsewhere, and this issue is not the focus of this study.

The aspect we would like to stress here is the setback of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s. The collapse is associated with the war and with the subsequent general impoverishment of society and also with the partitioning of the country into a number of autonomous and semi-autonomous entities.

As it has been shown, archaeology in this country advanced in the twentieth century, and at the end of 1980s Sarajevo was considered one of the major archaeological centers in southeastern Europe, which succeeded in maintaining its high reputation since the “Austrian” establishment of the discipline in this country. However, what was certainly an advantage in the past – centralized institutional structure and coordination of practice – proved to be the major disadvantage in the 1990s when war in Yugoslavia did not spare Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With the creation of national entities and cantonal administrative structure, Sarajevo *de facto* ceased to exist as common political, economic, cultural, and scientific center for all Bosnia and Herzegovina, and this had major impact on archaeology as well. During the war, most archaeological institutions either ceased to function or worked at a very low level of activity. Museums were trying to secure collections, archaeologists and many other academics left their hometowns, institutions, and even the country in great numbers, and the activities of the institutes at the Academy and University of Sarajevo were limited to preserving the very existence of these institutions. Indeed, for the period of war (1992–1996) with some

exceptions, no scientific or cultural activities were pursued,¹³¹ and archaeological activities were limited to securing and protecting what was possible to protect.

The Dayton Peace Agreement (November 1995), which formally ended the war, highly decentralized the country leaving almost no central state structures except institutions responsible for foreign affairs, the army, and general financial affairs. Culture, education, scientific activities and such became the affairs of ethnic entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Srpska) or even of cantonal administrations.

Such partitioning and fragmentation had immediate and fatal effects on most public systems in culture, science, and education, archaeological discipline included. Once strong centers of knowledge, like the Provincial Museum, the institutes of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, state Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection and a number of other institutions were reduced in their activities to a few administrative units around Sarajevo, but even their very existence as central state institutions was at stake. The official politics of the Republic of Srpska was (and still is) very much against common state infrastructure, and similarly the Bosnian Croat politicians also agree to such position. Both, Bosnian Serbs and Croats pursue the politics of establishing to the full their own structures of public institutions in Banja Luka and Mostar, respectively.

Another circumstance that had disastrous consequences for archaeology relates human resources. The founding generation of archaeological scholars (Benac, Čović, Marić, Basler) either died or retired in the early 1990s, while some key scholars from the Center for Balkan Studies, the Provincial Museum, and the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection permanently or temporarily left the country. The situation after the war was that of a genuine disaster, as archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, once pride of the country, was reduced to a less than ten active professionals in all branches of archaeology, with no research facilities, few impoverished museums, no educational structure, and very weak heritage protection service, which mostly had to deal with war destructions. On top of that more than 1.5 million land mines were dispersed across the country, preventing any field activities for quite a long time.¹³²

¹³¹Cultural life, in fact, was surprisingly intensive, especially in the besieged Sarajevo. The two most known were the first international Sarajevo Film Festival organized in 1995, when the town was still under siege and the 1993 Susan Sonntag's staging of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*.

¹³²The Bosnia and Herzegovina Mine Action Center has until 2005 recorded some 18,000 mine fields with estimated 1.2 million land mines and unexploded munitions in all Bosnia and Herzegovina (see K. Fitzgerald, Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Journal of Mine action* 11.1, 2007, <http://maic.jmu.edu/JOURNAL/11.1/profiles/bih/bih.htm>). *Landmine Impact Survey* by the Handicap International France reported in 2005 that more than 45% of all communities in the country were to a various degree affected by landmines (http://www.sac-na.org/pdf_text/bosnia/BiH_FinalReport.pdf).

The recovery process is still very slow and it will take quite a long time for archaeology to reach the level of the late 1980s in terms of number of professional personnel, funding, quantity, and quality of research activities and publication. However, one thing seems certain, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina will not be the same or similar to that prior to the 1990s as political forces seem to be strong enough to prevent the formation and development of strong and relatively well funded central infrastructure and institutions.¹³³

However, during the last decade, some improvements were made. The most urgent measures were needed in the heritage sector. In 1995, Annex 8 to the Dayton Peace Agreement established the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, the statewide body primarily responsible for administrative protection of national sites and monuments, and it actually started to work in 2002. The situation in the field was quite far from optimistic.

Cultural heritage presented one of the issues around which inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts exploded and, consequently, has been purposely and systematically destroyed. The Council of Europe issued a report in 1993 stating that what happened to cultural heritage in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a “cultural catastrophe of terrible proportions.”¹³⁴ Though the exact data are still not fully collected and processed, it is safe to say that nearly 3,000 architectural heritage properties were destroyed and several thousands of items stolen, lost or otherwise damaged during the war; the fifteenth to nineteenth century monuments suffered the worst destruction.

In very harsh political and economic conditions, the Commission gradually acquired its reputation and authority of highly competent body being able not only to introduce modern standards of heritage protection but also to contribute much to the development of long-term strategies in this field. At present, the Commission succeeded in listing nearly 800 sites and monuments on the national list of protected monuments. Among them there are some 70 archaeological sites and structures (medieval architecture and urban landscapes are not included in this figure). In less than 8 years, the Commission evidently succeeded and accomplished the most strategically important tasks for which it was established, overcoming also the ethnic and administrative obstacles.

¹³³The case of the Provincial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (a target of more than 300 grenade attacks in the first year of war) illustrates well the present situation. The museum had a status of national museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of Yugoslavia (1918–1991; it just kept the traditional name). Presently it has funding problems since the Serbian politicians do not want to recognize its national institution status, preventing funding from the state budget. The museum was for quite a long time financed from the Canton Sarajevo budget since the Muslim-Croatian politicians (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) disagreed about its status and funding (see Sijarić 1992–1995:7–39).

¹³⁴The destruction by war of the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina presented by the Committee on Culture and Education. Information report, Rapporteur: Mr Jacques Baumel, France, RPR, Doc 6756, 2 February 1993.

Heritage protection is developing also on regional levels. In 1995, Republic of Srpska established its own heritage service *Republički zavod za zaštitu kulturno-istorijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Republike Srpske* (The Republic Institute for Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage Protection of Cultural, Historical of the Republic of Srpska) with head office in its administrative center in Banja Luka and regional offices in Pale, near Sarajevo and Trebinje in southeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. This sector nowadays employs five professionals altogether who are also occasionally aided by staff from regional and local museums.

The heritage sector in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina seems to be more vulnerable at the moment. The Institute for Protection of Monuments is a service within the Ministry of Culture and Sports, but deals mostly with administrative aspects, while the practice of protection is mostly a domain of the individual cantons. At the moment, of the ten cantons only two or three regional heritage offices employ archaeologist.

Out of 15 museums from the 1980s containing archaeological collections, all exists today but with reduced archaeological staff. The two largest museums with three–five archaeologists employed are the Provincial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo and the Museum of Republic of Srpska (former Museum of Bosanska krajina) in Banja Luka. All other, regional and local museums combined employ five to seven archaeologists altogether.

Improvements, though still very weak can be seen in the field of education. As it has been said before, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were no university curricula in archaeology until very recently. The major problem, besides the lack of funds, is still the lack of professors and other teachers. First, archaeological curriculum was introduced at the University of Mostar in 2004, as combined degree in archaeology and art history. However, the program there is almost exclusively taught by guest professors from universities in Croatia (Zadar mostly), who also administratively manage the program. Steps toward introducing archaeological curriculum were also made at the University of Sarajevo where, since the late 1950s, a chair in archaeology existed but not a faculty issuing degrees in archaeology. In the academic year 2008/2009, the first generation of students in archaeology was inscribed at Sarajevo. Also here, due to lack of local teachers, much of the program relies on guest professors from Slovenia and Croatia. At the moment, there is no archaeological curriculum at universities in the Republic of Srpska. The problems in securing proper level of teaching archaeology at both universities are still very large, and sustainability of both curricula is still an open issue.¹³⁵

¹³⁵One cannot ignore the political reasons and motives behind the establishment of both archaeological curricula, especially in the case of Mostar University, which illustrates very well the ethnic divides in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(FYR) Macedonia¹³⁶

Geography and History

Macedonia (still officially labeled by the UN as *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*) was the southernmost republic in former Yugoslavia and gained its independence in 1991. It occupies a territory of 25,713 km² and has a population of slightly more than two million people. Approximately 65% of its inhabitants are Macedonians, 25% Albanians, 3.9% Turks, 2.7% Roma, 1.8% Serbs, and 2.2% of other ethnic groups.

(FYR) Macedonia is a landlocked country separated by major mountain ridges from its neighbors: the Šara Mountains separate Macedonia from Serbia and Kosovo in the north, the Dinaric Mountains constitute the western border with Albania, the Nidže Mountains mark the southern end of the country and border with Greece, while the eastern sides of the Belasica, Maleševo and Osogovo Mountain ridges separate Macedonia from Bulgaria.

Morphologically, it is composed of three major units: mountainous areas of the Šara, Dinaric Mountains in the west, and the Osogovo-Maleševo-Belasica Mountains of the Rhodope chain in the east. Between these two mountain areas, runs from north to south, throughout FYR Macedonia, the valley of the Vardar River. Each of these three major units is subdivided into a number of smaller, more homogenous regions: for example, Ohrid and Prespan lakes in southwest, the Crni Drim River Valley in the west, Pelagonija area in the south, the valley of Strumica in the southeast, etc.

(FYR) Macedonia was named after a much wider historical and geographical region of Macedonia (bearing ancient Greek name), which extended from central northern Greece across modern country of (FYR) Macedonia to Thrace in western Bulgaria. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, during which Macedonia had a status of province, these areas remained under the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) rule, which greatly influenced its cultural and religious development in the subsequent centuries. Major demographic changes occurred first with invasions of the Slavic peoples since the late sixth century AD who settled in this area, and later, in the ninth century, with the annexation of great deal of Macedonian territory to the Bulgarian kingdom. At the end of the tenth century, Macedonia became the core area of the Samuel's (969–1018) empire, the strongest ruler in the central Balkans¹³⁷ of the time. In the following centuries, especially after the fall of the Constantinople

¹³⁶When referring to the actual state of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia I will use the abbreviation (*FYR*) *Macedonia*, or simply "*Macedonia*" and the adjective "*Macedonian*". In quoting the names of institutions (and their English translations) I will retain the original form. When referred to the wider (historical) region of Macedonia, which extends onto northern Greece, (FYR) Macedonia and western Bulgaria "*region of Macedonia*" or "*wider Macedonia*" will be used.

¹³⁷There are still disputes, particularly between Macedonian and Bulgarian historians, whether Samuel's Kingdom was Macedonian (i.e., Slavic Macedonian) or Bulgarian.

during the fourth Crusade, various kingdoms ruled Macedonia – Byzantium, Bulgarians, Serbs, local nobles, until the arrival of the Ottomans and annexation of Macedonia and neighboring lands to their empire in the last decades of the fourteenth century. Since then Macedonia remained Ottoman territory until the Balkan wars (1912–1913).

In contrast with Bosnia and Herzegovina which had the status of autonomous administrative unit (*vilayet*), the rest of the Ottoman lands in the Balkans, Macedonia included, were administratively organized in one large *beylerbeylik* of Rumelia governed by governor-general, and even at the lower level of administrative regionalization (*sanjaks*). Macedonia for most of the time of the Ottoman rule did not present an individual entity but was divided into more such units.

With the declining Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the nineteenth century, local peoples in Rumelia started their uprisings for national liberation (the Serbs, Greeks, Montenegrins), and soon acquired autonomy and then independence from the Ottomans. It is in this period and political context that the name of “Macedonians” appeared for the first time as modern ethnic name of the Slavic-speaking majority living in this region who adopted the name of Macedonia for their homeland.¹³⁸ The nation-making process of Macedonians was initiated rather late when compared with neighboring regions, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and continued well into the second half of the twentieth century. The reasons for such a delay are many, reluctance of the Ottoman state to give autonomy to the Macedonian lands, aspirations and propaganda of the neighboring countries denying the existence of a distinctive Macedonian nation, the lack of allies among the European powers (compared with Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria during their endeavors for independence), economic backwardness of Macedonia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and the lack of economic power among the local Macedonian population.¹³⁹

After the Balkan wars (1912–1913), the defeated Ottomans lost their last territories in Europe, and Macedonia was divided among Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria, but Macedonians, who already achieved some autonomy in education and culture

¹³⁸The so-called “Macedonian question” is one of the most long standing and open political issues in the modern history of the Balkans. A lot has been said and written about this problem, and much of the historiographical writings were politically motivated, particularly in historiographies of FYR Macedonia and neighboring countries (Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece). The present-day dispute between Greece and FYR Macedonia about the official name of this country along with Serbian and Bulgarian reluctance of recognizing the Macedonians as a nation illustrates the centennial attitude of these states and their national ideologies – challenging the Macedonian nation and its national territory. For this reason, it is not an easy task to select referential nonpartisan bibliography on the history of Macedonia, even in the case of non-Balkan authors who also frequently sided with one of the parties in this dispute. To clarify my own position on this matter, I fully accept the existence of a distinctive Slavic (non-Serbian and non-Bulgarian) nation on part of the territory of historic Macedonia, which developed its nationality in the nation-making processes from the end of the nineteenth century and its statehood on the basis of the Republic of Macedonia in former Yugoslavia after WWII.

¹³⁹On the nation-making process of Macedonians see Rossos (2008).

in the Ottoman state, were denied nationality in all three countries. In 1944 when the Serbian part of Macedonia (so-called Vardar Macedonia) was divided between Bulgaria and Italian controlled Albania, the Macedonian liberation movement (led by the Communist Party) proclaimed the People's Republic of Macedonia within Tito's Yugoslavia. It is in this political context in which the Macedonians were for the first time given the status equal to other constituent nations in Yugoslavia, and when Macedonia became an autonomous political and administrative entity with its own national government and constitution.¹⁴⁰

Period between 1945 and 1991 is marked by large developmental (economic, industrial, urban, cultural) boom of the Macedonian republic during which the nation-making process fully established the distinctive Macedonian nation.¹⁴¹

With the collapse of Yugoslavia, Macedonia peacefully separated from other republics and in September 1991 proclaimed its independence. However, in the absence of former Yugoslavia as a strong regional power, the new state (and the nation) became disputed by virtually all neighboring countries (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and, to a lesser extent also Albania). It took a year for Macedonia to be admitted to the UN (five months later than Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) with the interim name – The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, due to the Greek veto on the name Republic of Macedonia. Since then, FYR Macedonia is gradually gaining international recognition, but the dispute with Greece about the name still continues.

Taking into account the fact that the (Vardar) Macedonians gained their national recognition in Tito's Yugoslavia, they could establish their principal national institutions only from the late 1940s onwards: *National and University Library* (1944); the *National Museum* (1945; it has been founded in 1924 in the context of the Serbian cultural politics); the *Institute for National History* was established in 1948; the *Faculty of the Arts* in Skopje¹⁴² in 1946 (a combined curriculum in art

¹⁴⁰At this point it is important to remind that Tito's Yugoslavia rather rapidly transformed from a highly centralized country to a federal union in which each republic had its own constitution, legislation, and great deal of politics in the internal affairs. Decentralization was also clear in other affairs, such as semimarket economy, private landownership (up to a certain size), private small businesses, and in very liberal traveling regime. Of course, the process of liberalization and centralization was closely monitored by the Communist Party. With Tito's death no other person or group could achieve the same level of authority and in a period of only 10 years Yugoslavia fell apart. This process was further accelerated, but not caused, by the fall of the Berlin Wall.

¹⁴¹It is fair to say that much of this process was orchestrated by the Yugoslav Communist Party, which, after the break up with the Stalin and other Communist Parties in the region in 1948, strongly supported the process of the Macedonian nation-making to make a clear distinction with the Bulgarians with whom the Macedonians share most linguistic similarities. On the internal plan, the Macedonian nation also meant a response to the traditional Serbian claims that Macedonians are Southern Serbs. In the context of the promotion of the Macedonian nation, Tito supported the establishment of the Autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church in 1959, which proclaimed independence from the Serbian Orthodox Church. Until now, none of the orthodox churches in southeastern and eastern Europe recognized the Macedonian Church.

¹⁴²In 1920, the Faculty of the Arts existed in Skopje as a branch of the University of Belgrade.

history and archaeology was introduced there in 1973); the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1967. The earliest archaeological institution was the National Museum, which organized its archaeological collections in 1947.

History of Archaeology in FYR Macedonia

Archaeology Prior to the FYR Macedonia (1800–1945)

Archaeology was practiced in Macedonia since the nineteenth century and the earliest evidence of archaeological activities can be found in some texts of western travelers (e.g., E. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831; W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 1835; T. Desdèvises-du-Désert, *Géographie ancienne de la Macédoine*, Paris 1862; M. Delacoulonche, *Mémoires sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l'Haliacmon à ceux de l'Axius*, Paris 1867).¹⁴³ The most systematic scientific account was published by L. Heuzey (1831–1922) in *Mission archéologique de Macédoine, par Léon Heuzey*, 1876, describing travels in 1855 and 1861 to this lands, mostly central and southern parts in the Aegean Macedonia and Albania. Arthur Evans (1851–1941) visited Macedonia and published his observations on the antiquities in the four-volume publication *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum I-IV*, London 1883–1885. Macedonia was a very attractive destination also for the nineteenth century Russian antiquarians and historians (e.g., V. Gligorovich, N.P. Kondyukov, P.H. Milyukov; see more in Bitrakova 2009). Of the local scholars from this period, the most important publication was that of Margaritus Dimitsa (1829–1903), native from Ohrid, graduated in Athens, specialised in classical philology and archaeology in Berlin and Leipzig, high school teacher in Bitola and Thessaloniki, who published two key works – *Arhaia geografía the Makedoniae* in Thessaloniki in 1874, and two-volume of reliefs and epigraphic monuments in *Makedonia en lithois fihngomenois kai mnemeiois sozomenois*, Athens 1896.

Archaeological activities increased after 1918 when (Vardar) Macedonia was annexed to Serbia, and consequently the Serbian institutions expanded their activities to this area. Between 1924 and 1936, the National museum in Belgrade undertook large field project (lead by Vladimir Petković, Balduin Saria and Đorđe Mano-Zisi, and also Rudolf Egger from Vienna) at the site of Stobi, a large ancient city at the confluence of Crna Reka and Vardar, established centuries prior to the arrival of the Romans in the mid-second century BC.¹⁴⁴ The Serbian team revealed impressive evidence of the Roman urban planning, series of public and private buildings and, among other structures, also the Roman theater and several early Christian

¹⁴³On early researchers in FYR Macedonia see Bitrakova-Grozdanova (2009).

¹⁴⁴This site was already recorded by L. Heuzey (*Découverte des Ruines de Stobi, Revue Archéologique* 2, Paris 1873). In 1917 and 1918, German troops also excavated the site (D. Hald, *Auf den Trümmern Stobis*, Stuttgart 1917; on early research activities in Stobi see more in Kitzinger 1946).

churches.¹⁴⁵ Stobi was by far the largest projects in Macedonia in the period between the two world wars and also one of the largest projects of Serbian archaeology at that time, and very soon attracted the attention of foreign scholars.¹⁴⁶

Particularly active was Nikola Vulić, ancient historian, professor at the University of Belgrade, who extensively studied pre-Roman and Roman periods of the central Balkans (epigraphy, ethnic structure, Romanization process) and contributed a series of essential papers on these topics in local and international literature (e.g., in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*; *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romana*). Probably the most renowned site Vulić researched was that of Trebenište in the Ohrid Lake area, where he excavated a late prehistoric cemetery between 1930 and 1934 and found two golden masks dated to mid-first millennium BC. Together with other two similar masks discovered some 15 years earlier,¹⁴⁷ Trebenište and the area of Ohrid Lake in general were recognized as one of the most intriguing areas for archaeological research in Macedonia since, at that time, the only known golden masks were those from the Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae, dated nearly one millennium earlier.¹⁴⁸ Other Vulić's archaeological research in Macedonia included also the excavations (1925) of the theater at Scupi, the Roman town established in the late first century AD.

Another site that also attracted attention was Heraclea Lyncestis in Bitola (former Monastir in the Ottoman Period) in southern Macedonia. This town, founded probably in the mid-fourth century BC, located on the later constructed major Roman road *Via Egnatia*, connecting Adriatic/Ionian shores with Aegean, also revealed great richness of architectural, artistic, and epigraphic remains. The first excavations there were conducted in the early 1930s, while more systematic research followed later in 1935–1938. Amongst the most attractive finds was a Roman copy of Phidias's Athena Parthenos (Sokolovska 1994:7).

¹⁴⁵B. Saria, Iskopavanja u Stobi (Excavations at stobi), *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, knj. 1, sv. 1, Skopje 1925, 287–300; B. Saria, *Istraživanja u Stobima* (Researches in Stobi), Skopje 1929; R. Egger, Die städtische Kirche von Stobi, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, Band 24, 1929.

¹⁴⁶The team from the Fogg and Peabody Museums of Harvard University and the American School of Prehistoric Research lead by J.V. Hewkes and R.W. Ehrich, which in 1932 undertook archaeological reconnaissance trip to Macedonia was highly impressed by the discoveries at Stobi and competence of the excavators (see in Goldman 1933).

¹⁴⁷Two similar gold masks were found in 1918 when this area was controlled by the Bulgarian army in the final year of the First World War. Bogdan Filow from the National Museum in Sophia (later also the Prime Minister of Bulgaria 1940–1944, sentenced to death for leading the pro-Nazi government) and Karel Škorpil, Czech-Bulgarian archaeologists, director of the Varna Archaeological Museum, excavated the necropolis at Trebenište and discovered a number of princely graves, with two golden masks. Bibliography: Filow B. – Škorpil K., *Die archaische Necropole von Trebenishte am Ochrida See*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1927; N. Vulić, Jedan nov grob kod Trebeništa, *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva* XI, Skoplje, 1932, p. 1 sqq; Das neue Grab von Trebenishte, *Arch. Anzeiger*, Bb. III/IV, 1930, pp. 276–279.

¹⁴⁸In 2002, the fifth mask was found, but this time in different site, in Ohrid, again raising large interest of scientific community but, particularly in the context of heated discussion about the name of Macedonia, also wider public showed great interest in this discovery (see more on these masks and discussion on their origin in Proeva 2006/2007).

In the first half of the twentieth century, interest in Macedonia (in a wider geographical sense) exhibited the British School at Athens, and particularly active in this area was W.A. Heurtley, director of the school, who in 1939 published a monograph on prehistory of Macedonia¹⁴⁹ in which he presented the synthesized view and new interpretation in which he contrasted Miloje Vasić's opinion on pre-historic developments of the southern and central Balkans.

The above short overview of the main archaeological activities prior to 1944 demonstrates very clearly the absence of local (Macedonian) scholars. Prior to the annexation of (Vardar) Macedonia to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, there were no local public institutions (e.g., museums, universities, or scholarly societies), which could serve as "centers" for developing local archaeological scholarship. And it was only in the 1920s when first such institutions appeared in Skopje (e.g., Historical-Archaeological Museum, the Faculty of Philosophy, and the Skopje Scientific Society (*Skopsko naučno društvo*)) in the context of Serbian program of developing the "Southern Serbian" regions. Archaeologists, ancient historians, epigraphers, and other experts working in the territory of the future FYR Macedonia were either coming from Belgrade (e.g., National Museum, University, such as N. Vulić, B. Saria, M. Grbić) or were appointed from other academic centers (e.g., Ć. Truhelka from Sarajevo, and G. Novak from Zagreb, both professors at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje in 1920s and 1930s). Indeed, the archaeological disciplinary framework in the period 1918–1941 was a part of the Serbian framework of archaeology (e.g., most of the works were published in Belgrade, and those published in the *Bulletin of the Skopje Scientific Society* were mostly authored by Serbian scholars) and only with the recognition of the Macedonian nation in Yugoslavia after 1944 the process of establishing proper national institutions started.

Much of the "Serbian-period" infrastructure served well in the process of establishing Macedonian national archaeology – some of the existing institutions were transformed into national, and also a number of Serbian scholars who worked in Macedonia prior to 1941 continue their work after 1945 to further develop the discipline in Macedonia (M. Grbić in particular). Also, it is necessary to say that, at least from the point of view of the disciplinary advances, the 1920s and 1930s can be considered as the initial stage of professional and systematic archaeology in future FYR Macedonia. Probably the best illustration of substantial developmental steps made in this rather short period can be seen in the publication of two volumes of the *Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia for the regions of Bitola, Prilep, and Kavadarci, in Macedonia*.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹W.A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia. An archaeological reconnaissance of Greek Macedonia (west of the Struma) in the Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages*. Pp. xxviii+ 276; I map, II 2 figures, 24 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1939.

¹⁵⁰N. Vulić, *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien, Blatt Prilep – Bitolj, 1 : 100,000*.

Belgrade 1937; N. Vulić, *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien, Blatt Kavadarci, 1:100,000*, Belgrade 1938. The *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien* was a project of the three national Academies in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Slovene, Croatian and Serbian). One of the key scholars who worked on its conceptualization and methodological aspects was Balduin Saria from Ljubljana. Five regional volumes were published between 1936 and 1939 (two in Slovenia, one in Croatia and two in Macedonia).

Establishment of National Archaeology (1945–Present)

After WWII when (Vardar) Macedonia received the status of republic within Yugoslavia and Macedonians have been recognized as nation, development of national political, economical, and cultural aspects accelerated. It is in this context that the national framework of archaeology was finally established, based on local institutions and scholars. Again, as it was the case in other former Yugoslav republics, it was the capital (Skopje) where the principal institutions and infrastructure were established (National Museum, University, Heritage Protection Institute). However, it is necessary to remind that the context in which major Macedonian national institutions (archaeological included) were founded was disputed by neighboring countries, particularly Bulgaria and Greece.

Significant advances were made also in other regions of the country, especially with the establishment of regional and local museums. The only museum outside Skopje existing prior to 1941 was that in Bitola (est. 1934), the second largest city, but had no archaeological professionals. After WWII the first museum was opened in Veles (1946), in 1949 the Municipal Museum in Skopje, museums in Štip and Tetovo were founded in 1950, Ohrid in 1951, Strumica in 1954, Prilep in 1955. In the 1960s, museums were also founded in Kumanovo (1964), and later in Negotino (1978) and Kičevo (1980). The Institute for Cultural Monuments Protection was organized in 1949. First, it acted as a centralized office but gradually, from the 1960s onwards, it opened its regional branches, frequently connected to or joined with regional museums.

Though the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was established in 1946, the archaeological curriculum was introduced there almost 2 decades later, in the academic year 1974/1975.

The developmental process of archaeology in FYR Macedonia after WWII can be roughly divided into two major phases: the initial phase from the late 1940s to the mid-1960s when the basic infrastructural, material as well as conceptual frameworks have been established, and the “development” phase (from the mid-1960 onwards) marked by the substantial growth of archaeology in FYR Macedonia in all major disciplinary fields. The transformation of FYR Macedonia from a republic within Yugoslavia to an independent country (1991) had, of course, certain consequences on some infrastructural aspects of the discipline (see below) but in general terms it represented a continuation of schemes and concepts designed in the 1970s onwards.

It was logical that important role in establishing the discipline and its necessary conceptual apparatus in FYR Macedonia in the first postwar decades was played by Serbian archaeologists. Prior to WWII, archaeology in Macedonia was considered as one of the regional archaeologies in Serbia (similarly as in the cases of Montenegro and Kosovo), and Serbian archaeologists and archaeological institutions had some track record of working there since 1920s and helping in establishing some basic scientific infrastructure (e.g., scientific society, archaeological journal, etc.). However, also the contribution from other archaeological schools of the former Yugoslav republics (e.g., Slovenia) should not be ignored. The situation in Macedonia after 1945 needed quick solutions and actions, since there were neither local archaeological professionals, nor posts for them in the public institutions.

In these years particularly important role was played by Miodrag Grbić and Milutin Garašanin from Serbia. M. Grbić (1901–1969), PhD from Prague University, curator at the National Museum in Belgrade, who, prior to WWII, undertook several archaeological campaigns in Southern Serbia and Macedonia and in 1954 published the first comprehensive gazetteer of archaeological sites and monuments in Macedonia, which provided a base for further development of archaeology.¹⁵¹ He also directed several excavations of sites from various prehistoric periods (e.g., Zelenikovo, Porodin, Visoj Bej; the former two sites he researched jointly with Wilhelm Unverzagt and Johann Reiszwitz, from then German Democratic Republic, in 1950 and 1952; very probably the earliest case of international collaboration in archaeology in postwar Yugoslavia), and published a number of studies in local Macedonian and Serbian journals. Similarly Milutin Garašanin who undertook several reconnaissance campaigns and excavations and published a series of important interpretative papers on prehistoric periods in Macedonia contributing so importantly to the establishment of the principal interpretative frameworks and models for prehistoric and ancient archaeology for this country.¹⁵² Furthermore, being a professor at the University of Belgrade, where most of the first generations of Macedonian archaeologists studied, Garašanin additionally contributed to the conceptual developments in the Macedonian archaeology.

Slovene scholars, Jože Kastelic and Josip Korošec, also left considerable imprints in assisting in developing Macedonian archaeology in its early years. J. Kastelic, together with V. Lahtov, researched in the early 1950s the area of Trebenište, the site of famous princely graves with golden burial masks, while J. Korošec was more engaged in research of the Neolithic Period sites at Grgur Tumba and Amzabegovo.

Among local scholars, essential contribution in establishing local school of archaeology was that of Dimče Koco, Vasil Lahtov, and Blaga Aleksova. Dimče Koco (1910–1993), specialist in early Christian and medieval art history, studied at Belgrade University, is considered the key person in establishing the disciplines of art history and archaeology in the newly formed Republic of Macedonia. In 1944, he was commissioned by the provisional Macedonian liberation government to organize the Macedonian National Museum in Skopje. In 1946, he was among the founders of the Faculty of Philosophy and the first professors there. In 1952, he also acted as director of the Archaeological Museum. D. Koco also founded two principal archaeological journals: *Glasnik na Muzejsko-konzervatorsko društvo* (Bulletin of the Museum and Conservation Society) and *Godišnjot zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej* (Annual of the Archaeological Museum). Koco's major scientific efforts were dedicated to medieval, Byzantine and early Christian sites and objects, archaeological and artistic, where he contributed essential works for further development of art history and archaeology. He also excavated some of the most prominent monuments from these periods from the area of Ohrid (e.g., the monastic

¹⁵¹M. Grbić, *Arheološki naogališta vo Makedonija* (Archaeological sites in Macedonia), *Glasnik muzejsko-konzervatorskog društva* I-9, Skopje 1954.

¹⁵²E.g., *Razmatranja o makedonskom halštatu* (Thoughts on the Hallstatt period in Macedonia), *Starinar* V-VI, Beograd 1956.

complex of S. Kliment, churches of St. Naum and St. Sophia). In 1955, for his merits in the field of medieval archaeology in Macedonia, he was elected as the correspondent member of the German Institute of Archaeology, and in 1969 he was awarded *honoris causa* professorship at the University of Besançon, France.

D. Koco closely collaborated with Vasil Lahtov (1914–1964), B.A in art history at Skopje University, PhD in archaeology at the Ljubljana University, Slovenia. V. Lahtov was a founder of the Museum in Ohrid (1951) in one of the richest archaeological areas in the whole central Balkans. He also founded important regional scientific journal – *Lihnid*. In spite of his rather short career, he was able to lay strong foundations for systematic research of in southwestern Macedonia. He personally conducted several important research campaigns in the area of Ohrid, including excavations of the ancient theater, cemetery at Trebenište, early Christian basilica near Imaret, and recorded more than 400 archaeological sites in his reconnaissance campaigns.

One should not ignore the contribution of Blaga Aleksova (1922–2007), from the Archaeological Museum in Skopje. In the early years of Macedonian archaeology, she was one of key persons in the field of archaeological reconnaissance and in establishing basic conceptual framework for early Christian/Byzantine and medieval archaeology in Macedonia.¹⁵³

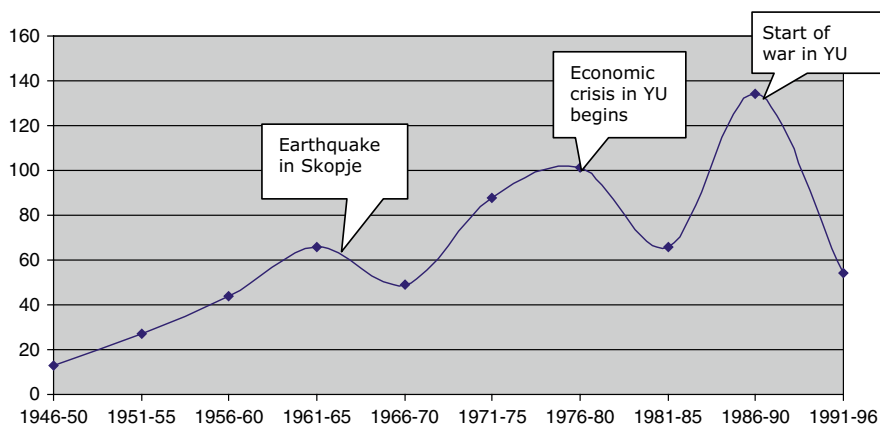
Medieval (i.e., Byzantine and Slavic) archaeology was, without the doubt, one of the most important foci in the developing national Macedonian archaeology and historiography. The reasons for this are quite obvious. For the Macedonians, the nation-making process within the Yugoslav Federation was an open issue in the first decades after WWII. This process was strongly supported by the Yugoslav Communist Party, and, of course, also by the Macedonian national government. Boško Babić (1924–1998), founder of the museum in Prilep (1955), the Institute for Early Slavic Researches (Prilep 1980) and the Archaeological Society of Macedonia, is considered *doyenne* of national Slavic archaeology in Macedonia. Born in Bosanska, Gradiška (Bosnia and Herzegovina), of Croatian-Romanian origins, graduated in art history from the University of Belgrade, PhD in archaeology from the University of Lublin, Poland (on the topic of the Macedonian Slavs), started his career in 1955 in Prilep where he soon developed intensive archaeological activities, especially after 1958 when he discovered in Prilep one of the earliest Slavic sites in the Balkans. In the following 2 decades, he succeeded in making Prilep the third center of the Macedonian archaeology, next to Skopje

¹⁵³E.g., B. Aleksova, Arheološki naogališta na dolniot tek na rekata Topolka (Archaeological sites in the area of lower Topolka river), *Glasnik na Muzejsko-konzervatorsko društvo* 9, Skopje 1954; B. Aleksova, Naodi od srednevekovniti grobovi vo Kratovo (Finds from medieval cemetery at Kratovo), *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna historija* 1, Skopje 1957; especially important was work in the late 1960 in eastern Macedonia, in the area of Štip, where she conducted a number of campaigns excavating the Episcopal town from the fifth and the sixth centuries AD at Bargala (B. Aleksova, Bargala-Bregalnica vo svetlinata na novite arheološki istražuvanja (Bargala-Bregalnica in the light of new archaeological researches), *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna historija* 3, Skopje 1967, 5–50; B. Aleksova, Pridones od istražuvanjata od Bargala-Bregalnica za osvetluvanjeto na istorijata na Južnite Sloveni (Contribution of research at Bargala-Bregalnica to the history of Southern Slavs), *Posebna Izdanja XII, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 4, Sarajevo 1969, 105–114.

and Ohrid. It is in this later period of his career when he published his major works on Slavic archaeology.¹⁵⁴

But, prior to the 1970s, one major event had quite far reaching consequences for the development of Macedonia in general and also archaeology in particular. On 23 July 1963, major earthquake of catastrophic magnitude completely destroyed the capital of the country: more than 1,000 people were killed and more than 70% of the buildings were destroyed, with 200,000 inhabitants of the city left without their homes, and all city infrastructure ruined. In spite of a large Yugoslav and international aid, the whole country suffered major setback in developmental terms. It took more than a decade and consumed large portions of public funds to rebuild the city. Archaeology, with its major national institutions in the capital, being destroyed or put out of full function for a period of time shared the destiny of a country, which was already among the most underdeveloped republics in former Yugoslavia.

This developmental setback in archaeology can be well illustrated by observing the production of publications. The bibliography used for preparing the *Arheološka karta na Republika Makedonija* (The Archaeological Map of the Republic of Macedonia), vol. 2, Skopje 1996, can be considered a representative sample. This publication quotes 632 works published in the period between 1945 and 1995. In the diagram below these works are organized according to their date of publishing in 5-years intervals.



¹⁵⁴E.g., B. Babić, *Crepulja, crepna, podnica – posebno značajan oslonac za atribuciju srednjevekovnih arheoloških nalazišta Balkanskog poluostrva Slovenima poreklom sa Istoka* (Bread baking Dish of Clay (“Crepulja,” “Crepna,” “Podnica”) as especially important support for the attribution of medieval archaeological sites of the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula originating from the East), *Materijali IX (Simpozijum Srednjevekovne sekcije Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije, Prilep 1970)*, Beograd 1972, 101–124; B. Babić, *Die Erforschung der altslavischen Kultur in der SR Mazedonien*, *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 10–76/1, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin 1976, 59–73; B. Babić, *Materijalnata kultura na makedonskite Sloveni vo svetlinata na arheološkite istraživanja vo Prilep* (*The material culture of the macedonian Slavs in the light of archaeological research in Prilep*), *Prilozi na istorijata na kulturata na Makedonskiot narod* (Institute za istraživanje na staroslovenskata kultura – Prilep), 1986. More on B. Babić see in G. Babić-Janeska 1986 and K. Petrov 1986.

Three major depressions are clearly visible in the curve illustrating the quantity of published works, representing three major developmental blows: the 1963 destruction of Skopje, the beginning of major economic crisis in Yugoslavia in the early 1980s, and the beginning of war in former Yugoslavia. The diagram shows that the quantity of publication in the period following the earthquake reached the level of the early 1960s after 10 years.

Rebuilding of Skopje and the economic recovery of Macedonia abundantly backed up by the Yugoslav federal government and other republics gave boost to another strong developmental cycle in the country. Archaeology also benefited from this. New and very modern buildings of the Archaeological Museum and of the Faculty of Philosophy were constructed, and with the introduction of archaeological curriculum at the Faculty of Philosophy (1974/1975)¹⁵⁵ a full range of archaeological services (education, research, and heritage service) was finally established in Macedonia.

In the following two decades, the 1970s and 1980s, with a short downside interval in-between caused by economic crisis in the early 1980s, represent the culmination of Macedonian archaeology. The number of professional archaeologists substantially increased in central as well as in regional local institutions giving the opportunity to expand archaeological work also in the areas previously less intensively studied. In fact, it is in these two decades, the Macedonian archaeology reached the levels of other national archaeological schools in former Yugoslavia, which had longer and stronger tradition or archaeological research and practice.

The period of recovery is also marked by another step forward – the beginning of intensive international cooperation in research projects. With the exception of Grbić's collaboration with the GDR archaeologists at Zelenikovo and Porodin in the early 1950s, in the period 1945–1969, there were no considerable international projects in Macedonia, but the great archaeological potential of Macedonia, known already from the first half of the twentieth century, did not escape the attention of many foreign scholars. The situation started to change from 1969 when Maria Gimbutas, UCLA, extended her large project on the Neolithic Period of the southern Balkan area also to Macedonia, onto the Early Neolithic site of Ansa, near Štip, where she researched until 1971.¹⁵⁶ However, far larger and more important for the development of local archaeology was the project at Stobi (1970–1980) where the Macedonian institutions (e.g., the Archaeological Museum, Skopje; Museum in (Titov) Veles, the University of Skopje) collaborated with the American team composed of experts coming from a

¹⁵⁵The archaeological curriculum was combined with the curriculum in art history, and only after 2002 a single degree program in archaeology was introduced.

¹⁵⁶M. Gimbutas, *Neolithic Macedonia 6500–5000 BC* (editor) 1976, Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, UCLA. *Monumenta Archaeologica* I., UCLA 1976.

number of universities and other institutions.¹⁵⁷ Another important international project was in 1976–1977 when a Macedonian-Polish team excavated an early Slavic site at Debrešte near Prilep. Each of these projects, together with largely increased number of projects by local institutions in the 1970s and 1980s, illustrate considerable advances in infrastructural as well as in conceptual fields of archaeology.

In the late 1980s, after two decades of rather stable growth, Macedonian archaeology in many respects reached the levels of Croatia and Slovenia, the most developed Yugoslav republics in terms of archaeological infrastructure, especially in regard to regional and local institutional networks. In the 1980s, Skopje was undisputed center of the discipline, but also two other places substantially advanced in this period – Ohrid and Prilep – and can be considered as second level centers in terms of national archaeology.

The extraordinary natural and cultural richness of the Ohrid area received full international recognition with listing this place on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1979.¹⁵⁸ And it is not a surprise that a strong archaeological center developed there. In archaeological terms, this area is known for extraordinary remains and discoveries ranging from the Early Neolithic, through ancient Peonian and Macedonian principalities of the first millennium BC (e.g., golden burial mask from Ohrid), Hellenistic period (e.g., theater), Roman settlement, to the Byzantine Period, also with early Slavic Macedonian remains (e.g., the most ancient Slavic monastery of St. Panteleimon, more than 2,500 m² of frescoes, the second largest collection of the icons in the world, etc.).¹⁵⁹

Prilep, on the contrary, developed into an important national center, more narrowly focused on early Slavic archaeology. In 1980, the Institute for Research of Early Slavic Culture was established, with archaeology as prominent discipline there. Boško Babić played the leading role in the Institute and succeeded in making the Institute the largest institution, next to the Museum of Croatian National Antiquities in Split, for Slavic archaeology in former Yugoslavia. The fact that

¹⁵⁷The Stobi Project was jointly financed by the Macedonian government and the Smithsonian Institution. The American staff came from the University of Texas, Austin (major American partner); the University of Illinois, Chicago; the University of Oregon; the American School at Athens; Tufts University, Massachusetts; the State University of New York, Buffalo.

Bibliography on this project is very extensive; some of the major publications include the following: James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi, Excavations at Stobi, 1970, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (Oct., 1971), 395–411; Wiseman, James, *Stobi: a guide to the excavations*, Titov Veles National Museum, Austin, University of Texas, 1973; James Wiseman (ed.), *Studies in Antiquities of Stobi*, vol. 1, 1973, vol. 2 1975, vol. 3, 1981, National Museum of Titov Veles and Austin: University of Texas; James Wiseman and Djordje Mano-Zissi, *Stobi: A City of Ancient Macedonia*, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1976), pp. 269–302.

¹⁵⁸Ohrid was listed in 1979 for its natural heritage, and in 1980 its nomination was extended to cultural heritage as well.

¹⁵⁹Archaeological bibliography on the Ohrid area is quite abundant. Here we quote just few very recent synthetic works in English which can serve as starting point for further investigation: Pasko Kuzman, *Ohrid World Heritage Site*, Uprava na zaštita na kulturnoto nasledstvo, Skopje 2009; Pasko Kuzman, *Archaeological sites*, Uprava na zaštita na kulturnoto nasledstvo, Skopje 2008.

certain political issues (e.g., reinforcement of political emancipation of the Macedonian nation within Yugoslavia and in the wider Balkan area) favored the establishment of such large institution primarily oriented in research of history and national culture does not undermine the importance of this institute in further development of Slavic studies in former Yugoslavia.¹⁶⁰

Another very strong point of Macedonian archaeology relates to studies on the Neolithic Period. The region situated at the most prominent position in the central Balkans, on the major communication route from the Aegean to Danube area, acted as one of the principal channels of the neolithization of Europe. Intensive research of the Neolithic sites in the last five decades revealed extraordinary richness of the Neolithic cultures (the Anzabegovo-Vršnik group, the Porodin group) and some very spectacular discoveries (e.g., “Adam from Govrlevo,” 15 cm high clay male statue with extraordinary realistic representation of the human body). Among many Macedonian prehistorians, it is probably Vojislav Sanev (1938–2007), from the museum in Štip, later the Archaeological Museum in Skopje, who has to be particularly credited for the development of research on the Neolithic Period.¹⁶¹

During the collapse of Yugoslavia, Macedonia proclaimed its independence in very hard economic and political conditions. Being one of the least economically developed republics in former Yugoslavia, Macedonia found itself in a much challenged economic and political position after 1991. The economic situation further deteriorated in the first half of the 1990s because of the UN economic sanctions imposed on Milošević’s Serbia (one of the principal economic partners of Macedonia), and Greek economic embargo as a reaction on the official name under which Macedonia proclaimed its independence. The country’s GDP per capita in 1992 dropped to about 15% of the GDP in the previous year, and the recovery was very slow and painful (27% in 1995, 22% in 2000, 35% in 2005, and 57% in 2008).¹⁶² And in addition to this, the relationships with the Albanian minority (approximately one third of the country’s population) worsened toward the end of the 1990s and resulted in an open military conflict in 2001.

Archaeology simply could not escape another great setback under such conditions. Most of the public institutions in the country, especially in the field of education, culture, and science, could survive only by severely limiting their activities to a very low-level work. The crisis is well illustrated in the graph above presenting the quantity of archaeological published works. Also communication with

¹⁶⁰The institute regularly published the journal *Balcanoslavica*, the central publication for Slavic archaeology in former Yugoslavia. *Balcanoslavica* was first established as one of the journals of the Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies in 1972, but soon Prilep (the museum, later also the institute) took over the publication, and after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991 the publication formally passed to the Prilep institute.

¹⁶¹The best synthesis on the Neolithic in Macedonia can be found in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja (Prehistory of the Yugoslav lands)*, vol. 2, Sarajevo 1979. See also the work of the younger generation of Macedonian prehistorians (Naumov et al. 2009).

¹⁶²Source: <http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/country/Macedonia/> (based on the World Bank data and on data from the CIA World Factbook)

archaeologists and archaeological schools from the neighboring countries was almost completely broken or made almost impossible due to severe problems in traveling (very rigid visa regimes imposed on Macedonian citizens by the EU and other countries), in mail and inter-banking services in southeastern Europe, particularly until 1996 (end of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina), and general impoverishment of the people of Macedonia. Only after a decade (since 2000 onwards), the situation is gradually, but still very slowly, improving, and is still far from the situation in the late 1980s. Nevertheless, after the most difficult period (early 1990s), the Macedonian archaeological community was able to reestablish professional ties with archaeologists in the wider area and to restart more intensive activities.

The Macedonian Question

However, there is one recent condition which affects archaeology in Macedonia to a large extent. The still ongoing dispute with Greece about the name and continuous Greek vetoing on Macedonian membership in major world and European organizations additionally fuelled the Macedonian nationalists and the Government's coquetting with the ancient origin of the Macedonians and their symbols. And it is in this heated political context, that archaeology was (is) increasingly perceived by the public as a discipline, which can (and should) provide "tangible" evidence connecting ancient Macedons with the modern-day Macedonian nation. The process of the so-called "antiquization" is spreading over the country also due to a very intensive lobbying of the Macedonian Diaspora from the USA, Canada, Germany, and Australia. Despite clear counter-arguing by many archaeological academics, their voices are not heard much or frequently shouted out, and monuments of ancient Macedons have been erected in a number of towns.

This episode demonstrates present feebleness of archaeology (and of other historical disciplines) in public discourse, and a danger of marginalization (also in economic terms) if archaeologists would not go along with nationalist claims for ancient origin (be it direct or symbolic). Much of this feebleness can be ascribed to the interrupted communication with a wider scientific community in the 1990s, and pauperization of the public sector, especially in culture and science, where once relatively strong and respected discipline suffered not only great losses in its infrastructural basis but also the reputation as a critical guide of the past.

Montenegro

Geography and History

Montenegro (*Crna Gora*) with its population of 620,000 people (census 2003) and slightly less than 14,000 km² of area is the smallest country in southeastern Europe. It gained independence in 2006.

Physical geography of the country is very heterogeneous. The terrain abruptly elevates from a narrow coastal strip in the south to high mountains in central and northern part of the country reaching more than 2000 m in altitude. The only large and flat area is the eastern part, north of Lake Skadar, where the actual capitol of Podgorica is located. A great deal of Montenegro is composed of very rugged karstic terrain, covered with thick forests in the northern part of the country. Rivers belonged to two drainage areas each comprising a half of the country: the Adriatic in the east and southeast (the Zeta, Morača and Bojana Rivers) and the Black Sea catchment in the north and northeast of the country (the Tara, Piva, and Lim Rivers). Because of the very permeable karstic geology, the western part of Montenegro has no larger streams. In the southeastern part, at the border with Albania, lies the largest lake in the Balkans – the Skadar Lake – of which about 60% is in the Montenegrin territory. The climate ranges from the Mediterranean type in the littoral area to mountainous continental type in central and northern parts. Because of a great deal of mountainous terrain, the country is not very suitable for agriculture. Larger farming areas are mostly concentrated in the northern plain of the Skadar Lake.

In the first millennium BC, the area of Montenegro was occupied by the Illyrian peoples. Later, after the Roman conquest, the territory of Montenegro was included in the province of Dalmatia. The first Slavic medieval political formation was the principdom of Duklja (named after the Roman town of Doclea), from the eight to twelfth centuries AD known as Zeta, which was then included in the Serbian medieval state. In the mid-fifteenth century, the Venetian expansion in eastern Adriatic extended to the Montenegrin littoral, which remained under the Venetian rule until the end of the eighteenth century when it was annexed to Austria. The Ottoman conquest of Montenegro (at the end of the fifteenth century) was limited mostly to the continental parts, and the conquered territory became transformed into a regional administrative unit (*sanjak*) of the Empire.

The process of liberation from the Ottoman rule started in the early eighteenth century and resulted in gaining independence and gradual emigration of the Islamized population from the country. In the mid-nineteenth century, Montenegro (the Habsburg-ruled littoral excluded) achieved independence, officially confirmed at the Berlin Congress in 1878. During the Balkan wars, Montenegro allied with Serbia and after 1918, with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Montenegro annexed the former Austrian littoral territories. In the aftermath of WWI, the country proclaimed a union with Serbia and became a part of the new Yugoslav state where it retained weak administrative autonomy (the Banate of Zeta). During WWII, Montenegro was first occupied by Italy, and later by Germany. In this period, Montenegro started regaining its political position of national (state) level entity. In 1945, it was given a status of one of the six federal republics in Yugoslavia, which remained until 1991. After the dissolution of the federation, Montenegro allied with Serbia in the newly formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (later changed to Serbia and Montenegro). In 2006, majority of the population voted for independency.

Archaeology in Montenegro

Structurally, Montenegrin archaeology developed late, from the early 1950s onwards, during the political existence of the Republic of Montenegro within former Yugoslavia. Prior to that there were mostly sporadic archaeological activities in some outstanding historical places, such as the Roman town of Doclea, or due to incidental discoveries of archaeological materials during construction works.

However, the antiquities from Montenegro, particularly from the coastland areas, raised interest of a number of early antiquarians (e.g., Ciriaco de Pizzicoli), historians, and travelers of the seventeenth – nineteenth centuries, local and foreign (Marković 2006:19). Among the most renowned names one can find scholars like Arthur Evans and Theodor Mommsen,¹⁶³ and scholars from the Austro-Hungarian institutions (B. Bogišić, C. Patsch, P. Sticotti, M. Abramić, J. Petrović, and S. Rutar).¹⁶⁴

The symbolic date of the beginnings of archaeological research in Montenegro is 1890, when Prince Nikola ordered archaeological excavation at the recently discovered site of Doclea at the confluence of the Morača and Zeta Rivers north of the present-day capitol of Podgorica. Doclea was already known from historical sources as the principal settlement of the Illyrian Docleates, and as the Roman town from the first century AD and later also as the capitol of the Roman province of Praevalitana (fourth to fifth century AD). First sporadic finds from the site came to light in the early 1870s and attracted the attention of foreign scholars and interested laymen.¹⁶⁵ These finds and historical importance of the Roman Doclea were important enough to attract the Prince's attention, who in 1890 commissioned the Russian amateur archaeologists Pavel Antolovich Rovinski to undertake first larger excavations, which he did in the period between 1890 and 1892.¹⁶⁶ In 1893, the excavations were continued by R. Munro¹⁶⁷ (Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Velimirović-Žižić and Srejić 1975:7–8; Marković 2006:21). Based on the results of these excavations, Piero Sticotti¹⁶⁸ wrote the first monograph on Doclea in 1913 (*Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*) published by the Antiquarian Department of the Balkan's

¹⁶³See A. Evans, *Antiquarian researches in Illyricum* I-IV, Westminster 1883; and T. Mommsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinorum* III, Berlin 1873.

¹⁶⁴Note that coastal areas were under the Venetian and later Austrian rule.

¹⁶⁵E.g., A. Dumont, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1873, 71–73; G. B. De Rossi, *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1877, 77–85; R. Mowat, Examples de gravure antique sur verre, à propos de quelques fragments provenant de Dukle (Montenegro), *Revue archéologique* 44, 1882, 296–297; in 1879 Pricot de Sainte-Marie, French Consul in Montenegro undertook small excavations of burial mounds near the Roman ruins.

¹⁶⁶P.A. Rovinski, Raskopki drevnei Dioklei proizvedennaya po ukazaniyo i na schet ego vissochestva czernogorskog knyaza Nikolaya (Excavations of the ancient Doclea ordered by His Highness Prince Nikolay of Montenegro), *Zhurnaly Ministrstva narodnega prosvestsheniya*, St. Petersburg 1890.

¹⁶⁷R. Munro, On the Roman Town of Doclea in Montenegro, *Archeologia* LV, 33.

¹⁶⁸Piero Sticotti (1870–1953), prominent Triestine/Istrian (Italian) archaeologist and epigrapher, received PhD from the Vienna University, between 1893 and 1898, and undertook several research trips to Dalmatia sponsored by the Archaeological-Epigraphic Seminar of the University of Vienna.

Commission of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, which for more than a half a century remained a referential text on this site and on ancient history of southern Dalmatia.¹⁶⁹ In 1919, the same Commission published also a report on archaeological study trip undertaken by C. Praschniker and A. Schober during the Austrian occupation of Montenegro and Albania during WWI, in which besides the Roman remains the authors also provided one of the first reports on prehistoric settlements and finds from Montenegro.¹⁷⁰

After relatively intensive archaeological research in the last decades prior to WWI, largely conducted by the Austrian and other foreign institutions and scholars, the period between the two world's wars is marked by a considerable decline in archaeological activities. However, it is in this period (1926) when the first "national" museum of Montenegro was established in Cetinje, in former court of King Nikola II, and toward the end of 1930s two other local museums were founded, in coastal town of Perast (1937) and Kotor (1938). Rather late establishment of first museums, compared with the neighboring countries where principal museums were established a century earlier, can be also ascribed to a very modest urban development of continental Montenegro (the core area of the Montenegrin Principedom)¹⁷¹ and to the fact that most of the treasures were kept either by major inland monasteries or at the Prince's Court (1910–1918 the King's Court). The first established museums were primarily displaying collections of historical heritage of the Montenegrin state and its ruling dynasty or treasures and objects associated with sea faring and commerce of the coastal towns. However, prior to 1945 no local or other archaeologists were employed there or in any other institution in Montenegro.

In fact, in the period 1918–1945, Montenegro was one of the least archaeologically researched regions in former Yugoslavia. Having no local experts, it only occasionally raised interest of other Yugoslav archaeological centers (mostly Serbian) of the time. Two such cases can be noted in the 1930s – the discovery of the Roman villa in Risan by D. Vuksan, director of the State Museum in Cetinje (1930), and in 1938 the incidental discovery of a rich Hellenistic and Roman cemetery in Budva.

The proper establishment of the national framework of archaeology in Montenegro dates to the first decades after WWII. Almost completely lacking the necessary institutional infrastructure, the urgent measure was to establish a national network of regional and local museums and heritage service. First, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Montenegro was founded in 1948, soon followed the foundation of regional and local museums: in Herceg-Novi and Podgorica (1950), Nikšić (1951), Pljevlja, Berane (1953), Bijelo Polje (1957), Bar (1959), Danilovgrad (1960), Ulcinj (1961), Budva (1962).¹⁷² In 1961 also the major

¹⁶⁹P. Sticotti, *Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung VI, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaftes, Wien 1913.

¹⁷⁰C. Praschniker und A. Schober, *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung Heft VIII, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1919.

¹⁷¹With the annexation of the coastal area (Austrian territory prior to 1918), towns with long urban tradition and culture became a part of Montenegro.

¹⁷²For presentation of museums in Montenegro see *Muzeji Crne gore* (2007).

national research institution was founded in Podgorica (at that time called Titograd) – *Arheološka zbirka Crne Gore* (Archaeological Collection of Montenegro).¹⁷³ In this way, in less than 2 decades archaeology in Montenegro has been equipped with rather stable infrastructural framework and gradually caught the pace of development of other “Yugoslav” national archaeologies in 1970s and 1980s.

In terms of the development of major research agenda, two sites played the paramount role – the already mentioned site of Doclea and the site of Crvena Stijena (Abri Rouge) – around which the Roman and prehistoric studies begin to evolve from the mid-1950s onwards, respectively. Lacking enough local experts both sites were excavated by mixed teams from other Yugoslav centers, in case of Doclea the Montenegrin team worked with the experts from Belgrade – the Institute of Archaeology, and Department of archaeology, University of Belgrade (1954–1962), while in Crvena Stijena (1954–1964) the principal excavators came from Sarajevo (Alojz Benac and Đuro Basler) and Ljubljana (Mitja Brodar).¹⁷⁴

The site of Crvena Stijena with its more than 20-m deep deposits spanning from the Mousterian period to the Bronze Age was, indeed, the first prehistoric site researched in Montenegro, and soon proved to be one of the key sites for understanding the early prehistory in the Adriatic and even wider region.¹⁷⁵ The site also played an important role in the development of the early prehistoric research not only in Montenegro, but also in the “Yugoslav” context as well, enabling a more accurate evidence of the regional archaeological records and sequences. From the late 1950s and in 1960s, another set of prehistoric sites started to be more intensively researched – the Bronze and Iron Ages burial mounds and cemeteries (e.g., Velje ledine near Gostilj, Gotovuša near Pljevlja, mounds near Medun, Milovića Gumno and Milovića lokve, Vrbanj, Dušići and others) enabling developments of local archaeological research on the Bronze and Iron Ages in Montenegro. As Crvena Stijena for prehistoric periods, the site of Doclea (settlement and its cemeteries) played the key role in developing Roman archaeology in Montenegro, and in understanding of regional ancient history from the late Illyrian/Hellenistic Period to the Late Roman and Early Medieval Periods.

¹⁷³In 1997, it was renamed the Center for Archaeological Research of Montenegro.

¹⁷⁴In fact, there was also another, third large “Yugoslav” project in Montenegro – excavations (1952–1955) of the Hellenistic/Roman cemetery in Budva (already discovered in 1938), but the results of these excavations were not published. All three projects in Montenegro in the 1950s (Doclea, Crvena Stijena and Budva) were all organized and directed by experts from other “Yugoslav” archaeological centers and illustrate the efficiency of archaeological institutions in the country and also quite high reputation of archaeology in the postwar Yugoslavia.

¹⁷⁵The site is characterized by extremely rich faunal remains from the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods (more than 60 different species) making it one of the richest “faunal” sites in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, due to its thick deposits and sequence crossing a number of principal archaeological periods, Crvena Stijena presents a good case for studying regional transitions from the Middle to Upper Paleolithic, and especially the transition to the Neolithic Period. There is rather extensive bibliography dedicated to this site, for synthetic presentation with major bibliography see Basler Đ. (ed.), *Crvena Stijena: zbornik radova (Abri rouge: collection of scientific papers)*, Zajednica kulturnih ustanova Nikšić, 1975.

After rather modest beginnings of local archaeological research in the mid-1950s, the true expansion of the archaeological work materialized in the 1970s and 1980s. It is actually in these two decades when regional and local institutions, finally equipped with archaeological experts and other necessary means, were able to undertake larger and more systematic research projects covering all major archaeological epochs and produce a more accurate image on the developments, nature, and structure of the archaeological record in the country. Indeed, compared with the first two decades (1950–1970), the number of excavations in the 1970s and 1980s increased for about 300%. Among the most important sites researched in this period were the following: the Odmuť cave (Mesolithic – Eneolithic site), the Neolithic and Eneolithic Period sites around Berane (Berane-Krš, Kremešćice) and Perast (Spila), about ten burial mounds from the Bronze and Iron Ages dispersed across the country, and the Roman sites of Samograd, Risan, and Budva (for more details see Marković 2006).

Although a great deal of these efforts should be attributed to the local institutions, the contribution of the Belgrade-based archaeologists should not be ignored. Apart from the already mentioned team researching Crvene Stijene (A. Benac, M. Brodar, Đ. Basler), two other prehistorians from Belgrade, Milutin and Draga Garašanić, substantially contributed to prehistoric archaeology in Montenegro. As authors of the first syntheses on the prehistory of Montenegro, they have provided the necessary conceptual framework for the emerging discipline of prehistoric archaeology in this area.¹⁷⁶ Among the local institutions it was the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro (later renamed the Center for Archaeological Research) that developed into major Montenegrin archaeological research institution since the 1970s onwards, especially with the works of Čedomir Marković, Olivera Velimirović Žižić, Ilija Pušić, and Pavle Mijović. Joint projects with foreign teams.

One can note a certain duality in the archaeological tradition in Montenegro, which is to a certain extent similar to those in Croatia. Joint projects with foreign teams were rather rare in Montenegro. However, one such project deserve to be noted, the research of Velika Gruda burial mound in Tivat hinterland. Lead by extraordinary results the Montenegrin archaeologists obtained in 1970–1971 from nearby lying Mala Gruda (nineteenth century B.C. ‘princely’ burial) the team from the Zürich University in 1988 and 1990 excavated Velika Gruda site and discovered a wealthy grave from the the Late Copper Age (twenty-eighth century B.C.) with grave goods which show contacts with the Early Bronze Age Greece, and more than 150 burials from the fourteenth centry B.C. (M. Primas 1996; P. della Casa 1996). On the one hand, coastal areas and towns – area of continuous urban culture and development since the Roman Period onwards, hence, rich in historical and architectural monuments¹⁷⁷ – traditionally developed the type of archaeology similar to the

¹⁷⁶D. Garašanić and M. Garašanić, *Crna Gora u praistorijsko doba (Montenegro in prehistory)* and *Crna gora u osvjet pisane historije (Montenegro at the dawn of written history)*, Istorija Crne gore I, Titograd 1967; M. Garašanić, *Praistorija Crne Gore (Prehistory of Montenegro)*, Materijali IV, Herceg Novi – Beograd 1967.

¹⁷⁷About 40% of all presently listed historical and cultural monuments in Montenegro are coming from the wider area of the town of Kotor.

neighboring Croatian Dalmatia, with an emphasis on archaeology of the urbanization during the Roman Period and the Medieval Period, including architectural research. On the other hand, in the continental regions of Montenegro, it was prehistoric archaeology, which was more accentuated, and in its development it dedicated more attention to major chronological and cultural issues to incorporate this area into a wider regional chronologies and developmental trajectories.

In terms of its own disciplinary infrastructure, archaeology in Montenegro still did not fully develop a complete range of institutions. This is especially evident in the field of education as Montenegro lacks its own university curriculum in archaeology and all associated infrastructure and programs, which go along with academia. Because of its relatively small size and cultural and linguistic closeness with Serbia, all archaeological professionals in Montenegro graduated mostly from the University of Belgrade.

In the 1990s, due to the civil war in former Yugoslavia and major economic collapse in most of the new countries, which emerged after the collapse of the federation, archaeology in Montenegro suffered a set-back, especially in terms of lower intensity of research, lack of resources for cultural and research institutes, and broken ties with professional communities outside the country (within former Yugoslavia and abroad). In this respect, one should also not ignore the impact of the UN economic and political sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro in the 1990s. Only recently a gradual recovery can be observed (last ten years) when Montenegro started building up its own independent statehood, and separated from Serbia in political and economic affairs. However, the country is still relatively poor (about \$11,000 of GDP per capita in 2008 according to the International Monetary Fund; 65% of the GDP of Croatia, and 37% of Slovenia) and it will take some time to reach considerable improvements. The other important factor is considerable imbalance in distribution of wealth between regions, with the coastal area being much richer and more developed than the continental hinterlands what is also mirrored in the distribution of public resources. Since archaeology in Montenegro is today financed exclusively from public resources (with the exception of rescue projects which are paid by developers), it very much depends on regional economic conditions.

Kosovo

Geography and History

Kosovo occupies 10,908 km², with population (in 2009) slightly more than 1,800,000 inhabitants of which about 88% are Albanians, 7% Serbs, and 5% of other ethnicities. It is the last of the former Yugoslavian republics and provinces to gain its independence but the state of Kosovo is still not fully internationally recognized. Some 50 countries recognized its statehood after the proclamation of independence in 2008, it is still not recognized by the UN, and its statehood is disputed by Serbia, which included its territory until the secession.

Kosovo is a landlocked area, with two major basins (western and eastern) delimited by high mountain chains (between 1,000 and 2,400 m), which mark the border with Albania (Albanian Alps or Cursed Mountains, *Bjeshkët e Nemuna* in Albanian or *Prokletije* in Serbian), Montenegro (*Mali i Moknes/Mokra gora* Mountains), Serbia (*Kopaonik* and *Gallap/Goljak* Mountains), and Macedonia (*Šara* Mountains). The two basins (400–700 m) are densely populated and are separated by the Drenica Hills, which also form the division between the Adriatic, Aegean, and Black Sea drainages.

The western basin, called in Albanian *Rrafshi i Dukagjinit* (the Plateau of the Duke Lekë) or *Metohija* (meaning monastic estates) in Serbian, is elevated about 450 m and exhibits considerable influence of the Adriatic climate. The area contains substantial quantity of arable land and numerous streams. The eastern basin *Rrafshi i Kosovës* (the Kosovo Plain) or Kosovo (proper) in Serbian, is elevated about 100 m higher and exhibits more continental climate. It is abundant in fertile arable and well-drained land.

Besides suitable conditions for agriculture, of great importance for the development of Kosovo were historical routes connecting the Adriatic, Aegean, and Danubian areas as well as abundance of ores (Slukan Altić 2006:9–10).

Ancient written sources mention various groups inhabiting Kosovo and its vicinity in the first millennium BC (Illyrians, Dardanians, Tribalians) when this area presented the Illyrian-Thracian-Dacian contact zone. The area was conquered by the Romans in the mid-second century BC during the Roman conquest of Macedonia, and century later was annexed to the Roman province of Illyricum. With subsequent changes of the Roman territorial organization, Kosovo was first included in the larger province of Moesia Superior, and later Dardania (Kosovo, southern Serbia, and northern (FYR) Macedonia), which was also an administrative unit during the early Byzantine Period. From the sixth to seventh century AD onwards, Slavic population moved to this area. With the exception of the Bulgarian (and Slavic Macedonian) rule in the ninth and tenth centuries, the area remained largely under the Byzantine rule until the twelfth century. The local Serbian principality of Rascia (Raška) gradually took control over the area and in the fourteenth century reached its peak in the Serbian medieval Kingdom of the Nemanjići dynasty and made Kosovo one of the core areas of their state. In the second half of the fourteenth century, the advancing Ottomans defeated and subjected local Serbian authorities and in the mid-fifteenth century Kosovo became officially annexed to the Ottoman Empire and was included into the Rumelia Province along with the neighboring Serbia, Montenegro, and (FYR) Macedonia. In the centuries which followed the indigenous Albanian population gradually increased in Kosovo and by the end of the nineteenth century became the dominant ethnic group, outnumbering Serbs. In the mid-nineteenth century, Kosovo and parts of neighboring Serbia, Montenegro, and western (FYR) Macedonia was given a status of *vilayet* (second-level province) with its capitol in Skopje. In 1912, after the Ottoman retreat, Kosovo was divided between Serbia and Montenegro and after 1918 included into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. A considerable part of the Albanian population found itself in a new country, separated from the also newly established (1912) state of Albania.

In the period between 1918 and 1941, Kosovo did not have distinguished administrative status, and was treated as one of the Serbian regions divided between larger

administrative units (*banates*) with their centers outside Kosovo. During WWII, the Italian fascist regime in its endeavors to create a client state in the Balkans manipulated national sentiments of the Albanian population in Kosovo and large parts of this area were included into the Greater Albania. The idea of uniting Kosovo with Albania was also on the agenda of the Albanian resistance movement but when the resistance was taken over by the local communists, this idea was abolished and Kosovo remained in Yugoslavia.

In 1945, Kosovo was given a status of autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia, and the Albanians living there were granted more political autonomy, particularly from the mid-1960s onwards. In the last two decades of former Yugoslavia (1970–1990), Kosovo achieved a status almost equal to other former Yugoslav republics, and Kosovo Albanians were able to develop national institutions.

In the context of rising nationalisms and disintegrating trends in former Yugoslavia in 1980s, the Albanian nationalist forces in Kosovo revived the idea of unification with Albania but met strong opposition particularly the Serbian authorities. Milošević, who came to power in Serbia in 1986, abolished Kosovo's autonomy and fuelled Serbian national sentiments for their "historical homeland" (Kosovo was the core region of the Serbian medieval state and center of the medieval Serbian Orthodox Church). With the collapse of Yugoslavia, Kosovo remained in Serbia but was increasingly slipping out of Serbian control and in the mid-1990s, the Kosovo Albanians organized strong anti-Serbian resistance. In 1999, at the time of the most intensive conflicts between the Serbs and Albanians, NATO backed up the Albanians and bombed Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo, and the UN-controlled administration of this region was imposed, which separated Kosovo from Serbia. In 2008, Kosovo proclaimed its independence.

Archaeology in Kosovo

Kosovo was the most underdeveloped region in former Yugoslavia. After WWII serious attempts of urbanization and industrialization were set in motion and in this context systematic development of regional archaeology became possible.

Archaeological interests in the region's past predates this period. As in the cases of other regions, foreign travelers were also visiting Kosovo and some of them reported on the existence of ancient monuments and ruins.¹⁷⁸ The first proper

¹⁷⁸For instance, the French naturalist and traveler Ami Boué in his *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris (1840) included passages dedicated to Kosovo; the Russian linguist and traveler Alexander Fedorovich Gilferding (*Bosnia, Gercegovina i staraya Serbya (Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia)*, St. Petersburg 1859) described the Serbian medieval monasteries and ruins of palaces in Kosovo among other monuments. Two English women G.M. MacKenzie and I.P. Irby who traveled in the Balkans during the nineteenth century and published their accounts in *The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe*, London, 1866, also reported on the monuments of the region. Notes on antiquities from Kosovo are found in F. Kanitz's work *Römische Studien in Serbien* (Vienna (1892). For more details on the history of archaeological research in Kosovo see Tasić (1998).

archaeological reports and studies, mostly epigraphic, are associated with Arthur Evans and published in the already mentioned series *Antiquarian Research in Illyricum I-IV* (Westminster 1883–1885). Epigraphic evidences from Kosovo were also included in the works of Austrian and Serbian historians: A. von Domaszewski, Nikola Vulić, and Anton von Premerstein.¹⁷⁹ Most of the epigraphic evidences came from the Roman town of Ulpiana, south of the actual capitol of Priština. Nevertheless, proper archaeological research of this site started after WWII.

In the period between the two world wars, archaeology in Kosovo lacked any institutional structure, and generally the level of archaeological research remained very low. Few sporadic finds were reported: a couple of Bronze Age hoards and stone tools (Tasić 1998:21), and some more general works on epigraphy and ancient history were published.¹⁸⁰

The regional framework of archaeology was gradually established after WWII, and this process is associated with the foundation of the Museum of Kosovo in Priština (*Prishtinë/Prishtina*) in 1949, which became the principal archaeological institution in this province. The crucial moment was the appointment of archaeological professionals in the museum: Emil Čerškov (1929–1969), who formed the archaeological department in the museum, and Jovan Glišić, both graduates from Belgrade University. Emil Čerškov soon initiated excavations at a series of important sites, such as Novo Brdo/Novobërda (1951), Ulpiana (1953), Predionica (1955), and Gladnica (1956). In 1956, Čerškov also founded the principal archaeological publication – *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije/Buletini i Muzeumit te Kosovë-Metohis* (*Bulletin of the Museum of Kosovo*). Another museum that actively took part in archaeological research was the Museum in Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovicë known for its research of the Neolithic sites of Valač/Vallaç and Žitkovac in 1955.

In the 1950s, the Museum of Kosovo, in its endeavors to establish the regional archaeological framework, intensively collaborated with major archaeological Serbian institutions from Belgrade (e.g., the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences and Arts, University of Belgrade) from where a number of archaeological experts came to Kosovo and directed several field projects.¹⁸¹ In this first decade of archaeological activities in Kosovo, research focused on the Neolithic and Roman sites for which there were some evidences and indicators of their relative richness and significance for regional archaeology. In this period, the

¹⁷⁹A. von Domaszewski, Die Grenze von Moesia superior und der illyrische Grenzzoll, AEM 13, 1890; N. Vulić, F. Ladek and A. von Premerstein, Antički spomenici u Srbiji, *Spomenik kraljevske akademije nauka* 39 (1903), 43–88; A. von Premerstein and N. Vulić, *Antike Denkmäler in Serbien und Macedonien*. Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, band VI, Heft 1, Wien 1903.

¹⁸⁰E.g., Č. Truhelka, Arheološke beleške iz Južne Srbije (Archaeological notes from Southern Serbia), *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* V, Skopje 1929; N. Vulić, Dardanci (Dardanians), *Glasnik Srpskog kraljevskog društva CXIV*, Belgrade 1925.

¹⁸¹E.g., N. Tasić, B. Jovanović, J. Todorović, J. Glišić, D. Srejić, M. and D. Garašanin were also the first to publish an archaeological map of the Kosovo region in their *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji* (*Archaeological Sites in Serbia*), Belgrade 1951.

largest research project was definitely that on the Roman town of Ulpiana, which started in 1954 and lasted until 1961, under the direction of Emil Čerškov.

The following 2 decades (1960–1980) marked considerable growth of archaeology in the region. The Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was established in Prishtina, and later its branch in Prizren, the second largest town in Kosovo. And with the establishment of a number of local museums, archaeology was well-established on local levels. In this period also archaeological staff in the Museum of Kosovo increased.¹⁸²

The period from the mid-1970s onwards, when the province of Kosovo was granted much larger autonomy, was particularly favorable for founding of a series of national institutions in this province. The Kosovo Academy of Arts and Sciences was established in 1975, and the University of Prishtina (established in 1969) enlarged. These favorable changes lead to the first official collaboration between the Kosovo and Albanian archaeological institutions. The University of Prishtina and Museum of Kosovo started collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology from Tirana, Albania. Between 1973 and 1976, Muzafer Korkuti, the leading Albanian prehistorian, was a guest lecturer at the University of Prishtina, and he also visited several sites in Kosovo and in other republics of the federation (Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia). At this occasion, the first joint research project between Prishtina and Tirana archaeological institutions – the excavation of the burial mound at Lištica/Llashtica started in 1980¹⁸³ – was organized.

Otherwise, there were no international archaeological projects in the province of Kosovo. In general, in the period 1945–1990, archaeology in Kosovo developed as regional framework within Serbian archaeology. It was the Serbian authorities which established (or assisted in establishing) the first archaeological institutions in Kosovo in 1948–1970, and only after the mid-1970s, with more political autonomy granted to this province, the development of archaeology gradually involved features of the national disciplinary framework.

In the late 1980s, the province of Kosovo was still the most underdeveloped region of former Yugoslavia. For this reasons, the figures in Table 2 express remarkable differences between Kosovo and other republics of former Yugoslavia

¹⁸²In this period (late 1960s/early 1970s) of gradual spread of archaeology in Kosovo, the first ethnic Albanian archaeologists appeared on the scene. Late appearance of ethnic Albanians in archaeological institutions has much to do with the fact that prior to this period there were only few archaeological jobs in the country, definitely less than five, and in the period 1945–1965 there were no graduates in archaeology among ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. From the mid-1960s, first graduates in archaeology and ancient history appeared among Albanian intelligentsia in Kosovo, and gradually took over the majority of new archaeological jobs available in the next two decades. At the end of the 1980s, there were altogether some 13 professional posts in archaeology in Kosovo, and 8 of them were occupied by ethnic Albanians.

¹⁸³The project ended in 1981 due to eruption of political demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo claiming more political rights which, among other things, froze the relationship between Yugoslavia and Albania.

(e.g., five times more archaeologists in Slovenia per capita), clearly indicating the impact of economic factors. Comparisons with Serbia are somewhat better but show rather low level of infrastructural development of archaeology in Kosovo (three times less professional archaeologists in Kosovo per capita).

Not much can be said about archaeology in Kosovo for the period between 1991 and 1999. In large turmoil, which accompanied the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the previously granted autonomous rights were banned and this period was also accompanied by severe economic crises, which almost completely impoverished the local population. A great deal of the “Albanian” institutions was either banned or suspended (e.g., local administration, schools, and many other public services) causing further aggravation of the political situation and thwarting the possibilities for ethnic cohabitation between the Albanian majority and the Serbs and other ethnic minorities. This period ended with NATO’s bombings of Serbia and subsequent collapse of the Milošević’s regime. From this moment on, Kosovo gradually acquired the status of independent state, officially proclaimed in 2008.

Archaeological activities, almost nonexistent between 1991 and 1999, started to gradually recover after Kosovo was put under the UN protectorate and allowed to develop its own local administration and institutions. However, due to the aggravated political situation, majority of the local Serbian population either migrated from the country or moved to northern Kosovo (area north of Kosovska Mitrovica),¹⁸⁴ and left almost all public institutions in Pristina and other towns, the archaeological institutions being included.

In 2009, the situation with archaeology was much improved compared with a previous decade. All formerly existing institutions continue their activities (Museum of Kosovo, Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, Pristina Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Regional Museum in Prizren (now named the Archaeological Museum), Municipal Museum in Djakovica/Gjakovë, University of Prishtina/Faculty of Arts). New institutions were established, among them the most important is the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo (2003). Furthermore, the Institute of Protection of Cultural Monuments also formed its regional branches in Djakovica/Gjakovë, Prizren/Prizreni, and Peć/Pejë and in (southern/“Albanian”) part of Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovicë. A number of other institutions were established, which employed archaeological staff (Faculty of Education, Pristina; Institute of Albanology). In 2009, some 15–18 professional archaeologists work in the country.

The major project of this group of archaeologists in Kosovo was the publication of the first volume of archaeological map of Kosovo (Përzhita et al. 2006), which was a joint project of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosovo and the Academy of Sciences of Albania. The volume covers ten western municipalities (roughly 30% of the country) and records 209 localities with archaeological

¹⁸⁴In this area of (northern) Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovicë and Leposavić/Leposaviq now settled by the Serbian majority, the Serbs (re)established or moved a number of their national institutions, including the university, archives, libraries, etc.

remains, some multicomponent. Among them, 15% are prehistoric sites, 45% are dated to the Roman Period, and 40% are from the Medieval Period. The volume also offers a synthesis of the individual archaeological epochs and valuable information on the history of archaeological research in the region.

Information on archaeological institutions in the northern (with large Serbian population) part of Kosovo Mitrovica/Mitrovicë is scarce. In 1999, the Serbian authorities officially relocated the seat of the Museum of Kosovo from Priština to Belgrade (now known as the Museum of Kosovo and Metohija in Priština) together with some Serbian staff, while in Leposavić/Leposaviq the Office for Protection of Cultural Heritage of Kosovo and Metohija (a branch of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Belgrade, Serbia) was established. At the moment we have no knowledge of archaeological activities and archaeological professionals in this area.¹⁸⁵

One cannot escape mentioning some major political issues related to archaeology in Kosovo. Archaeology in this most troubled region of former Yugoslavia could not escape political issues and, indeed, should not be observed without the reference to such problems. Two facts underline the politics of the region: first, Kosovo is the core area of the Albanians (largely Muslims), the largest non-Slavic speaking population in former Yugoslavia and for this reason acquired the status of the Autonomous Province within Serbia (1945–1998), and the second, Kosovo is the core area of the major national historical myths of the Serbs, rich in medieval Serbian monuments (e.g., orthodox churches, monasteries, some of them are even on the UNESCO World Heritage list). These cultural differences were very difficult to reconcile in the past (and even in present) and cultural heritage was frequently the arena of nationalist clashes. In the changing relations of power and dominance in the last two centuries, and especially after the retreat of the Ottomans in 1912 and the establishment of the Albanian state, the powers that dominated Kosovo, be it regional (e.g., Austrians, Italians, Ottomans) or local (Serbs or Albanians), seemed incapable of finding a stable basis for cohabitation. For more than a century, each major political event redistributed political power in this region (e.g., the Berlin Congress, the Balkan wars, WWI and WWII, and recent Yugoslav wars) causing rather radical demographic changes that left deep “scars” in the region. It seemed that under the Yugoslav federal system, certain modus for cohabitation was achieved, but after Josip Broz (Tito) death in 1980, nationalist-oriented politics prevailed among the nations of former Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo Albanians included, and perspectives for ethnic cohabitation worsened.

Archaeology in the 1980s could not escape its political context. In the case of Kosovo, there were a number of issues at stake. Two of them were particularly strong – the “Illyrian origin” of the modern-day Albanians (issue still largely accentuated and pursued in Albanian archaeology, especially during the regime of Enver

¹⁸⁵There are some information about the activities of the relocated Museum in Prishtina, which in the last decade organized several exhibitions and publications on the cultural heritage of Kosovo.

Hoxha) and the issue of “historical” rights of Serbs, who claimed Kosovo back due to the rapidly increasing ethnic imbalance in the country. In short, both issues relate to the dilemma emphasized in the question: “who owns the past?” All sides involved expected a straightforward answer from archaeology (and other historical sciences). But archaeology cannot answer this question. As a matter of fact, the question is wrong or misleading and wrongly addressed. The question is definitely politically charged, and it is in the political context where the solutions should be sought in the first place. Archaeology should not turn the blind eye to such question; however, as it may contribute to finding possible solutions, but for archaeology more appropriate question seems to be: “who participated in the past?”

Yugoslav Archaeology

At first it may seem odd that the section on “Yugoslav” archaeology is also included in this chapter. Elsewhere (Novaković 2008) I argued that “Yugoslav” archaeology could not be considered as “distinctive” national archaeological school but rather as closely organized network of national archaeologies specific to each republic of the former Yugoslav Federation. This view has also been very clearly stated by other archaeologists in Yugoslavia.¹⁸⁶

To get a better insight into those national archaeologies, I present here some common features conditionally label as “Yugoslav.” There is also another, very simple reason for presenting the “Yugoslav” aspect – with time advancing there are more chances that many things associated with live in the nonexistent state will simply be forgotten, and some of them are worth recording. The fact is, that all national archaeologies were fully established in infrastructural and conceptual aspects, after 1945, i.e., in the context of federal (and Communist) state of Yugoslavia, which strongly supported archaeology and in its own way contributed to the individual national archaeologies.

By its virtue, the common state framework acted more centrifugally, fusing the national schools of archaeology into a larger general one, especially after WWII, when all major nations in Yugoslavia underwent emancipation and industrial

¹⁸⁶ A discussion on questions *Does Yugoslav archaeology exist?* and *What is Yugoslav archaeology?* was organized at the 12th Congress of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies in Novi Sad in 1984, and the conclusion of Yugoslav archaeologists was “no.” Having common or very similar administrative and infrastructural disciplinary frameworks, legislation, education systems, intensive cooperation, etc., the participants in the debate considered the “Yugoslav archaeology” at best as a cluster of national archaeologies. Archaeology was at that time, and to a great extent still is, perceived as a science which primarily contributes to cultural and historical knowledge at a national level. Elsewhere (Novaković 2008:36–37) I have put it very bluntly – since there was no such thing as the Yugoslav nation there could be no Yugoslav national or united archaeology (for comments on the 1984 discussion see Ž. Rapanić 1986).

modernization.¹⁸⁷ The ideology pursued by Yugoslav communists adds an additional component to this process. This component can be best seen in the three major doctrines: the doctrine of modernization (i.e., industrialization, urbanization) of the Yugoslav society, the doctrine of “brotherhood and unity” of the Yugoslav nations, and in Marxism.

As for the first doctrine, prior to WWII Yugoslavia was among the most underdeveloped countries in Europe and additionally suffered great damage during the war inflicted to the already very poor economic infrastructure and population (estimated one million victims). Being mostly based on agrarian economy, with very weak industrial sector, the Yugoslav Communist government launched a very extensive campaign of industrialization, accompanied with nationalization of a great deal of land, production structures, and services. After the initial stage of the Soviet-type centralized planning, which did not prove successful, from the mid-1950s onwards the government started gradually introducing some elements of free market economy. Accompanied by great investments in infrastructure and economy, also from the West,¹⁸⁸ the country became radically transformed in a period of two or three decades. The increase of the industrial production in the period 1952–1973 was impressive – 10% in average per year, with 9% of annual increase in capital stock, and 5% annual increase in employment and productivity (Estrin 1982, based on official statistical data). Such growth radically transformed the social landscape, particularly with the urbanization, which followed the industrialization, and was also accompanied by massive migration of the rural population to new urban centers on local, regional, and national levels.¹⁸⁹ Such growth had also considerable impact on development of public services, health service, education, culture, and archaeology. A great number of “archaeological” institutions on regional and local levels were established accompanied by a substantial increase in number of archaeologists in major national institutions, which confirms a significant developmental change of the discipline in all former Yugoslav republics after WWII.

The doctrine of “brotherhood and unity” was the principal ideological investment and a tool of the Communist regimes in Yugoslavia for establishing and

¹⁸⁷Here, few words are needed to present the evolution of the Yugoslav federalism. In the first decade after WWII the state of Yugoslavia was, despite its federal structure, largely centralized. But with a series of constitutional changes in the 1960s and 1970s, the country became more federalized. The last major constitutional change in 1975 *de facto* established a federal state or republics, each having its own constitution. The only domains of the federal government were foreign affairs, monetary system, federal army, customs regulation and principal legislation in economic affairs. Education, culture, science, economy, police, health services, and tax system were domains of the republics.

¹⁸⁸Western countries, particularly the USA, contributed great amount of loans, investments and other means of economic aid to Yugoslavia – especially after its split from the Soviet Bloc in 1948 – which were decisive for great economic boom of the country in the 1960s and 1970s.

¹⁸⁹In 1957 real urban and rural incomes were almost equal (index 100), in 1970 this ratio was 304:93 in favor of the urban income (Estrin 1982, 80).

maintaining balance among the major national groups in the country. This doctrine – a sort of specific Yugoslav melting-pot concept – had dual, one may say paradoxical, nature. On the one hand, it was based on the Marxist premise of the priority of class adherence over national adherence, and on the other hand, this doctrine also strongly promoted further development of national structures and identities of the individual nations in Yugoslavia. What one should not ignore is the fact that various Yugoslav nations were frequently fighting wars on the opposed sides and careful approach to this issue was needed to establish cohabitation.¹⁹⁰

What this genuine Marxist-Hegelian dialectical construct meant in practice was rather fast growth of national “states” (republics) within the increasingly federalized state and liberalized economy. The Communist party allowed these trends as long as its dominant position was not questioned.¹⁹¹ However, in practice, the “cement” which maintained the national balance was the undisputed personal authority of Josip Broz – Tito.

Under the conditions and practice of the “brotherhood and unity” doctrine, national archaeologies had a strong boost for their development. During the reconstruction of the Yugoslav state after WWII, archaeology, along with other historical sciences, was seen as an important tool in the emancipation of southern Slavic nations and a venue to present their past and culture in a wider, European context. It has also been used as a tool for developing separate national identities and therefore can hardly be seen as contributing to united “Yugoslav” national archaeology.

Some superficial and not carefully checked assumptions – especially western – are associated with the third doctrine – Marxism (e.g., Kaiser 1995:109–113). The fact is that Marxism (or its derivative – historical materialism) infiltrated a great deal of the Yugoslav society. Its influence was visible in economy and the organization of production, but also in the social doctrine of “brotherhood and unity,” and especially in establishing the leading role of the Communist Party. But all that does not necessarily meant that public life and activities were Marxist-inspired or that Marxism and Marxist ideology has not been changed through time. Yugoslavia experimented with Marxism in many fields trying to escape the rigid Soviet-propagated Leninism by introducing self-management concept vs. centralized planning, liberalization of a great deal of public life, allowing privately-run small businesses, and private land ownership. In addition, it was simply not easy to introduce strict Marxism in a short period of time (or simply, with a decree) in a number

¹⁹⁰Here, it should be noted that the official doctrine of the Yugoslav Communist party during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941) considered this country as “bourgeois construct” for oppressing the southern Slavic nations, and that future revolution should abolish Yugoslavia and allowed autonomous development of these nations. In the late 1930s and particularly during WWII, this position was changed in favor of a common federal country with large autonomy granted to its constitutive nations.

¹⁹¹Along with federalization of the state also the process of “federalization” of the Communist party occurred as power gradually shifted from the center of the “Yugoslav” Communist Committee to the national Communist parties.

of domains, which conceptually and structurally were not fitted for it or strongly differed from the Marxist doctrine. Scientific disciplines were among those domains, archaeology included. What could frequently have been seen was a Marxist facade but not epistemology.¹⁹²

Most of those who see the influence of Marxism in archaeological interpretations regarding southeastern European archaeologies failed to recognize the distinction between genuine Marxist concepts and conceptual tools used in archaeology, and Marxist ideology and phrases utilized in daily public practice. With the exception of some noteworthy attempts of introducing the Marxist social theory in archaeological interpretation mostly in the Soviet Union (see Klejn 1977), and in very few cases in former German Democratic Republic¹⁹³ and, maybe, Poland, no operative Marxist paradigm existed in archaeologies practiced in former Yugoslavia. In fact, Marxist concepts in archaeology were more frequently circulating and developing in the West (for instance, V. Gordon Childe).

Although it is true that archaeologists in eastern and southeastern Europe officially on many occasions (mostly during jubilees or important social events) expressed their adherence to Marxism, this remained limited to few rather void phrases regarding the dominant ideology. No Marxist paradigm was ever successfully introduced or developed into archaeological practice in southeastern Europe.¹⁹⁴ On the contrary, culture history, as developed in Central Europe since the first half of the twentieth century and readjusted after WWII (e.g., the omission of highly speculative “ethnic” interpretations of the Kossinean type), remained by far the most powerful archaeological paradigm. In this sense, the Yugoslav archaeologists did not differ at all from the rest of Europe, where culture-history, claiming sharp distinction from the Kossina’s *Ethnographische methode* and attempting to avoid direct equalization of cultures with past historical categories, continued and was further developed. Archaeological “culture” continued to be the principle unit of observation and was applied more or less uniformly in prehistoric archaeology, archaeology of the Roman times, as well as the early medieval periods. In the Yugoslav case, the search for and interpretations of archaeological cultures in certain respects also followed the principle feature of the Party-endured slogan of the “brotherhood and unity.”

However, the “Soviet” (but not Marxist) influence or tradition existed (and it is still felt today) in the organization of archaeological institutional systems with

¹⁹²However, not all the sciences escaped the interventions of the Communist Party. Historiography, sociology, philosophy, economy were much more under pressure of the Marxist-Leninist concepts in the first decades of the post-WWII era.

¹⁹³*Editor’s note*: see the chapter on German archaeology in this volume.

¹⁹⁴Anthony Harding (1983:12) who spent much of his career researching in Poland, the Czech Republic (and Czechoslovakia) and in the Balkans, recognized the difference between “protocolar” Marxism and very rare genuine Marxist concepts put forward in archaeological studies. Most of the local scholars in southeastern Europe were very familiar with this difference and “protocolar” attitudes (Babić and Tomović 1994:117–118; Novaković 2002:340–343; Babić 2002:314, for the former German Democratic Republic see Coblentz 2002:334–336).

hierarchical division of labor, tasks, and responsibilities among various archaeological institutions. The principle feature of such structure is strong centralization with paramount national research institutes (Institutes of Archaeology at the Academies of Sciences) on the top. These institutes were given the strongest powers and responsibilities in developing the archaeology in general. They were responsible for developing long-term strategic plans, they conducted the largest and the most expensive research projects (of national or international importance), these institutes published the most important national archaeological journals and monograph series, they were equipped with the best archaeological libraries and laboratories in the country, etc. During the Communist era, when mobility of scientists, especially across national borders (even between the Communist countries) was very limited, it was the staff of these Institutes who normally had priority in getting permits and funds for international cooperation. However, the argument regarding limits in contacts among scholars of different countries cannot be applied to Yugoslavia, but rather to other countries of the former Soviet Bloc and Albania.

In short, these institutes were considered as a sort of national scientific elite centers, hierarchically organized with lower level research “apprentices” at the bottom, to the middle level semi-autonomous researchers, and scientists and executives on top. In terms of the number of staff members,¹⁹⁵ such institutions largely outnumbered any other university or museum in the country.

However, the leading role of the national academies should not be ascribed to the Soviet tradition exclusively. One should also take into account the administrative or rather “bureaucratic” traditions, which are of much older dates, and fitted well in the new conditions and circumstances, which emerged with the introduction of the Communist rule after WWII. The French CNRS (*Centre Nationale de Recherches Scientifiques*) or Italian CNRS (*Centro nazionale di ricerca scientifica*) also play key role in the organization of science in both countries.

Second to the Academy were major universities and national museums. In fact, due to relatively small size of countries, and relatively short tradition of the university curricula in archaeology, it was usually only the university at the national capital

¹⁹⁵With the exception of Slovenia, I do not have current data for the ratio of personnel employed at the Academy of Sciences against the total figure of employed archaeologists and supporting staff, but figures for Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary illustrate the case. The most extreme is Slovakia where 35% of all archaeological personnel are employed by the Academy of Sciences (in Slovenia around 10%, Pintarič and Novaković 2008), while Hungary exhibits the lowest ratio, around 5% (*Discovering the Archaeologists of Hungary* (2008)). These ratios were different in the years prior to the 1990s when no privately-run contract archaeological companies existed.

Number of research-oriented (i.e., academic) excavations and other forms of fieldwork outnumbered rescue and salvage excavations. In 2003, the number of rescue excavations in Romania for the first time was almost equal to the “academic” fieldworks (Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, 2007:168; Fottová et al., 2008). In the Czech Republic, 25% of fieldwork was related to heritage preservation (Frolík and Tomášek 2008), 10% in Slovenia (Pintarič and Novaković 2008), and 5% in Hungary (*Discovering the Archaeologists of Hungary* (2008)). For the period before the 1990s, when no private or contract archaeological services existed, the numbers are much higher.

where archaeology was taught (e.g., in Slovenia, Serbia, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, (FYR) Macedonia). Only recently, after 1991, a number of new archaeological curricula were opened at other places in these countries.

At the bottom of this pyramid were regional institutions (mostly museums), which could act autonomously on regional and local levels only. It was considered a proper practice that in cases of “important sites” regional and local institutions (and archaeologists) were usually considered as “local” assistants and providers of certain services (e.g., logistics, middle and low level staff, etc.) to central institutions and their staff since they were not properly equipped to carry out larger research projects.

The public service of heritage protection was in this hierarchy and “division of labor” generally considered as a secondary domain compared with research archaeology, combining the necessary administrative protection of heritage and rescue research and salvage projects. In many cases, the heritage sector was understaffed and poorly equipped for large scale projects, and also in this domain (mostly in the past then now) the Academy institutes frequently carried out most important rescue projects or made decisions about the distribution of the rescue tasks and projects among the regional and local institutions in the country. Indeed, in some countries, such as Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania, fieldworks related to heritage preservation at the regional level were for many years conducted by local museums and not by specialized heritage offices.

After 1990 much of the “Soviet” model of institutional organization remained but it is gradually transforming. After the abolishment of the Communist rule, countries were left with large national research institutes, which existed for decades without any real competition for funds and resources, and until very recently these institutes were largely unprepared to compete for project funding on national and international levels. In the meantime, a number of other archaeological institutions appeared (mostly universities with archaeological or similar curricula), and public heritage service became reinforced and gradually taken away from the academic world to develop its own autonomous domain of practice and decision-making. This trend was largely influenced by the process of accepting the European Union and Council of Europe standards in heritage management and protection.

The above conditions boosted the cooperation among national archaeologies in former Yugoslavia. Although in the first years after WWII, the very centralized way of ruling the country created some potential for a common “Yugoslav” archaeology, other factors (e.g., liberalization of economy, gradual federalization of the state, further national emancipation, etc.) strongly supported tendencies in the opposite direction – toward establishing distinguished national archaeologies in each of the republics. The best illustration of that was the fact that almost all archaeologists studied and continued their careers in the home republic.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶Bosnia and Herzegovina is an exception in this case because there was no archaeological university curriculum there. Most archaeologists from this republic, who studied elsewhere, continued their careers in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

One of the consequences of gradual federalization of the state could also be seen in large decrease of the “federal” funds and increase of funding on national (republic) levels, making the organization of joint “Yugoslav” projects in research or publication increasingly difficult and complicated due to administrative obstacles.

Although the prospects for “Yugoslav” archaeology were diminishing through time in favor of separate national archaeologies in each republic, this did not stop the emergence of a number of all-Yugoslav initiatives, which added considerably to national archaeologies. In the first decades after WWII, when a number of archaeological professionals was still rather low, personal communication and coordination among archaeologists from different republics were needed to secure the planned level of development of archaeology and its practice in the country. Teams and individuals were conducting projects outside their home republics, assisting in establishing national disciplinary frameworks in less developed republics or regions. Because of a small number of habilitated professors, the mobility was necessary to secure future experts, museums were sharing their exhibitions, lending objects and publishing catalogs of objects from other republics, and in cases of large rescue works that required immediate reaction mixed teams were frequently called upon.

However, throughout the whole period of post-WWII Yugoslavia, the only all-Yugoslav archaeological body was the Yugoslav Archaeological Society. Its transformation into the Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies in the late 1960s and subsequent establishment of the national archaeological societies reflects the mentioned process of federalization. The major role the Society was to represent and speak on behalf of all archaeologists in the country on matters concerning the profession, social status of the discipline, heritage issues, etc. Such professional societies of scientists, writers, engineers, lawyers, etc. were given quite an important status in the Yugoslav legal system.¹⁹⁷

In practice, the major role of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society (established in 1950) was the organization of regular scientific meetings (every 4 years) and

¹⁹⁷The idea of creating official societies representing various groups of professionals in communication with the republican or federal government has definitely to do with the Soviet model of “organizing” the society. These societies were originally not only meant as *Gespräch Partners* with the government but also as a channel for transmitting governmental policy among professional groups and the wider public. In other words, it was impossible to speak officially on behalf of archaeology, acting outside such society and its procedures. Because of peculiar features of the Yugoslav social organization, especially since the 1970s onwards, such societies were considered “public” subjects (not state or private). They were funded by the state and (as assembly of such societies or professional groups) had an opportunity to propose their representatives to republican and federal parliaments. Many of these societies (maybe not archaeological) were important transmitters of the official politics, but many in 1970s and 1980s also evolved into major pressure groups, which lobbied for the changes of the regime (e.g., the societies of writers, sociologists, philosophers, economists, etc.). In this respect, the archaeological society was simply too small to have any considerable role in politics, but it nevertheless retained its major coordinative role within the discipline.

publication of archaeological books and journals. In the early decades, the society had also important coordinative powers in distributing funds, tasks and developing priorities, but this role gradually faded after the 1950s.

Among the “federal” publications, two journals are especially worth mentioning: *Arheološki pregled* (*Archaeological Review*) and *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*. *Arheološki pregled* (28 issues were published) annually published short (1–2 pages long) reports on field research conducted in the previous year, providing the basic information about the actual field campaigns and their results. *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* was of a completely different profile. This journal (25 issues were published altogether) published papers on issues concerning major chronological, typological, or other interpretative issues in archaeology in Yugoslavia. Since *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* was aimed mainly to present the status quo of archaeology in Yugoslavia to the international professional audience, it was published exclusively in foreign languages (German, English, and French). The Society also published a number of monographs on a variety of topics (some 100 titles) providing, along with regularly organized congresses, the major channel of knowledge exchange among archaeologists in Yugoslavia.

However, one of the last major publications in Yugoslav archaeology – *Praistorija Jugoslavenkih zemalja* (*Prehistory of Yugoslav Lands*), Sarajevo 1979–1987, seven-volume synthesis on prehistory of this region – was published outside the Society. This large project, in which all key prehistorians of the time in Yugoslavia collaborated, was made possible by Alojz Benac and the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Archaeological congresses organized every 4 years were major events sponsored by the Society. Thirteen congresses have been organized in the period between 1950 and 1988. These Congresses were considered as major assemblies of archaeologists from all over the country and representatives of all specialties and branches (academia, museums, heritage preservation). The congresses consisted of the scientific part when various archaeological topics were discussed in individual sessions and the business part where regular business issues were on the agenda as well as discussions on further strategic development of the discipline. Proceedings from these meetings were regularly published in the journal *Materijali* (*Materials*).

In 1968, another great event was organized in Yugoslavia – the eighth Congress of the UISPP (*Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques and Protohistoriques*), which enabled Yugoslav scholars to present their works to the largest international archaeological audience in the world.¹⁹⁸ This event had far reaching consequences, especially in respect to international cooperation, as the number of international projects substantially increased after 1968.

By the 1980s, the role of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies was mostly limited to the forum of discussion, with no real executive power, which

¹⁹⁸Proceedings were published in *Actes du VIII^{ème} Congrès de UISPP I-III*, Belgrade 1971–1973.

by that time had almost completely shifted to the separate archaeological societies in each of the republics. This was rather logical consequence of the increasing fragmentation of the federal affairs, but also accelerated by the general lack of funds due to major economic crisis in the 1980s. With the collapse of Yugoslavia, all federal bodies and organizations on all-Yugoslav level ceased to exist, and this was also the fate of the Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies. The only actual asset the Association possessed at that time was a stock of some 5,000 books and back issues of journals, deposited in Ljubljana, which was then divided and distributed among the corporate members.

With the cessation of Yugoslavia, which led to a number of wars between former republics, most of the professional ties among the institutions and individuals in the “Yugoslav” context were broken, either due to problems caused by wars, but also because a number of archaeologists (mostly quietly) sided with official politics by republican (now state) governments, which remained at war. Furthermore, since cultural and historical heritage and interpretations of the past were the focus of nationalist discourse in all newly emerged states, and much of heritage was purposely destroyed during the war, it was not an easy task to reestablish communication and collaboration, especially between Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnia and Herzegovina archaeologists, and their institutions. Some major political changes were needed, which appeared after the end of rigid nationalist regimes of Tuđman and Milošević, to create basis for communication between these three states in cultural, scientific, and other domains. Instrumental in these endeavors was the international pressure and politics.

Since 2005 gradual increase in cooperation is noticeable. At the moment it is still mostly based on personal contacts and friendships which survived the war, while institutional cooperation is still rather weak. The exception to this is Slovenia, which maintained relatively good contacts with all the new states (former republics), and also due to its favorable economic position and status as the EU country was able to launch a series of initiatives and small-scale cooperation projects in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia within the last 10 years. At the moment, the largest institutional project relates to university education – the Ljubljana University coordinates a network of student exchange (ARHEOPED) supported by the Central European Exchange Program for University Studies – it connects 11 archaeological departments from universities in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (plus two from Slovakia and one from Poland and Romania). Since 2006 more than 200 grants were distributed enabling more than 70 students to study in the neighboring countries. The impact of this network was regarded as extremely positive not only in the strict academic sense but also in paving foundations for future cooperation of new generations of archaeologists. To all countries in the region, it is becoming increasingly clear that the present pragmatic distribution of wealth and powers within the academic world of the European Union, southeastern Europe – its archaeologies included – must urgently develop firmer forms of regional collaboration and synergy to overcome its marginalized position and compete on equal terms on European and global scales.

Conclusion

I hope I can be excused for the length of this paper. The task of presenting archaeologies of seven countries in a wider historical and cultural perspective required additional space. With the exception of Slovene archaeology, no other histories of national archaeologies were available outside their own language, and even there the accounts published thus far were rather fragmentary (e.g., histories of certain institutions, biographies of selected scholars, jubilee publications, etc.) and far from providing the “big” picture in a wider historical perspective. Linguistic barriers and fragmented accounts are the reasons for rather scarce and incomplete knowledge about archaeologies in southeastern Europe or the Balkans in wider academic circles in the West.

The “outside” scholars dealing with archaeology of this region were probably aware of its heterogeneity, though they may have not been fully acquainted with its origins, which I have focused on in this study. To many readers, the length and richness of history of antiquarianism and archaeology will probably come as a great surprise. As I have shown, antiquarian activities in some parts of southeastern Europe were contemporaneous to the earliest antiquaries in Europe in general, and many of the famous names from the Renaissance and the Enlightenment actually visited the other side of the Adriatic, which attracted them not only for its richness in ancient architecture and art but also because they were well-informed about its existence by the local scholars, who were engaged in academic discussions and whose manuscripts and publications were known in the scholarly circles of Europe.

A great deal of this knowledge was overshadowed and escaped the attention later, with the emergence of the “Balkans,” or better to say, with the image of the Balkans, which not only moved this region away from the focus of the West but also associating it with “non-Europeanness” and Orient produced long-lasting and distorted perception of this area. Furthermore, when southeastern Europe was modernized after WWII, it was on the other side of the Iron Curtain, and communication with the Western world was limited again, inevitably conditioning distorted and fragmented knowledge of the area on both sides of the divide. Archaeology in southeastern Europe could not escape these conditions, which for decades influenced its development and perception, at home and in the West.

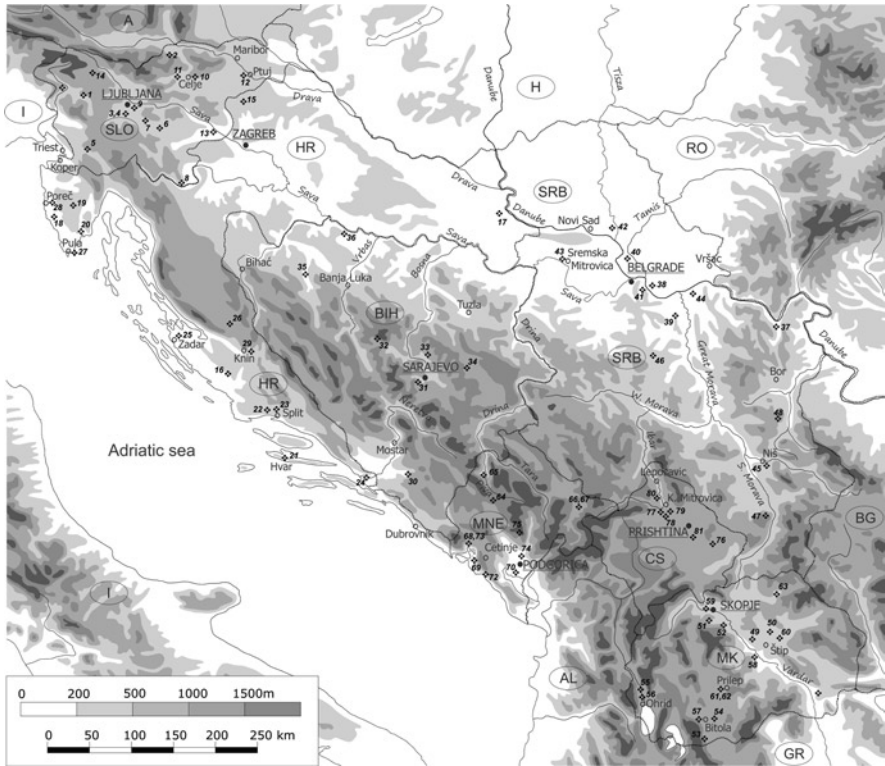
Another feature that is important to consider while speaking about national archaeologies in southeastern Europe (including Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, which are not discussed in this chapter) is rather small population of archaeologists. For almost a century, until the 1950s, only few professionals worked in each country, and though this changed much in the last decades, we are still dealing here with rather small figures compared with larger countries in Europe. This condition, which characterizes all national archaeologies, had considerable impact on the way how archaeology developed. In general, the effect of “small numbers” simply did not enable the development of fine specializations within the discipline, wider audience in discussion, and generally limited the possibility for critical revisions. It strongly supported a sort of “dynastic” principle of “disciples” created around major figures.

The effect of “small numbers” can be seen in a number of cases where personal biographies of some leading scholars have substantially changed the course of discipline. After 1945, all but one archaeologist left Slovenia due to political reasons, and it took a generation of scholars (again there were only few of them) to reestablish the discipline, clearly with a different research agenda. Personal affinities and convictions were much more enhanced in such cases. For instance, stubborn insistence by M. Vasić on the “Aegean” dates for Vinča isolated Serbian prehistory from the international discourse for a couple of decades, and prevented local scholars with different opinions from advancing in their careers. On the contrary, one should not ignore some positive effects of the “small numbers” condition. It happened quite frequently that new ideas acquired through international discourse were actually successfully imposed because the “proposer” occupied a high position in the disciplinary framework and was able to effectively spread it around. The introduction of the approach of G. von Merhart in the national archaeologies of southeastern Europe in the 1950s is one such case.

Because of the effect of “small numbers,” one could see more “episodic” rather than continuous nature of development of archaeology in the region. In any case, this effect must be taken into account when reflecting on national archaeologies, and it requires careful consideration of micro-histories (e.g., personal biographies, institutional histories, etc.), which frequently are not well-recorded in the published sources, but rather in “grey” literature.

The approach I presented here serves as a guide to view national archaeologies in southeastern Europe. I have focused on historical perspectives and paid particular attention to institutional development rather than epistemological contexts. I am certain that this is not the only way to present histories of local archaeologies and other approaches would be complementary to the presented perspective. I have limited my presentation to the countries which emerged due to the collapse of Yugoslavia but the same perspective may also be applied to other countries of the region omitted in this chapter.

Acknowledgments This chapter was considerably improved by the help of many colleagues who shared their knowledge and experiences with me. I would like to express my gratitude to Božidar Slapšak, colleague from my Department in particular; debating issues in the Slovene and other archaeologies of the former Yugoslavia became a real enjoyment. Staša Babić and Aleksandar Palavestra, University of Belgrade, helped me to improve my knowledge of the Serbian archaeology, provided me with “difficult-to-get” information on some local scholars and institutions there, and also commented some of my earlier texts on similar topics. These data on the most recent developments in archaeology from Kosovo would be very incomplete without the information provided by Kemal Luci from the Museum of Kosovo. Nade Proeva, Nikos Chausidis, and Goce Namuov, colleagues from the University of Skopje, and Irena Kolištrkoska Nasteva, Museum of Macedonia, Skopje provided me with essential data on Macedonian archaeology. During my visits to Sarajevo, I have also been greatly benefitted from discussions with Enver imamović, Salmedin Mesihović, and Adnan Kaljanac about the present state of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its fortunes in the recent war, and from reading texts of Dubravko Lovrenović, who opened to me new horizons on this country and its fascinating history. I also owe my gratitude to Nenad Tasić, University of Belgrade with whom I am enjoying summers in Vinča. Without his last-minute help in providing a suitable base-map for plotting the sites the text would be definitely less intelligible. And, finally, I am also very grateful to my wife Olivera. My long ‘journey’ to the Balkans would have not been possible without her support.



P - Palaeolithic, M - Mesolithic, NE - Neolithic, Eneolithic, BI - Bronze and Iron Ages, H - Hellenistic, R - Roman, BY - Byzantine, M - early medieval

Slovenia (SLO): 1. Divje babe (P), 2. Potočka Zijalka (P), 3. Ljubljansko barje (wooden point, P), 4. Ljubljansko barje (wheel, NE), 5. Škocjan (BI), 6. Stična (BI), 7. Magdalenska Gora (BI), 8. Vinica (BI), 9. Emona (R), 10. Celeia (R), 11. Šempeter (R), 12. Poetovionia (R), 13. Nevidunum (R), 14. Bled (M)

Croatia (HR): 15. Krapina (P), 16. Danilo (NE), 17. Vučedol (NE), 18. Monkodonja (BI), 19. Beram (BI), 20. Nesactium (BI, R), 21. Stari Grad field, Hvar (H, R), 22. Salona (R), 23. Diocletian's Palace, Split (R), 24. Narona (R), 25. Iader (Zadar; R), 26. Burnum (R), 27. Pula (R), 28. Poreč (R, BY), 29. Knin - Biskupija (M)

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH): 30. Badanj (P), 31. Butmir (NE), 32. Nebo (NE), 33. Obre (NE), 34. Glasinac (BI), 35. Sanski most (BI), 36. Donja Dolina (BI)

Serbia (SRB): 37. Lepenski vir (M, NE), 38. Starčevo (NE), 39. Selevac (NE), 40. Opovo (NE), 41. Vinča (NE), 42. Feudvar (BI), 43. Sirmium (R), 44. Viminacium (R), 45. Naissus (R), 46. Rudnik (R), 47. Iustiniana Prima (Caričin Grad; R, BY), 48. Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad; R)

FYR Macedonia (MK): 49. Amzabegovo (also Anza; NE), 50. Vršnik (NE), 51. Govrlevo (NE), 52. Zelenikovo (NE), 53. Porodin (NE), 54. Grgurova Tumba (NE), 55. Trebenište (BI), 56. Ohrid (BI, H, R, BY), 57. Heraclea Lyncestis (H, R), 58. Stobi (R), 59. Scupi (R), 60. Bargale (R/M), 61. Prilep (M), 62. Dobrešte (M), 63. Kratovo (M)

Montenegro (MNE): 64. Crvene Stijene (P, M, NE), 65. Odmuť (M, NE), 66. Beran - Krš (NE), 67. Kremešćica (NE), 68. Risan (Spila, NE), 69. Velika Gruda and Mala Gruda (BI), 70. Velje Ledine nera Gostilj (BI), 71. Gotovuša (BI), 72. Budva (H, R), 73. Risan (R), 74. Doclea (R), 75. Samograd (R)

Kosovo (CS): 76. Novobrdó (NE, M), 77. Predionica (NE), 78. Valač (NE), 79. Gladnice (NE), 80. Žitkovac (NE), 81. Ulpiana (R)

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The Archaeology of Israel and Palestine

David B. Small

Introduction

The geographical scope of this review includes modern Israel, and the lands of the Palestinian authority, including Gaza. The archaeology of each of these current geopolitical areas is so intertwined that we cannot separate one from the other without reducing drastically our understanding of the whole. This overview will address the issues of different periods in the history of this region's archaeology as well as the character of its archaeology. The scope of this chapter cannot be as complete as a major synthesis of the archaeology of the region. Readers who would wish to read much more comprehensive overviews are strongly encouraged to turn to Ben-Tor's *The Archaeology of Israel* (1994), Stern's massive four volume, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (1993a), or Richards more recent, *Near Eastern Archaeology, A Reader* (2003a).

Archaeological Timeline

We cannot understand the archaeology of the region without first knowing something about its archaeological past. Therefore, it is best that we begin with an understanding of the archaeology of the region, and then turn to archaeological applications. In quick outline, the cultural and historical sequence of the area is as follows. As one can see, the later periods are historical designations rather than ones that are truly archaeological (see Fig. 1).

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Archaeological chronology

Prehistoric period

Paleolithic 1,500,000 – 14,000 BCE

Mesolithic 14,000 – 8,000 BCE

Neolithic 8,000 – 4,500 BCE

Chalcolithic 4,500 – 3,200 BCE

Bronze Age

Early Bronze 3,200 – 2,200 BCE

Middle Bronze 2,200 – 1,550 BCE

 MB I 2,200 – 2,200 BCE

 MB II 2,200 – 1,750 BCE

 MB III 1,750 – 1,550 BCE

Late Bronze 1,550 – 1,200 BCE

 LB I 1,550 – 1,400 BCE

 LB II 1,400 – 1,200 BCE

Iron Age 1,200 – 586 BCE

Iron I 1,200 – 1,000 BCE

Iron IIA 1,000 – 930 BCE

Iron IIB 930 – 721 BCE

Iron IIC 721 – 586 BCE

Babylonian Period 586 – 539 BCE

Persian Period 539 – 332 BCE

Hellenistic Period 332 – 63 BCE

Early Hellenistic 332 – 198 BCE

Late Hellenistic 198 – 63 BCE

Roman Period 63 BCE – 324 CE

Early Roman 63 BCE – 135 CE

Late Roman 135 – 324 CE

Byzantine Period 324 – 640 CE

Islamic Period 630 – 1918 CE

Early Arab Period 640 – 1099 CE

Crusader Period 1099 – 1291 CE

Mamluk Period 1250 – 1517 CE

Ottoman Period 1517 – 1918 CE

Characteristics of these Cultural and Historical Periods

The Paleolithic Period

Evidence for the earliest hominids, here *homo erectus*, was unearthed at Ubeidiya (Stekelis et al. 1969), a site in the Jordan Valley south of Tiberias. However, Paleolithic research in the region has been concentrated on caves. The Tabun (Jelinek 1982) cave site has one of the longest profiles of human occupation and deposition, running from around 500,000 to 40,000 BP. *Homo sapiens* or modern humans are surprisingly early in their presence in the Qafzeh rock shelter



Fig. 1 Archaeological map of Israel and Palestine

(Bar Yosef and Vandermeersch 1981, 1991; Schwarcz et al. 1988; Valladas et al. 1988; Vandermeersch 1981). Much earlier than in Europe, these skeletons have been dated as early as 92,000 BP. Local data show that there was a significant overlap between the introduction of modern humans and *homo sapiens Neanderthalis*, or Neanderthals. Skeletal data for Neanderthals comes from the Kebara cave (Bar-Yosef et al. 1992), where we have evidence of Neanderthals living in the area from 60 to 48,000 BP. These sequences do not match with those from Europe. Another important feature is that the Mousterian tool industry, which in Europe is almost exclusively associated with Neanderthals, was also employed by modern humans in this region of the Near East.

The Neolithic Period

The Neolithic Period in the region is divided into several stages: Pre-pottery Neolithic A, Pre-pottery Neolithic B, Pre-Pottery Neolithic C, and the Pottery Neolithic Rollefson (2003). The culture of Pre-pottery Neolithic A – PPNA involved hunters and farmers. Major sites where we have traces of PNA are Jericho, Nahal Oren, Netiv Ha-Gdud, Gilgal, Gesher, and Hatula (Bar-Yosef 1989). As farmers these peoples domesticated cereals (two kinds of wheat) and legumes. Sites were not tremendously large, such that of PPNA Jericho averaged 375–1,000 people (Kenyon 1957). We know little of the community structure in this early period, but Jericho contained a very large tower and wall, which must have taken some sort communal effort and direction. Some evidence of trade connections exists in the presence of obsidian from central Anatolia.

The evidence for Pre-pottery Neolithic B – PPNB is somewhat more robust than that for PPNA. There are more known sites, with our knowledge of this period extending into the Sinai (Goring-Morris 1993). The period was fairly well integrated but was also marked by cultural zones. For the first time, houses are now subdivided, with the so-called megaron house from Jericho indicating that connections between households and the community were becoming institutionalized. There is also evidence for domesticated animals – sheep, goats, some cattle, and pigs. This era is also known for the unusual appearance of modeled skulls. The bones covered with plaster and shell. Noted find spots are Jericho, Ain Ghazal, Beisamun, and Tell Ramad (Goren et al. 2001).

Pre-Pottery Neolithic C was discovered later than the first two Pre-pottery phases. It represents a general disintegration of PPNB into sites with individual identities (Rollefson and Kohler Rollefson 1993). Some important sites where this phase has been recognized are Atlit-Yam (Galili et al. 2005) and 'Ain Ghazal in Jordan (Lovell 2004; Rollefson et al. 1992).

The Pottery Neolithic is not as abundant in data as the PPNB (Amiran 1970). It is estimated that many of the sites from this period were single occupation sites. Although fragmentary, the best known site from this period is probably Shar'ar Ha-Golan, excavated by Stekelis (1972). Stekelis called the habitation at the site, the Yarmukian culture. Similarities between this culture and that from Byblos to the north point to a possible larger cultural zone for the Pottery Neolithic that included

sites not only in the Jordan Valley, but also those running up the Golan and Galilee into the Lebanon as well. Except for clay figurines, the character of the pottery from this early period is very handmade, consisting of multiple examples of cooking and storage jars. It was produced by part-time specialists within families.

The Chalcolithic Period

The Chalcolithic period is marked by the introduction of copper smelting. Some of the smelting processes involved the addition of arsenic. Although this time period is noted by the introduction of the first metal production in the region, there is little that would identify a unified culture. Different sites appear to have somewhat different cultures, and much of what we know of the period comes from four principal sites: Teleilat Ghassul, Beer Sheba, Shiqmim, and Abu Hamid (Gilead 1988; Lovell 2004; Levy 1995, 2003; Rowan and Golden 2009). Copper producing sites are not evenly dispersed throughout the region. The Negev appears to have been a center for Chalcolithic settlement, but sites are known throughout the region. The site of Ein Gedi on the Dead Sea has produced what appears to have been a Chalcolithic temple, and a near-by cave, Nahal Mishma (Gates 1992; Moorey 1988; Tadmor 1989; Ussishkin 1971) was the repository for an unusual early hoard of copper objects, which might have served a religious function in this temple. The site of Shiqmim has been carefully excavated and has even given us interesting evidence for communal violence (Dawson et al. 2003). The Chalcolithic Period is also the first in the region for which definite evidence of contact with Egypt have been confirmed.

The Early Bronze Age

Although not a true introduction of bronze into the Near East, the Early Bronze Age can be labeled as the advent of urbanization in this region. This period witnessed the beginning of important sites such as Lachish, Megiddo, Gezer, Yarmuth, Aphek, and a continuation of development in Jericho (Richard 2003b). These sites revealed the presence of large mudbrick defensive walls as well as large domestic constructions. Overall there appears to have been an increase in population, as seen in greater density within sites. Diplomatic and trade connections were forged between the region and Egypt and Mesopotamia. The end of this period saw the destruction and abandonment of many of the new centers.

The Middle Bronze Age

This period witnessed the reestablishment of urbanism (Han 2003). Indeed, the cities grew larger and more fortified, and were to evolve into the Canaanite cities of the Late Bronze Age (Tubb 1998). Connections with Egypt and Mesopotamia continued and new

relations were being established with Phoenicia and Crete. A general zenith of civilization occurred toward the end of this period, but the period was also closed by evidence of a general destruction, which has been attributed to incursions by the Egyptians.

The Late Bronze Age

Egypt began to control much of the region in the early years of this era (Leonard 2003). Yet, its power was soon challenged by the rising dominance of the Hittite kingdom. Of great importance was the invasion and settlement of the Philistines on the southern coast and inland areas (Dothan 1982a, b; Dothan and Dothan 1992; Ehrlich 1996; Killebrew 2005). These people, who were to remain in the region, were connected to the Mycenaean cultures of mainland Greece and Cyprus (Cross and Stager 2006). Toward the end of this era, the power of both Egypt and the Hittites in the region was broken.

The Early Iron Age

This period was one of dynamic social change (Block-Smith and Nakhai 1999; Gitin and Dever 1989; Mazar 2001; Younker 2003). This is seen in the rise of numerous villages in the hill country with the eventual nucleation of this population into fortified towns (Faust 2000), then in the weakening and sometimes collapse of several Canaanite cities, such as Hazor and Megiddo (Finkelstein 2003). Additionally, although weak, Egypt held on to some garrison posts, such as that at Beth Sean until the early tenth century BCE.

This period is perhaps the most debated in the history of the region. Biblical sources claim that the Israelites defeated and destroyed Canaanite culture and established a unified monarchy, based on a capital in Jerusalem by the late eleventh – early tenth centuries BCE. The problem is that this scenario is not well supported by the archaeological evidence (Finkelstein 1996a, 2003), and some scholars have argued that the history itself is more of a later myth, put together by scribes after the return from Babylonian exile, that actual fact (see Section on “Methods and Theory” below). We are perhaps on more solid ground with the separation of the early kingdom into the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern of Judah. Historical records give witness to the destruction of the northern entity by the Assyrians in 722–720 BCE and the southern by the Babylonian in 586. Archaeological evidence is not as elaborate as we would like, but a general decline in population can be detected.

The Persian Period

This period is more of an historical era, rather than one which is signaled by archaeology. Two issues stand out (Canter 2003; Stern 1982). The Jews were able

to return from their exile in Babylon and reoccupied much of Jerusalem. The temple that was destroyed by the Babylonians was rebuilt, and the Nabatean peoples to the south were advancing north into the region of the Negev.

The Hellenistic Period

The conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great resulted in the region being at first controlled by either the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt or the Seleucid kingdom of Syria. The archaeology tells us that this was an era of general prosperity, with several new political foundations and an increase in population (Berlin 2003). Cities, like that of Dor, seem to have especially prospered.

Politically, the period was dominated by the semi independent Hasmonean monarchs. Archaeologically, the population appears to have been adopting Greek customs and art, as seen in the elaborate burial monuments in the Silwan Valley outside of Jerusalem.

The Early Roman Period

The region came under Roman control in 63 BCE, but the conquerors were satisfied to hold the area as a client state, ruled by Herod the Great. This monarch engaged in building campaigns, which resulted in the fortress palace at Masada, several Herodian fortresses, the construction of Caesaria, and massive construction in Jerusalem, with a redesign of the temple and the temple mount. After the death of Herod and that of his sons, the Jews revolted against Roman rule in the first revolt in 66–73 CE. Roman forces demolished much of Jerusalem as well as the temple mount, leaving only the west retaining wall, now known as the Wailing Wall. In 72 Roman forces also destroyed Masada, which was occupied by the Sicarii, Jewish zealots who refused to accept Roman rule. In 132–135 CE, there was a second revolt, put down by the Roman emperor Hadrian, who tried to turn Jerusalem into Aelia Capitolina. Jews were forbidden to live in the city.

From archaeology, we can see that there was a significant shift of Jewish population from Jerusalem into the north, where the city of Tiberias served as a principal headquarters. Small towns thrived in Galilee with the construction of numerous small synagogues (Chancey and Porter 2001).

The Later Roman Period

Despite the upheavals, Roman Palestine prospered. There was an increase in the number of settlements throughout the region, especially in the Negev. Jerusalem was rebuilt, with a column-lined *cardo*, much like that in many cities in the Roman east,

and a large trading forum outside the main gates, quite similar to that seen in Roman Jerash. In the north, several cities, such as Beth Shan, were members of a regional Decapolis whose culture, to judge from the archaeology, was heavily Hellenistic.

The Byzantine Period

Following the conversion of Constantine, Christian persecution came to an end and interest turned to Judea. Imperial construction was behind the building of the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Additional churches, such as that of the Annunciation in Jerusalem and that of the Nativity in Bethlehem were also constructed. With licensed attention now, several monasteries were also erected. In general, the population of the area was still increasing, with the Negev dotted with cities and farms. The major cities of Jerusalem, Caesarea, Beth Shan reached their population zenith in this period as well (Parker 1999).

The Islamic Period

Early Arab Period

The region was taken from the Byzantines by Arab forces in 638 CE. Islamic art in the region has had a high profile for its beauty, but from an archaeological perspective, we know less than we would like about this period, because there has been little archaeological interest in its study (but see Rosen-Ayalon 2006). The population of Jerusalem and other cities was declining. But Jewish synagogues continued to be operational, as well as some selected churches. Most impressively, in 691 the caliphate, Abd al-Malik Marwan built the Dome of the Rock on the temple mount, a building of both eastern and Roman characteristics.

The Crusader Period

Following the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem, the new rulers constructed fortifications in several cities as well as castles at sites such as that at Caesarea (Boas 1999). Unfortunately, the crusaders wrecked destruction on many of the Arab buildings in Jerusalem, and the sacking of Jerusalem by the Mongols and Turks, in this period removed them from an attempt at study. Archaeology opens no more doors here, as we know too little about the demographics or life of the people of this period.

Mamluk Period

The Mamluks, a ruling group from Egypt, looked upon Jerusalem as a holy city and correspondingly built some magnificent buildings, especially around the haram

el sharif, or the ancient temple mount (Burgoyne and Richards 1987). Many of these were schools or orphanages, with elaborate mausolea, often with windows open onto the Dome of the Rock.

The Ottoman Period

The Levant became a backwater after its conquest by the Ottoman Turks. The administration in what was then Constantinople saw little in investments, but to tax the local population. As far as can be determined the population of the region reached a nadir in this period. There was an absence of any significant construction, but for the refurbishing of the walls of Jerusalem by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1537.

Principal Sites

There are, of course, numerous important sites in Israel and the lands of the Palestinian authority. I have tried to trim the number down to a handful, which have had a lasting impact, either on our understanding of the archaeological past or upon the culture of local archaeology itself.

Caesaria Maritima

Located on the northern coast of Israel, Caesaria Maritima's first importance was that it was a late first century BCE Herodian foundation, built upon an earlier city, Strato's Tower. Herod built a large harbor with a lighthouse, at Caesaria. The site served as Judea's major link with the rest of the Mediterranean, and became the seat of the Roman province. The municipality contained a large theater, a temple to Augustus Caesar near the harbor, and a palace occupied by Herod and his descendants. Also of note is a well-preserved aqueduct. The aqueduct is in two phases: the first appears to have been built by Herod the Great, and the second by the Roman emperor, Hadrian. Caesaria remained as a viable city into the late empire, but its harbor was damaged in the second century CE. After the Arab conquest, the city was much reduced in size. In 1101, the city was made the capital of a Crusader kingdom under Baldwin I of Jerusalem. Crusader control was brought to an end by the Egyptians in the late thirteenth century and the city was depopulated.

Of principal importance is the archaeological work, which has been carried out through underwater research in the harbor, as well as continued excavation of civic structures near the center of the city (see Levine and Netzer 1986; Holum et al. 1988; Raban and Holum 1996; Lehmann and Holum 2000; Govaars et al. 2009).

Dor

Located on the Mediterranean coast, the ancient city of Dor had a long history of habitation. The early years witness a Bronze Age “Canaanite” occupation, which was followed by Phoenician, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and post Roman. Dor served as a port city, with several wrecks still located very near to its original harbor. Dor also supplies us with good data on Phoenician culture as well as that of the Hellenistic period in the region. Dor was an early interest of the premandate research and first excavated by the British archaeologist, Garstang (1924a, 1924b). It is currently a multi-institutional projects, involving Hebrew University, Haifa University, University of California at Berkeley, the Weizmann Institute of Science, and the University of Washington (Publications are extensive, but see: Sharon 1987; Stern 1989; Dauphin and Gibson 1994; Kingsley and Raveh 1996; Gibson et al. 1999; Stern et al. 1996; Stern 1997, 2000; Kingsley 2002; Barkai and Kahanov 2007; Galili and Rosen 2008).

Ashkelon

Perhaps best known as a principal Philistine city, the antiquity of Ashkelon proper starts in the Bronze Age and continues with little interruption right down to the thirteenth century CE. The site offers an excellent opportunity to study community evolution in time depth. Excavations at the site have revealed a silver gilt bronze calf from the Middle Bronze or Canaanite period. The Philistine occupation of the site, which began around the middle of the thirteenth century, has produced houses, which contain large circular hearths, and have been linked to Late Bronze Age cultures to the West, as well as Philistine pottery, which is closely connected to late Mycenaean. Notable information that has come from the excavations was best summarized in the reference, (Stager et al. 2008).

Gezer

Located 30 kilometers due west of Jerusalem, Gezer sits on the edge of vast plain. Positive identification of the site with biblical Gezer was confirmed by inscriptions on boundary markers from the first century BCE. Gezer saw early excavation by the British archaeologist, Macalister in 1902 and 1907. It served as a major site for American archaeologists in the 1960s and set the model for American excavations. The site continues to be excavated today by a consortium of American schools and the Israel Antiquities Authority. Gezer appears to have had a long period of occupation and its major archaeological importance centers on a possible Canaanite “high place,” outlined by megaliths, a seasonal calendar written in proto-Hebrew, and a six-chambered gate, which parallels other gates at Hazor and Megiddo (Macalister 1911, 1912a, 1912b; Yadin 1958; Dever et al. 1970; Dever 1974; Gitin 1990; Dever 1986; Seger and Lance 1988; Ben-Ami 2008).

Masada

A desert fortress-palace built on a mesa on the south western lip of the Dead Sea, Masada, was a place of refuge for both the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great. In the Jewish Revolt of xxx, Masada was used as a haven for the Siciarii, until attacked by the Romans. Masada contains a large Hasomean palace, unusual guest house, massive cisterns, store rooms, and a northern “hanging” three-tiered palace for Herod the Great. During the period of the Siciarii, Masada also contained a synagogue. The last occupation on the mesa was in the late antique period and witnessed by a small Christian chapel. One of Masada’s chief archaeological sources is the preserved Hasomean palace, plus that of Herod the Great, which has strong parallels to Hellenistic architecture found further to the west. Yadin’s excavations of the 1960s have recently seen full publication (Yadin et al. 1989a, b; Cotton and Geiger 1989; Netzer 1994; Barag et al. 1995; Foerster 1996; Talmon et al. 1999; Bar-Nathan 2006a; Stiebel et al. 2007).

Tel Dan

Also known as Tel el-Qadi, this site is located in the northern tip of Israel. The site hosted a temporary Neolithic settlement, but was abandoned until the early Iron Age. Dan must have been an important community in this period. The site also boasts a probably bamah or cultic area, which dates from the early years of the northern kingdom of Israel. An earlier period has produced a well-preserved arched gateway from the Bronze Age. A recent dramatic find has been a ninth century Aramaic stele, which may refer to the royal house of David (Biran 1992, 1994; Biran and Naveh 1993, 1995).

Tel Hazor

First excavated by Yadin and fellow Israeli archaeologists in 1955, Hazor was shown to be an important Canaanite site in northern Israel. The city was destroyed by a large fire in the thirteenth century. Some archaeologists attribute the destruction to early Israelites, while others hold that it fell after the appearance of Israelites in the region. In any event, the archaeological material shows that the city continued as an important center into the ninth century. Significant material includes a typical six-chambered gate, dated to the Early Iron Age and administration buildings belonging to the tenth or ninth century BCE (Ben-Tor 1996, 1998, 2005; Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998).

Tel Megiddo

Having a unique distinction of being mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, plus Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hittite sources, Megiddo has been excavated for over

a century. The site is located in the Jezreel Valley and sits on one of the major trade routes in the region and grew to be a prosperous Bronze Age city. The Egyptian texts say that the city was attacked by the famous Egyptian pharaoh, Thutmose III in 1478 BCE, and Shishak in the tenth century BCE. The city presents us with palaces, fortifications, hidden water systems, and a series of buildings, which some would call stables, and a large Early Bronze Age altar. The archaeological significance of Megiddo lies in its strata from the period of the united monarchy. Identification of the exact strata and their associated buildings has been hotly debated (Finkelstein 1996a, 1996b; Finkelstein et al. 2000, 2006; Lamon and Shipton 1939; Loud 1948; Mazar 1997; Schumacher and Watzinger 1908; Ussishkin 1980; Watzinger 1929).

Rehov

Located in the Jordan Valley, Rehov has been excavated since 1997. The site consists of an upper and lower city. Investigation to date reveals that Rehov was occupied in the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, with late occupation in the early Islamic period. Interesting results have been the discovery of a large industrial bee-keeping facility. Another issue is the fact that the architecture is mudbrick, which differs from contemporary architecture at other sites. The material from the Early Iron Age is significant and has been used by Mazar, the excavator of the site, in the debate over low and high chronologies (Mazar 1999, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Mazar et al. 2005; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2007).

Jericho

Although little serious work has been conducted at Jericho since the work of Kenyon (1957) in the 1950s, Jericho remains as a vitally important archaeological site. It has the distinction of being one of the oldest occupied communities in the world, dating to 9000 BCE. Kenyon's work truly exposed a vibrant pre-pottery Neolithic community, which has added to our knowledge of the Neolithic immensely. Jericho has also featured recently in the debate concerning the veracity of the Biblical account of the conquest of the land by the Israelites. The archaeological data shows that the Canaanite city (Jericho IV) was destroyed ca. 1550 BCE, long before the Biblical account of its destruction by Joshua. The Neolithic culture of Jericho in the PPNB phase fits in well with a regional culture, which shared such cultural attributes as plastered heads with close sites, such as 'Ain Ghassul in Jordan. In the late Hellenistic period, land around Jericho became a royal estate of the Hasmonean and Herodian rulers, giving us great insight into the architecture and the economy of such royal estates (see work by Netzer below).

Qumran

Located on the northern tip of the Dead Sea in the Jordan Valley, Qumran was first excavated in an archaeological fashion in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The site and area have received immense attention because of the numerous scrolls, often referred to as the Dead Sea Scrolls, which have been found in caves in the cliffs near to the actual archaeological site. The significance of Qumran has been debated for several decades. The first excavators held that the site was the home of the Essenes, a separatist Jewish sect in the first century CE, who could have written several of the scrolls in the caves. There have been subsequent interpretations, however. In 1992, it was suggested that the site, at least in one phase, functioned as a Roman villa. Further thoughts have identified Qumran as a Hasomean fortress, an industrial complex, and as a pottery production site (Bar-Nathan 2006b; Broshi 1992; Broshi and Eshel 1999, 2006; Cargill 2009; de Vaux 1973; Donceel and Donceel-Voûte 1994; Golb 1994, 1995; Hirschfeld 2004; Humbert and Chambon. 1994, 2003; Humbert and Gunneweg 2003; Magness 2002; Patrich 1994, 2000; Regev 2009).

The Archaeology

Premandate

One could say that “archaeological” interest in this region began when the Roman empress, Helena, the mother of the Roman emperor, Constantine, went to Jerusalem in the early fourth century CE and returned to Rome having secured pieces of the “true cross,” after having excavated the tomb of Jesus. But the first real scholarly interest in this region did not appear until the founding of the Palestine Exploration Society in London in 1865. The purpose of the organization was decidedly religious; one of its charges was to produce archaeological evidence for events in the Bible.

In its early years, the fund sought to undertake a survey of the region with the goal of providing solid information on possible Biblical sites to be excavated in the future. After a short trial with a reconnaissance survey, the fund launched its work on the Ordnance Survey of Western Palestine in 1871. The Survey mapped up to 6,000 square miles of territory and took up to 6 years to complete. Its mission, to identify Biblical sites for future excavation was mostly realized and the fund began work on the excavation of two sites: Kherbet Ajlan and Umm Lakis, which were initially identified as the site of the ancient cities of Eglon and Lachish, respectively. The fund enticed the famous early archaeologist, Flinders Petrie, who had worked in Egypt, to take on these excavations. Petrie quickly dismissed the Biblical identification of the sites, and instead focused on the site of Tell el Hesay, which he then considered to be a good candidate for the ancient city of Lachish (Petrie 1890a, 1890b, 1891).

Petrie’s work was of seminal importance to the initiation of a scientific archaeology in the region. He championed the careful use of stratigraphy and ceramic

seriation to produce dates and sequences within regional excavations. His previous work in Egypt additionally allowed him to date local strata and ceramics with Egyptian imports found in the strata of Tell-el-Hesi.

In the nineteenth century, this region was part of the Ottoman Empire. Archaeological undertakings were difficult to say the least. Countries such as Great Britain, France, and Germany were beginning to conduct archaeological research in the Tigris and Euphrates River area, but work in what was then Palestine was limited to the creation of interest groups, such as that of the Palestine Exploration Fund. This society assisted Petrie at Tel el Hesi, but had a much more significant role in the archaeology of the region in the years of the British Mandate.

The nineteenth century also witnessed the establishment of foreign schools for biblical and archaeological study. The Germans established the *Deutschen Palestina-Vereins*.

In 1890, the French established the *Ecole Biblique*, which was later to be renamed the *Ecole Biblique et Archeologique Franciase*. Under its first director, Father Marie-Joseph Lagrange, OP, the *Ecole* sponsored research by Louis-Hughes Vincent, an early pioneer in the archaeology of Jerusalem (Vincent 1991).

The Americans founded the American School of Oriental Research in 1900 (King 1983; Seger 2001). The School built a center in Jerusalem in 1925. The center is now called the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, after its most famous director, Albright, whose research has had an enormous effect on the Israel and Palestine.

The Years of the Mandate

An outcome of the defeat of the Ottomans in the First World War was the oversight of much of their former imperial territory by the British and French. The effect of British control was to have a lasting stamp on Palestine. In 1917, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration (Stein 1961), which expressed sympathy with the Zionist movement to establish Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

The British Mandate in Palestine, established in 1921, continued until the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. This period is noted for the increasing immigration of Jews from Europe, the beginnings of Jewish archaeology in the region and increasing influence of foreign schools on local archaeology.

Within the Mandate era, Palestine witnessed a significant increase in Jewish immigrants. Although one would assume that this influx would have had a direct positive effect on archaeology, the opposite appears to have been initially the case (Abu El-Haj 2001, 2003). The aims of early immigrants were to begin a life in Palestine, and their concerns were closely connected with agricultural success. Immigrants actually often destroyed tells (archaeological sites) to make useable land for agriculture.

It was not until the excavation of the synagogue of Beth Alpha I, the Beit Shean Valley, that Jewish immigrants took an active role in the archaeology of the land

(Sukenik 1932). This excavation began in 1929, under the direction of two pioneering archaeologists, Eleazar Sukenik and Nathan Avigad. The archaeologists with the uncommon support of Jewish settlers, and newly established Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, excavated a Roman Period synagogue. The excavations exposed the sixth century synagogue with an elaborate mosaic depicting the zodiac with the sun-god Helios at its center.

After this excavation, the trend among Jewish archaeologists in the mandate period was to excavate sites, which were Roman or Byzantine, but contained definite Jewish cultural characteristics. Archaeologists in this period excavated numerous synagogues, especially in the Galilee (Sukenik 1932). This initial interest has continued and has today made a definite imprint on Israeli archaeology (Levine 1997). They additionally concentrated on Jewish tombs. Notable projects included the famous tombs of Jehoshaphat and Abshalom in the Silwan Valley outside of Jerusalem (Slousch 1925; Mazie 1925).

In addition to the interests of Jewish settlers, the mandate period was also the era of several archaeological projects hosted by foreign archaeological schools. The two most influential schools were the British and the American. The British were excavating at the Ophel in Jerusalem, a project that they had begun in 1896 (Masterman 1923) and working with a team, which combined British, American, local Jewish scholars at the site of Samaria, the capital of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938; Crowfoot et al. 1942; Crowfoot et al. 1957).

The American archaeological presence was led by the man who was the most influential scholar in Palestine at the time, William F. Albright. With a PhD from Johns Hopkins University, Albright was to serve as the director of the American School of Oriental Studies in Jerusalem from 1922 to 1929, 1933 to 1936. He also held the editorship of the School's major publication, the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Studies*, from 1931 to 1968.

In many ways, Albright was the father of Biblical Archaeology (Freedman et al. 1975; Feinman 2004; Long 1997a, 1997b; Running and Freedman 1975). He was a moralizing Christian, who considered the advent of Christianity as the teleological apex of human social evolution. He wrote extensively on issues focused on the archaeology of the region, but also on larger philosophical concepts with a definite Christian foundation.

Albright was also known not only as a careful archaeologist, but also as a true interdisciplinary scholar. He was comfortable in issues of archaeology, history, theology, philosophy, as well as geography. His analysis of the past was noted for interweaving all of these disciplines into synthetic reconstructions.

Archaeologically, he is most important for his work at Tell Beit Mirsim, where he excavated from 1926 to 1932 (Albright 1932, 1933, 1938, 1943). One of the major important features of the site was that it demonstrated occupation from EB III to the sixth century BCE. Albright was a meticulous excavator who completely captured the importance of the superposition of strata at the site. His careful publication of the excavation, plus his expert analysis and publication of the ceramics, lent his ceramic sequence at the site to stand as a type sequence for many other sites in Palestine.

Independence to the 1967 War

With the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the division of the region into Israel and Palestinian occupied lands, the course of archaeology in the region was bifurcated. In an effort to treat the issues clearly, I am going to discuss archaeology within the state of Israel first, then turn to the archaeology of the Palestinian lands.

The period right after the establishment of the state of Israel is marked by a tremendous increase in public interest in Israeli archaeology and the development of a core of Israeli archaeologists. One of the most important actions after independence was the establishment of the Israeli Department of Antiquities. This new agency served as a focal point for the rise of archaeology within the new state. In a succinct overview of the salient aspects of Israeli archaeology, Bar-Yosef and Mazar (1982) made clear that an important issue shortly after independence was that creation of a core of Israeli archaeologists who were trained in archaeology, unlike the archaeologists of the Mandate Period who were often scholars in other fields.

A major contribution to Israeli archaeology was the excavations of the Canaanite city of Hazor (Yadin et al. 1958, 1960, 1961a, b, 1989a, b; Ben-Tor 1997). The initial excavations were in 1955, begun by Yigael Yadin from Hebrew University. Using methods improved since the years of the Mandate, this excavation served as the first real training ground for the first generation of Israeli archaeologists. Those who worked with Yadin were to become archaeologists who dominated Israeli archaeology shortly afterwards. These scholars were Aharoni, Perrot, Trude Dothan, Moshe Dothan, Ruth Amiran, as well as the architect, Dunayevski.

Hazor produced a team of well-trained field archaeologists, who were to lead archaeology in Israel shortly afterwards. Aharoni moved south to begin regional work at Tel Beer-sheba (1973). Moshe Dothan went on to excavate at Acco (Dothan 1985), Ashdod (Dothan and Freedman 1967; Dothan 1971, 1982a, 1982b). Trude Dothan went on to direct excavations at Ein Gedi, (Dothan et al. 1966) Deir el-Balah (1978), Tel Miqne (1997), and to become the world's expert on Philistine culture (Dothan 1982). Ruth Amiran went to work at Arad (Amiran 1978) and became an expert in regional pottery (Amiran 1970). These scholars, in turn, have trained the next generation of Israel's archaeologists, who have spread archaeological investigation at even more sites.

As mentioned, one of the seminal features of this period was the rapid rise in national identification with the antiquities of Israel. The apex of this movement can be seen in Yadin's excavation of Masada (Yadin 1966). This Maccabean and Herodian palace-outpost at the southern end of Dead Sea was excavated in the years 1963–1965. The aspect of Masada that appeared to capture national attention was not so much the palaces of the Hellenistic monarchs but the evidence of the resistance of the Sicarii, a group of Jewish zealots who retired to Masada after the destruction of the Second Temple in the first Jewish War against the power of Rome in 66 CE. According to the Roman historian Josephus, the group held out against superior Roman forces in 72 CE, but eventually were subdued, but not after they apparently committed suicide rather than surrender to the Romans.

The excavations at Masada were truly linked to the image of Israel as a nation. Moshe Dayan, the famous Israeli general and amateur archaeologist, instituted a ceremony for Israeli paratroopers on the summit. With only torches for illumination, the soldiers declared that Masada would not fall again. The ceremony is no longer held, but as carefully analyzed by Sasson and Kelner (2008), the site serves as a barometer of national feelings, with the image of the Masada standing for steadfast resistance to any attack on the state transforming into more nuanced images, such as the problems incurred by reckless zealotry.

1967 to Present

The occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza, and the Sinai by Israel after the 1967 war brought about some significant changes in the archaeology in the region. The most salient work was that which was conducted within the occupied territories. Every area was explored by Israeli archaeologists. Even the Sinai Peninsula, which was held by Israel until 1982, was the subject of a regional study by Beit-Arieh (2003).

Excavation in the old city of Jerusalem began almost immediately after the war. There were essentially three major projects. The first was that of Benjamin Mazar, who led the excavation of the area near the temple mount. Mazar's work (Mazar 1969a, 1969b, 1975; Mazar and Mazar 1989) was intended to explore the large Herodian construction near this part of the Temple Mount. Building upon the earlier work of Charles Warren, who opened up a shaft near to the Temple Mount in the late nineteenth century, he uncovered a wealth of material from that period. Some of the architectural discoveries included a street and shops from the time of Herod the Great, a massive arch that led into the Second Temple court, and a ritual bath or *miqve*.

Recent expansion of Mazar's excavations has raised a backlash with the Palestinian authority, which controls the Mount itself. The conflict concerns the expansion of the excavation into a tunnel, which runs along the west wall of the Temple Mount, near to the location of the Wailing Wall.

The capture of the old city also opened up the area, which was known as the Jewish quarter. Vandalized during the Jordanian occupation, the quarter was expanded and opened to the construction of houses and a synagogue for Jewish families. The construction necessitated archaeological exploration before its commencement. One of the purposes for this undertaking was to determine whether this part of the ancient city had been occupied in period of the kingdom of Judah in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. The excavations by Nathan Avigad (1970a, 1970b, 1972, 1975, 1983a, 1983b) recorded the remains of fortification walls and houses from this period. He also found arrowheads identified as Babylonian, which attest to the capture of the city by Babylonians in 586 BCE. In addition to finds from this period, Avigad also unearthed houses from the Herodian and early Roman periods.

These residential remains were noted for their surprisingly elaborate domestic construction and classical decoration.

In the late 1970s, another important project was undertaken by the Israeli archaeologist, Yigal Shiloh. Continuing work that was initiated by Kathleen Kenyon (Kenyon 1974; Steiner 2001 for good overview of her work in Jerusalem), Shiloh (1984) excavated Area G on the hill to the southeast of the Temple Mount. Shiloh, and Kenyon earlier, excavated a very large stepped stone structure, dating from the twelfth century BCE. It has been argued that this structure supported a palace, which has been identified more recently by Mazar (1997a, b, 2006a, b) as possibly that of king David (a very debatable point, see Finkelstein et al. 2007). Shiloh's excavations also unearthed a later house, dated to the sixth century BCE, which appears to have suffered damage from the attack of the Babylonians in 586 BCE. In addition to architectural remains, Shiloh also brought to light bullae (official seals), which were apparently used by officials of the kingdom of Israel. Recently, Eilat Mazar has excavated two more bullae, which appears to name distinct administrators mentioned in the Bible.

Shortly after the conquest of the Palestinian territories by Israel in 1967, several Israeli archaeologists began to work in the territories themselves. There were two types of investigation: excavations and archaeological survey. Nearly 1,000 archaeological projects have been undertaken by Israeli archaeologists in the West Bank. It is difficult to know the exact number, because there is little oversight, and not all of the projects have ever seen publication.

Two prominent projects on the West Bank have been the excavation of the Herodian palaces at Jericho and Herodion. Both sites were excavated by Ehud Netzer, archaeologist from Hebrew University who dug the sites as part of his PhD dissertation in 1972 (Netzer 2001; Netzer and Bar-Nathan 2002; Netzer et al. 2004; Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004; Netzer and Rozenberg 2008). Herodian Jericho includes a large palace with gardens landscaped by Roman engineers, and a massive complex that appears to have been tied to some sort of oil manufacture.

Further to the south, the site of Herodion is distinct in its construction (Netzer 1981). Composed of a massive hill, formed by transported fill, much like similar construction at the Comagene site of Nimrud Dagh, which Herod the Great visited as a young man. The site contains a fortified palace and a large garden complex to its west. Recently, the excavator, Ehud Netzer has announced that he has discovered the tomb of Herod the Great.

On the contrary, a great deal of work on the West Bank by Israeli archaeologists focused on archaeological survey. An initial goal of this work was to document and analyze the rise of Israelite identity in these regions and understand to a better degree the development of the first state of Israel. A champion of this work was Israel Finkelstein, an archaeologist at Tel Aviv University, who used the survey material to forward our knowledge of early Israelite culture (Finkelstein 1988).

Finkelstein's conclusions have been controversial (see later). Like Aharoni in the Galilee, Finkelstein does not see a forceful Israelite identity and therefore presence in the Samaritan of Judean Hills in the Early Iron Age, at time when most scholars have argued that the kingdom of Israel was on its ascendancy.

Palestinian Archaeology

There were several Palestinian archaeologists who were working in the region during the mandate. Most notable among them were Dimitri Baramky, Husseini, Makhouly, Nassar, and Stephan. Yet, the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the subsequent annexation of the current West Bank territories by the kingdom of Jordan carved a deep dividing line between different parts of the region. Each region was to develop eventually its own brand of archaeology. Within the Jordanian annexed regions west of the river Jordan, archaeology continued. The former Palestinian archaeologists did not continue to work in the area. But foreign excavators and schools directed several important projects up to the conquest of this region by Israel in the 1967 war.

The American Schools of Oriental Research dug at Tell Balata from 1956 to 1964. The British School worked at Jericho from 1952 to 1958. The *Ecole Biblique* led work at two sites, Tell el-Farah from 1946 to 1960, and Khirbet Qumran from 1951 to 1956. The *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* was actively digging Herodion in the 1960s.

However, the inception of a true Palestinian archaeology did not begin until the establishment of a department of archaeology at the Palestinian university of Ber Zeit in 1975. In its formative years, it was led by the American archaeologist, Albert Glock, who had earlier been a director of the Albright Institute in Jerusalem. Glock (1994) encouraged the development of Palestinian archaeology, which would eschew some of the western bias of focusing on connections to the Bible, and concentrate on understanding the Palestinian past, namely the period after the collapse of the Jewish kingdoms. A potential area of research would be that of ethnohistory and ethnoarchaeology, retrojecting much of its information into the Palestinian past. Glock was unfortunately murdered in 1992, but Palestinian archaeology is at present beginning to develop.

Since the Oslo accords, Palestinian archaeologists have been working in areas that have been returned by Israel to Palestinian sovereignty. Hamdan Taha of the Palestinian Antiquities Department began excavating Khirbet Belameh. The site, located just south of the Palestinian town of Jenin, is a Bronze Age site of importance. The Palestinian team has been excavating a tunnel, which was used by the inhabitants to source water from a spring during times of siege.

Method and Theory

Skirting the issue of regional archaeology in the Paleolithic, the methods and theories employed in the archaeology of Israel and Palestine have a very distinct local character. As far as methods are concerned, archaeologists working in the region were initially slow to take up the lead initiated by Petrie in his careful study of archaeological stratigraphy. Many excavations by Israeli archaeologists have

foregone the primacy of stratigraphic interpretation in favor of large expansive exposures, which reveal much data on architecture. Kenyon's work at Jericho was strictly stratigraphically dependent, but the work has been criticized for its rather limited windows into the history of the city.

The work of foreign archaeologists, while paying closer attention of stratigraphy and its interpretation, has still favored large open exposures as well.

Archaeological survey, which has been a feature of much archaeology in other countries, has had only limited application in Israel and Palestine. The original work of the British in their ordnance survey was followed by Aharoni's prescient survey in the Galilee (Aharoni 1957), Glueck's survey in the Eastern Palestine (1934, 1935, 1939, 1940, 1951a, b), and by Aharoni's later work (1973) near Beer Sheba. However, neither was based upon a research design tied into survey data. The purpose of both was to gather further information on a regional level only. Finkelstein's work in the territories on Iron Age settlement goes the furthest toward actually creating a research design based upon survey research (Finkelstein 1988).

Theoretically, archaeology of Israel and Palestine has focused primarily on its relationship to textual sources, primarily the Bible. This is perhaps due to the fact that most foreign archaeologists do not have degrees in archaeology or anthropology, but in religion or literature instead. The Israeli and Palestinian scholars, although not trained as theologians, have earned their degrees in archaeology, which in Israel especially is considered an historical discipline with strong attachments to biblical sources.

Although there has been a dominant connection between archaeology and text, the connection had been for a long largely under-theorized. A positive connection with texts has always been assumed. Archaeological data, since the days of the ordnance, have been seen as supplying proof of the historical record contained in the Bible. Such a position was most notably championed by one of the most prominent American scholars, W.F. Albright, who looked upon archaeological research in this region as supplying material, which could be used against those who would dismiss the veracity of Biblical scripture. Issues of convergence, lack of convergence between texts and archaeological material, and the intentions of biblical authors have been absent in local research until most recently, with the reactions of archaeologists to several scholars, who have questioned the veracity of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Known as the minimalists, these scholars question the antiquity of much of the Old Testament, claiming instead that much of the material the Hebrew Bible was written subsequent to the return of Jews from Babylon and possibly even in the Hellenistic period (Davies 1995, 2004; Kitchen 2003; Lemche 1998; Thompson 1992, 1999). The positions of these scholars are seen as somewhat extreme by some archaeologists, especially William Dever, who has led an attack on their work (Dever 1995, 1997, 2001, see also Shanks 1997).

The only other theoretical interests within the region have been that of state formation and ethnicity. Finkelstein's (1988) survey research in Early Iron Age settlements has employed theoretical work on state formation and ethnicity to the issue of the appearance and nature of the first Israelite presence in the region. The issue concerns not only the interpretation of possible early Israelite settlements

in the hill country, but also their ethnic identification through materials as well, such as pottery, architecture, or through the absence of pig domestication (Albright 1943; Dever 1993; Finkelstein 1988, 1997; Hesse 1990, 1995; Hesse and Wapnish 1997; Shiloh 1973; Small 1997).

In the mid-1970s, the American archaeologist, Dever (1982) proposed to replace biblical archaeology with Syro-Palestinian. Although biblical archaeology had served a purpose in the beginnings of archaeology in the region, its dependence on correspondence to the biblical texts was seen as limiting its application to the study of areas and periods, which lay outside biblical history. The geographical scope of the Syro-Palestinian archaeology included Israel, Jordan, the occupied territories, southern Lebanon, and coastal and southern Syria. The aim was to create a foundation for an archaeology, which could include Biblical archaeology as a distinct subset of larger investigations. The temporal scope of Syro-Palestinian archaeology begins in the Paleolithic Period and runs up to the Ottoman Period.

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Part II
Archaeology in South America
and the Caribbean Region

Archaeology and Politics in Argentina During the Last 50 Years

Gustavo G. Politis and Rafael Pedro Curtoni

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss the relationship between archaeological practice and theory, on the one hand, and the political context in Argentina since 1958, on the other. The year 1958 is considered as a turning point in the history of archaeology in Argentina because of two structural changes introduced to the teaching of archaeology and to the organization of scientific research in general. The first change relates to the inception of graduate-level courses in anthropology in two main universities, the University of Buenos Aires and La Plata University, while the second one is linked to the formation of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Investigation (CONICET),¹ the key national research institution. Undoubtedly, these changes represent a context in which archaeology gained identity as an academic discipline and recognition as a scientific practice, very much like the natural sciences. Thus, 1958 highlights the starting point for our analysis with the objective of exploring the relationship between archaeological praxis and theory within a sociopolitical context. Special political circumstances existed particularly in Argentina, but also in the southern region of South America, where democratic governments (some fully while other partly democratic) alternated with strong military regimes over the past half-century and significantly influenced the development of archaeology in the region. Such context provides, in our view, interesting data to understand the political aspect underlying the origin and development of national archaeologies.

¹The creation of CONICET was modelled after the French CNRS and allowed the incorporation of many researchers who worked full time into the national scientific system. Among the first researchers were also some archaeologists.

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Despite the fact that archaeology as a scientific discipline is more than a century old, serious discussion about uses and misuses of the past emerged in the last few decades. Archaeologists not only became aware of the political implications of their works, but also started discussing issues related to the practice and uses of the past, such as ownership, authentication, nationalism, ethnicity, management, and so on (Layton 1989; Kohl and Fawcett 1995). The relationship between politics and archaeological practice dates back to the emergence and development of the discipline in the nineteenth century (Trigger 1995). There are many cases, either historic or current, where political manipulation of archaeological data was used by nation-states, and/or ethnic groups, for political gains (e.g., Hitler in Germany (Arnold 1996), and Franco in Spain (Diaz Andreu 1995)). The association between an ethnic group and its material culture has been used to legitimate national history, the emergence of national traditions, and the supremacy of a group over another (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Jones 1997).

Close ties between archaeological work and national policies, along with the impact of socioeconomic and political contexts on archaeological practice in general, have been discussed by archaeologists since the 1980s (Madrazo 1985; Trigger 1984; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Politis 1992, 1995; Arnold 1996). Some authors (Shanks and Tilley 1992) support the idea that archaeology cannot exist outside the political and socioeconomic contexts where it is embedded and therefore all archaeological interpretations carry ideological and political constraints (Ucko 1995). Hence, factors and conditions exist that influence archaeological interpretations and they are not innocent, nor do they produce a void (Preucel and Hodder 1996).

For decades, the relationship between archaeology and the public was characterized as a “passive business” in which archaeologists produced a past to be consumed by “clients” without major controversies. This situation changed in the 1980s, and more emphatically in the 1990s, basically through a debate where “other groups” started to claim the past for particular interests. A transformation occurred within the public domain from passive clients to active claimants (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Ucko 1995). Although different theoretical views have focused on this relationship and considered its ubiquity as a feature, there have been several responses stemming from each of them. In general, although processual trends with emphasis on data objectivity and neutrality recognize the existence of prejudices that affect the discipline, they have refused to assume the political dimensions of the discipline. According to this perspective, science in general and archaeology in particular should not be influenced by any political aspect (Fernández Martínez 2006; Hodder 1999). On the other hand, one of the post-processual trends sparked a debate on the nature of archaeology by considering archaeology a political discipline (Shanks and Tilley 1992). Likewise, it was also suggested that data presentations are always loaded with theory and therefore archaeology should be understood within the context of its production (Shennan 1989).

This paper is within a critical perspective (in the sense used by Fernández Martínez 2006) that sees the relationship between archaeology and politics as unavoidable and where the past is an interpretative construction dependent upon the sociopolitical context of knowledge production. Any attempt to study relationships

between archaeology and politics and between archaeology and the public cannot avoid considering some of the related issues, such as the idea of the “others”, politics of culture, modelling of the country by the ruling classes, and the position of the country in the world context.

Anglo-American hegemony in archaeological thought has definitely influenced the ways of approaching and interpreting the past in South America (Gnecco 1999; Politis 2003). Similarly, management, protection, conservation, and interpretation uses and access to archaeological resources have been basically controlled by the western-introduced politics of heritage. This situation entailed the emergence of an idea of world heritage, promoting the use of universal values without previous discussion on what matters to whom (Byrne 1991; Belli and Slavutsky 2005). In this sense, it has been suggested that the American model of cultural heritage may not fit elsewhere (Wheaton 2006).

The emergence of post-processual views in reaction to positivism and objectivism of the processual trends brought about the issue of considering multiple versions of the past. Indigenous people and representatives of other interest groups (especially powerless, such as peasants or Afro-Americans) began to take part in projects related to culture resource management, interpretation, and in the production of archaeological knowledge (Leone et al. 1995; Green et al. 2003; McNiven and Russell 2005). Consequently, multiple versions of the past and diverse positions on what matters about the past were proposed. In addition, the issue of ownership of cultural resources, especially related to human remains and land rights, was included into archaeological agendas. Theoretical developments experienced by archaeology in the last decades introduced, among other things, a concern about archaeological interpretations as well as over the ownership of the material culture. This concern can be identified as “intellectual” and “physical” control of artefacts, emphasized by the issue of who should monitor and authorize access to and uses of archaeological sites and artefacts. An interest in opinions of the “others” as alternative voices complementing archaeological interpretations started to be considered. This is an interesting phenomenon because it implies the “decentralization” of archaeological interpretation and a shift from the centre of the academic scene.

To sum up, the relationship between archaeology and politics is a complex process open to debate. It is a contemporary phenomenon that has not been deeply and widely discussed in Argentina (for exceptions see Madrazo 1985; Politis 1992; Tarragó 2003; Podgorny 2004; Nastri 2004; Soprano 2009). There are many examples when archaeology was used to justify social differences and to legitimize political powers. At present, such situation is particularly sensible with the emergence of different ethnic groups throughout the Argentinean territory. All these issues confirm that archaeology is not an innocuous discipline. For these reasons, we need more theoretical discussions of the above-mentioned topics in order to better evaluate and define the boundaries of our (archaeologists) actions. At the same time, it is necessary to develop alternative models of heritage management to avoid western-induced hegemony. Indeed, the participation of indigenous people and other groups historically neglected must be considered in its own terms. In other words, for indigenous people, their past may not be different or “other”, but rather an integral part of themselves (Preucel and Hodder 1996).

Archaeology in Argentina Before 1958

Before discussing archaeology in Argentina at the end of the 1950s, it is necessary to briefly summarize the origin of the discipline in the country. Archaeology emerged in Argentina at the end of the nineteenth century when the country was dominated by the ideas of the so-called “Generación del ‘80” (“The 1880s Generation”) (Madrazo 1985; Politis 1992). They strongly promoted European values (borrowed predominantly from France and England) as opposed to those followed by indigenous people, mestizo, and Creoles. In this context, Florentino Ameghino, Samuel Lafone Quevedo, Juan B. Ambrossetti, and others, were the first scholars interested in local archaeology (Fernández 1979/1980; Haber 1994; Podgorny 2002). The idea of “progress” at that time justified the colonization of the remaining indigenous territories and caused the extermination of many indigenous people. Archaeologists did not present a clear position against the ongoing genocide and studied the material remains they found, disassociating the artefacts from the people who had been massacred in the Patagonia, Pampa, and Chaco regions. The most important museums were created in the country at the end of the nineteenth century as part of a strategy to keep indigenous cultures in the past (e.g., Museo de La Plata and the nationalization of the Museo Bernardino Rivadavia in Buenos Aires). By exhibiting the material culture of these people, as well as their physical remains, the western-influenced society broke the cultural continuity and “froze” in the past what was full of vitality in the present (Quesada et al. 2007; Podgorny and Lopes 2008). Among the key research questions in those times were discussions on the origin of humankind (see Ameghino 1881 and review in Hrdlicka 1912) and the “American man”, both being quite distant from the issues concerning indigenous communities and their problems at that time.

In the early twentieth century when the main wave of European migration had already arrived, the profile of the Argentinean society was changing quickly as anarchist and socialist ideas permeated into society. Hence, the ruling elites promoted Creole and Spanish Catholic values and traditions. At the same time, archaeologists started to look for indigenous roots of Argentinean identity. The exegesis of the historical documents was the main source of information. Other scholars were still discussing the origin of humankind in Argentina, which was Ameghino’s legacy followed by several political fractions, specially the Socialist Party (Podgorny 1997, 2004).

In 1916, the “Radical party” (*partido Unión Cívica Radical*), which represented the middle class, gained power and introduced several democratic reforms. In consequence, the first military coup took place in the 1930s and discontinuous military-controlled governments lasted until the 1980s. At the same time, the arrival of foreign anthropologists such as José Imbelloni and Alfred Metraux was instrumental in spreading the culture-history approach represented in two main variants, one closer to the Anglo-Saxon culture-history (see for example Serrano 1955), and another related more to the Austrian–German orientation (the so-called *kulturkreise* school) (Boschin and Llamazares 1986). The researchers from the Austrian–German

school opposed the evolutionist frames and emphasized a historical approach that led them to put forward the “theory of cultural cycles” (or *kulturkreise*). These appear as related to a certain geographical area that includes areas of cultural spreading (see discussion in Kohl and Pérez Gollán 2002). In this sense, borrowings or transfers of cultural elements through cultural spreading and migrations appear to be the main mechanisms to explain the change in societies. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon culture-history approach focused on the definition of phases and traditions to organize the cultural change and stability (Trigger 1992). This school also put more emphasis on the regional changes and took into account local innovations, but still considered diffusion as one of the main agents of change.

In 1946, Juan Peron took office strongly supported by the working class and trade unions that represented the bases of his political party, the Partido Justicialista or Peronista. His government lasted 10 years, until 1955, and during this period, it carried out a process of social inclusion of the working class to the national life through an authoritarian populism. This government has been characterized by violation of the opposition’s political rights and the inclusion of workers’ social rights (Terán 2008). At that time universities were strictly controlled by the government² and a significant group of dissident professors were expelled (Marquez Miranda, De Aparicio, and Palavecino among the best known archaeologists). Those professors who remained at universities had to show constant loyalty and obedience to the governmental mandates (Terán 2008: 262). The newly formed Sociedad de Antropología Argentina (Argentinean Society of Anthropology, founded in 1936) lost support from the government and suffered hardships (Podestá 2008). However, many local museums were opened as part of the government-promoted revitalization of indigenous traditions. In 1950, Peron himself reedited his *Toponimia Patagónica de Etimología Araucana*, with a prologue by Jose Imbelloni (he and Eduardo Casanova were the two outstanding anthropologists who supported Perón’s government).

In 1948, Oswald Menghin arrived in Argentina. Menghin was a prestigious Austrian prehistorian, who had links with the Nazi regime in Austria during War World II (Kohl and Pérez Gollán 2002; Fontán 2006). During the same period, Marcelo Bórmida arrived from Italy and became one of the most known Menghin’s disciples. The arrival of Menghin and Bórmida at the end of the 1940s not only had a strong theoretical impact, but also opened a new field of investigations on sites related to prehistoric hunter-gatherers in Pampa and Patagonia aimed at identifying the temporal depth of human occupation there (see Politis 1988; Kohl and Pérez Gollán 2002). This new development in archaeological research ended with the methodological phase of historical exegesis marked, according to A. R. González (1985), by the work of A. Salas (1945) on *Antigüedades de la Ciénaga Grande*.

In 1951, A. R. González excavated the Intihuasi cave which represented a milestone for contemporary Argentinean archaeology (González 1960). With limited resources and not much support, since he was not close to Peron’s government,

²It means that their democratically elected authorities were removed and replaced by other imposed by the government, especially members of the Peronist party.

González proposed the first stratigraphic sequence for hunter-gatherers in Argentina and obtained the first radiocarbon dates. Following the culture-history model, the Intihuasi sequence was presented as the “type-sequence”, where the key cultural events from the past in a given region were represented.

Around the mid-1950s, three key theoretical approaches existed in the Argentinean archaeology: (a) the Austrian–German culture-history paradigm (Menghin, Bórmida, Lafón, etc.), with a strong impact on hunter-gatherers archaeology in La Pampa and Patagonia regions; (b) a historicist approach, basically used in the archaeology of the Argentinean Northwest (Márquez Miranda 1953, Canals Frau, etc.); and (c) the newfound Anglo-Saxon culture-history already established by Serrano (1955) and popularized by A. R. Gonzalez, who had returned from the US with a Ph.D. from Columbia University. At that time in Columbia, the influence of Boaz’s cultural relativism was still strong, specially through his most renowned disciples (Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict), who undoubtedly impacted Gonzalez’s work. However, as he himself states, it was Julian Steward, who then led the evolutionist and neopositivist reaction, whose influence was bigger on Gonzalez’s formative stage (Bianciotti 2005: 171–172).

1958: The Turning Point

In 1955, Peron was overthrown by the so-called “Revolución Libertadora” (Liberating Revolution), which brought about the liberal–conservative restoration (Halperin Donghi 1972). Peronism was proscribed, its activists prosecuted, counter-revolutionary attempts were stifled, and in some cases, they ended up as cruel summary executions. In February 1958, new politics on scientific development materialized in the creation of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Investigations (CONICET), which, modelled after the French CNRS, became the top research organization in Argentina and played a key role in the promotion and orientation of anthropological research in the following decades. Some liberal-oriented scholars returned to universities and museums, such as Márquez Miranda, who had been removed from his post for 10 years during the Peron’s tenure (Fig. 1).

In May 1958, Arturo Frondizi’s democratic government was established by forming an alliance with the proscribed Peronist party, and it governed under strict surveillance of international creditors (Halperin Donghi 1972). From the cultural perspective, modernizing elites burst into the Argentinean cultural horizon (Terán 2008). Frondizi’s government was overthrown by the military, which conditioned the political agenda in the country and, above all, questioned the government’s attempted approach to Peronism. During this period certain developments in the social sciences and the humanities were implemented and a series of university courses opened as a social counterpart to the projected economic development (Herrán 1985). In consequence, university majors in sociology, education, psychology, and anthropology, which later achieved academic autonomy, emerged. In 1958, the National University of La Plata introduced degrees in anthropology



Fig. 1 Meeting of the Sociedad Argentina de Antropología at the end of the 1950s. In the centre Dr. Marquez Miranda reading a presentation. First to his *right* Dr. Oswald Menghin and third Dr. Marcelo Bórmida. Third to his *left* Dr. Ciro René Lafón (Photo courtesy Sociedad Argentina de Antropología)

within the Faculty of Natural Sciences. Following the naturalist tradition of the early days of that faculty, numerous courses in biology and geology were included in the curricula. A group of professors holding different theoretical views was formed by researchers from the same institution; some of them such as F. Márquez Miranda and O. Menghin were already at the end of their careers, whereas others like E. Cigliano were just on the onset.

Also in 1958, the University of Buenos Aires opened enrollment to its anthropology program and the first courses began to be taught the following year with a small number of students identified in the first year of their studies as history majors ([Jornadas de Antropología: 30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires 1988](#)). The initial body of professors consisted of researchers who, except E. Palavecino, A. Cortázar, and few others, supported the culture-history school of thought. Among them were M. Bórmida, O. Menghin, and C. Lafón, who discussed the theoretical trends of the time and identified the four main approaches: (1) the ethnohistorical approach; (2) the “quasi-fantastic pleased with mythographic elaborations or random speculations”; (3) the “purely descriptive and classifying, hardly hinting at summarizing”; and (4) “the truly constructive... the one that wants to reconstruct with its own methods the culture belonging to the disappeared people, the one that never forgot its condition of historical science common to archaeology... prototype of this tendency are Menghin’s works...” (Lafón 1960: 27).

Almost simultaneously two more universities incorporated archaeology to their curricula. In 1959, the National University of the Littoral (in Rosario) launched a degree in anthropology, which included several researchers. At the same time,

the University of Córdoba, through the Institute of Anthropology, began to build an important centre of anthropological research arranged not as an independent field, but as a relevant branch of history. Likewise, during this period two institutions were created which would be closely related to archaeology some years later, namely the editorial office of the University of Buenos Aires (EUDEBA) and the National Arts Fund.

In 1958, Lafón published a paper that summarized and discussed the chronology and origin of archaeological cultures in northwestern Argentina. This work stimulated a heated controversy with González, not only on specific problems, but also on the theoretical issues and the professional praxis (González 1959). Two political agendas collided as well: Lafón, a FORJA activist (Force of Radical Orientation of Argentine Youth), who shifted towards the left-wing position within the Peronist party, and González, a “reformist”³ without a definite party affiliation, but in opposition to Peronism. Paradoxically, some years later, both were accused of being left-wing-oriented and persecuted by the last Argentine military government (1976–1983).

During this period, some important changes occurred in the way archaeological research was carried out in the Argentine Northwest and Patagonia, the most studied regions in those years. As expressed by Tarragó (2003), there was a shift from a limited view of site to “area” or region as a whole; from the search of burials to the exploration of living areas and related activities (Cigliano 1961, 1962). Sites of different size and hierarchy were recorded and, for the first time, small sites or living units in the middle of agricultural fields were researched (Cigliano et al. 1960: 84). In the same way, there was an expressly stated search to connect sites with cave paintings with surrounding settlements in an attempt to determine their chronology (see Nastri 1999; Tarragó 2003).

During this period and the following decade, Argentinean intellectuals began to re-read Peronism – a political movement which they had certainly opposed – and they were dazzled by the Cuban revolution (Terán 2008). Then, Marx and Freud’s audience broadened and the psychoanalytic language permeated different social classes. Despite this progressive and modernizing atmosphere that Frondizi’s government allowed at universities and among academics, there were still representatives of some of the most anachronistic and racist positions ever exhibited by the Argentinean archaeology. For instance, in 1960 the Annals of the newly created Commission for Scientific Research in Buenos Aires Province surprisingly published a paper by Vignati, who in his latest writings had openly displayed his racist view about the aboriginal people of Argentina; a view which is present, in one way or another, in his whole research. In this article, Vignati discussed a high degree of “mestizaje” (mixed blood) of the very few Indians (basically Mapuche), who were living in the province, the wealthiest region of Argentina, and concluded that “Truly, the Indians exist no more in the province of Buenos Aires” (Vignati 1960: 99). In the final paragraph of the article, Vignati warned against the potential danger of a new indigenous immigration

³It means that support the ideas of the “Reforma Universitaria”, a reform promoted by young radical party students in Cordoba in 1916.

into the province, and by doing this, he sharply revealed his negative feelings against the indigenous people (Madrazo 1985; Curtoni and Politis 2006).

After a series of failed attempted coups, Frondizi's government was overthrown in 1962 by a military coup, which also dissolved the Congress and appointed José M. Guido as provisional president. This short-lived government, which lasted a year and a half, did not bring about any significant change to Argentinean archaeology.

The return of Arturo Illía's (from the Unión Cívica Radical party) democratic government (with Peronism still proscribed) in 1963 fully supported the development of anthropology, which consolidated its academic position (Madrazo 1985). Under the principles of new reforms, open selection processes returned to universities, the National Institute of Anthropology was created, and the first census of indigenous people was carried out. During this period, the first professional archaeologists graduated from the universities of La Plata and Buenos Aires. Illía's government, with an unenthusiastic social support at that time and under a strong pressure from the military, carried out a series of reforms targeted at improving individual rights and economic standing of the population. In the mid-1960s, logical empiricism, Marxism, and structuralism entered Argentina. The successful penetration of Althusser's writings prepared the path for the later strengthening of structuralism sparked by Eliseo Verón and for the Spanish translation of "Structural Anthropology" by Levi-Strauss (Terán 2008).

This phase, as previous years, was characterized by the coexistence of two culture-history trends (the Austrian-German and the Anglo-Saxon ones), the former being followed in Buenos Aires by Menghin in the final days of his career (he taught classes until 1968 and died in 1973, and had very active disciples like Bórmida, Austral, Lafón, Sanguinetti de Bormida, etc.), whereas the latter, being of a more neo-evolutionist persuasion, was popular at the universities of La Plata, Rosario, and Córdoba, where A.R. González and a group of his disciples and followers were building the chronological-cultural bases of the Argentinean Northwest. In 1965, a group of students of Anthropology at the University of Buenos Aires succeeded in asking the Faculty to intervene, unhappy with the theoretical Austrian-German culture-history orientation being taught there. They obtained irrefutable documents corroborating Menghin's links with the Nazi Party and the students' representative at the Academic Council of this institution sought immediate expulsion of Menghin from the university. However, the body of professors rejected this petition on the grounds that "they had to look ahead" (Fontán 2006).

It must be emphasized that during this government direct support was received from the president to proceed with the *XXXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, evidencing the interest of the national government in archaeology and in social sciences. President Illía supported the Congress as one of the main events to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Argentinean Independence, although several authorities had warned that the conditions in the country were not appropriate for this meeting (see *Jornadas de Antropología: 30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires 1988*: 30–31).

Before the Congress of Americanists was held, the military coup headed by the General J.C. Onganía occurred and the new government did not pay any attention

to the event. The organizers decided to move the Congress to the city of Mar del Plata (400 km south of Buenos Aires), to avoid the participation of the new military authorities in the opening and closing ceremonies. The Congress was held without the government's participation and control and it was a significant scientific success as it generated a forum for discussion attended by 700 representatives from all over the world. Young Argentinean scholars had a unique opportunity to participate in high-level scientific sessions. The Congress' records published some time later evidence active engagement of local and foreign anthropologists (*Actas y Memorias. XXXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas 1968*).

The military coup in 1966 forced a large group of left-wing scientists to resign from their university posts and emigrate. This, according to Madrazo (1985), led to a shift to the right in the faculties at the University of Buenos Aires, although the overall staff remained unaltered. That year, universities lost their autonomy as the government intervened during a dreadful event known as "the night of the long batons". At the University of the Littoral in the city of Rosario, where important research projects were being developed at the Institute of Anthropology under direction of Dr. Krapovickas, massive resignations in protest against repressions and loss of university's autonomy involved 90% of the staff (Tarragó 2003). The same happened in the Institute of Anthropology at the National University of Córdoba, where Víctor Nuñez Regueiro and a research team had to resign (Laguens et al. 2008). At the University of La Plata, the impact was less damaging and archaeological research continued. The faculty received new researchers, such as P. Krapovickas and A.M. Lorandi, who had resigned from the University of the Littoral in Rosario (Lorandi com. pers.). The CONICET provided support to archaeologists who suffered from ideological discrimination at universities by offering support for their research. Academic freedom and university rights lost due to the government's actions did not return for almost 20 years.

General Onganía's government, which called itself *La Revolución Argentina* (The Argentinean Revolution), was strongly supported by the US politics and economy. Social inequality and curtailment of individual rights grew significantly. After several years, deteriorating social support and sense of unease weakened the dictatorship. Relevant political events, such as the 1969 social turmoil known as "El Cordobazo", resulted in Onganía's fall. He was replaced by more pragmatic and tolerant military presidents, such as General Levingston and, subsequently, General Lanusse. In fact, universities were less pressured by the military government and in La Plata, for example, an updated and more adequate anthropological curriculum was accepted. Local research centres, such as the Institute of Anthropology Research in Olavarría city promoted by E. Palavecino, and a new faculty of anthropology at the University of Mar del Plata (1969), with two specialties – sociocultural anthropology and archaeology, were created as alternatives to the metropolitan research centres. Eventually, in 1970, the first National Congress of Archaeology at the National University of Rosario was carried out (Fig. 2).

Social turmoil and the newly formed guerrillas (who executed General Aramburu, one of the military leaders of *La Revolución Libertadora*) forced democratic



Fig. 2 Opening session of the First National Congress of Argentinean Archaeology in Rosario in 1970. The person reading the opening speech is Dr. Alberto Rex González in the presence of the military local authority (photograph courtesy of the Archives at the Ethnographic Museum “Juan B. Ambrosetti”)

elections in 1972 and brought Peronism back to power. With Peron still proscribed, his deputy Héctor Cámpora was the key candidate for office. At the onset of 1973, he won the elections with more than 50% of the votes. Campora’s government, although completely supported by the Peronist left-wing and Peronist guerrillas (*Montoneros*), lasted for less than two months. He was forced to resign in order to allow new elections in which Peron could be the candidate. Therefore, Perón briefly became the president for the third time at the end of 1973, and he died in July 1974. The time from Campora’s victory in March 1973 until Peron’s death represents a period of dramatic changes in university life and, at the same time, of profound contradictions. This is one of the least analysed and most confusing periods in the history of Argentinean anthropology.

The political atmosphere around Cámpora’s government and during the brief period immediately succeeding it favoured a major boost for the social sciences and politicization of anthropology, resulting in changes in the theoretical approach, especially visible in the field of social anthropology. The Peronist left-wing controlled universities and scientific discussions were ideologically loaded. Social anthropologists, archaeologists, and students participated as activists of left-wing political organizations. Others became members of clandestine organizations and guerrilla movements. During Cámpora-Perón’s period, there was an attempt to identify the field of social anthropology with a more practical and participative approach, as can be seen in the faculty of anthropology at the University of Mar del Plata. It was necessary and desirable that anthropology should help with solving problems of the lower classes rather than only satisfy the intellectual curiosity of a few academics. A curriculum was designed to engage not only professors of anthropology, but also anthropologists concerned with current social problems ([Jornadas de Antropología:](#)

30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires 1988: 50–51). It was an attempt to promote applied anthropology deeply engaged with the social relevant problems of the country. These topics had already been introduced by Lafón some years earlier in relation with concrete situations in the Argentinean Northwest. As it is stated in one of his articles:

“Could it be possible that our efforts contribute to end the dramatic situation in the north-west region, in the provinces in poverty, which stems from lack of adjustment in their social and economic structures? Could it be the moment of going out to the streets, to see those communities, study them, understand them and channel their problems through real solutions, other than theoretical or ministerial ones? If the glimpse of a possible solution turns out to be real, which we believe it to be, the time has come to become activist anthropologists” (Lafón 1969–1970: 288–289).

This allowed the incorporation of social theories and issues banned during the dictatorship into class curricula. In two of the most important universities, La Plata and Buenos Aires, professors who had been engaged with pro-government activities during the previous regime were questioned by some students and graduates (e.g., Bórmida at the University of Buenos Aires), but basically there were no resignations or dismissals. On the contrary, the CONICET was less acceptable to the intended “socialist revolution” and therefore changes in that institution were less pronounced.

The planned transformations were ambitious and had convincing slogans such as “the socialist patria”, “anthropology serving the people”, and “the new man”, but theoretically and practically, they were never implemented. Perhaps there was not enough time for the revolutionary attempts of the “national socialism” to be carried out, or these desires never found a way to significantly transform archaeology. In their “cosmetic” aspects, the modifications seemed very important, but they did not affect deeply the organizational structure. For example, the Ethnographic Museum of Buenos Aires was called the “Centre of Recovery of Popular Culture José Imbelloni”, not because Imbelloni would have been worried about the “popular culture”, but because it was a recognition of his Peronist past (*Jornadas de Antropología: 30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires 1988*: 49). The National University of Buenos Aires was then called the National and Popular University of Buenos Aires. It is difficult to know whether the University and the Museum became popular centres of research and teaching or whether they continued pursuing their own agendas in the hands of intellectuals at times of political changes.

In 1974, the Third National Congress of Archaeology in Salta was held and it turned to be a great scientific event. Most national archaeologists were present along with a generation of graduates and numerous students from different faculties interested in discussing the role of archaeology in the nation-building process turning a third world country into “national socialism” (Fig. 3). Apart from these participants, there were some well-known foreign archaeologists who were clearly left-wing-oriented: John Murra from the US (who fought as a volunteer for the Red Brigades in the Spanish Civil War), José Luis Lorenzo (a Spanish republican exiled in México), and Lautaro Núñez (a dissident archaeologist from Chile threatened by Pinochet’s government). There are several written accounts of this Congress. One in the Students Centre’s report at the UBA, recognized as an accurate report published by Aschero (1973), then a young fellow at CONICET, where conferences



Fig. 3 Opening session of the Third National Congress of Argentinean Archaeology. From *left to right*: Edagardo Garbulsky (social anthropologist), Pedro Krapovickas, Mónica de Lorenzi, Víctor Núñez Regueiro, Myriam Tarragó, unidentified member of staff, Pío Pablo Díaz (Head of the Archaeological Museum of Cachi), unidentified member of staff, Ana María Lorandi, two unidentified young people, Julia Díaz (Pío's wife), Alberto Rex González, and Héctor D'Antoni (Photo courtesy Miryam Tarragó)

and the most important discussions are summarized (see also Tarragó 2003). The other was published in a weekly magazine of the Peronist right-wing called *El Caudillo* (creating an analogy between Perón and Franco), where the Congress was shown as a “Marxist meeting” supported by the governor of the Peronist left-wing (Fig. 5). The post-Congress tour to the Museum of Cachi and its neighbouring archaeological sites (80 km southeast from Salta) was presented as a visit to the guerrillas camps for training purposes (Fig. 4). A. R. González was presented as the mastermind behind the Congress and “Marxist ideologist” followed by his disciples, at that time prominent young archaeologists (namely, Miryam Tarragó, Víctor Núñez Regueiro, Osvaldo Heredia, Hector D'Ántoni, etc.). This groundless denunciation, along with other reactions, made them lose most of their jobs and emigrate few years later. The papers presented in the Congress were ready to be published in the proceedings of the event when, immediately after the military coup in 1976, they mysteriously disappeared (Tarragó 2003).

The short 1973–1974 period disallows detection of any substantial changes in archaeological theory, although new approaches continued to be explored. Orquera analysed this period at the University of Buenos Aires and pointed out that he and Lafón eliminated “all the conflicting and unsustainable aspects of the culture-history school of the Menghin's approach... (trying to) give more importance to the evolutionist, cultural aspect of Childe... I turned Childe into the central theme of the program”, (*Jornadas de Antropología: 30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires 1988*: 60).



Fig. 4 Trip post-Congress to Cachi to visit the local museum and archaeological sites. From *left* to *right*: Mónica de Lorenzi, Lautaro Nuñez, John Murra, and Miryam Tarragó (Photo courtesy Miryam Tarragó)

For Orquera, Lafón had become a theoretical referent, a *primus inter pares* ([Jornadas de Antropología: 30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires 1988](#): 66).

The emerging theoretical proposals were clearly of Marxist orientation and in tune with the new intellectual outlook appearing in other countries, especially Peru, Mexico, and Venezuela.⁴ This current of thought stemmed mainly from Emilio Choy's work (which was taken up again by Lumbreras in his book "Archaeology as social science" in 1974); simultaneously Sanoja and Vargas (1992) in Venezuela

⁴Editor's note: see the chapter by I. Vargas and M. Sanoja in this volume.

some of which were among the disappeared Congress manuscripts, were oriented in the same direction (Tarragó 2003).

As a product of the renewed interest in the social sciences, the faculty of Anthropology was established in 1973 at the University of Salta and at the National University of Misiones. The former presented two specializations: social anthropology and archaeology, while the latter only included social anthropology. At the National University of La Plata, archaeology continued to be taught within a frame of sustained development, but only a few social anthropologists were added to the existing faculty. This university consisted of a body of qualified professors who organized a highly demanding curriculum. The students, nonetheless, were seriously affected by the political problems of the country. Due to their active engagement in politics during this period, the university became a continuous forum for political discussion.

After Peron's death in 1974 and the assumption of power by his wife Isabel Martínez de Perón, the Peronist right-wing's influence deepened. The university's authority fell in the hands of reactionary members of the government (the so-called "Mission Ivanishevich", called after the new Ministry of Education). The "ideological fight" started by setting off repressions against the social left-wing scientists. At the end of 1974, the University of La Plata was closed for several months and when it reopened the conditions for students and the faculty changed: serious restrictions of individual rights and an ideological persecution of left-wing intellectuals were imposed. During the 1974–1976 period, modifications occurred mainly in the field of social anthropology, whereas archaeology continued without significant changes. In Buenos Aires, Lafón was dismissed from his post and accused, among other things, of having carried out an archaeological display in Cuba. At times of the right-wing strengthening, a trip to Cuba was enough to be accused of being a communist responsible for attempting "national dissolution".

In March 1976, the announced military coup took place, headed by General Videla as president. He started the so-called "process of national reorganization". Hence, military repression and state violence acquired unthinkable characteristics and systematic persecutions of left-wing scientists and others who disagreed with the government began. These persecutions affected directly many Argentinean social anthropologists and archaeologists, even those who were not activists. A.R. Gonzalez, the head of the archaeology section at the Museum of La Plata and professor at that university, was dismissed from his post immediately. Nevertheless, he kept his position as researcher in the CONICET, limited to direct research without financial support for fieldworks. Due to persecutions, his disciples, namely Víctor Nuñez Regueiro, José Perez Gollán, Myriam Tarragó, Hectór D'Antoni and Osvaldo Heredia, had to leave the country to continue their scientific activities. They were not only restricted in academic activities, but also their lives were threatened. Emigration of these young archaeologists occurred when important works were being developed in the Argentinean Northwest and after they had already formed their own research teams. Some of them, especially Heredia, were exploring the theoretical foundations of the newly proposed "Latin-American Social Archaeology" (Lumbreras 1974; Lorenzo et al. 1976). Bórmida and Cigliano died during the first years of the military dictatorship. Both were heads of research teams

in archaeology and anthropology. They also held important chairmanships at universities and the CONICET. Due to a gap created by a whole generation of archaeologists who had lost their jobs for not agreeing with the regime, some young archaeologists benefited from this situation and quickly advanced toward higher positions during the almost 8 years the military government lasted. The early years of the regime were characterized by the “disappearance” of young people, many of them university students. Anthropology faculties in all universities suffered losses of many students, some of them decisively devoted to archaeology and collaborators of active research teams.

During the military dictatorship, some anthropology faculties were either definitely closed down (Mar del Plata University in 1978) or temporarily restricted (e.g., La Plata, Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Salta) and the curricula were modified in such a way as to minimize their social content. At the University of La Plata, for example, the curriculum was reversed to the times before 1958, and anthropological subjects appeared in the final stage of the specialization, after a series of seemingly endless subjects on biology. Anthropological and archaeological subjects occupied a restricted and utterly insufficient space in the university education.

During this period, a group of young archaeologists at the beginning of their careers searched for theoretical alternatives. Practically as self-taught students, young archaeologists began to study articles by Binford, Schiffer, Flannery, Clarke, etc. and applied methods, models, and concepts that derived from some of the variants of the ecological-systemic approach. The ideas of those American and British scholars were discussed in classes at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, but they were peripheral in research designs (see discussion in Farro et al. 1999). This group of young researchers represented a very diverse approach to methodology and theory, where different doses of three main trends merged: culture-history, neo-evolutionism, and elements of French archaeological methodology (borrowed especially from F. Bordes). This generation formed a significant group for theoretical-methodological discussion and studies applied in their research devoted to hunter-gatherers. In the organization of the *Jornadas de Antropología 30 años de la carrera en Buenos Aires*, this period was called “parallel formations”, referring to the research groups which had to complete their scientific training or develop their investigations outside the university or the CONICET.

1983: The Return to Democracy

The democratic government of Raúl Alfonsín formed at the end of 1983 generated conditions for the advancement of anthropology. Alfonsín's government (1983–1989) can be characterized as a social democracy with a strong support from the middle class and moderate left-wing intellectuals. He restored human rights and prosecuted the heads of the military junta. However, pressure from the military was constant and the important foreign debt (which had grown incommensurably during the military dictatorship) conditioned Alfonsín's government politically and economically. Although he tried to institute economic independence and

improve income distribution, the results were not as expected by the voters. Nevertheless, Alfonsín's greatest achievements were the recovery and consolidation of democracy, respect for human rights, and condemnation of the military juntas.

Also, during this period "repatriation" of exiled scientists was promoted and scholarships were awarded. Many archaeologists began their professional careers through scholarships and others entered tenured positions as researchers in the CONICET. Between 1984 and 1989, archaeological research was significantly subsidized by the government, allowing researchers and scholars to carry out fieldworks and to purchase the necessary equipment for expeditions. The CONICET policy allowed the incorporation of a great number of young archaeologists to conduct research through scholarships. In 1984, the Secretary of Science and Technology was created, granting the CONICET higher authority in academic research.

During Alfonsín's government, universities reclaimed autonomy based on the University Reform of 1918 and most of the professors and faculty members underwent an open and fair selection process. State universities also received funds for equipment and broadening of the academic curricula. New degrees in anthropology and archaeology appeared, especially in the Argentinean Northwest. The first was created within the Faculty of Human Sciences at the National University of Jujuy, including specializations in social anthropology and archaeology. The National University of Tucumán open a degree in archaeology within the Faculty of Natural Sciences, under the direction of V. Núñez Regueiro (who had just returned from exile), and in 1987, thanks to an initiative of N. de la Fuente, the National University of Catamarca opened a new academic unit specialized in archaeology. That year, a group of young militants of the Unión Cívica Radical party encouraged the organization of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Universidad Nacional Del Centro in Olavarría city. The first year of enrollment was 1988 and the specializations in sociocultural anthropology and archaeology were offered. During this democratic period, other universities also gained enough power to pursue degrees in anthropology, which reopened in Salta and Rosario.

In 1985, the organization of the INAI (National Institute of Indigenous Affairs) with the enactment of Law 23.302 represented the turning point in public politics for the recognition of indigenous people's rights. Politics concerning indigenous groups could be linked to the beginning of the first claims for the restitution of human remains in our country. On the other hand, the first joint works among archaeologists and representatives of local communities began at the end of the 1980s and can be regarded as expressions of recognizing state policies. For example, at the Museum of the Añelo site, founded in 1989 and located in the Confluencia department, Neuquén Province, Patagonia Region, a cemetery of indigenous people of approximately 500 years old is exhibited. Members of the Mapuche Paynemil Community, who live in the area where the cemetery was found, participated in all the stages of research and currently serve as museum guardians and managers (Biset 1989; Cúneo 2004).

Also in 1986, due democratic consolidation, the Argentinean Team of Forensic Anthropology (EAAF) – a non-governmental, non-profitable organization devoted to forensic anthropology and investigation of human rights violations – was constituted. The EAAF was a pioneer in the development of this sort of investigations and now is a prestigious international organization called upon to work in different countries of Latin-America, Europe, Africa, and Asia (Fig. 6, Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team 2007).



Fig. 6 Excavation in a massive grave of “missing” people at the cemetery San Vicente, Córdoba (Photo courtesy of the Argentinean team of forensic anthropology)

As for the theoretical context of archaeology, processual approaches were consolidated during Alfonsín’s government, especially those related to systemic ecology emphasizing the concept of adaptation (particularly in the archaeology of hunter-gatherers) (i.e., Borrero and Lanata 1988). However, there are still remnants of the culture-history approach in the Austrian–German tradition. Furthermore, the return of archaeologists exiled during the military dictatorship generated a revival of the study of complex societies in the Argentinean Northwest. These researchers followed the “lineage” initiated by A. R. González and developed their ideas embracing the North American culture-history and neo-evolutionist theoretical principles expanded by elements of chiefdoms’ economy and politics and a wide range of structuralist, semiotics, and symbolic analyses (Llamazares 1989; Kusch and Gordillo 1997). However, it must be stated that none of them continued with the incipient Marxists-based approaches that had been explored 10 years earlier (see e.g., the participation of José A. Pérez Gollán in a meeting at Teotihuacan in October 1975, Lorenzo et al. 1976, or Nuñez Regueiro 1974).

1989: Neoliberalism

This period includes the presidency of Carlos Menem (1989–1999) from the Peronista party, when a neoliberal economic model was installed, public services transferred to the private sector, and stronger relationships with the US deepened political and economic dependence. During the first years of this government, the

National Congress passed two laws, one about Economic Emergence and the other on State Reform, and implemented the Convertibility Law which, after a serious devaluation, established a false parity by which an Argentinean peso equaled one American dollar; this parity lasted the whole decade. On the international scene, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union transformed the US into a hegemonic global power. The alignment of Argentinean and US policies was expressed, among other things, in the participation of the Argentinean army in the Gulf War and in the UN-controlled missions. The internationalization of political and economic affairs encouraged by the government had undoubtedly impacted the interests, issues, and agendas of scientific research. In this sense, most of archaeological investigations in Argentina were influenced by theoretical and methodological approaches imported from North America.

The scientific practice in general and particularly anthropology were at risk because of budgetary restrictions faced by the CONICET, reduction of incomes for scholars and researchers, lack of subsidies for projects, and threats to transfer superior public education to the private sector. These facts resulted in the political mobilization of university students who organized demonstrations and strikes. However, with the ideological tolerance promoted by Alfonsín's government in the 1980s, a new phase in Argentinean archaeology started, which may be characterized as an incipient theoretical plurality. Dominated by the processual approach and the ecological-systemic perspective focused on the economic, technological, and settlement dimensions, new theoretical approaches such as the evolutionist ecology emerged (Dunnell 1989). Post-processual alternatives focused on developing and discussing other aspects of the past and archaeological practice related to the use of symbols, power relations, heritage uses, and political implications of the discipline, etc. were also put forward. Some of these developments stemmed from new centres of research formed during the tenure of the previous government. In some way, the theoretical approaches from the ex-exiled archaeologists, who predominantly were former incipient Marxists in the 1970s or early defectors from the Latin American Social Archaeology, presented a more fertile soil for the post-processual research agendas. It is also true that these post-processual developments occurred faster in the Argentinean Northwest archaeology, where processualism had not impacted research agendas as strong as in Patagonia. Furthermore, the new faculties generated graduates who, along with young professors, constituted research teams operating within distinctive theoretical frames, independent from the agendas presented at the University of La Plata and Buenos Aires, both characterized by a great deal of disparity in theoretical approaches. Among the standing centres located in the interior of the country which explored ex-central theoretical developments were Córdoba, Tucuman, Catamarca, and Olavarría (Buenos Aires Province).

In 1993, which was the International Year of the World Indigenous Population established by the United Nations, the Secretary of Culture of the Nation organized the biggest exhibition of indigenous cultures presented in the National Library. This exhibition, called "People from the Earth", was organized within the "Federal Plan of Culture", whose guidelines were oriented towards the preservation and conservation of the cultural heritage of the nation and to the projection of the Argentinean

culture in the world. The exhibition represented the history of the indigenous peopling of Argentina from the earliest archaeological settlements, beginning with the reconstruction of the archaeological site *Cueva de las Manos* (Acosta et al. 1996). The participation of indigenous people in the social, cultural, and political agendas during the 1990s was in accord with international policies and values regarding indigenous people in general. At the same time, different processes of ethnic reemergence were pursued in Argentina, with several movements of the Mapuches, Kollas, Tobas, and Wichis, as well as political actions of indigenous leaders, who sought recognition from the state (Pizarro 2006).

The Argentinean National Constitution amended in 1994 included the following paragraph:

“The Congress will recognize the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of the Argentinean Indigenous people. It will guarantee the respect to their identity; (...) recognize the legal status of their communities and the ownership and community property of the lands they have traditionally occupied; and regulate the handing over of others apt and sufficient for human development; (...) Assure their participation in management related to their natural resources” (Argentinean National Constitution 1994, paragraph 17 article 75).

In fact, in 1994 the first repatriation of indigenous human remains and their return to the community was carried out. After several years of restrictions, the remains of Cacique Inacayal, which were deposited in the Museum of Natural Sciences in La Plata, were returned to the Tehuelche descendants (Politis 1994; Endere 2002), (see Fig. 7). This case must be interpreted not just as the result of a governmental policy, but as the consequence of human rights policies promoted since the mid-1980s, and as a reflection of the newly acquired legal and constitutional recognition of the



Fig. 7 Repatriation of Inacayal's skeleton to the indigenous people of Patagonia Region (Photo Gustavo Politis)

indigenous communities. To a great extent, these actions can be seen as responses to mandates and international policies followed loyally by the Argentinean government in order to be recognized as part of the world's core and not as semi-peripheral.

The Last Decade: From Crisis to Restoration

In 1999, Menem's presidency ended with the national economic situation in a dismal condition; the gross domestic product had fallen around 3.4% in relation to the previous year; unemployment was around 14%, and poverty had tripled. The country had serious problems concerning education and health, a high tax deficit, and an enormous foreign debt with annual due dates for payments. Economic globalization and deepening of the neoliberal model had caused disparity between groups with high income living in gated neighbourhoods and the middle and lower classes increasingly impoverished. In such a context, at the end of 1999 Fernando De la Rúa, from the Unión Cívica Radical party, was elected president. His economic team decided to keep the Convertibility Law and to correct the unequal incomes distribution. In order to reorganize the public debt, De la Rúa took several measures such as tax increases and international loans to reduce the pressure imposed by the foreign debt. During 2000, the government tried to control public expenses, lower interest rates, and keep financial stability. However, high international debts, the unfavourable global context, and lack of more aggressive political actions weakened De la Rúa's government.

In October 2000, the Second International Meeting of Archaeological Theory of South America (TAAS) was held in Olavarría city, Buenos Aires province. This meeting meant an important reference-point considering at least two aspects: (1) for the first time in many years a significant number of international scholars had been invited as guest lecturers, which allowed face-to-face discussions with representatives of processual and post-processual approaches (e.g., Stephen Shennan, Randall MacGuire, Cristóbal Gnecco, Almudena Hernando, Robert Layton, Antonio Gilman, Joan Gero, Sian Jones, James Steele, etc.), and (2) some local researchers presented the results from systematic research projects conceptually linked to specific post-processual trends as gender, multi-vocality, human agency, landscape archaeology, etc. (e.g., Javier Natri, Cristina Scattolin, Alejandro Haber, Irina Podgorny, etc.). Evolutionist approaches were consolidated around the discussion centre at the University of Buenos Aires (see Martínez and Lanata 2002). To Argentinean scholars, this meeting not only revealed theoretical plurality that had started in the previous decade, but also expressed the status of archaeological theory worldwide. Representatives and lecturers from the US, Canada, England, France and Spain, and from different Latin American countries stated that the theoretical harmony in this part of the world followed basically the agenda of research defined in other countries. Almost all of the presentations were published in four books (see Martínez and Lanata 2002; Curtoni and Endere 2003; Politis and Peretti 2004; Williams and Alberti 2005). These books were widely distributed among scholars and some chapters were incorporated in the university syllabi related to archaeological theory.

The same year, the National Law 25.276 was passed allowing repatriation of another indigenous human remains. The first article of the law states that “The Executive, through the Institute of Indigenous Affairs, will move the remains of the Cacique Mariano Rosas – Panghitruz Gûor, which are deposited in the Museum of Natural Sciences in La Plata, returning them to the Ranquel people in the province of La Pampa”. The repatriation of the Cacique Panghitruz to the Rankûlche community was carried out in June 2001. The remains were taken to the Leubucó Lake to be deposited in a mausoleum (Endere and Curtoni 2006; Lazzari 2007).

In 2001, the government budgetary cuts reduced public expenditure in health and education, causing adversity for the population in general, and students in particular. In this context, the XIV National Congress of Argentinean Archaeology took place in the city of Rosario. Despite the economic crisis, more than 700 scholars attended it. It was clearly seen during the discussions that the incipient theoretical plurality from the previous period was growing. The worsening of the economic situation and public distrust in the financial system resulted in a political crisis that led De la Rúa to resign from his post on 20 Dec 2001, in the middle of violent repressions where several demonstrators were killed in the Plaza de Mayo square.

On 2 January 2002, Eduardo Duhalde was elected the new president by the Legislative Assembly to complete the remainder of De la Rúa’s term. The country was in the middle of a dramatic social, political, and economic upheaval. Among the measures taken by this temporary government was devaluation, thus ending the Convertibility Law and free fluctuation of the US dollar. The government introduced an economic plan based on a strong devaluation of the Argentinean peso, which allowed the economy to grow slowly after years of recession. However, the increasing social pressure due to unsatisfied demands forced Duhalde to call national elections in May 2003.

During this two presidential periods within 4 years (1999–2003), no substantial changes were introduced to the practice of archaeology, while in relation with theoretical developments, we can argue that only some explorations and alternative questioning about the processual and evolutionist approaches were published (Martínez and Lanata 2002; *Actas Jornadas de Arqueología de Patagonia 1999*). On the other hand, some applications of the social theory began to be discussed in the field of the Argentinean and South American archaeological theory (Zarankin and Acuto 1999). Finally, in this short period, several compilations were published about Argentinean archaeology both for the academicians (Berberian and Nielsen 2001) and the public (Raffino 1999; Tarragó 2000), which crystallized the growing interest in the archaeological knowledge.

In May 2003, Néstor Kirchner, from the Peronista party, was elected president of Argentina, and during his first years of presidency, significant political and economic changes were introduced. The government applied a model of regional growth and development giving priority to issues such as the creation of jobs and social inclusion. Internationally, there were negotiations to pay off the foreign debt in order to carry out an autonomous and unconditioned policy. A sustained growth and increase in exports allowed the government to obtain an unprecedented tax surplus (historical record).

In result, the government pledged to invest up to 1% of the GDP progressively in research creating a sustained annual increase of research funds.

During Kirchner's term, the CONICET received significant financial support for scholarships to hire researchers and subsidies for research projects. This was probably one of the best periods for scientific and technological developments as numerous researchers entered the state-sponsored system, creating an impact on the social sciences in general and on archaeology in particular. In regard to scholarships and tenured research position in the last decade, an increase of about 54% (Fig. 8) can be noticed and it could be attributed to Kirchner's presidency. It must be mentioned that, except for the *Fundación Antorchas* and during relatively short periods, Argentinean archaeology has received its major economic governmental support through the Secretary of Science and Technology (CONICET, ANPCYT), as well as through National Universities.

In 2004, the XV National Congress of Archaeology in Río Cuarto, Córdoba Province, took place. This congress represented a milestone in the discipline's history in Argentina because of discussions concerning the sociopolitical consequences of archaeological research and the place of indigenous people in investigations. A year later, the discussion initiated during the Congress resulted in the "Río Cuarto Declaration", which presents an agreement between indigenous communities and professional interests (*Declaración de Río Cuarto 2005*). Among the agreements achieved, it aroused the strong recommendation of the non-exhibition of human remains; the promotion of respect to the ancestors' sacredness of indigenous sites; and the need for previous agreements of indigenous communities to do archaeological research on their cultural heritage. In Argentina, the practice of sustained participation of indigenous groups in management designs and archaeological site management is still poor, especially taking into consideration the number of indigenous communities related to places of national heritage interest (*Mamaní 2006; Zaburlin et al. 2006*).

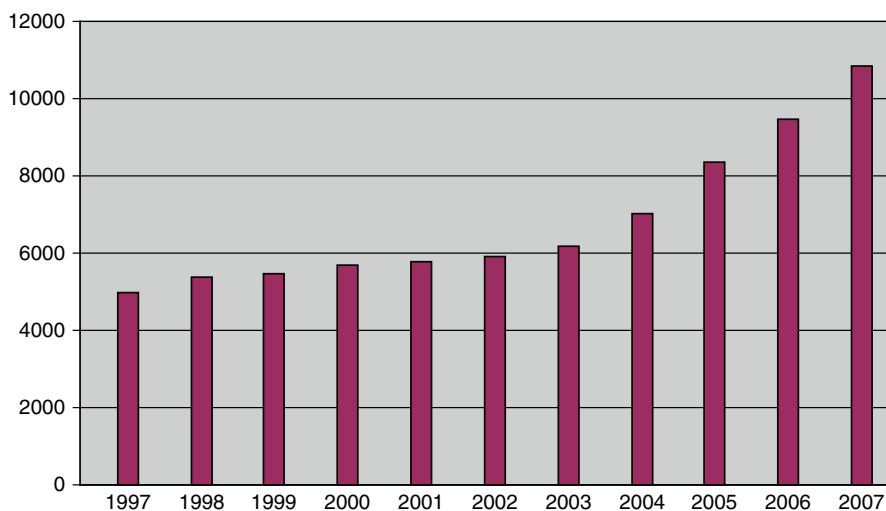


Fig. 8 Number of scholarships and tenured research position in CONICET, 1997–2007

On the other hand, this government emphasized unprecedented policies on human rights, preserving cultural memories, and cultural recognition. Undoubtedly, these significant initiatives have impacted the field of archaeology. In this regard, there have been works and approaches linked to governmental policies on human rights in the last years (Funari and Zarankin 2006). The Argentinean Team of Forensic Anthropology, which conducts its research in several regions of the country searching for evidence of atrocities committed by the military junta, is a good example of these new policies (Olmo and Salado Puerto 2008).

In 2007, two important events took place in Argentina that highlighted the development and consolidation of archaeology as a scientific discipline. One was the IV International Meeting of Archaeological Theory in South America in the city of Catamarca, considered as significant to the region as the World Archaeological Congress. The second was the XVI National Congress of Argentinean Archaeology in the city of Jujuy, with a great number of archaeologists attending and the presence of indigenous communities. Both meetings delivered discussions on theoretical issues, especially plurality emphasized in the last period, but perhaps even more significant were discussions about issues that broadened local agendas of archaeological research. Two topics dominated: issues related to indigenous communities and forensic studies related to violations of human rights. Specific subjects included indigenous lands claims, conflicts caused by miners, archaeology of state repression, and direct participation of representatives of indigenous communities and country people in creating research guidelines and new challenging research proposals.

During this period, institutional strengthening of archaeological practice is noticeable in the emergence of new centres of investigation around the country, increase of incomes, promotion of the national tenured research at CONICET, and overall dynamics and diversity observed in the academic centres and scientific events. In general, the present-day Argentinean archaeology is characterized by a critical attitude in relation to its own practice and its context of immersion. As for theory, it presents plurality of approaches, some clearly defined conceptually and methodologically (e.g., evolutionist ecology, Darwinism), and others with more blurred borders and internal structures, which do not allow a clear paradigmatic designation. The strength of processual archaeology (and derivatives) and the lack of Marxist-based approaches (not even in their Latin American Social Archaeology versions) may be the two most specific features that differ from other Latin American archaeologies.

Final Remarks

In this brief review of Argentinean archaeology, from its birth as an academic discipline to its current state, we have tried to call attention upon the relationship between the discipline's development and the wandering routes of the national politics. Surely, some important events remained unconsidered, relevant characters unmentioned, and a number of ideas not discussed. This is the risk taken and the price paid for this kind of analysis. From its origins within the natural sciences, until its consolidation closer to the social sciences within the last years, Argentinean archaeology

has mirrored key features of the national political life: a series of democratic stages, sometimes very short and confusing, interrupted by the right-wing and authoritarian military-induced rulings. During democratic periods, science was more pluralist and Argentinean academic activities advanced. Archaeology achieved academic independence, the key research institution was created, and university departments were enlarged to incorporate specialties in archaeology. Research was consolidated and important scientific events and meetings were held. During the military periods, academic freedoms declined, research centres were closed or reduced, and ideological discrimination and persecutions towards dissident scientists occurred forcing some to exile.

Furthermore, ideologies adopted by different Argentinean and other Latin American governments and their politics served as a filter for theoretical approaches. For instance, the Austrian–German-inspired culture-history approach along with its anti-evolutionism was one of a few scholarly trends tolerated by the Catholic-based Peron's government and conservative military governments. The Anglo-Saxon version of culture-history approach was adopted in the post-Peronist period (after 1955), during weak democratic governments (Frondizi and Illía) and dictatorships whose politics strongly depended on the relations with the United States. Marxists approaches had a short popularity along the first half of the 1970s, (during the Cámpora–Perón period) and they were fervently rejected during military dictatorships, especially the last one (1976–1983). The processual approach has transversed several ideologies: it was incorporated during the military dictatorship in the second half of the 1970s, was further popularized during the social democracy of Alfonsín's government, and reached its peak along with the evolutionist-inspired ecology during the neoliberal period of Menem's government. With the inception of post-processual alternatives, strong theoretical plurality (the Austrian–German culture-history approach had already disappeared) was displayed at the times of De la Rúa and Duhalde's governments. These two governments (1999–2003) may be regarded politically and economically as transitory governments when neoliberal order was disrupted and the country began to slowly lean again, as during Alfonsín's government, towards a sort of Creole-style social democracy. As a result, Argentinean archaeological theory and practice were (and may still be) immersed in discussions on alternative theoretical propositions, political transition, and search for consolidation and recognition.

During Kirchner's moderate-left-wing government (2003–2007), ethical issues dominated discussions on archaeological praxis. A critical perspective has led to the realization that views by indigenous communities must be considered in research agendas and protection policies of archaeological sites. But above all, during this period archaeology was reinforced through new policies allowing the incorporation of numerous young archaeologists into the scientific system. This government also set a policy to prioritize social and political integration to other South American countries. Unlike the previous presidencies with their economic and political dependence and alignment with the United States, the last period stands for a search of autonomy in a Latin American context. We argue that these political innovations impacted Argentinean research as a whole. A subtle shift in

issues and problems was currently discussed during academic events, as well as an incipient South Americanist agenda. These discussions seek to reflect and argue about such current situations and conflicts as the impact of mining on indigenous land, limiting access to land due to farming and tourism, and how country people and indigenous communities are dispossessed of their rights and properties.

Through this summary of the last 50 years of Argentinean archaeology, we attempted to show that theoretical and practical developments of the discipline have not been exempted from its sociopolitical context and that the conceptual frameworks also responded to the dynamics of the field. Thus, we have demonstrated how, in a historic perspective, archaeological theory and practice reflect the complexity and dynamic interrelations among politics, science, and society.

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“Silent and Alone”: How the Ruins of Palenque Were Taught to Speak the Language of Archaeology

Irina Podgorny

The silence of Spanish antiquarians and topographical writers upon a subject of such absorbing interest caused the report to be doubted. Recent researches have, however, removed all uncertainty upon the subject.¹

In late colonial and post-independent times – in a context of commercial rivalry among French, American and British interests – maps, manuscripts and drawings from Spanish American administrative archives were turned into valued objects of commerce. Their ownership and publication were disputed by several individuals, learned societies and patrons from Europe and the Americas. Along with this interest, the old-time problem of how to prove the “authenticity” of information originated in the New World (Pimentel 2003; Schäffner 2002) reappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In that same time period, the local elites discovered that trading the documents of the Spanish colonial administration offered additional income. In that specific sense, I argue that the beginnings of modern scientific study of American antiquity are connected with the nineteenth century routes of commerce and include trading of manuscripts.² I describe the case of manuscripts related to the ruins found close to Palenque, Chiapas, and their interpretation in the first decades of the nineteenth century. My goal is to show how the knowledge on these ruins was shaped by the international circulation of data, journals and books, transforming a “nameless city” into a source of real interest to understand ancient history of Mesoamerica.

Taking as main object of our study the London itineraries of the manuscript “*Descripción del terreno y población antigua nuevamente descubierta en las inmediaciones del pueblo de Palenque, jurisdicción de la Provincia de Ciudad Real de*

¹“American Antiquities”. *The Knickerbocker* (1833: 371).

²Some recent contributions have provided new insight to the subject of scientific explorations, by focusing on the intrinsically bound between knowledge and commerce, roads, transportation and communication with Europe (Achim 2007; Cook 2007; Podgorny 2008; Vetter 2004).

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Chiapa, una de las del Reino de Guatemala de la América Septentrional” (originally dated 1787), I will tackle the debates and circulation of information about the ruins of Palenque. This manuscript was the report presented to his superiors by a military engineer Antonio del Río, who was in charge of the exploration of the ruins in 1786. The first part of this chapter will focus on the manuscript’s publication and translation into English in 1822 and the path it followed in the literary circles of London and Europe, including the German language translations of 1823 and 1832. The second part is devoted to the intellectual debates caused by these translations. The feedback from these debates generated a commercial competence to find more documents “lost” in the archives, and to gain reliable data about the ruins. I argue that this commercial competitive and collective character of exchange of information was constitutive of the research practices linked to the study of Latin American past.

In order to understand this crucial period in shaping an image of Mesoamerican past, attention should be paid to the pretended Spanish lack of interest in the ruins, a popular trope among the members of the local elites and foreign agents of post-independent times that in certain contexts still survives as a powerful account.³ To paraphrase the chroniclers from the late sixteenth century, “Much has been imagined about these various peoples and their origin” (Father Francisco Ximénez in Recinos et al. 1950: 6). Whereas they referred to the cities, peoples and documents destroyed by the Spanish conquest, this comment could also be used to describe the situation created during Spanish America revolutionary wars and the scattering of information: local history emerged following the logic of revolutionary goals and events, ignoring what had happened earlier (cf. Alcina Franch 1988, 1995; Cañizares-Esguerra 2001; Pimentel 2000). Hidden in the networks of traffic of information, facts and data could be “discovered” over and over again, lost both in the new account about the past that started to be promoted and the commercial interests of those who could make a profit of the access to the colonial archives.⁴

³Cf. Miguel A. Díaz Perera, “El reino de los incapaces. Antigüedad del indio americano en el testimonio de Frédéric Waldeck y François Corroy”, <http://www.posgrado.unam.mx/filosofiadela-ciencia/assets/pdf/WaldeckResumen.pdf>.

⁴Scherzer had already underlined the relationship between revolutionary war, the destruction and scattering of the archives, and the difficulties to write and understand ancient American history. He wrote as early as 1857: “Al mismo tiempo se encuentra en las pocas bibliotecas que ya existen en las cinco repúblicas una gran falta de manuscritos que tratan esta materia. En ningún lugar de los Estados de Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras y San Salvador se halla un solo documento relativo a la historia antigua de este país. Esta falta completa de escritos no puede explicarse de otra manera, sino por el estrago de las diversas revoluciones que las repúblicas de Centro-América han experimentado desde su separación de la metrópoli en 1823, en las cuales un gran número de documentos importantes fueron perdidos o sacados del país. Se sabe que, cuando en el año 1829, después de la supresión de todos los conventos por el general Morazán, muchas de esas casas venerables se transformaron en cuarteles y presidios, montones de libros y manuscritos fueron sacados de sus depósitos para fabricar cartuchos. Otros tesoros antiguos se extraían por La Habana, Madrid, Toledo y Sevilla adonde los monjes expulsados y los partidarios fugitivos de la Corona de Castilla los quisieron poner en seguridad” (Scherzer 1857: IV–V). In the same sense, Cañizares-Esguerra (2001: 322) expressed: “This widely scattered distribution has not only contributed to keeping the wealth of eighteenth-century Spanish American intellectual debates hidden but also exemplifies the fate of the great collections of indigenous sources put together by most eighteenth-century Spanish American antiquarians”.

The Nameless City

Around 1800 Domingo Juarros y Montúfar (1753–1821), a secular ecclesiastic and synod Examiner of the Archbishopric of his native city of Guatemala, finished the writings of his “Compendio de la historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala”, which received approval for publication in 1808, after being submitted to the administrative instances of censorship. About 20 years later, an English version appeared in London, as “A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala”, translated by Lieutenant John Baily, an agent of Barclays’ house (Naylor 1988). In the early 1820s, the independence of Guatemala, which was originally part of New Spain, meant also the uncertainty about its future political status. In fact, by 1824 it was still unclear whether it would become either an independent state or a province of the Columbian or of the North American confederations. When Juarros’ history was published in London in 1823, in its preface Baily underlined the relevance of this kind of undertakings for the future expansion of British capital and industry that opened due to independence processes in the former Spanish America. Juarros’ book would furnish reliable information based on (1) access to records in the departments of Government, as well as to those of the different convents, (2) observations upon various parts of the country, and of the more remote districts and (3) accurate information from the heads of the different curacies, obtained through Juarros’ connection with the clergy. In such a context, what was at stake was how to obtain access to reliable sources and how to classify the new data obtained in the archives and publications of Spanish America.

In the book translated by Baily, Juarros had contributed a succinct description of the Province of Chiapas, listing its administrative divisions, villages and population. He described Santo Domingo de Palenque, in the province of Tzendales, on the borders of the intendancies of Ciudad Real and Yucatan (Juarros 1823: 18–19):

It is the head of a curacy; in a wild and salubrious climate, but very thinly inhabited, and now celebrated from having within its jurisdiction the vestiges of a very opulent city, which has been named Ciudad del Palenque; doubtless, formerly the capital of an empire whose history no longer exists. This metropolis, – like another Herculaneum, not indeed overwhelmed by the torrent of another Vesuvius, but concealed for ages in the midst of a vast desert, – remained unknown until the middle of the eighteenth century, when some Spaniards having penetrated the dreary solitude, found themselves, to their great astonishment, within sight of the remains of what once had been a superb city, of six leagues in circumference; the solidity of its edifices, the stateliness of its palaces, and the magnificence of its public works, were not surpassed in importance by its vast extent; temples, altars, deities, sculptures, and monumental stones, bear testimony to its great antiquity. The hieroglyphics, symbols, and emblems, which have been discovered in the temples, bear so strong a resemblance to those of the Egyptians, as to encourage the supposition that a colony of that nation may have founded the city of Palenque, or Culhuacan. The same opinion may be formed respecting that of Tulha, the ruins of which are still to be seen near the village of Ocosingo in the same district.

London of the 1820s, where this translation was published, was one of the nodes of this new commerce of information, becoming not only a centre of collection and printing but also a central destination for those exiled from the Spanish America, who entered, as well, in the undertakings of publishing and publicizing the new

ideas and the emerging new political entities (Gallo 2002; Roldán Vera 2003). London had also constituted the destiny of many Spanish émigrés, who took refuge in Britain after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, taking with them collections that had been under their responsibility in Madrid. In this context, the industry of translations, transcriptions, facsimiles, the copying and moving of documents, library and archive research, plundering, shipping, molding, printing as well as the publishing of journals, magazines and reviews flourished. In that frame, statistical, historical and geographical knowledge was linked to the expansion of trade, welfare and the emergence of a new political order in the New World (cf. Roldán Vera 2003).

The London translation of Juarros' book was almost contemporary to the appearance of two other manuscripts from Guatemala, in which one of the authors proposed that those ruined temples were the vestiges of another mythical city. In fact, soon after independence, Doctor Mac Quay, an Englishman who by those years lived in Guatemala, brought to London a manuscript called "Teatro Crítico Americano" and a memoir written by a certain Spanish officer (Baudez and Picasso 1987). They were accompanied by several drawings that had also been stored for many years in the archives of the colonial administration.⁵ These 21 pages and 15 lithographs were bought in London by the editor Henry Berthoud, who would later publish their translation as *Description of the Ruins of an ancient City, discovered near Palenque, in Guatemala, in Spanish America*. In such a way, Berthoud was publishing for the first time the memoir written by Captain Antonio del Río, dispatched by Captain General of Guatemala in 1786 to examine the ruins of very great extent of a city and antiquity near Palenque, province of Chiapas. Del Río, a Spanish military engineer, had departed to the city of the unknown name with a large party of men to remove the trees and shrubs with which the ruins were overgrown. Having cleared the ground, they found magnificent edifices, temples, towers, aqueducts, statues, hieroglyphics, unknown characters and bas-reliefs upon the walls, which Juarros would later mention in his work (Juarros 1823). The 1787 report of Captain del Río to his superiors was accompanied by many drawings and representations of the curious figures and writings discovered in the interior of these stone buildings. Following the paths of Spanish bureaucracy, copies were made for the local archives while others were dispatched to the metropolis, including one for cosmographer-general of the Indies Juan Bautista Muñoz, who was compiling materials for the completion of a new history of the Americas.⁶ Upon Muñoz' request, some fragments of the ruins were also sent to be studied and compared in the Royal Cabinet of Madrid.

⁵The reception and different editions of del Río's memoir had been addressed by Brasseur de Bourbourg n/d; Cabello Caro 1984; García Sáiz 1994; Baudez and Picasso 1987 and Riese (in del Río 1993).

⁶Cf. *Catálogo de la colección de Juan Bautista Muñoz, documentos interesantes para la historia de América*, 2, Madrid, 1955: 457 (on Muñoz cf. Cañizares-Esguerra 2001; Ballesteros Beretta 1941, 1942).

Berthoud published the manuscript and the drawings accompanied by *Teatro Crítico Americano* authored by Guatemalan scholar Pablo Félix Cabrera (1794). By doing so and by changing the name of the manuscript, which by then focused on the ancient city, Berthoud consolidated the installation of the ruins in the realm of antiquarianism and disquisitions about the history of the American continent. Whereas del Río's report, following the protocols of the surveys of military engineer corps and the instructions given from Spain by Muñoz (cf. Castañeda Paganini 1946; Podgorny 2007a), emphasized the description of the terrain, accesses, roads and the materials of the buildings and the city, Berthoud's compilation shifted definitively the focus to the problem of the origins of the American population, a debate that, in fact, had already been initiated in Guatemala and Madrid learned circles (cf. Ballesteros Gaibrois 1960; Cañizares-Esguerra 2001; Recinos et al. 1950). As the Juarros' comments displayed, the reports on the ruins close to Palenque were already known in Guatemala learned “tertulias” (Ballesteros Gaibrois 1960); moreover they were the result of a growing local interest in the exploration of the “city” connected with the search of visibility of that province in the Court of Madrid and the claim about the rights of Campeche to be allowed to act as a port for the commerce of the natural products of Chiapas (cf. Letter of Father Roca to Miguel de San Juan, 2 Jan 1793, in Ballesteros Gaibrois 1960: 25). In those discussions, the “city” was already referred as such, using terms such as “Ciudad del Palenque” or “Ciudad Palencana”.

However, Berthoud presented the discovery of the manuscript in the archives as a chapter of the political revolution brought about in Mexico and the Central American Provinces, the effects of which:

[...] having expanded the public mind, its prevailing influence has been extended to the functionaries of the government, so that state secrets and the long treasured documents in the public archives have been explored.

Moreover, he explained the limited access to the administrative archives by means of the jealousy temperament of the Spanish government:

[...] with regard to their possessions in Mexico, and the consequent desire they entertained of burying in total oblivion, any circumstances that might conduce to awaken the curiosity, or excite the cupidity of more scientific and enterprising nations (Berthoud in del Río 1822: VIII).

The Spanish colonial archives, in such a way, were presented as mere deposits of unused and muted documents, as if they were organized without purpose or with the only goal of gathering facts and data to conceal them from other nations and the local Creole population. Cabrera and Juarros's writings, on the other hand, were described as full of abhorring statements and prejudices that resulted from his Roman Catholic beliefs; both Berthoud and Baily alerted the English readership about the prominent role of religion in the works they had in their hands. Even when we agree with Cañizares-Esguerra (2001) that there is – and there was – a historical vacuum regarding the world of ideas and administrative practices of the Spanish Atlantic world of the late eighteenth century, it is important to underline that this vacuum was connected with the emerging discourse of local elites that

condemned the colonial past as a period of darkness and backwardness (cf. Roldán Vera 2003). The same kind of arguments expressed by Berthoud can be found in the new measures taken by the independent governments regarding the creation of museums, public libraries and new repositories of information (Podgorny 2007b; Podgorny and Lopes 2008). In such a way, British, French and Creole writers of the 1820s would scarcely differ in the manner of referring to a period and to the agents that, far from having emerged anew with the revolution, were reshaping their discourses and themselves in terms of the new political order to be created.

Connected with the unawareness and rejection of the context in which the documents were produced, Berthoud faced another problem: how to prove the authenticity of a manuscript that described a place that no one in Europe had seen. In his prefatory lines, Berthoud addressed the main problem contained in the pages that he was going to make public:

As attempts have so frequently been made to deceive the world, by announcing and publishing the details of discoveries which never effected, and the description of places, having no existence but in the writer's brain; the editor conceives himself imperiously called upon to offer some prefatory words, explanatory of the manner in which the literary documents, comprised in this volume, together with its pictorial embellishments, came into his possession (in del Río 1822: VII).

As it was discussed (Daston and Park 1998), the accounts from Spanish America on nature and ancient civilizations were received with scepticism, lowering the scientific threshold of credibility. Since the love of wonder fed many historical and anthropological frauds in the late nineteenth century, travellers, correspondents and publishers developed various strategies to prove their reliability (Podgorny 2007a); the key problem was why and whom to believe. Baily, in the mere title of his translation, underlined that Juarros' data were obtained from original records in the archives, actual observation and other authentic sources. Berthoud was trying to persuade his potential readers of the authenticity of both the manuscript in his possession and in the ruins, a thing hidden in some remote place in Guatemala that neither he nor Dr. Mr. Mac Quay had ever seen. In such a way, the ruins discovered near Santo Domingo de Palenque reemerged not by means of further exploration of the jungle of Chiapas, but in a zone defined by the traffic of documents stored in the colonial archives, the uncertainty of a source produced in an unknown context, and the popular trope among European antiquarians and savants of the essential Spanish backwardness in the realm of science.

In that sense "remote witnessing", as Pimentel (2003) calls the practices that allow testimonies about the truth and existence of things that occur in distant spaces, could not work without further mediation; in a context where the Spanish undertakings were discredited, the name of an official such as Antonio del Río could not be accepted as reliable witness. "Dr. Mac Quay", on the other hand, was as unknown in London as the ancient city close to Palenque. The reliable witness was Alexander von Humboldt, who in his trips to America "[...] not only mentions its existence, but has inserted an engraving from one of the pictorial illustrations of the present volume" (Berthoud in del Río 1822: IX). But Humboldt had stayed at quite a distance from Chiapas, having worked in 1803–1804 in the archives of

Mexico City, a crucial node of Spanish administration. Humboldt testified the existence of those manuscripts in the archives; however, since he had published a plate that differed from those in Berthoud’s possession, this evidence was permeated by vagueness.⁷ In order to deal with this contested authenticity, the “original” manuscript was open for public inspection at the publisher’s house. In the end, the genuineness was assured by appealing to the protection of Lord Holland, to whom Berthoud dedicated his efforts. In such a way, the Philological Society of London stated:

This work is dedicated, with permission, to Lord Holland, a nobleman so distinguished in literature in general, and particularly in the literature of Spain, that the prefixure of his name is *a sufficient guarantee for the authenticity of the original Spanish documents* [emphasis I. P.], of which this work professes to be a translation; and the critic is, therefore, left only to the task of examining into the nature of these ruins, and into the sagacity of the speculations that have been formed upon their discovery.⁸

Henry Richard Fox, third Baron Holland (1773–1840), having lived for several years in Spain, was, indeed, a promoter of the Spanish literature in London. Lord Holland and his wife were in the centre of Whig politics and belonged to circles of letters, having strong links to French diplomats. Their library was extensive and well-used by a wide set of people including essayists, statesmen, playwrights, foreign scholars, distinguished visitors, poets, antiquaries, medievalists and historians. The Holland House and its circle were very well known for patronizing savants, the uses of history for political purposes and a strong interest in continental politics (Wright 2006). It was not particularly supportive of Spanish American new political entities. In that sense, Berthoud’s preface and its reviewers also expressed the tensions of the debates existing in London about the abilities of the local South American elites to lead the destinies of the continent.

Berthoud’s dedication to Lord Holland could be a decisive factor that assured the translation of del Rio’s report to gain wide recognition by being reviewed in some London journals, such as the “*European Magazine, London Review*”, the “*New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*” (1822) and “*The Eclectic Review*” (1823).⁹ The “Description of the Ancient City” – sold for 1 pound and 8 schillings,

⁷Later on, Alexander von Humboldt would make use of Berthoud’s publication in an article he published in 1826 on the new State of Central America, feeding the reliability of the source as a piece that was worth quoting (Humboldt 1826).

⁸“Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, discovered near Palenque, in Guatemala, in Spanish America. Translated from the Spanish. 4to. pp. 128. London, 1823”. *European Magazine, London Review: Illustrative of the Literature, History, Biography, Politics, Arts, Manners, and amusements of the age. Embellished with Portraits.* 83: 454.

⁹“Art. IV. Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, discovered near Palenque, in Guatemala, in Spanish America. Translated from the Original Manuscript Report of Captain Antonio del Rio, followed by a Critical Investigation and Research into the history of the Americans, by Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera, of the city of New Guatemala, 4to. Pp. XIV, 128. (17 plates). Price 11. 8.s. London, 1822”. *The Eclectic Review.* 18 (1823: 523–532).

about the same price of a good grammar book or history and travel books¹⁰ – was listed among “new publications” at the following magazines, some of them associated to Whig circles: *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* (February 1823), *The Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* (1823), *The Edinburgh Review* (1823), *The Quarterly review* (1823), *The London Magazine* (1823), *The British Review*, and *London Critical Journal* (1822), *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature* (1822) and *The Edinburgh Annual Register* (1824). It was also reviewed in the German language journals *Allgemeines Repertorium der neuesten in- und ausländischen Literatur für 1824* (Leipzig 1824) and the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger* (1824). Some of the reviews mocked Cabrera’s ideas but also underlined the matter the publication had actually established:

The report and graphic illustrations of these antiquities by Captain Antonio del Rio are well worthy of the attention of the curious, but his discoveries do not appear to us to throw the smallest light upon the problem of how America first became inhabited by the human species; they merely establish that cities and populous districts existed formerly on the borders of Campeche, and that their inhabitants were not identically the same people as those whom the Spaniards, on their arrival, found in such power in other parts of Mexico.¹¹

In such a way, the discovery was presented as the result of action by the late colonial administration. They criticized Catholicism of the members of the local elites and the concealing nature of colonial archives. At the same time, the reviewers tackling Cabrera’s method attacked the common practice of most antiquarians, who have the:

[...] habit of selecting two distant nations, and tracing some resemblance in their ancient customs, manners, religions, and civil architecture, they draw the inference that one must have been descended from the other, forgetting that such resemblances merely prove the general analogy of our animal nature; and that man, under similar stages in the scale of civilization, will have analogous institutions, and analogous objects both of ornament and of convenience, although these may be all modified differently by various contingent circumstances[...].¹²

Far from being a patrimony of Cabrera and Guatemalan scholars, comparison of “distant nations” represented common practice of the early nineteenth century antiquarian circles, where the resemblances among peoples from distant continents was highlighted by comparing images, sources from antiquity and manuscripts discovered in the libraries (cf. Burke 2003; Momigliano 1950; Schnapp 2002). It was in that vein that Alexander von Humboldt (1810: 83) noted:

¹⁰In 1846, 25 years after its publication, it could still be acquired at a moderate price of 15 schillings, as listed with the number 846 on John Russell Smith’s catalogue from Soho Square. cf. *A catalogue of choice, useful, and curious books in most classes of literature, English and foreign, now on sale at very moderate prices* by John Russell Smith. London. 1846. However, in the late 1830s some reviews mentioned that Del Rio’s work had been “scarcely published in this country;” cf. “Antiquités mexicaines, Voyage pittoresque... and Colección de antigüedades mexicanas que existen en el Museo Nacional”. *The foreign quarterly review*. 18 (1836–1837: 33) London Edition.

¹¹“Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City...” *European Magazine*. 83: 456.

¹²*Ibid.*

[...] il seroit à désirer que quelque gouvernement voulût faire publier à ses frais ces restes de l'ancienne civilisation américaine: c'est par la comparaison de plusieurs monumens qu'on parviendroit à deviner le sens de ces allégories, en partie astronomiques, en partie mystiques.

The elements used in such comparisons included architectural details (like windows and arches), components of the attire and ornaments of the human figures depicted in the manuscripts (especially headdresses and shoes), medals, coins, inscriptions and hieroglyphs (Mora 1999; Pomian 1987). Comparison of things from distant nations was also the main procedure to establish chronology, based on these resemblances that could be arranged in relation to the dates obtained from classical sources, texts and/or inscriptions in the medals (Rudwick 2005). Hieroglyphs represented a potential clue to the meanings of the accounts left by ancient peoples. Finding resemblances with some of the known or deciphered systems of writing involved the first step towards a common grammar of civilized men. This practice – shared by Guatemalan and European antiquaries – of understanding the ruins of ancient peoples by comparing them with classical sources took for granted the universal history of humankind. Historiography of Latin American and classical archaeology has often forgotten this common framework that permeated the debates over the history of peoples that today are the subject of disciplines that scarcely have something in common. As we will explore in the next section, the controversies over Palenque in the 1820s and early 1830s allow us to analyse a period in the history of antiquarianism when the Latin America's past was linked with the Old World's Antiquity.

Huehuetlapallan or American Babylon?

Every one has heard of the ancient cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and many Americans have crossed the Atlantic, have submitted to the vexations of French and Italian police and customhouse officers, to the miserable accommodations of Italian inns, and to the extortions of the vetturini, for the purpose of visiting these ruins; ignorant that in America may be found two cities of far greater extent than either of these mentioned above, and covered not by the cinders or lava of a volcano, but by the rapid vegetation of past ages.¹³

While Berthoud's publication was present in the main catalogues of the nineteenth century libraries, its distribution and marketing still deserve a detailed study, which would enlighten the shaping of another account that circulated in the European circles regarding the fate of the text published in London (cf. Riese in del Río 1993). In fact, in another shift of the European itineraries of del Río's report, the destiny of Berthoud's publication was described by Johann Heinrich, Freiherr

¹³ “The Family Magazine”. 1837: 143.

Menu von Minutoli (1772–1846) – the second translator into German of the English translation – as suffering oblivion in London. Minutoli presented himself as having saved the “Description of the Ancient Ruins” from being lost due to the failure of Berthoud’s publishing house; something that had occurred immediately after the printing was finished. However, this alleged rescue of the manuscript differs from the extensive presence of Berthoud’s translation at public and private libraries. Moreover, it ignores the first German translation that took place immediately after the London version of 1822, which – as Minutoli’s – was based on Berthoud’s translation. In fact, in 1823 the “Description” suffered another transformation. The first German translation appeared in Meiningen as “Huehuetlapallan, Amerika’s grosse Urstadt in dem Königreiche Guatimala: Neu entdeckt von Antonio del Rio u. als eine phöniciſch-canaanäiſche u. carthagische Pflanzſtadt erwieſen von Paul Felix Cabrera” (“Huehuetlapallan, American great original city in the Kingdom of Guatemala, recently discovered by Antonio del Río and presented by Paul Felix Cabrera as a Phoenician-Canaanite and Carthaginian colony”). Here, the city was named after a place quoted in the chronicles, the mythical original residence of the wandering nation of the Toltecs. The translation was printed by Philip Hartmann in old German font characters (gothic font). It lacked new foreword and included translation of Berthoud’s explanatory preface and the dedication to Lord Holland. Neither the authorship of the translation was mentioned nor did the publisher explain modifications of the title (Rio, Antonio del 1823). This German version, although not extensively present in the library catalogues, was also reviewed by contemporary literary journals, listed at the “*Journal général de la Littérature étrangère*” (Paris 1825), and extensively reviewed at the *Taschenbuch zur Verbreitung geographischer Kenntnisse* (“Notebook for the diffusion of geographical knowledge”), a journal published in Prague by Johann Gottfried Sommer, under the title “Überreste der altamerikanischen Stadt Huehuetlapallan” (“Vestiges of the ancient American city of Huehuetlapallan”).¹⁴ The latter also included the engraving of the “Tower of Huehuetlapallan” (“Thurm zu Huehuetlapallan”) (Fig. 1), one of the plates that accompanied del Rio’s memoirs published in London (Fig. 2). By naming the ruins as “Huehuetlapallan”, the first German translation honoured Cabrera’s interpretation of the Casas de Piedra and his “Solution to the grand historical problem of the population of America” (Cabrera 1822). On the other hand, it also answered the old question about the origins of the Mexican peoples, as posed and popularized by Alexander von Humboldt in his “Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne” (Humboldt 1814: 133–134):

The Toultecs introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which are yet admired, and of which the faces are very accurately laid out. They knew the use of hieroglyphical paintings; they could found

¹⁴“Überreste der altamerikanischen Stadt Huehuetlapallan”. *Taschenbuch zur Verbreitung geographischer Kenntnisse*. 1825: 225–237.



Fig. 1 “Tower of Huehuetlapallan” (taken from “Überreste der altamerikanischen Stadt Huehuetlapallan”. *Taschenbuch zur Verbreitung geographischer Kenntniss*. 1825: 225–237. Particular collection)

metals, and cut the hardest stones; and they had a solar year more perfect than that of the Greeks and Romans. The form of their government indicated that they were the descendants of a people who had experienced great vicissitudes in their social state. But where is the source of that cultivation? Where is the country from which the Toultecs and Mexicans issued? Tradition and historical hieroglyphics name Huehuetlapallan, Tollan, and Aztlan, as the first residence of these wandering nations. There are no remains at this day of any ancient civilization of the human species to the north of the Rio Gila, or in the northern regions travelled through by Hearne, Fidler, and Mackenzie.

Contrary to Humboldt’s opinion, Cabrera – and the first German translation undoubtedly agreed with his interpretation – located the source of culture and cultivation of Mexicans in the South, inverting the traditional direction that explained culture flowing from wandering peoples who arrived from the North (cf. Buschmann 1866). Displaying profuse antiquarian erudition, Cabrera (1822: 94) had concluded that Huehuetlapallan, far from being a mythical place, was as real as the capital of the province of Chiapas:

The kingdom of Tlapalla was not an imaginary one as Clavigero supposed, and the route taken by Quetzalcoatl from Cholula to Coatzacoalco, in the absence of all other proofs, is sufficient to show that it was not situated to the northward of Mexico, but to the south east.

In order to ascertain the origin of those Americans who inhabited the countries bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the adjacent islands, Cabrera was trying to prove that Huehuetlapallan, a compound name of two words – Huehue (old) and

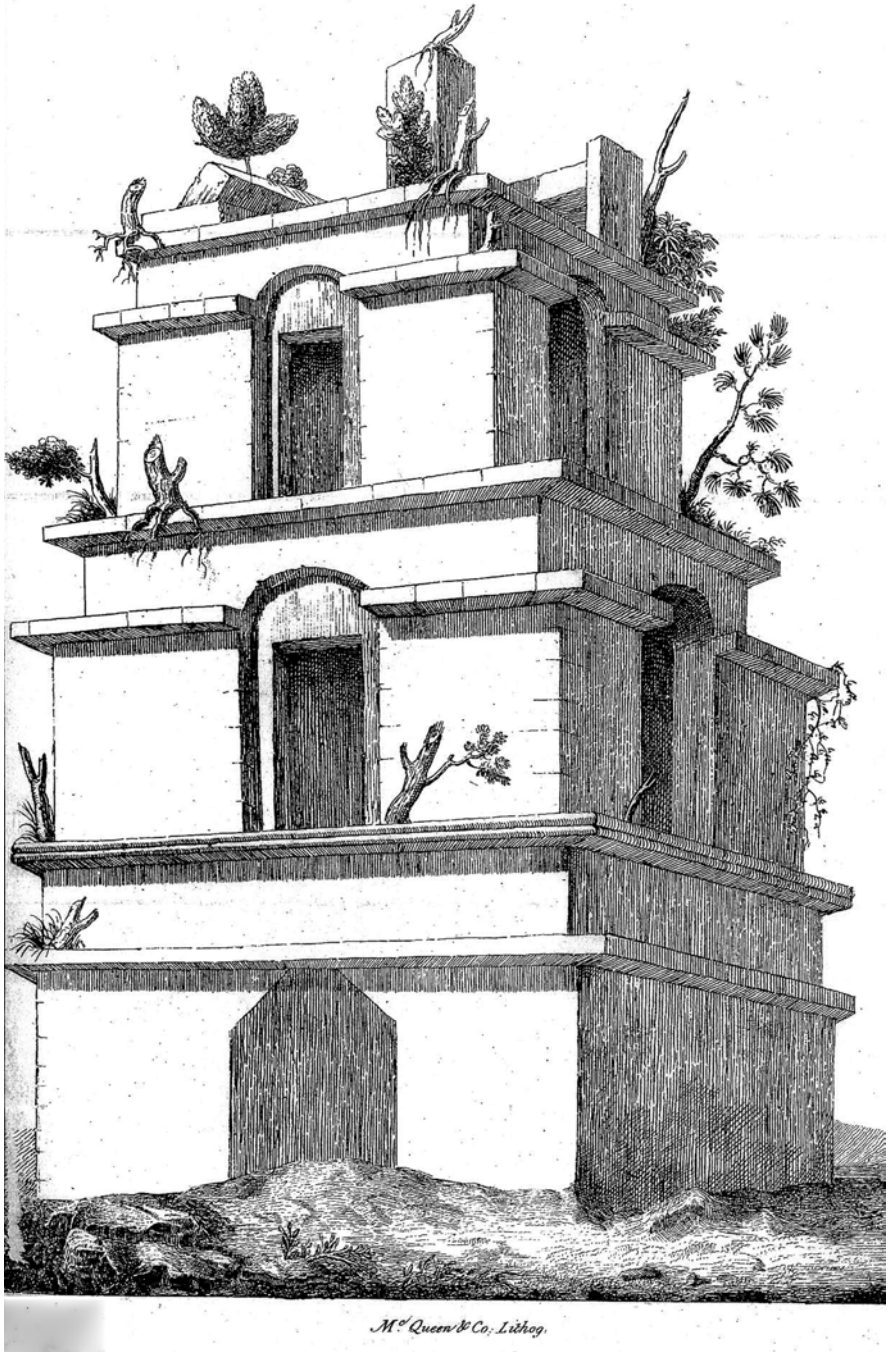


Fig. 2 “Tower of Palenque” (taken from Antonio del Río 1822. *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America.* Translated from the original manuscript report of Captain Antonio del Río: followed by Teatro Crítico Americano; or a critical investigation and research into The History of the Americans, by Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera of the city of New Guatemala. London: Henry Berthoud) Courtesy of Biblioteca Fl. Ameghino, Museo de La Plata

Tlapallan – was the name which anciently distinguished the Palencian city. In 1794, instead of Asian connections, Cabrera had proposed a direct relationship with the peoples of the Mediterranean, mainly with the Phoenicians. By entitling the publication as “Huehuetlapallan”, the German translation of 1823 assumed as a fact that the ruins were those of the mythical city, the centre of origin of Mesoamerican civilizations. Sommer’s *Taschenbuch*, despite promising to follow the transcription of Cabrera’s essay, only published del Río’s memoir, which did not mention Huehuetlapallan. Several German journals reviewed this publication,¹⁵ some of them asking to contrast this translation with other recent publications such as Juarros’,¹⁶ who said, as we have already mentioned, that the ruins could be attached to the city of Colhuacán, while the ruins found in Ocosingo belonged to Tula. This debate, in fact, located the origin of the Aztecs in Guatemala and Chiapas, contradicting the ideas of the Humboldt’s brothers and those proposed by chroniclers and historians such as Torquemada, Boturini and Clavijero. According to Cabrera, in the temples of the unknown or Palencian city, there was a very conclusive proof of the ancient origin of the Americans, excelling those of the Greeks, the Romans and equivalent to that of the Hebrews. However, the review published at *Leipziger Literatur Zeitung* (1824: 2430) underlined that Cabrera’s attempts for both proving that the city had been founded by Phoenicians traders, and adapting the ruins to the mosaic chronology, would not be accepted even by the most orthodox theologians, who would rather stick to the desiderata of the universe that was already known.¹⁷

The southern origin of the Aztecs interested historians when in June 1832 Minutoli’s new German translation was published (Río, Antonio del 1832). By then, the role of the German edition of 1823 seemed to have been forgotten. According to (Río, Antonio del 1832, translation by Minutoli), the sheets of the almost finished English version had been turned into garbage, ready to be sold as old paper, when the French vice consul César Moreau rescued them in London, allowing the composition of a complete volume. Moreau – as Minutoli – was an expert archive seeker, who by those years was trying to create a statistical corpus for the understanding of the commerce between France and Great Britain and a comparative tableau of the French state. Moreau, thanks to his statistical pursues, was connected to the network of manuscript traders from different parts of the

¹⁵Such as “Allgemeines Repertorium der neuesten in- und ausländischen Literatur für 1824” (Leipzig).

¹⁶“Neue Allgemeine Geographische und Statistische Ephemeriden”. Weimar 1824: 437.

¹⁷“Nach der Art, wie die spanische Regierung nach Möglichkeit um alle ihre transatlantischen Besitzungen eine chinesische Mauer zog, darf dies gerade nicht wundern. Die Beschreibung dieser Ruinen und der in ihnen gefundenen zahlreichen hieroglyphischen Bilder u. s. w. gibt allerdings Raum zu vielen Vermuthungen, die, hätten die Spanier, gleich echten Vandalen, nicht Mexiko’s Adel und (Bilder) Schriften vernichtet, wohl längst aufgeklärt seyn würden. Die zweyte Abtheilung, welche die längste ist, sucht, treu der mosaichen Zeitrechnung, zu beweisen, dass Mexiko von Phöniciern und Karthago aus bevölkert sey. Solche theologische Beweise mögen kaum dem orthodoxesten Theologen zusagen, geschweige dem, der in solchen Dingen lieber seine Unwissenheit bekennen, als solche Ansichten durchgefochten wissen will”.

world. Although his main interest focused on the East Company and East Indies, his expertise in dealing with archives and manuscripts made him aware of the intense trade of documents in London of the 1820s (Sarrut and Saint-Edme 1835: 179). Minutoli himself was connected with the study of Egyptian antiquities, having travelled with his wife to Egypt in the 1820s and having extensively published his studies in different journals and compilations.¹⁸ Minutoli (1831) devoted several pages to the step pyramid of Saqqara, whose age, in the realm of antiquarianism, was a matter of controversy. This building, which had been regarded as one of the oldest extant buildings of the world, allowed Minutoli to propose a suggestion that pyramids were used as temples, tombs and astronomical observatories. As element of evidence and comparison, he discussed the analogies with the Mesoamerican pyramids. A third building was introduced into the series of analogies to reinforce the astronomical use of Egyptian pyramids: the Tower, residence of king Belus, the ancient sovereign who founded Babylon and built the ziggurat, which many scholars had considered to be the Scriptural tower of Babel.¹⁹ In such way, the ancient Mexican, Egyptian and Babylonian cults were brought together in the antiquarian debates to enlighten the functions of the recently rediscovered buildings. In such context, the so-called “tower” of the “palace of Palenque”, one of the most recurrent plates published to illustrate the different versions of del Río’s memoir, intervened as another element to discuss the analogies among buildings, functions and the peoples that inhabited the ancient world. The reviewer of Minutoli’s essay noted:

By the way, an accurate investigation of the recently discovered Mexican monuments and their comparison with the Old Egyptians is still lacking. If we are not wrong, they were the object of a prize called some years ago, but that still remains deserted. Such a work would be extremely appreciated by the learned world.²⁰

Based on analogies, the study of antiquity, far from being limited to the Mediterranean and the Near East, expanded its geography and scope to the civilizations of the New World.

The study of American antiquities presented some inconveniences, however, that did not help to achieve these goals. As Minutoli’s reviewer underlined, there was a call for a prize that could not be fulfilled, i.e., the prize offered by the Société de Géographie de Paris, a Golden Medal, valued 2,400 francs, to obtain a more complete and exact description than the existing ones of the ruins of the ancient city of Palenque, in the country of Chiapas, ancient kingdom of Guatemala and designated

¹⁸*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*: 771–772. [http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib/lexika/adb/images/adb021/@ebt-link?target=idmatch\(entityref,adb0210773\)](http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib/lexika/adb/images/adb021/@ebt-link?target=idmatch(entityref,adb0210773)).

¹⁹As the reviews mentioned, some writers found resemblances between the temples of Belus and the pyramid of Cholula, eight graduated square towers that terminated in a topmost sanctuary.

²⁰“Uebrigens fehlt uns noch immer eine genaue Untersuchung der verschiedentlich bekannt gewordenen mexikanischen Denkmale und eine Zusammenstellung und Vergleichung mit den alt-ägyptischen, wie solches, wenn wir nicht sehr irren, bereits vor einem Jahre zum Gegenstand einer Preisaufgabe, die aber leider unbeantwortet geblieben, gemacht worden ist. Eine solche Arbeit würde aber gewiss höchst belehrend werden, Bähr 1832: 202–203”.

by the name of Casas de Piedras in the Memoirs of Captain Antonio del Rio. The prize requested the traveller to give pictorial views of the monuments, with blueprints, sections, main details of the sculptures and to notice particularly the bas-reliefs representing the adoration of the cross, as seen engraved in the work of del Rio. Likewise, it was important to observe the analogy between these different edifices, considered as productions of the same art and of the same people. With respect to the geography, the Society demanded: first, specific maps of the districts in which these ruins were situated, accompanied with topographical plans constructed according to the most correct principles; second, the real height of the principal points above the sea; third, remarks on the natural appearance and the productions of the country. The Society also required that research had to be made into the traditions relative to the ancient people to whom the erection of these monuments was attributed, with other observations on the habits and customs of the natives of the country, and a vocabulary of the ancient languages. It was necessary to particularly inquire the traditions of the country regarding the age of these edifices, and to endeavour to discover, if it was well established, that the figures designed with a certain degree of correctness were previous to the conquest. The memoirs, maps and drawings were supposed to be left at the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1829. But the reviewer was correct and by 1832 the prize remained vacant (cf. Prévost Urkidi 2007).

In 1830, however, London had provided “new” documentation on the ruins of the ancient city. Under the patronage of the Irish Catholic antiquarian and member of the Parliament Edward King (1795–1837), better known as Lord Kingsborough, seven imperial folios were published, comprising the facsimiles of: “ancient Mexican paintings and hieroglyphics preserved in the Royal Libraries of Paris, Berlin and Dresden, in the Imperial Library of Vienna, in the Vatican Library, in the Borgian Museum at Rome, in the library of the Institute at Bologna and in the Bodleian library at Oxford, together with the publication of ‘The monuments of New Spain’ by M. Dupaix”.²¹ The facsimile was in charge of the Italian painter and lithographer Augustine Aglio,²² who during 5 years had transcribed those various manuscripts and drawings to enable the publication of sources scattered throughout Europe as the “Antiquities of Mexico” (Kingsborough 1830–1848). Pretending to be a complete work of all the existing manuscripts and hieroglyphical paintings, illustrative of Mexican antiquities that Europe could furnish, the seven volumes, as

²¹In his preface Minutoli explained that he did not have neither opportunity nor the time to contrast the information in his possession with the new materials presented at the costly London facsimiles, of which he was aware thanks to the reviews published in different journals. The story of Berthoud’s failure, as told by Minutoli, seems to have foreseen the history of Edward King, whose debt with the printers landed him in debtors’ prison.

²²Augustine Maria (Agostino Maria) Aglio (1777–1857) was already well known to the public and among the Catholics of London as the artist, who had executed the altar piece (a panorama of the crucifixion) and ceiling of the Catholic chapel of Moorfields. cf. “Mr. A. Aglio’s Mexican Antiquities”. *The Olio; or, Museum of entertainment*. 5: 376. and <http://www.stmarymoorfields.net/documents/SMMbooklet.pdf>.

it was critically remarked by reviewers, did not contain any documents from the Spanish archives. The *Foreign Quarterly Review* observed that they actually comprised fewer manuscripts than might have existed in the Escorial in Madrid, and in the archives of other Spanish towns, especially of Simancas, near Valladolid.²³

The volumes were priced at £175 (£120 with the plates in plain outline, and £175 coloured), equal to about £850 (Lincoln 1835: 12) or 18,000 francs (Denis 1831), 5 times the prize promised by the *Société de Géographie*. Lord Kingsborough, whose patrimony was valued at 50,000 pounds, intended not to sell but to present them to the main libraries of Europe. Edward King promoted also the publication and gathering of Chinese manuscripts and was praised in his obituaries as “[...] munificent patron of the arts, and generous contributor to all literary and scientific institutions”. While the sixth volume was mostly devoted to his notes on the Jewish origins of the Mexican civilization,²⁴ the reviews would underline the resemblance which the New World bore to the monuments of ancient Egypt:

The eye of the antiquary falls with familiar recognition on the same graduated pyramids; on marks of the same Ophite worship; on picture writing like the early Anaglyphs of Egypt; and on a hieroglyphical language of a similarly symbolical and phonetic description; on vestiges of the worship of a similar Triune and solar deity; on planispheres and temples; sculptures and statues, which though characterized by some distinctions peculiarly American, exhibit a great analogy in posture and gesture to the sculpture of Egypt.²⁵

The reviews of Lord Kingsborough’s volumes consolidated this analogy but also discussed the ideas of Scottish historian, William Robertson (1721–1793), who in his “History of America” (1777) had depreciated the age and the value of the buildings of New Spain.²⁶ Kingsborough’s volumes appeared as the conclusive evidence that the people of New Spain at the time of the conquest were at a very advanced level of civilization. The “ancient city” of Chiapas was named Palenque or the “Pompeii of South America”, possessing hieroglyphs as elegant as the Egyptians and as scientifically contrived as the Chinese. It was assumed that it was a city of the Tultecan people, six centuries more ancient than the Mexicans, and, according to the diagnostic elements of the antiquaries, that seemed to derive from Egypt or China. However, most reviewers concluded that the most important thing resided not in these disquisitions or those authored by the pen of Lord Kingsborough but in the images of the objects and monuments that Aglio had made available, copying the Mexican paintings by means of transparent paper. By insisting on the “graphic power” of a work “whose achievements alone constitute all that this work must be

²³“Art. IV. Antiquities of Mexico”. *The Foreign Quarterly Review*. 9 (1832): 92.

²⁴Edward King proposed that America was peopled by the ten lost Jewish tribes carried away by the king of Assyria and that the people who authored the monuments of his work were Jewish.

²⁵“Mexican Antiquities”. *The Gentleman’s magazine*. August (1831): 99.

²⁶The “History of America” was a great editorial success, even more marked on the continent, where it was considered as Robertson’s masterpiece going through nine editions between 1777 and 1780. It was translated into Spanish in 1827 by Bernardino de Amati.

admitted to possess of value and importance in the eyes of the present or future generations”,²⁷ the reviews recalled that the “eye” (not exactly a reader’s one) was the most important instrument of the antiquarian. Many magazines referred to the “Antiquities of Mexico” just as the work of Aglio,²⁸ reaffirming that the copy and transcription of unavailable sources provided more knowledge than any philosophical disquisition. Moreover, they underlined:

A folio of metaphysics is an awful companion in the nineteenth century; and we own, that for once that we have peeped at his lordship’s lucubrations, we have turned 50 times to the variegated pages of Mr. Aglio’s department.²⁹

While discussing Darwin’s letter to a friend, J. Secord (1986: 21) had remarked that in the community of geologists few read each other’s work and that the discipline was quite oral. He meant that ideas were verbally discussed among peers in the context of periodical meetings. In that context, the emergence of modern geology – as discussed by Rudwick (1976) – was tight to the presentation of visual evidence namely maps, specimens and illustrations. Such an approach was already a common practice among antiquarians (Rudwick 2005). Burke (2003) has recalled that like the humanist movement out of which it developed, antiquarianism was originally text-centred but, in the course of time, the antiquaries became more and more interested in the material culture of the past. For antiquarians, as for natural philosophers, books had rather “to be seen”: Aglio’s facsimiles and the prize of the Société de Géographie requesting memoirs, maps and drawings responded to this imperative for the constitution of corpuses of images, which attempted to constitute a collection of raw facts obtained in places that no one had seen with his or her own eyes. The praise of both, the quality of Aglio’s lithography and the munificence of Lord Kingsborough for affording such excellence, stressed also the intimate connection between the development of “imitative art” and the progress of knowledge. In that sense, Aglio’s work could be proposed as a “key” to unlock the stores of the Mexican antiquities, expressing by this expression that an image could do more for proving the value of the Mexican monuments than all the disquisitions on the origins of ancient peoples. This method of historical and antiquarian research had been indeed celebrated as revolutionary:

Since the end of the last century, a fortunate revolution has taken place in the manner of examining the civilization of nations, and the causes which impede or favour its progress. We have become acquainted with countries, the customs, institutions, and arts of which differ almost as widely from those of the Greeks and Romans, as the primitive forms of extinct races of animals differ from those of the species which are the objects of descriptive natural history (...) To the labours of (Humboldt) the world is chiefly indebted for the increased light thrown on the ancient state of the Mexican and Peruvian nations, by his

²⁷“Antiquities of Mexico”. *The Monthly review*. 1831: 274.

²⁸Moreover, the complete gathering of the materials was attributed to Aglio. However, Edward King had agents in Mexico, Madrid and other European cities: this network of manuscript and document providers still deserves further research.

²⁹“Antiquities of Mexico”. *The Monthly review*. 1831: 256.

collection and elucidation of their monumental remains. But the principal object of this celebrated traveller and excellent man seems to have been to *bring together pictures of the manners, arts, languages, and traditions of the New Continent*, and to point out the analogies subsisting between them and those of the Old World, wherever they can be ascertained, without at the same time venturing to determine the secret causes of these resemblances, while no historical fact carries us back to the period of communication which existed between the inhabitants of different and remote climates. This work we regard as eminently calculated to supply a previous *desideratum* in the historical details of America; and the plan of it is, in so far, superior to the methods generally pursued by investigators of the monuments, languages, and traditions of nations. The author has avoided founding any particular hypothesis on insufficient grounds; he frankly lays before his readers the result of his observations and researches,—like the summing up of an impartial judge,—and leaves them to form their own conjectures as to the origin of a people on which it is vain to offer any decisive opinion, knowing that the human mind, notwithstanding the difference of external circumstances as to time and place, will frequently develop itself in the same manner.³⁰

Even when that “metaphysical” side rather than vanishing continued to exist, the reviews reflected both the search for a non-textual language in the realm of antiquarianism and the consolidation of a visual logic for the two dimensional displays of things, both in line with Humboldt’s undertakings (cf. Bourguet 2004; Dettelbach 1999; Schäffner 2000).

The golden ore

By the mid 1830s, the discoveries in Spanish America had been accepted as equal in interest and importance to the Egyptian discoveries and the triumphs of Champollion and Rossellini. However, in contrast to the subject of Egyptian antiquities, the New World was still considered virgin soil, “a golden ore that remains in the mine”,³¹ and that could also take on the role of the Mexican “mining shares, which have proved as abortive as the fable of the old woman and her goose with the golden egg”.³² The exploration and study of the ruins were compared with the works that promised fantastic revenues or new and successful system of working in the mines, which had given employment to labourers and capitalists, by the formation of companies, “many of whom have been indulged with golden dreams without releasing golden harvests”.³³ Whereas mines and ruins shared in fact both the attraction of “virginity” and the danger of fraud, the 1830s antiquarians and traders of antiquities seemed to observe the sealed book of Spanish American solid ruins as a reality that could provide a revenue in a far less risky way than the mines.

³⁰“Antiquities of Mexico”. *The foreign quarterly review*. 9 (17) 1832: 110–111.

³¹“Antiquités mexicaines, Voyage pittoresque... and Colección de antigüedades mexicanas que existen en el Museo Nacional”. *The foreign quarterly review*. 18 (1836–1837): 31 (London Edition), 17 (American Edition).

³²“Mr. A. Aglio’s Mexican Antiquities”. *The Olio; or, Museum of entertainment*. 5: 395.

³³Id.. p. 396.

However, it was still pending to popularize the subject, to divert it “of the voluminous and repulsive pedantry by which it has been hitherto overlaid”.³⁴ “Popularization” involved recruiting travelling and local-based agents who could act as commissioners and correspondents in order to establish a constant flux of data and objects from the archives and also from the ruins. The Société de Géographie prize helped much in that kind of popularization, where a monetary award was attached to the prestige of collaborating in the building of knowledge.

This wheel had indeed already started moving: among the documents that Aglio transcribed, the fourth volume included: “Monuments of New Spain” by W. Dupaix, from the original drawings, executed by order of the King of Spain in the first years of the nineteenth century, and specimens of Mexican sculpture, in the possession of Mr. Latour Allard. As Humboldt mentioned in 1826, Latour Allard, who in those years resided in New Orleans, took a collection of plates, objects and drawings acquired in an auction in Mexico to Paris. They were in fact, the plates and objects from Guillermo Dupaix expedition to Palenque in the early nineteenth century,³⁵ which Aglio could copy and then publish in Lord Kingsborough’s volumes (cf. Alcina Franch 1988: 221–253; Fauvet-Berthelot et al. 2007; Warden 1827) (Fig. 3). Other copies arrived in Paris in the early 1830s as part of the mission of M. Baradère in Mexico (Alcina Franch 1988, cf. Dupaix 1834).

The French chargé d’affaires in Mexico,³⁶ Ferdinand Deppe with his shipping to Berlin (Río, Antonio del 1832, translation by Minutoli), and William Bulock with his publications and his Mexican museum in London (Aguirre 2005, Arteta 1991) consolidated their roles as providers of Mesoamerican artifacts to European museums and private collectors. This wheel also propelled the first Mexican regulation, issued in November of 1827 stipulated that exportation of antiquities is forbidden. Article 4 of this law prohibited the exportation of the four most valuable Mexican commodities: gold and silver in “pasta, piedra y polvillo”, “cochineal seeds”, and Mexican monuments and antiquities.³⁷

Moreover, short after the publication of Lord Kingsborough’s work, in 1831 a correspondent of the Literary Gazette announced a “great discovery by a certain Colonel Galindo” in the neighbourhood of Palenque. Juan Galindo, governor of Petén, (cf. Graham 1963) sent his first letter to the editor of the Gazette in April 1831, addressed to the editor:

³⁴“Antiquités mexicaines, Voyage pittoresque...”, p. 32 (London edition).

³⁵“Diese Zeichnungen sind die Früchte der Reise des Hauptmanns Dupe, eines mexikanischen Altertumsforschers, mit dem ich mehre interessante Erkursionen gemacht. Ich besitze selbst eine Zeichnung von der Anbetung eines heiligen Kreuzes aus dem Paleuque, von denen, die in dem engländischen Werke abgebildet sind, ganz verschieden” (Humboldt 1826: 160).

³⁶“Neue Forschungen und Nachrichten über die Ruinen von Palenque”. *Das Ausland*. 1832: 347.

³⁷“Arancel para las aduanas marítimas y de frontera de la República Mexicana” 16th Nov 1827. In: en Legislación Mexicana. México, Imp. del Comercio, t. 2, 1876: 26–30. cf. Morales-Moreno 1994. Cochineal was Mexico’s second most valued export after silver. The Mexican Independence involved that the monopoly on cochineal came to an end: large scale production of cochineal emerged in other places, especially in Guatemala.



Fig. 3 “Tower of Palenque” (taken from Dupaix in Edward King, Viscount Kingsborough 1830–1848. *Antiquities of Mexico: comprising facsimiles of ancient Mexican paintings and hieroglyphics, preserved in the royal libraries of Paris, Berlin and Dresden, in the Imperial library of Vienna, in the Vatican library; in the Borgian museum at Rome; in the library of the Institute at Bologna; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Together with the Monuments of New Spain, by M. Dupaix: with their respective scales of measurement and accompanying descriptions. The whole illustrated by many valuable inedited manuscripts, by Augustine Aglio. London: A. Aglio, vol. 4. Courtesy Biblioteca do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro)*

I am desirous of communicating to the literary world, through your universally circulated *Gazette*, some idea of these antiquities, which rescue ancient America from a charge of barbarism.³⁸

Galindo, having visited the ruins and knowing the region, remarked that “every thing bears testimony that these surprising people were not physically dissimilar from the present Indians”.³⁹ He also presumed that the Maya language – still spoken by all the Indians and by most of the other inhabitants throughout Yucatan, the district of Petén, and the eastern part of Tabasco – derived from them. However, according to him, the Indians who inhabited the states of Chiapas and Tabasco and the current inhabitants of the region close to the ruins represented an uncivilized and timid tribe, in a low scale of improvement.

³⁸“Original Correspondence to the Editor. Ruins of Palenque”. *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences*, 1831: 665–666. Galindo was right: the Gazette was sold in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Paris and North America.

³⁹“Original correspondence...”, op.cit.; also published in Galindo 1834: 62.

Another local correspondent, Francisco Corroy, French physician from Tabasco, transmitted his news of the ruins to Paris and New York learned circles, from where he was requested to write the history of that region as a privileged eyewitness of things that most of his correspondents could hardly imagine. On his letter to Samuel Akerly in New York, Corroy, a member of several learned societies of the Americas and Europe, described the territories of the ruins were as if “God and man had abandoned to eternal oblivion” (Corroy 1833: 372). In that context, he posed the question of “how can one venture to write the history of ruins, masses and piles of stones, whose antiquity reaches back more than 4,000 years” (Corroy 1833: 372). As Galindo also pointed out, nothing could be expected from memory or from accounts held by living people. At a party in Santo Domingo de Palenque, a few days before writing the letter to London, Galindo had inquired a priest and *alcalde*, as the oracles of Palenque:

[...] who they supposed were the builders of these ancient edifices. The priest shook his head, and hinted at their being antediluvian, while the *alcalde* stoutly affirmed that they must have been built by a colony of Spaniards prior to the conquest!!!⁴⁰

Even worse, when the Indians were asked who built these edifices, they replied: “The devil!”⁴¹ History had to be sought in the silence of ruins hidden in the forest to the east and west of Santo Domingo de Palenque. Local correspondents accepted – as the European antiquarians- that they were searching for

[...] a race now vanished and forgotten, who possessed a degree of civilization greater than that of any aboriginal nation at the time of the Spanish conquest, and perhaps a written language, and the only records of whose existence are the ruins of their vast edifices, their bas-reliefs, their statues, and their inscriptions in an unknown character and dialect.⁴²

Whereas there was some agreement in calling the monuments left by them “Tultecans”, some authors were convinced that they were even older and – almost overlapping with Cabrera’s ideas – were related to the Anakim or Cyclopean family of Syria, connected with the founders of Cartago.⁴³ Moreover, it was underlined that the term “Mexican antiquities” was a misnomer and a distinction had to be introduced in the realm of antiquarianism, the older monuments of New Spain – the most important and those that most strikingly resemble the Egyptians – were not Mexican but the work of a nation of “giants and wandering masons”.⁴⁴ By the end of the 1830s this “indispensable distinction” between “Mexican” for designing the Aztec monuments, and “Tultecan” for the builders of the ancient city near Palenque indicated that the history and the monuments of New Spain before the conquest had to be ordered in, at least, two nations and two eras. The expanding of the study of Mesoamerican past also meant the expansion of the historic span of Mesoamerican civilizations. Who were the

⁴⁰“Original correspondence...”, op.cit.

⁴¹“Original correspondence...”, op.cit.

⁴²“American antiquities”, *The Knickerbocker*. 1833: 371.

⁴³Cf. “Antiquités mexicaines, Voyage pittoresque...”, *The foreign quarterly review*. 18 (1836–1837), pp. 31–63.

⁴⁴Ibid. p. p. 38.

Tulteques, the builders of the monuments and sculptures, people as extraordinary as if they came from another planet,⁴⁵ was the question to be answered in the years to come. Corroy and Galindo provided their testimonies and, with their letters from Tabasco, Chiapas and Yucatan, collaborated in the emergence of the Mayan history.

Concluding Remarks

In another article I discussed the “engineering side” of the creation of the archaeological object (Podgorny 2007a). The novelty of Berthoud’s publication, the translations into German and the publication of Dupaix’s reports in London and Paris resulted in bringing together antiquaries’ disquisitions with reports by military engineers. By doing so, antiquaries started paying attention to how things were recovered in the field, an aspect that in the early nineteenth century was not consider a part of neither antiquarian nor historian practice. The distinction between the facts provided by the drawings and technical memoirs presented a remarkable contrast with the vagueness of the disquisitions over the origins and analogies seen in the monuments. In that sense, debates over Palenque constituted one of the nodes where this relationship was considered to create some kind of consensus about facts in order to escape from the imaginable.

On the other hand, the administrative archives proved to be an incredible source of information for the commercial powers and investors. They were used as profitable depositories by those who could reach the former secret documents and instal them in the market of data and facts from the old Spanish Empire. From Mexico to the La Plata River, consuls, casual travellers and local functionaries established themselves as privileged providers of information and valuable pieces of an “unknown and silent” world. Maps, drawings, fossils and antiquities, surveyed either by the complex body of Spanish military engineers or by members of the clergy and learned societies that emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century, were transformed into highly demanded commodities in the context of a circuit that was avid to incorporate things to trade. The end of the monopoly exerted by the Spanish administration and the “opening” of the colonial archives was equalled to a discovery. In that context, the abundance of items was advertised as “findings” of these agents, who presented themselves as the few ones that could mediate between the savant world and the territories inhabited by silence, secrecies and ignorance. The archives and the ruins were presented as repositories of raw materials, equivalent to deposits of natural resources that required the hand of modern entrepreneurs to give them the value that they deserved; this rhetoric consolidated the already existing connection between inquiry and trade. Objects of inquiry were also objects of monopoly and commerce, following its routes, fees and regulations, with prices defined by the market demands.

The history of circulation of books and manuscripts, as I argue in this paper, deserves further attention in order to escape from a history based on the images and topics created during the independence times. In his seminal book “How to write the

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 41.

History of the New World”, José Cañizares-Esguerra devoted the ending part to the “historical vacuum on the world of ideas and culture” that made possible the “discovery of the ruins of Palenque” (Cañizares-Esguerra 2001: 321–322). As Cañizares-Esguerra pointed out, two issues were at stake: (a) the difficulty involved in understanding unfamiliar mental landscapes and (b) the intricacy of reaching relevant sources, housed all over the main libraries and archives of the Americas and Europe. Once the sources started circulating, the “Casas Viejas” of Santo Domingo de Palenque became an object defined by translations, published or stored in different cities and media. Moreover, the object itself became a piece scattered in the itineraries of the sources that circulated through travellers, merchants and local residents. “Palenque”, no doubts, represents a good case for analysing the complexity of scientific objects. The mere emergence of “the ruins of Palenque” meant two things: the disappearance of the colonial city of Santo Domingo de Palenque, fed by the ruins hidden in the jungle, and the fragmentation of the “Casas Viejas” all along the roads that connected the monuments with the ports and metropolitan centres in Europe and the Americas. Palenque became an object to be composed by comparison of images, written sources, eyewitness’ reports and pieces scattered in the nineteenth century world, shaped by the interaction of human and non-human agents. In that sense, the ruins of Palenque, deeply rooted in the forest of Chiapas, could also be seen as a non-human go-between of the nineteenth century, a mute thing that had to learn how to travel in order to talk the new language of archaeology.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶In that same sense, Juan Pimentel has analyzed the iconic “*Megatherium*” as a non human go-between of the transatlantic world of the late eighteenth century. For him, that unknown beast represents a mobile object that condensed the complexity of the exchange between Spanish America and European savant circles. Juan Pimentel, “Across nations and ages. The Creole collector and the many lives of the *Megatherium*”, en Lisa Roberts, Simon Schaffer, and James Delbourgo (eds.), *Go-Betweens and Imperial Networks of Knowledge, 1770–1830*, Amsterdam: Chicago University Press (forthcoming 2009).

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The Past and the Revolutionary Interpretation of the Present: Our Experience of Social Archaeology, 33 Years Later¹

Mario Sanoja Obediente and Iraidá Vargas-Arenas

I

The historical and political processes currently taking place in the countries of South America and the Caribbean reflect the action of social forces that affect the development of humanity in general; nevertheless, both the formative processes as supranational historically constituted entities, as well as the development of each country in particular, cannot be understood as part of the mechanical process of globalization, a euphemism indicating imperialism, governed by the hard core capitalist countries (Patterson 2001: 156–157), but as the product of the solidarity and the support of the people, as the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America [*Alternativa Bolivariana para América Latina*] (ALBA) suggests, and the result of the unequal comparative development of the people and nations within the South American-Caribbean social formations (Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2008: 110).

The construction of Latin American socialism of the twenty-first century based on dialectical materialism, the study of social contradictions, necessarily refers to the need for knowing the specific details of the historical development of each society. In order to achieve this objective, it is essential, from our point of view, to develop a theoretically well-informed understanding of social changes that underlie the formation of modern nations and of the various processes contributing to the emergence of social complexities from the indigenous societies, which impacted, for example, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Cuba in one way and Mexico, Colombia, or Peru in another (Sanoja 2006). This requirement implies that the general interpretation of archaeological and anthropological studies must be directed toward the construction of the social history of various peoples transcending the formal demarcation of nation-states in new regional contexts, a task that must be the object of the cross-disciplinary study of Latin American Social Archaeology

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(Vargas-Arenas 1995: 50–51, 2007b). These interpretations, as the modern revolutionary anthropological bibliography of several countries demonstrates, i.e., Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia, among others, already serve to support the specific theories and praxis of twenty-first century socialist humanism, where respect for equality in the difference or unity in the diversity is the basic foundation (Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 1999; Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2004; Sanoja 2008; Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2008: 155–163; Ayala Mora 2005; Ayala and Tapia 2007; Díaz Polanco 2006: 196–204). To analyze in detail the varied concrete experiences that are carried out in the different countries of South America, where processes of socialist construction are underway, would go beyond the objectives of this study; therefore, we have chosen to limit ourselves by giving preference to our methodological and theoretical contributions in the case of Venezuela.

II

The theoretical and methodological foundations of Social Archaeology have been outlined in the decade of the 1930s, when the Marxist discourse began to redirect attention of archaeologists in Europe, as well as in Asia, Africa, South America, and Oceania, to reinterpretation of the origins of society, culture, and civilizations. The data obtained by archaeology, history, philology, and other sciences that study people of the past began to be interpreted as expressions and symbols of human thought and will of ideas and intentions that transcend not only each particular manifestation of the information but also each individual thinker or actor, given that they are members of social groups (Childe 1981a: 349). It started in order to construct thereby a Marxist historiography that was founded for the purpose of analyzing the material causality of social and cultural development, in a manner that diverged from the essentialist and racist theories that had predominated in anthropology and sociology up to that time. From the seminal work of the Australian-born British archaeologist Vere Gordon Childe, a reconsideration of the status and global significance of the past began as he noted that:

“...a society can progress, and therefore survive only insofar as the production relations – that is, the whole economic and political system – favour the development of science, the progress of inventions and the expansion of productive forces...” (Childe 1981b: 136).

As of that moment, the history of past societies ceased to be considered as part of a process differentiated from the present or the future, to become a level of explanation for all of history: of the present, of its future, of the daily life of the people. Marxist archaeologists, anthropologists and historians began giving this pre-eminence in their analyses to questions that had been generally ignored or treated up to then in a secondary fashion, as those of the economy, and social, cultural, and political processes. In this way, during the final decades of the twentieth century Marxist social theory and social history became the substantive theory of what would become social archaeology, from which a range of theories, specific methods, and techniques

of archaeological science were derived, a movement that also found its academic expression in anthropology in the United States (Patterson 2001 : 137–146).

Prior to its development as a social science, positivist archaeology – from populist in nature motivations – set out as its primary objective to reconstruct cultural history, the spatial-temporal definition of the cultures of native people (Chang 1967; Willey and Sabloff 1974: 88–130; Trigger 1978: 87–93; Rouse 1973; Meggers 1998). Toward these ends, fieldwork was organized and data were accumulated to facilitate the broadening of empirical knowledge of the indigenous American societies in colonial as well as republican countries, occasionally implementing practical policies to preserve the physical integrity or the tangibility of all cultural assets. But these actions did not contribute to generating theories that would help to understand, or potentially solve, social problems of the present or to theorize about the importance of archaeology, or anthropology in general, in order to formulate educational policies of the state, directed toward the creation of a true historic awareness among its citizens. In this regard, positivist-oriented archaeology has also been indifferent about the current conditions of poverty and social injustice that oppress the Latin American people, because it deems no connection between the remote past and the present and – as a result – that archaeology neither can nor should contribute anything except to an academic interest in that past (Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Vargas-Arenas 1995; Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 1999).

Beginning in the 1950s, the rebellion of the colonized or neo-colonized people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America began. For many progressive archaeologists on the periphery of the *developed* capitalist core countries, who considered these regions to be the Third World, history and particularly archaeology, and anthropology in general, became a part of the strategic thinking toward decolonization and national liberation of the Latin American people, who had been colonized, or neo-colonized, by the Empire, and toward the establishment of a socialist democracy (Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2008:50).

When it is the people, not the elites or single individuals, who comprise the subject of study for those disciplines, the results can serve as the basis for an ideology of their liberation, to legitimize the consolidation of their sovereignty over the natural resources and means of production on which their integrity as nations depends (Vargas-Arenas 1999: 59–75).

III

According to Anderson (1986:14), Marxist discourse began to decline in Western Europe from the middle of the past century, due to the inability of its theorists to develop a concrete political strategy for the transition of a bourgeois democracy toward a practicable socialist democracy. In its place – it may be said – a post-modern philosophical discourse was established, focused mainly on methodological problems, which was of a more epistemological than substantive nature. At the

same time, in academia in the United States, Marxist archaeologists concentrated, on the one hand, on the study of the various productive regimens that characterized communal societies, their diverse means of production, and the rise of the social classes and the state, and, on the other hand, on the emergence of world systems and the core-periphery relationship and the pre-capitalist world economies expressed in the emergence of empires and capitalist states (Patterson 2003). As revolutionary archaeologists in Latin America in 1976, we held critical discussions on the paradigm of pre-capitalist modes of production, the genesis of modern societies of the region, and the relevance of socialism as a solution to the problem of poverty and the so-called *underdevelopment* of the Latin American people, subjected to exploitation and domination by the colonial metropolises of the United States and Europe (Lorenzo, Pérez and García-Bárceñas 1976; Vargas-Arenas 1990; Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 1992b; Sanoja 2009).

In the 1970s, the research-action approach called Latin American Social Archaeology structured itself within that ideological context. In keeping with the transformative origins, we proposed an objective strategy to explain and show how – starting from the colonial period – the native people and racially mixed societies turned into the historical subject of national processes and class warfare, in order to take power and displace the bourgeois social order (Ribeiro 1992). The necessity of knowing the cultural diversity that characterizes this historical subject led Social Archaeology transforming itself into a cross-disciplinary field of study, where not only archaeologists, but also social anthropologists, linguists, physical anthropologists, social historians, economists, literary authors, biologists, philosophers, and sociologists, etc. converge, united not just by an academic interest in constructing another epistemology of social science, but also to develop a common strategy allowing us to create the Social Revolution.

To achieve that objective, we endeavoured to integrate historical materialism, dialectic materialism, and in general the Marxist thought on anthropology that was critical to forming the substantive theory of Latin American Social Archaeology (Bate 1998: 17–23; Vargas-Arenas 1995, 2008b; Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 1999: 59–75; Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2004, 2008; Navarrete 2007), thus creating the epistemological bases of a Latin American social archaeology, which might recover the processes of the socio-historical formation of our native populations, not only their technology, to explain later historical processes such as the formation of national states, social classes, and the generation of anti-imperialist working-class struggles. Based on this understanding, the fundamental task is to model the processes of decolonization and national liberation on those that have ultimately come into being in the ALBA nations, such as Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador. As a correlate to this option, we set out to construct a social science that contributes to the reformulation of the epistemological bases of education and the teaching of history and serves as the foundation for a national awareness and as a support for a society formed and informed about its historical identity and its destiny as a sovereign community, like that put forward by the countries comprising ALBA, as well as the Union of South American and Caribbean Nations [*Unión de Naciones Suramericana y del Caribe* (UNASUR)] (Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 2006; Sanoja 2009).

IV

In 1974, we published the first edition of the work *Antiguas Formaciones y Modos de Producción Venezolanos* [Old Formations and Venezuelan Modes of Production] (1992b). In this same work, we then tried to present scientific criticism of the historical succession of the modes of production enumerated by Marx (1972), Engels (SF), and Morgan (1943), arguing that although it denoted the existence of general processes of change in the history of humanity, that could not be considered either totally valid for knowing and expressing all the details that affect this same humanity in the various societies and cultures of the world, or – in its original proposal – the emergence of current historical subjects of the social revolution in Latin America (Sanoja 2009). As we stated in the prologue to the second edition of our work, *Old Formations and Venezuelan Modes of Production*:

“...When Engels formulated his stages of development in the society, he was criticized for presenting a distorted picture of this process disregarding the fact that he was simply acknowledging empirically the existence of certain moments of historical climax and formulating concepts that were clearly experimental in nature. We could also mention Vere Gordon Childe, who may not be remembered for having solved the problematic study of the history of early pre-capitalist societies of the Old World, but for having experimentally formulated analytical categories that had a great impact on the process of exploration of social knowledge. Marx, himself, in “The Capital,” provided a model of analysis of the development of contradictions starting off from the study of the experiences of a concrete society. These examples having been forgotten, led to historical materialism becoming in many cases a kind of social metaphysics divorced from the sensible reality that nourished its birth...” (Sanoja and Vargas 1992a: 21).

Today, 25 years after the first edition of our work was published and when it was described by orthodox Marxists of that time as revisionist and empiricist, it has been shown to be theoretically justified by the new concept of Latin American Socialism of the twenty-first century, the concrete contents of which include an expression of the diversity of the historical experiences of the people. The construction of that socialist program today, in contrast to a quarter of a century ago, is no longer a distant utopia. On the contrary, it is an experience in progress whose social construction requires that we scientifically investigate and learn, as much about in our historical past as in its current fulfilment today, the formation and structure of class societies and the differential participation of the social classes in the historical events that mark the beginning of the current processes of decolonization and national liberation in South America and the Caribbean (Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2008: 230). Right now, this knowledge is fundamental for consolidating the historical and revolutionary awareness of the people.

That same year, there also appeared the well-known work of the Peruvian archaeologist, our friend Luís Lumbreras, entitled *Archaeology as Social Science* [*La Arqueología como Ciencia Social*] (1974). As the author states in his prologue, this book was also “... an attempt to find a method of analysis of the Andean process that explains things to us coherently and helps us to link the past to the present in a scientific and significant way ... in search of a method for the construction of a revolutionary theory for Peru...”, following the theoretical and methodological concepts of Vere Gordon Childe and the notable Peruvian archaeologist, Emilio Choy.

V Theoretical Discussion Groups: Teotihuacan, Oaxtepec, and Vieques

In order to begin our elaboration on the theoretical corpus of Latin American social archaeology, it is important to mention that in the 1970s, various discussion groups made up of Latin American archaeologists, social anthropologists, sociologists, but also biologists, and mathematicians were organized.

The first theoretical workshop was held in October of 1975, under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico [*Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de México (INAH)*], in the boarding house at the archaeological site of Teotihuacan, Mexico under the coordination of the renowned Mexican prehistorian, José Luis Lorenzo, a former student of Vere Gordon Childe, with the participation of anthropologists Luís Lumbreras, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Julio Montané, Mario Sanoja, and Lautaro Núñez, as well as INAH researchers Guillermo Espinoza (mathematician), Antonio Flores and Lauro González (biologists), Joaquín García Bárcenas (archaeologist and engineer), Arturo López (actuary), and Pilar Arnaiz (secretary).

For a well-grounded Social Archaeology, this meeting was considered to be indispensable to the appreciation of the Latin American past and the historic trajectories of different countries, for the purposes of reinforcing their right to economic development, independent of imperialist nations. It also concluded that archaeology and the social sciences in Latin America have been conditioned by interests that were almost always tied to various forms of imperialist control and turned into auxiliary sciences to legitimize their political, cultural, and ideological penetration. Several ideas that pioneered the social movements that are expressed today in the various processes of Latin American decolonization and national liberation were collected in the final document of the meeting. We can emphasize, among others, that the false-scientific pragmatism of neo-positivist archaeology, to the extent that it has developed the revolutionary conflicts in Latin America and in the rest of the world, "...has lost effectiveness as far as the social utility that it would wish to grant the bearers of the imperial cultures; but neither have the Latin American archaeologists found theoretical approaches congruent with popular interests ...". Therefore, the adoption of a theory applicable to archaeological research was recommended as an ideological support, which also has methodological consequences for the investigator and for developing Social Archaeology on revolutionary theoretical foundations. The fact of the Teotihuacan Meeting having been convened and organized by the National Institute of Anthropology and History, at the very height of the partisan dictatorship of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [*Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)*], prevented the final document from making any explicit reference to Marxism, historical materialism, and dialectic materialism as substantive theories of Social Archaeology (Lorenzo, Pérez, and García Bárcenas 1976: 17–32).

Seven years later, in 1983, with the support of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, headquartered in Mexico, Felipe Bate Petersen organized a new meeting on Latin American social archaeology held in Oaxtepec, Mexico. It gave

rise to the work group identified by the same name, which started discussion on the formulation of Marxist categories for creating a social archaeology of native people. Later, other meetings of the Oaxtepec Group were held in Cuzco, Peru, in Bogotá, Colombia, and in Caracas, Venezuela, which concentrated essentially on the contrasting of scientific proposals and philosophies of Social Archaeology with actual revolutionary experiences such as in Nicaragua, where the people were battling to defend the Sandinista Revolution, and the Cuban Revolution, or the revolutionary movements that arose from the terrestrial bowels of the native cultures and the peasant societies such as was the case in Colombia and Peru. In this aspect, the revolutionary proposal developed by the archaeologists and social scientists that composed the Oaxtepec Group reaffirmed the final conclusions of the Teotihuacan document.

Nothing would have allowed one to predict the imminence of new revolutionary movements such as the Venezuelan, which set out to take the power by the electoral route, and the socialist revolution through participatory democracy, as was attempted in 1973 in Chile by the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende before being overthrown by the wilful deception of the government of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger. Neither did anything foretell the present liberation and decolonization movements of Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador, much less the formation of the block of South American countries (UNASUR) and the current collapse of the Historical Capitalist Social Formation at the world level.

The cross-disciplinary group of Oaxtepec was composed of archaeologists, social anthropologists, ethnologists, historians, economists, and sociologists. The core of the group was formed by the pre-eminent social scientists of the period such as Agustín Cueva, Sergio de la Peña, Felipe Bate, Manuel Gándara, Héctor Díaz Polanco, Luís Lumberas, Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, and the authors, among others. The group concentrated on the task of elaborating the theoretical and methodological foundations of Social Archaeology, based on the philosophical proposals of Marxism and historical materialism.

The general theoretical lines of those discussions were later discussed and reformulated by Vargas-Arenas in her work *Archaeology, Science, and Society* (1990), the result of theoretical discussions stimulated by our theoretical proposition of 1974 in the Oaxtepec Group, putting into practice the specific study of pre-capitalist indigenous Venezuelan social formations. Later, Bate in his work *The Research Process in Archaeology* (1998) standardized and laid out scientifically the general theoretical methodology of Social Archaeology. More recently, Bate (2008) developed an important discussion on Marxist thought and the archaeological reflexion, and Gándara (2008) offered a seminal proposal on the need to further the theorization of reality within social archaeology. As we can observe, the central political motivations of Latin American social archaeologists were, from the beginning, that of constructing theories, designing the strategy and methods for critically understanding and transforming the social reality of our respective countries, and considering social history as a unified field of all human actions before and after the forced imposition of capitalism on the indigenous societies of *Abi Yala* or *Nuestra América* [Our America].

To achieve this objective, we used, in our particular case, categories and concepts such as social formation, modes of production, geographic region, modes of life,

modes of working, and process of working (Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 1992, 1999; Vargas 1984: 136–152; 1990: 55–71; Molina 1984: 128–135). As for methodology for the comprehensive study of the archaeological processes, we planned various regional projects that set as their goals, whenever possible, reconstructions of the historic sequence of a particular area, from hunter-gatherer societies to tribal, colonial, and republican societies. For the social understanding of archaeological sites, we developed concepts like territorial space, territorial group, domestic space, and activity area, employing extensive horizontal excavation and scraping of the dwelling site by occupational strata, to study the construction of the social space (Sanoja 1984: 114–126; Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 1987, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2003). For this purpose, we considered the importance of the geographic spaces and their historical and environmental determination; the social relations of production and the ideology by means of which the social being perceives and interprets both itself and others as well as the material conditions where its daily existence develops via the culture; and the process that legitimates the value systems that support social awareness (geographic region). In this sense, the modes of production comes to represent the form of producing and reproducing the material conditions of the existence of the men and women, within the set of cultural and ideological determinations – habitual and reflexive – that shape its social awareness and ultimately define its mode of living and mode of life.

Prior to 1989, the use of the concept of history formulated from the Social Archaeology point of view seemed to be merely an academic exercise in Venezuela and other countries. Since the triumph of the Bolivarian Revolution in 1998, for many archaeologists in various countries its proposals have led to the construction of political strategies that could help to build the socialist societies of the twenty-first century (Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 2005). A concrete reference for revolutionary social action is demonstrated in the national program of archaeology and cultural patrimony designed to strengthen national self-esteem and identity, being advanced at this time by the progressive government in Ecuador (Jorge Marcos, 2009, personal correspondence).

The creation of another regional studies group in 1984 at the Archaeology Foundation of the Caribbean [Fundación de Arqueología del Caribe], sponsored by Paul Caron and Betty Meggers (Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C), made it possible to hold annual meetings, three conducted in Isla de Vieques, Puerto Rico, and one in the city of Río Caribe, Venezuela, with a group of social archaeologists, professors, and students, of universities such as Colombia, Panamá, Costa Rica, Honduras, México, USA, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. The presentations delivered and the conclusions were summarized in three volumes: Towards Social Archaeology [*Hacia Una Arqueología Social*] (1984), A Critical Review of the Archaeology of the Caribbean [*Revisión Crítica de la Arqueología del Caribe*] (1985), and The Relations between the Society and the Environment [*Relaciones entre la Sociedad y el Ambiente*] (1986).

In our particular experience, the theoretical discussions and the publication of the meeting's proceedings stimulated the formulation of new archaeological and anthropological research projects by professionals as well as by our students specially in

Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela (Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2005a, b, 2008; Vargas-Arenas and Sanoja 1990, 2006; Vargas-Arenas 1988, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2006, 2007a, b; Navarrete 2007; Meneses and Gordones 2001; Salazar 2003; Rodríguez 2005; Sanoja 1986; Fonseca 1988), the common objective of which was to scientifically standardize the knowledge that served as support for the construction of the social history of our people, following the general theory of dialectic materialism.

VI Latin American Social Archaeology and Concrete Revolutionary Processes

One of the conclusions derived from the interpretation of our research is that the socialist revolution in a social formation like that of Venezuela, so distorted by the petroleum culture and at the same time composed of such diverse life styles, cannot be achieved as the product of the struggles of only one social class. Eighty percent of the Venezuelan population, especially poor social groups that up to now were eternally excluded from life, have a defined territoriality, live and experience daily life in material conditions, including ecological conditions, different from that of the middle and upper classes, and have a social origin, a day-to-day public or private culture, verbal and nonverbal language forms and a vision of the future that is all their own, which we could consider being an ethnicity in contrast with other Venezuelan social groups. Revolutionary action like that of the social plans undertaken by the Bolivarian government was necessary to correct the after-effects left by poverty and ignorance and to reclaim that mass of millions of Venezuelans, especially the women who are doubly discriminated against for being poor and being female, to enjoy a decent life and to share the collective hope for a better future (Sanoja 2008: 117–142; Vargas-Arenas 2006, 2007a, b:179–224; Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 2006).

The particular historical processes, the roots of which are embedded in the ordinary communities, determined the cultural diversity that characterizes Venezuelan society. The majority of our aboriginal population live in urban areas; significant segments of the Antillian, African-American Guyanese, Hindi, or Ameri-Indian and Brazilian population live in south-eastern Venezuela. In our main cities, the third- and fourth-generation urban population has interwoven itself with indigenous Venezuelans; Colombian immigrants (particularly those coming from the Atlantic coast), coastal Ecuadorians, Dominicans, Haitians, and Central Americans born in their countries of origin, or first or second generations born in Venezuela, swell the modern urban population of the country.

Similar ethnic and cultural conditions exist as well in other South American countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador that have also chosen twenty-first century socialist humanism with which to build their present and future. As Latin American social archaeologists and anthropologists, we are conscious of the need to study our historical past scientifically in order to lay the foundations of both historical awareness and national identity and to understand the role that earlier pre-colonial societies

played in the construction of the ideology of solidarity and social reciprocity that drives the majority of our contemporary societies, as was made evident in the research, restoration, and vitalization project of the landmark archaeological site of Cochasquí, Ecuador (Ortiz 2009) and in the national archaeological research project that is currently being advanced by the government of Ecuador (Jorge Marcos, 2009, personal correspondence). It is equally necessary to study the formation and structuration of class societies, not only from the point of view of their documentary history, but also from an urban archaeological perspective, which enables us to understand their culture, their daily life and the interaction of these societies in the capitalist system both during the Colonial as well as the Republican period (Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas 1992b, 2002, 2005a, b; Vargas-Arenas 2007a, b).

Based on national and/or regional programs of that nature, it is also possible to know, study, and assume as causal references our peoples' own historical experiences, for the purposes of designing the political, social, and cultural/ideological strategy, and the method for a concrete construction of socialism – in our particular case, the Bolivarian socialist civilizational process – as Vargas-Arenas has shown in her work, *Resistance and Participation, The Saga of the Venezuelan People* (2007a), *Historia, Mujer, Mujeres* (History, Woman, Women's 2006), *Gender Topics* (2009); and Sanoja and Vargas-Arenas, in our joint work, *Reasons for a Revolution* (2004), and *The Bolivarian Revolution; History, Culture and Socialism* (2008); and also in our most recent book, *From Capitalism to Socialism: Perspective from Critical Anthropology* (Sanoja 2009) where we contrast the Eurocentric ideological model expressed in the thesis of Progress, Evolution and Cultural Diffusion, against the decolonizing ideology of the revolutionary movements that emerged in South America and the Caribbean as of the final decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first.

Our experience as social archaeologists, expert witnesses at the heart of a revolutionary process such as that which Venezuela is going through right now, has taught us the importance of translating our academic knowledge into texts that are interpretive of the social history of our people with the aim of stimulating the historical awareness of Venezuelans and particularly our fellow anthropologists and archaeologists who are involved with other ideological approaches. By doing so, when analyzing the transition process from capitalism to socialism from the perspective of critical anthropology (Sanoja 2009), we can observe how anthropological theories on Culture such as Evolutionism, Diffusionism, and Structuralism, among others, served to stereotype the power relations existing between the hard core capitalist countries of the first world and its periphery. It was also reflected in the nature of the particular theories, methods, and practices of positivist or neo-positivist archaeology interested in constructing an understanding of past or pre-capitalist societies completely divorced from the capitalists, colonials, or neo-colonials.

Official history has served as support for the construction of the founding myths of the Latin American bourgeoisie, which allows them to fix its remote origins not in the indigenous or originary societies or in the African Americans, but in Spain and the misty empires of Rome and Greece (Vargas-Arenas 1995). These myths

have served to create a racist and discriminatory mindset about the naturalness of societies subordinated or dominated by those bourgeoisies, made up of the poor who are mainly Indians, Blacks, and mixed races and especially those belonging to any social class, who are doubly exploited and subjugated by the patriarchal society, simply for being women (Vargas-Arenas 2006, 2007a, b).

Conclusion

We believe that the construction of the various socialist modes of life of the twenty-first century in America must be explained and understood in the light of the history of the ideas and practices that support the thesis of Marxism, historical materialism, and dialectic materialism. In order to attain this objective, it is necessary to develop historical concepts and concrete cultural strategies that provide the ideological basis for both the social movements of decolonization and national liberation, as well as the creation of twenty-first century socialist societies. In that vein, the main objective of Latin American Social Archaeology, from our perspective, lies in the development of historical categories, theories, and methods for concrete research that enables an understanding of the history of the people from their originary social formations, to study the genesis and the formation processes of the historical subject of the Latin American revolution as a strategy for identifying the various social and subjective agents that will dismantle the objective structures of capitalist domination and will serve as the lever for creating the New Humanity and the New Society.

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Peruvian Archaeology: Its Growth, Characteristics, Practice, and Challenge

Izumi Shimada and Rafael Vega-Centeno

Introduction

In this paper, we present: (1) a summary historical review of archaeology in Peru primarily since the late nineteenth century when it began to be formalized, (2) an assessment of its theoretical stances and debates over the past several decades, and (3) a critique of major trends and foci *in the practice* of archaeology within the context of the social, political, and economic transformations (what may be called the “sociology” of archaeology) that have taken place over the last 15 years. We are particularly concerned with the third and last focus in elucidating future tasks and directions of Peruvian archaeology. Peruvian archaeology is undeniably the fusional product of a cosmopolitan composition of practitioners and, throughout the paper, we aim to represent and balance Peruvian and Peruvianist (i.e., foreign) perspectives and accomplishments. Archaeologists with active research interests in Peru are found in well over 20 countries ranging from most of the European Union member countries, Turkey, Russia, and Japan to Canada, the USA, Cuba, Argentina, and other Andean nations. In recent years, it is not unusual to find archaeologists from half a dozen countries conducting fieldwork in Peru.

Given the above foci, we do not discuss many worthy issues and scholars who have contributed to the growth of Peruvian and Central Andean archaeology. This review, however, should complement other accounts and assessments of its modern history (Bonavia and Ravines 1970; Burger 1989; Castillo and Mujica 1995; D’Altroy 1997; Dillehay 2008; Higuera 2008; Iriarte 2004; Kaulicke 2006; Lumbreras and Mujica 1983; Menzel 1969, 1977; Ravines 1982; Schaedel and Shimada 1982; Segura 2006; Schreiber 2006; Shimada 1990, 1994a; Tantaleán 2006; Willey and Sabloff 1993). Also, highly informative are the obituaries of major archaeologists found in issues of *Arqueológicas* published by the National Museum of Anthropology, Archaeology, and History in Lima, *American Antiquity*, *Latin American Antiquity*, and other periodicals that cover Peruvian archaeology.

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Brief Historical Overview

The Spanish conquest (1532–1535) of the Inka Empire and the accompanying voluminous documentation of customs, beliefs, resources, and many other aspects of its inhabitants by the soldiers, clergymen, and administrators “has been a mixed blessing for students of Andean civilization” (Shimada 1994a: 13). On the one hand, these documents shed much light on nonmaterial aspects of the Empire and its people which archaeology finds challenging to reconstruct (particularly given the absence of writing in the pre-Hispanic Andes). On the other hand, “the impressive achievements and glory of the Empire [promoted by Inka state propaganda and a few pro-Inkan writers of the Colonial era], together with the sheer amount of written data, have had the long-lasting effect of hindering recognition and serious study of pre-In[k]a cultures” (Shimada 1994a: 13).

Colonial documents of interest to archaeologists have been compiled and critically evaluated by various scholars (e.g., Means 1928; Pillsbury 2008; Porras 1963; Ravines 1970; Rowe 1946; Salomon 1985, 1999). Lorenzo (1982; also see Ramírez 1996) highlights Colonial institutions and practices such as the “royal fifth” and grave looting (that was described as “mining”) that have had lingering impacts on the growth of Peruvian archaeology and protection of cultural patrimony.

One late Colonial publication (independence from Spain proclaimed in 1821) by B. J. Martínez de Compañón y Bufanda (1978 [1782–1788]; also see Macera et al. 1997; Pillsbury and Trevor 2008; Schaedel 1949), Bishop of the Diocese of Trujillo, is well worth noting here. His watercolor paintings of diverse archaeological remains, including the Huaca del Sol at Moche (New World’s largest adobe construction; Fig. 1) and late pre-Hispanic Chimú elite burials and their offerings, are remarkable for their detail. He inferred social status of the deceased on the basis of variability in their funerary treatment and associated goods.

Archaeological fieldwork (including mapping and “excavation”) featuring systematic, empirical observation and recording began in the mid-nineteenth century. Notable among these early archaeologists are the American commissioner to Peru, Ephraim G. Squier (1877), and two German geologists, Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel (1880–1887; also see Bastian 1889; Bollaert 1860; Hutchinson 1873; Markham 1856; Middendorf 1893–1895; Wiener 1880). This was a transformative era as they not only confirmed the suspected presence of a multitude of important pre-Inkaic cultural developments, but also applied various scientific concepts and methods that later became mainstays of Peruvian archaeology. To demonstrate the presence and antiquity of pre-Inka cultures, Hutchinson (1873: 264–265), for example, urged the application of the stratigraphic principle being employed at that time in the well-publicized excavations of Heinrich Schliemann in search of the City of Ilium.

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the German scholar, Max Uhle (1903; Fig. 2) who had a thorough familiarity with the results of works of Reiss and Stübel at Ancón near Lima and Tiahuanaco (aka Tiwanaku; Stübel and Uhle 1892) on the south shore of Lake Titicaca, combined the results of stratigraphic excavations at

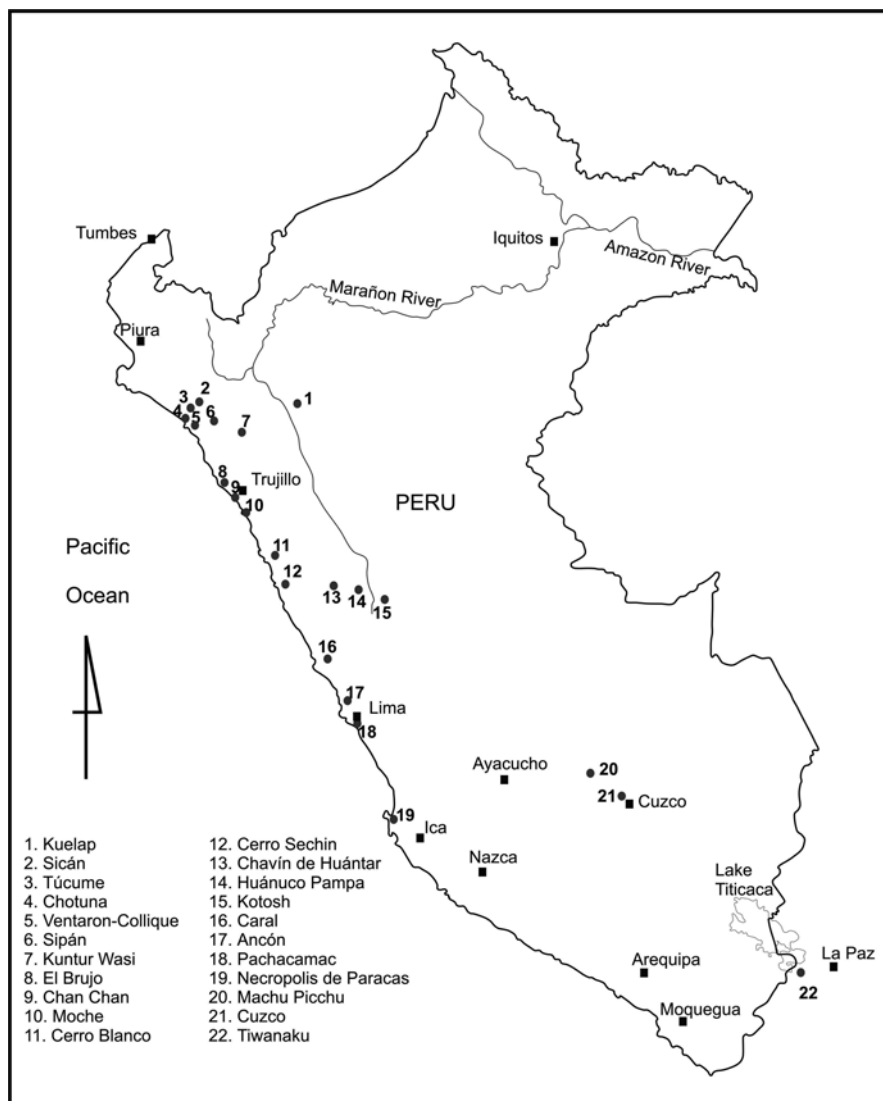


Fig. 1 Map showing the archaeological sites mentioned in the text (black circles) and major modern cities (black squares)

Pachacamac, similarity seriation, the integrative concept of horizons, and ethnohistoric insights to establish a quadripartite pan-Peruvian stylistic chronology. It had two major horizon styles (Tiwanaku [Tiahuanaco] and Inka) and two intermediate (early and late) regional styles (Willey 1945; Willey and Sabloff 1993: 76–79). While there has been a series of refinements, including a better definition of early prehistory, Uhle’s chronology remains fundamentally unchanged to this day. It is widely thought that with the pioneering work of Uhle at the end of the



Fig. 2 Funerary bundles excavated by Max Uhle in 1896 at his excavation in Pachacamac. Photograph courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

nineteenth century, scientific archaeology had emerged in Peru (Menzel 1977; Rowe 1954). Uhle benefitted from his interaction with various compatriots who lived or came to Peru from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Hoffman 2007), including Arthur Baessler, Heinrich Brüning, Wilhelm Eckhard, Wilhelm Gretzer, Willelm Reiss, Alphons Stübel, and E. van der Zypen.

German antiquarian and subsequent archaeological scholarship is by far the longest tradition of cosmopolitan Peruvianist archaeology and one of the most influential with its long-standing effort to establish comprehensive, referential collections of images, maps, and artifact specimens. Their laudable publication efforts (sometime in both Spanish and German) by the Commission for General and Comparative Archaeology (*Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie*; particularly its annual *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* [Articles on General and Comparative Archaeology] and occasional *Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* [Materials for General and Comparative Archaeology]) of the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*) in Bonn and the journal, *Baessler-Archiv*, published by the Baessler Institute of the Ethnological Museum (*Museum für Völkerkunde*) in Dahlem, Berlin, exemplify a rigorous empiricism and thorough attention to detail. In addition, these publication venues have actively sought and published the work of Peruvian archaeologists (Shimada 1990: 222). Artifact and photograph collections compiled and taken to Germany (e.g., those of Baessler [1902–1903, 1906]) are in many ways unique, but remain undervalued. For example, Brüning's photographs (Raddatz 1990; Schaedel 1988) record the traditional lifestyle, archaeological sites, and fauna of the Lambayeque region on the north coast that have since disappeared or been greatly altered.

As seen above, most of the amateur and nascent archaeologists of the nineteenth century were the well-educated, social elites of the Western world from countries

such as England, France, German, Italy, and the U.S. Mariano Eduardo de Rivero, first director of the National Museum in Lima, is a notable exception. He authored an archaeological synthesis of Peru in 1841 and later, together with the Peruvianist scholar, Johann von Tschudi (Rivero and Tschudi 1851), expanded it into a two-volume publication. Although the latter volumes were justifiably criticized for being superficial, limited in first-hand knowledge and failing to venture beyond the historically reconstructed Inka dynasty (Hutchinson 1873: 250–251; Uhle 1903: 8), they offered a glimpse of Peruvian prehistory to the Peruvian public at a time when Peruvianist scholars were publishing the results of their fieldwork only in their home countries and in their native tongues, a practice that regrettably still persists.

The beginning of the twentieth century also marked the initiation of systematic archaeological fieldwork conducted with explicit governmental authorization (Ravines 1989: 20), a practice that continues to this day (authorization issued by the Ministry of Culture). Much of the archaeological endeavor of the first half of the twentieth century focused on defining temporal–spatial frameworks and heretofore unknown cultures, particularly those predating the early regional styles that Uhle had identified. It was also the time when a Peruvian intellectual tradition became firmly established to rival, or complement, the Peruvianist tradition that had dominated the early era of Peruvian archaeology. Lastly, this period saw entrenchment of the basic concepts, approaches, and priorities (e.g., stylistic/iconographic analysis of grave goods) that had come to characterize Peruvian archaeology for better or worse.

Uhle's heavy reliance on gravelot analysis for chronology building and identification of stylistic types undeniably established a corresponding emphasis on burial excavations and stylistic–iconographic analysis in Peruvian archaeology. This is especially apparent in the case of the archaeology of the Moche (aka Mochica) and Nasca cultures, which flourished on the North and South Coast of Peru, respectively, ca. 100–750 C.E. The abundance, largely representational character of decoration, diversity of subject matter represented, and good state of preservation of funerary ceramics all contributed to making excavation of burials (particularly those of social elites) into the primary means of defining grave good associations and enlarging the iconographic corpus for cultural reconstruction and affirming the historicity of artistic representations (e.g., Alva and Donnan 1993; Bourget 2001; Castillo 2000; Donnan 1985a; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Proulx 2006).

Critical to the early search for new cultures and the establishment of regional chronologies is Uhle. Through shrewd selection of excavation sites, he discovered a series of distinct styles that formed the basis for identifying archaeological cultures such as Proto-Chimú [today known as Moche], Nievería, Ica, and Nasca (Rowe 1954). However, it was decades before Uhle's successors from the University of California, Berkeley, such as Alfred L. Kroeber and John H. Rowe and their colleagues and students, systematically described, classified, and refined the relative dates of Uhle's artifact collections (e.g., Kroeber 1925; Kroeber and Strong 1924a, b; Proulx 1970).

Among the new generation of archaeologists to follow Uhle was Hiram Bingham who initiated his study of Inka sites in the south highlands in 1909 and, in 1911,

rediscovered the forgotten Inka royal estate of Machu Picchu (Bingham 1930; Burger and Salazar-Burger 2004). The publicity surrounding his subsequent fieldwork in the *National Geographic Magazine* clearly put Peruvian archaeology “on the map” of the American public, but other than a number of “explorations” (i.e., brief visits to major sites and the purchase of local ceramic collections) into poorly known areas and a few isolated test excavations during the 1920s and 1930s (e.g., Bennett 1939; Kroeber 1926, 1930, 1937), American archaeologists did not again impact the Peruvian archaeology until the early 1940s.

It was not until the active fieldwork agenda (starting in 1915) by Julio C. Tello, the “human dynamo” and medical doctor-turn-anthropologist (Lothrop 1948: 51), that the modern archaeological tradition by Peruvians became firmly established. He and his disciples and/or colleagues excavated many sites (including well-known sites such as Chavín de Huántar, La Copa [also known as Kuntur Wasi], Pachacamac, Cerro Blanco, and Cerro Sechín; Fig. 3) and explored many distant and/or inaccessible areas that had been archaeologically little known until then (e.g., far north coast, Paracas peninsula on the south coast (Tello 1928), Callejón de Huáylas (Tello 1921), and the upper Huallaga and Marañon drainages in the upper Amazonia). He became the leading archaeologist of his time (Lothrop 1948; Mesía 2006) and remained actively involved in field projects until 1947 when he passed away at the age of 67. On the other hand, as Lothrop (1948: 53) lamented in his obituary of Tello, much of his excavation data remained unpublished during his lifetime. In recent years, there has been an effort to redress the situation (e.g., *Cuadernos de Investigación del Archivo Tello* published by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the San Marcos National University). In addition, it should be noted that his fieldwork under the auspices of various national and foreign institutions



Fig. 3 Julio C. Tello at the site of Pachacamac. Courtesy of the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, National University of San Marcos, Lima

(e.g., Institute of Andean Research, Wenner-Gren Foundation, San Marcos National University, and National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Lima) provided opportunities for young Peruvian archaeologists (e.g., R. Carrion Cachot, Jorge Muelle, Julio Espejo Nuñez) who later became leaders of their national archaeology. He is, however, best known for (a) his discoveries of the Chavín and Recuay cultures (in 1919) and the Necropolis of Paracas (in 1927; Tello 1959; Tello and Mejía 1979); (b) along with José Carlos Mariátegui, Luis Válcárcel, and other Peruvian *indigenistas*, championing social causes, especially recognition of the cultural significance of the native Indian populations (reflecting his own roots; see Kaulicke 2006; Mesia 2006); and (c) a unique and complex model of Peruvian pre-history (Tello 1942; also Lothrop 1948; Mesia 2006) that placed the Chavín as the mother culture (“*cultura matriz*”) of Andean civilization and argued for the primacy of highland over coastal developments (against which Rafael Larco argued; see below). We consider his developmental model of Andean civilization as tenuous as he circumvented some well-documented chronological data that did not accord with his conception, as Fung (1963) correctly pointed out. Characterizing the relatively early Chavín as the mother culture prejudiced the perception of later cultures as much as Uhle’s concept of epigonal cultures that implied inferior descendants or followers. At the same time, Tello’s holistic vision of Peruvian history that integrated much ethnographically and ethnohistorically derived information, including that of cosmogony, was insightful and provocative, influencing the thinking of many later scholars, both Peruvian and Peruvianist.

Since the 1940s, Tello’s conception of the primacy of the Chavín has influenced generations of Peruvian and Peruvianist archaeologists to focus on the site of Chavín de Huántar (including Hernán Amat, Richard Burger, Federico Kauffmann, Luis G. Lumbreras, John Rick, and John Rowe), its type site, and on the formative stage of the Andean civilization (Schaedel and Shimada 1982: 360–362; see below on the Japanese missions).

Another major figure in the emerging Peruvian tradition was Rafael Larco Hoyle (Fig. 4) who pioneered the archaeology of the north coast, one of the two hubs of long and complex pre-Hispanic cultural developments in the Central Andes (the other being the Titicaca Basin and its surrounding to the south). In contrast to Tello with a humble highland Indian family background, Larco grew up as a privileged member of the powerful and wealthy *hacienda* (a large landed estate that derives from the land grant system used by Spanish conquerors) owner in the Chicama Valley on the north coast (Evans 1968). He was able to excavate sites within his *hacienda* using his own peasants and purchase private artifact collections to augment his own. The resultant collection, predominantly of Moche origin, formed the foundation of the private Rafael Larco Herrera Museum in Lima (Castillo 2001; Evans 1968). A similarly large collection of Moche ceramics compiled by his father is today found at the Museum of the Americas in Madrid.

Larco systematized north coast archaeology by refining and expanding Uhle’s basic chronology (Larco 1948) through identification of Cupisnique and Salinar cultures and a five-part seriation of primarily funerary Moche ceramics. The current popularity of the Moche archaeology owes a good deal to Larco’s amassing of a



Fig. 4 Rafael Larco at his excavations in the Chicama Valley. Courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum, Lima

massive collection and seriation and “ethnographic reading” of realistic and diverse representations on funerary ceramics (e.g., Larco 1938a, b, 1946, 1948, 2001; see Kutscher 1955, 1983). At the same time, his works also reinforced the heavy dependence on funerary ceramics for chronology building and social and ideological reconstruction that dates back to Uhle (see below for further discussion on this point).

One major methodological development of the intervening years between the two world wars that has had a lasting impact was the aerial survey and photographic documentation of archaeological sites and landscapes by geologist, Robert Shippee, and U.S. Navy pilot, George R. Johnson, in 1931 (Denevan 1993). Their aerial expedition resulted in thousands of clear black-and-white, vertical, oblique, and ground

photographs. American historian, Paul Kosok, effectively took advantage of these and other aerial photographs in his pan-north coast survey (1939–1941, 1948–1949; Schaedel 1951a, b) of pre-Hispanic irrigation systems that he regarded as the cornerstone of the Chimú Empire and its precursors. Although he passed away prior to publishing his pioneering work on irrigation systems, Richard P. Schaedel, who collaborated with Kosok in fieldwork, posthumously published a compilation of numerous aerial photographs (Kosok 1965). This volume with its useful annotations derived from ground-truth checking continues to serve as a highly valuable resource for archaeological investigations, particularly on the northern coast. The Kosok-Schaedel collaboration was also important in demonstrating the value of macroregional surveys (i.e., multiple contiguous valleys as opposed to single valleys) in dealing with irrigation systems and the centralization of political power. Such an approach did not reemerge until the 1970s. Although he was not the first to recognize their existence (Mejía 1942 [1927]), Kosok was also responsible for initiating systematic study of the now widely known Nasca geoglyphs on the south coast (Kosok 1947; Kosok and Reiche 1949), work that was pursued by his German mathematician collaborator, Maria Reiche (1993), until her death in 1998.

The Virú Valley Project, conducted in 1946, marked in various ways a new era in the conception and methodology of archaeological research in Peru (Willey 1946, 1974; Schaedel and Shimada 1982). The project was sponsored by the Andean Research Institute in New York, an institution that was founded in 1936 by a tightly knit group of archaeologists mostly in museums and universities on the eastern U.S. with funds from private donations. It was the first time a holistic study of the entire period of human existence in a single region (an entire coastal river valley) was attempted. Project members made the problematical assumption that the valley served as a microcosm of the broader Central Andes. At the same time, this ambitious, holistic study is largely responsible for giving rise to such important methodological breakthroughs as preceramic archaeology (Bird 1948), paleoethnobotany (Towle 1961), and settlement pattern studies (Willey 1953). The team that consisted primarily of well-established archaeologists working with a few graduate students and specialists in ethnography, ethnobotany, geography, and physical anthropology had an explicitly stated shared goal, although in practice the participants pursued largely their own agendas. In terms of theoretical perspective, spearheaded by Julian Steward, project members held a strong neoevolutionary, functionalist vision of cultural developments (e.g., Bennett 1948; Bennett and Bird 1949; Steward 1949) in notable contrast to renouncing the “search for causes” in favor of the “Superorganic” view advocated by Kroeber (1944, 1948).

Although slow to develop following the pioneering work of J. Bird (1948; Bird et al. 1985), by the early 1970s, preceramic archaeology (see Bonavia et al. 2001) had become a major research focus in the hands of mostly Peruvianists such as Frédéric Engel (1957, 1963, 1966, 1987, 1988), Edward Lanning (1967), Michael Moseley (1968, 1975), Thomas Patterson (1971, 1983; Patterson and Lanning 1964, 1966; Patterson and Moseley 1968, and W. E. Wendt (1964). It became obvious that much of the Peruvian coast had seen precocious cultural developments that included major corporate constructions during the Late Preceramic (aka Late Archaic) period (2500–1800/1500 B.C.E.), if not considerably earlier.

The “maritime foundation of the Andean civilization” hypothesis that was first presented by Fung (1972) and subsequently elaborated by Moseley (1975) – that the intensive exploitation of the rich marine resources formed the foundation for the rise of social complexity – engendered a good deal of debate over the conventionally perceived role of agriculture, as well as the nature and trajectory of early cultural developments both on the coast and in the highlands (e.g., Aldenderfer 1989; Alva 1986; Bonavia 1982; Bonnier 1997; Burger 1992; Donnan 1985b; Feldman 1985; Fung 1988; Moseley 1992; Pozorski and Pozorski 1987; Quilter 1989, 1991a). Although various studies did demonstrate heavy reliance on marine products (e.g., Quilter et al. 1991), other pointed out the likelihood of differential preservation of plant remains and the possibility of inland settlements provisioning coastal fishing communities with agricultural produce (e.g., Matsuzawa 1978; Raymond 1981; Wilson 1981; cf. Quilter 1991b).

Recent fieldwork on the north-central coast of Peru, particularly at the physically imposing inland site of Caral (e.g., Shady 2006; Shady and Kleihege 2008; Shady et al. 2001; Shady and Leyva 2003) and nearby contemporaneous sites (e.g., Creamer et al. 2007; Hass et al. 2005; Vega-Centeno 2004), have significantly altered the above picture. They have shown that (1) their subsistence was based on both marine products and an appreciable variety and quantity of domesticated plants, and (2) supracommunal social complexity as represented by major corporate architecture and their planned layout had emerged by 2500 B.C.E. and perhaps as early as 3000 B.C.E. However, the claim that Caral was the first New World city and state and the foundation of Andean civilization (e.g., Shady 2006, 2008; Shady et al. 2001; Shady and Leyva 2003) has not been widely accepted (e.g., Stanish 2001).

The most notable methodological legacy of the Virú Valley Project was the settlement pattern survey by Willey (1953, 1974; Billman and Feinman 1999), who was enticed away by Julian Steward from pursuing a conventional stratigraphic study. The survey was far from being exhaustive in temporal and spatial coverage and biased toward large, readily visible sites, imposed a predetermined functional classification of settlements, and assumed stable environmental conditions (Schaedel and Shimada 1982). Offsetting these drawbacks, however, it offered an effective method for examining interrelationships between settlements and their ecological settings as well as among local and regional settlements. By the early 1960s, settlement pattern survey was considered the essential first phase of archaeological regional studies, although for some it was a study that could stand on its own without subsequent excavations (Parsons et al. 2000; Wilson 1988).

Although the popularity of settlement pattern study should have been an effective antidote, large ceremonial centers and/or capitals of all cultures and periods dating as far back as 3000 B.C.E. have continued to enjoy a disproportionate amount of attention since the days of Uhle. Kroeber’s “small site methodology” (1963; also Moseley and Mackey 1972; Schaedel and Shimada 1982: 364) should have constituted another remedy for this imbalance. The basic idea was that the size and presumed organizational simplicity of small sites would allow the delineation of key artifact and behavioral components that could then be used to study larger and more complex settlements. His approach was rarely effectively applied, however, because of the inherent difficulties in integrating and establishing parity between the single

major-site focus, on the one hand, and small hinterland site and regional study, on the other. Too often an investigation that began with one approach would fail to undertake the other.

As archaeologists became increasingly concerned with the determinants of settlement locations, such as land use and water distribution, it was logical that settlement pattern studies became a launching point of archaeological investigation into paleoenvironmental conditions and processes. In fact, interest in culture–environment interplay has characterized Peruvian archaeology for at least the past half a century. The coexistence of major physiographic features such as the cold Pacific, the Andean Cordilleras, Amazonia, and intertropical front produce an incomparable ecological diversity along both altitudinal (generally East–West) and latitudinal (North–South) gradients. The presence of over 100 domesticated plants and five domesticated animals reinforces interest in nature-culture dynamics in Peru. The German geographer, Carl Troll (1958; also 1968), astutely recognized important interrelationships between the diversity of resources and living and growing conditions, on the one hand, and major cultural developments such as the Inka Empire, on the other. This macroscale vision serves as an effective caution against a strong inherent tendency among archaeologists to overspecialize in a given geographic area (e.g., a single coastal river valley) and overemphasize its uniqueness. Troll, Olivier Dollfus, and other geographers (also biologists; e.g., F. Herrera, H. W. and M. Koepcke, J. Pulgar, J. A. Tosi, A. Weberbauer) have also reminded archaeologists of the importance of elucidating the paleoenvironmental contexts of pre-Hispanic land uses and cultural developments. An ethnohistorical study of renewable resources by Rostworowski (1981; Fig. 5) is an important complement to the above.

Since the 1970s, archaeologists have, in fact, made important contributions to the study of paleoenvironmental conditions, processes, and management, including



Fig. 5 María Rostworowski at her home in Lima. Photograph taken by Yutaka Yoshii

those of Cardich (1975) and Engel (1987, 1988). Shimada and Shimada (1985, 1987) and Bonavia (1996) documented the adaptability, versatility, and wide distribution (including arid coastal regions) of domesticated Andean camelids. Also notable in paleoenvironmental reconstruction are the works of M. E. Moseley and his colleagues first in the Moche Valley on the north coast and later in the Moquegua Valley on the far south coast and elsewhere on the Peruvian coast (e.g., Moseley 1978, 1983a, b, 1987; Moseley et al. 1981, 1983; Ortloff et al. 1982, 1983) documenting the effects of tectonic uplifts and El Niño events on regional irrigation systems. Their works, along with those of various geologists and archaeologists (e.g., Craig and Shimada 1986; Grodzicki 1994; Sandweiss and Quilter 2008; Wells 1987), have shed light on the magnitude and frequency of these major natural quirks. Other multidisciplinary investigations involving analysis of contents (e.g., oxygen isotopes, diatoms, pollens, and/or charcoal and dust particles) of ice cores and lake sediment cores (Ortloff and Kolata 1993; Shimada et al. 1991; Winsborough et al. n.d.) have revealed well-dated regional and/or pan-Andean droughts, El Niño-ENSO, and other major climatic abnormalities of the past 2,000 years or more, allowing us to consider their impacts on the ebb and flow of cultural developments. Although such consideration has raised charges of environmental determinism (Erickson 1999; Van Buren 2001), the quality and the range of environmental data that are available to archaeologists today are far better than those used by earlier scholars (e.g., MacNeish et al. 1975; Meggers 1954; Paulsen 1976). We cannot ignore the well-documented magnitude of the paired late sixth and early eleventh century droughts and mega-El Niño-ENSO events. Although the adverse effects of these events are often emphasized, archaeologists should not forget that there are beneficial impacts of El Niño-ENSO events (Shimada 1994a: 52–54).

Since its nascent era (e.g., Uhle 1903), Peruvian archaeology has been characterized by efforts to maximize ethnohistorical information recorded during the Colonial era to understand the pre-Hispanic past. Early scholars (e.g., Means 1931; Valcárcel 1935) generally relied heavily on Colonial period lists of succession and achievements of Inka and pre-Inka kings as the basis for chronology and cultural reconstruction, although use of Colonial documents has become much more critically applied. J. H. Rowe's (Fig. 6) referential synthesis of Inka archaeology and his critical evaluation of Colonial documents (1946; also see Rowe 1945, 1948; Means 1928; Porras 1963) served as a useful guide for generations of archaeologists in their use of documentary evidence. Rowe's referential work, however, has been largely supplanted by recent publications (Pillsbury 2008; Salomon 1999).

A broader range of and improved access to ethnohistorical information have not made easier the task of implementing well-balanced archaeology-ethnohistory study. Ideally, the two sides are dialectically related so that each verifies its own veracity through the repetitious process of question and answer (Dymond 1974). There is, however, a tendency to favor one perspective over the other even in the face of constant vigilance.

A new era of archaeology-ethnohistory interplay was ushered in with J. V. Murra's (1962, 1970) call to locate and conduct critical and detailed archaeological assessments of early Colonial *visitas* (administrative censuses that involved



Fig. 6 John H. Rowe in Cuzco, Peru, in 1987. Photograph courtesy of Harold Conklin

house-by-house or community-by-community visits by Colonial officials). Murra (Murra and Morris 1976) himself directly collaborated with archaeologists Morris and Thompson (1970, 1985) in their classic study of Inka provincial life and administration in the Huanúco area.

Their study not only served as the model for a series of subsequent works on local–state relationships in the Inka Empire (e.g., D’Altroy 1992; Dillehay 1977; Hayashida 1999; Julien 1983; Salomon 1986; Schjellerup 1997; Spurling 1992), but also helped to focus our attention on provinces and the question of how the Inka Empire really functioned, as opposed to the idealized vision of how it functioned presented to the Spaniards by the Inka elites and their court historians in the Inka capital of Cuzco.

Murra’s publications (1968, 1972, 1975) elucidating the late pre-Hispanic “vertical control” of multiple ecological tiers had broad and lasting impacts on Peruvian archaeology. His “verticality” model helped to answer the oft-heard

questions surrounding the impressive productivity and the large population at which the European conquerors marveled, and more importantly, elucidated the economic, social, political, and ideological ramifications of the complex, condensed Andean ecology. Archaeologists began testing the applicability of this model for pre-Inkaic periods (e.g., Goldstein 2005; Masuda et al. 1985; Rice et al. 1989; Stanish 1992), thereby indirectly strengthening interest in paleoenvironment and political economy among Peruvianists from North America. Due to their focus on the eastern and western slopes of the Titicaca Basin, these studies also amplified our understanding of what Lumbreras (1979, 1981) has called the South-Central Andes. Further, they helped to illuminate contrasting forms of ecological complementarity in the coastal region, such as reverse verticality (Rostworowski 1985, 1989), dispersed domain (Ramírez 1985), and horizontality (Shimada 1982).

Another ethnohistorical study that was instrumental in transforming Inka archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s was the original, provocative, and influential vision of Cuzco Inka organization and ideology presented by Tom Zuidema (1964) in his dissertation. Through his exploration of the multifaceted *ceque* system, a set of 41 lines radiating out of the Cuzco center that mapped and organized sacred locations as well as their ritual activities and affiliated social institutions, he challenged conventional visions of Inka royal genealogy and succession and popularized the concept of diarchy, the presence of two parallel kings, each representing one of two royal moieties (Duviols 1979; Gose 1996; Rostworowski 1999). Zuidema's vision spawned various fieldworks that tested and/or refined his model (e.g., Bauer 1992, 1998; Sherbondy 1992).

Over the past three decades, both Peruvian and Peruvianist archaeologists and ethnohistorians have devoted a lion's share of their attention (including a specialized periodical, *Tawantinsuyu*) to diverse aspects of the Inka culture and Empire, including its origins (McEwan et al. 2002), famed masonry technology (Protzen 1993) and *quipu* recording system (e.g., Urton 2003), royal estates and landscaping in the circum-Cuzco area (e.g., Niles 1987, 1999), and settlements in the *ceja de selva* (high Amazonian jungle; Lumbreras et al. 2001; Schjellerup 1997).

Decades of Inka archaeology have not effectively resolved the issue of distinguishing Inkaic from pre-Inkaic innovations and institutions (Schaedel 1977; also Rowe 1982; Wachtel 1982). Was the Empire, the largest indigenous political system ever developed in the Americas, merely pre-Inkaic Andean institutions and principles *writ large* or did it develop something uniquely its own? This is not a minor question as it affects both professional and public conceptions of the Inka Empire and pre-Inkaic Andean civilization as a whole. Since the 1940s, many Peruvian and Peruvianist archaeologists have tacitly believed in the persistence and pervasiveness of deeply ingrained cultural institutions, practices, and beliefs (e.g., asymmetrical moieties, reciprocity, labor taxation, and ancestor cult) – what is commonly referred to as *lo andino* (“Andean-ness”; Bennett 1948; cf. Isbell and Silverman 2006). In reality, these practices and beliefs that are best understood for the Inkaic time thanks to documentary evidence have been sought in the pre-Inkaic era as far back as the Late Pre-ceramic, some 5,000 years ago. Evidence in support of pre-Inkaic dual social organizations, for example, is usually coincidentally gathered during regional settlement surveys or excavations for other

purposes and thus is only suggestive (e.g., the presence of paired, differently sized platform mounds or seats; Burger and Salazar-Burger 1993; Moore 1995; Netherly and Dillehay 1986; cf. Cavallaro 1991). To invoke *lo andino* without independent lines of evidence in its support in essence amounts to tenuous Inka analogy and presumes an unchanging continuity over centuries (Shimada 2003). Effort should be made to go beyond mere documentation of pre-Inkaic precursors to elucidate their developmental trajectories and specific organization and workings.

Thus far, we have offered few observations regarding the different intellectual traditions from diverse areas of the world that converge in Peru. Their different research priorities, outlooks, and approaches are generally complementary and encourage healthy comparison in results and interpretations and collaboration. At the same time, there are sometimes problems of communication, comparison, and even counterproductive competition.

Research priorities and organization, as well as funding, also impact research and dissemination of results. For example, inspired by Tello's vision of the Chavín, Japanese teams under different directors (Seiichi Izumi, Kazuo Terada, and Yoshio Onuki together with Yasutake Kato) devoted decades to elucidating the Formative era of Andean civilization (i.e., the broader contexts and process of the rise and

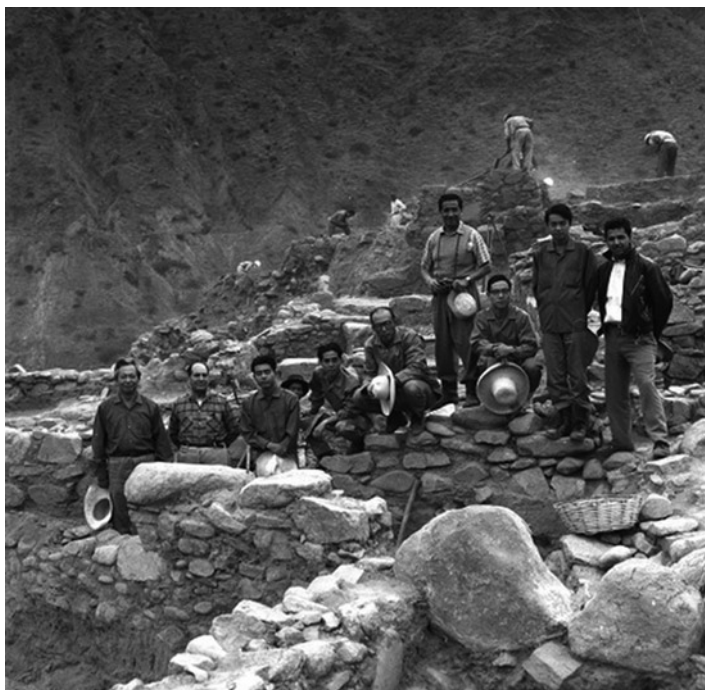


Fig. 7 Members of the 1963 University of Tokyo Andes Mission at Kotosh (from left to right, Seiichi Izumi, Toribio Mejia Xesspe, Yoshio Onuki, Chiaki Kano, Toshihiko Sono, Cirilo Huapaya Manco, Kazuo Terada, Yasushi Miyazaki, and Augusto Cruzat). Immediately behind them is the Temple of Crossed Hands. Photograph taken by Hiroyasu Tomoeda. Courtesy of Yoshio Onuki

spread of the Chavín; e.g., Izumi 1971; Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972; Terada 1979; Terada and Onuki 1988, 1982, 1985; Onuki and Kato 1993). Their continuity with a tight research focus and timely publication of a series of highly detailed and comprehensive reports published in English and, later, Spanish – distributed gratis to many investigators and institutions – have been unparalleled in Peruvian archaeology. Only the German (e.g., Reindel and Wagner 2009; see above) and French (e.g., Guffroy 1994; Lavalle et al. 1985; Hocquenghem 1998) projects sponsored by the German Archaeological Institute and French National Center for Scientific Research (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique [CNRS]), respectively, have approximated the Japanese accomplishment.

The Japanese, French, and German reports together constitute quite a contrast with publications by North American archaeologists that are predominantly in the form of hypothesis- or model-driven individual articles and theses. Data presented in the latter are often restricted to the particular hypothesis or model being tested. Lathrap's (1965) critique of the Japanese report on Kotosh (Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972) highlighted the epistemological differences among different intellectual strands represented in the Peruvian archaeology. Most monographs on South American archaeology by major research institutions in the USA (e.g., the American Museum of Natural History, the Field Museum of Natural History, and Peabody museums at Harvard and Yale) were published between the 1920s and 1960s.

This divergence in the character of publications, in reality, reflects “fundamentally different conceptions and approaches to funding and implementation of archaeological research” (Shimada 1990: 222). The funding structure of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, for example, required that one or two field seasons be followed by a season devoted to analysis of recovered data and artifacts and another for writing up its results. Funding for the last stage covered costs of publishing a comprehensive report, and its publication enabled investigators to seek another round of funds.

This funding structure, together with the relatively stable hierarchical academic structure of Japanese universities, to a large measure allowed this long-term commitment to a specific site, and later, region (e.g., Kotosh and the broader Huallaga drainage) and team of professional personnel. Commonly, the North American project, on the other hand, is problem-oriented and individualistic; it has a research organization of a single professor assisted by his or her graduate students, who subsequently write MA and/or doctoral theses on some aspects of the research issue for which the project was funded for 1 or 2 years. With doctorates in hand, these students then “bud off” to seek their own site, valley, or basin to establish their own projects. Since the emergence of large projects (e.g., Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project, Cuntisuyu Project, Upper Mantaro Valley Project) in Peru, we have seen two generations of North American archaeologists budding off to many sites and regions so that, at least for coastal Peru, the clear majority of river valleys currently has at least one active North American project. To gain or maintain a competitive edge for funding and employment, these projects frequently shift their topical and/or geographical foci. In various respects, North American colleagues face a serious challenge maintaining long-term continuity in their fieldwork, despite continuing interest in the regional approach. It is interesting that, with the recent termination

of their long-standing team approach to Formative sites, we now see young Japanese archaeologists dispersed in Peru conducting their own individual projects much as their North American counterparts.

Theoretical Views and Debate

As we have discussed in the above historical overview, Peruvian archaeology has developed various methodological innovations and preferences, such as settlement pattern studies, stylistic/iconographic analysis (particularly of funerary ceramics), and ethnohistory-archaeology dialectics.

At the same time, it has been rather a-theoretical with the notable exceptions of a strong undercurrent of culture ecological, or ecosystemic thinking (particularly among North American Peruvianists) and Marxian “social archaeology” (especially among some Peruvian scholars; see below). We see a significant rise in Peruvianist fieldwork and practitioners starting in the 1970s when much of the advocacy for processual archaeology – and processualism-culture historicism debate – became largely passé. Response to the rise of postprocessualism by Peruvians and Peruvianists has been somewhat muted, but perspectives and concepts such as agency, engendered vision of the past, social memory, and active role of ideology have been increasingly applied by Peruvianists in particular (e.g., Bruhns and Stothert 1999; Gero 1992; Hastorf 2003; Isbell 1997; Jennings 2006; Mantha 2009; Shimada et al. 2004; Sillar 2004; Tung and Cook 2006). Archaeology practiced by Peruvian archaeologists over the last several decades has been in fact a curious blend of the culture historicism, processualism, and Marxian social archaeology without any serving as the dominant or guiding force. It is understandable that Peruvian/Andean archaeology as a whole has been criticized for being insular in character and not contributing sufficiently to the processual ideal of cross-cultural generalizations (Rice 1998). Even some aspects of *lo andino* have been questioned as to whether they are truly unique to the Andes (Carrasco 1982).

The theoretical stance that has received most attention, particularly from Peruvian archaeologists, is called social archaeology. In Peru, this school of thinking is undeniably connected with arguably the most prominent modern Peruvian archaeologist, Luis Guillermo Lumbreras (Fig. 8). Although by no means the first or only Peruvian scholar to employ a Marxian perspective in interpreting Peruvian prehistory (e.g., Choy 1955, 1960; Valcárcel 1927, 1943, 1945, 1959; also see Tantaleán 2006), his importance lay in the fact that he was the first to develop theoretical and methodological bases for practicing Marxian archaeology in Peru.

Lumbreras was trained at San Marcos National University, graduating in 1959 with a doctorate in letters with specialization in archaeology and ethnology, and in 1963, returned home to Ayacucho (born there in 1936) as a professor of the University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga and founded the first Faculty of Social Sciences in Peru. A product of his archaeology of Peru courses taught at Huamanga was published as a book that presented a general panorama of the archaeology of the Central Andes (Lumbreras 1969).



Fig. 8 Luis G. Lumbreras at his home in Lima. Photograph taken by Yutaka Yoshii

This book represented the first comprehensive Marxian approach to the understanding of Peruvian prehistory. As such, it proposed a new chronological scheme as an alternative to the widely adopted periodization developed by John H. Rowe and his colleagues at University of California, Berkeley (Menzel et al. 1964; Rowe and Menzel 1967). The latter was composed of successive periods (as opposed to “stages”; Rowe 1962), each with specific beginning and ending dates and was an attempt to dissociate archaeological chronology from any cultural or evolutionary implications associated with the cultural chronologies that resulted from the Virú Valley Project (e.g., Collier 1955; Steward 1949; Strong and Evans 1952).

Lumbreras’ evolutionary approach postulated the existence of seven “periods” – Lithic, Archaic, Formative, Regional Development, Wari Empire, Regional States, and Inka Empire. He also recognized three major stages among these periods: Gatherers (Lithics and Archaic), Village Farmers (Formative and Regional Developments), and Urban, Industrial Societies (Wari Empire, Regional States, and Inka). The configuration of his scheme reflects the clear influence of Childe’s views (for example, Childe 1936) on the development of civilizations. In a later

publication, Lumbreras (1987) emphasized the importance of Childe's concepts such as the Neolithic Revolution and Urban Revolution as fundamental in the interpretation of Andean sociocultural processes (cf. Choy 1960).

Today, we see the curious coexistence of these two competing chronological schemes with many Peruvian archaeologists opting for Lumbreras' scheme and Peruvianists generally favoring the Berkeley's periodization. There are also many archaeologists who combine divisions from both schemes ignoring or ignorant of major underlying conceptual differences.

Although Lumbreras' 1969 book already showed elements of historical materialism, it also contained many instances of culture-historical treatment of evidence (see Kaulicke 2006) as reflected in the chapter organization based on cultures and their characterization. No new edition of this book has been published other than the extensively edited English version (Lumbreras 1974a). Apparently, the impossibility of going beyond traditional explanations based on the type of data then available led him to explore alternative approaches to the archaeological record. Thus, 5 years after the original work, Lumbreras (1974b) presented a programmatic proposal for archaeological work. By "programmatic proposal," we refer to the formulation of principles, concepts, and procedures that permit archaeologists to develop a scientific practice.

One major feature of this proposal is that it questioned the appropriateness of the concept of culture as a notion that encompasses the totality of social phenomena. As the alternative, he proposed the concept of social formation as the structural entity out of which culture emerges as an epiphenomenal manifestation.

Assuming the elucidation of social formation as the objective of archaeology, Lumbreras explicated the required methods and techniques that would permit the collection of empirical data as well as their analysis and chronological/spatial ordering. He further explained the different components of social formation (i.e., the mode of production and its constituent components [productive forces and relations of production], the constitution of social classes, and the ideological forms) and their archaeological correlates.

Various authors, however, have pointed out the difficulties of implementing his programmatic proposal without an extensive clarification of linkage between the archaeological record and abstract notions such as "productive forces" and "social classes" (e.g., Oyuela-Caycedo et al. 1997). Self-recognition of these limitations appears to have motivated Lumbreras to broach theoretical and methodological themes in later work.

During the 1980s, by means of brief thematic essays published primarily in the bulletin of the Andean Institute of Archaeological Studies (*Instituto Andino de Estudios Arqueológicos*; INDEA) *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina*, Lumbreras (compiled in Lumbreras et al. 2005) presented a series of ideas related to the forms of data acquisition and analysis that were not developed in the 1974 book. Lumbreras founded the Institute in 1976 to promote his vision of archaeology and stimulate young archaeologists to practice it. The new ideas to which we refer here were attempts to fill existing voids between the archaeological record and "substantive theory" (theory that aims to explain "cultural behavior"). Lumbreras called these related ideas altogether the "Theory of Observation."

While the Theory of Observation did not represent new thinking in terms of approaches to achieving the aims of archaeology, it systematized within a comprehensive proposal a series of principles that began to be widely shared by Latin American archaeologists and diverged fundamentally from the methodological prescription of culture-historical archaeology. The Theory began with discussion of the recovery of empirical data in the field. Lumbreras defined surveying as a means for recovering the “synchronic record” and making contact with the space where traces of a social activity are found and placing it within its environmental context. Subsequently, excavation was defined as the morphological and structural examination of a context of human activity that has been abandoned and buried; that is to say, the observation, description, and analysis of various lines of tangible evidence of human activity that are found articulated with each other by synchronic or diachronic relationships within the space and as such can be isolated in time and space.

Lumbreras further theorized that there exist three basic “principles” (i.e., “relations” or “relational phenomena”) that should guide the examination of excavation contexts: association, superposition, and recurrence. He argued that recurrent associations define socially significant units, i.e., recurrent associations would “readily” reveal the social activity that created them. This concept was central to his proposal since reconstruction of social formations rests on the definition of these entities or phenomena.

Lumbreras further suggested a reformulation of criteria for classification of archaeological material. In contrast to culture-historical approaches that emphasized form, he proposed that “function and production” be considered the fundamental criteria. Thus, in his conception, the fundamental variables of classification that he called “morpho-functional” should be related to the use and/or the utilitarian value that given materials had for the society that produced them. He did recognize that form and function were inherently related in that artifact form reflected the design that presupposed a specific function. Once materials were classified using his morpho-functional criterion, they were to be divided by the raw material type or manufacturing processes involved in their creation.

Finally, the criterion of form referred to the external aspects of the object (i.e., silhouette or finishes) and was a third classificatory criterion, subordinate to the first two. The final objective of using these criteria was that the resulting type *not* be a subjective classificatory unit in relation to the society that produced objects, but instead constituted a socially significant unit.

Lumbreras attempted to provide in the above manner a clear and coherent methodological framework that was intended to guide works of various generations of Peruvian archaeologists starting with data recovery in the field to classification of recovered materials. Some Peruvian social archaeologists tended to assume that, following these well-defined steps, one would be in position to readily reconstruct the social formations by combining the information of “socially significant units” that were already identified with the aforementioned substantive theory.

An inherent difficulty with the procedure Lumbreras advocated, however, was that it did not include an appropriate methodology for analysis of the processed information (i.e., determination of the relations among the units or categories generated

in the classification). Due to this omission, a major gap continues to exist between the classified information and the interpretive framework, significantly weakening the soundness of the interpretative proposals. We believe these insufficiencies constitute perhaps the major challenge for the future development of the social archaeology in Peru.

In general, over the past 40 years, social archaeology that has integrated selective aspects of the Marxian philosophy (e.g., mode of production and class struggles) has not been a consistent or dominant force in Peruvian archaeology and its popularity seems to be partially related to the broader political ideology of Peru (Kaulicke 2006; Oyuela-Caycedo et al. 1997; cf. Benavides 2001; Patterson 1994, 1997; Tantaleán 2006).

Peruvian Archaeology in Practice Today: Trends, Foci, and Issues

For over a decade starting around 1980, political violence by the Maoist Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*; aka SL) and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*; aka MRTA) that was inspired by the Cuban Revolution engulfed much of Peru. Widespread, frequent, and unpredictable attacks by these groups and responses by governmental institutions, as well as self-defense measures taken by the affected communities, made archaeological fieldwork, let alone ordinary daily activities, nearly impossible to be conducted in much of Peru. Both foreign and national archaeologists fled zones of violence, suspending their research, in many cases, never to be resumed. Only a few foreign and national projects remained operational during this period. Many of the former with more financial resources and mobility sought new research locations in safer southernmost regions of Peru such as Moquegua and Ilo and the adjacent south shore of the Titicaca Lake (i.e., Bolivia), thereby spurring rapid archaeological advances in the South-Central Andes (e.g., Goldstein 2005; Kolata 1993, 1996; Stanish 2003). Implicit in the concept of the South-Central Andes was a belief that this region had a cultural ecology and developmental trajectory that were largely distinct from those of the area farther north, particularly the north coast, although the unifying effects of various interregional political and religious expansions that were originally recognized by Uhle remained widely acknowledged (Isbell and Silverman 2006; Moseley 1983b; Rice 1983; Willey 1948).

With the defeat of the aforementioned groups by the end of 1994 (Palmer 1994: 3–4), we saw a resurgence of archaeological fieldwork by both Peruvians and Peruvianists on the Pacific coast and, at a much slower pace, in the highlands. Aside from the establishment of the new geographical foci of fieldwork that was noted earlier, archaeology, or more precisely, the sociology of archaeology of the postpolitical violence era in Peru is significantly different from that of the preceding era. What are these differences? How can they be explained? How do they affect archaeological practice and profession, including the Peruvian-Peruvianist

relationship, as well as the generation and sharing of archaeological knowledge? These are the questions that guide the remainder of this paper.

One of the most important aspects of postpolitical violence era archaeology is the proliferation of archaeological impact assessments of proposed developments, what Higuera (2008) calls cultural heritage management. Notable among these land modification plans are large-scale strip mining of gold and other metal-bearing ores (pretty much the entire span of the highlands), construction of new roads and telecommunication antenna towers, laying of telecommunication cables and pipelines carrying natural gas, petroleum or a slush of crushed ore, and large-scale reclamation of coastal deserts for export-oriented irrigation agriculture (e.g., the Olmos, Chavín-Mochic, and Ilo projects).

In essence, what we have seen over the past 15 years or so (and likely to continue for the foreseeable future) is a notable surge in “contract archaeology” projects. Typically, they entail survey to identify archaeological sites and determine extent by small-scale test excavations. Information thus collected allows the archaeologists to determine whether sites would be damaged by the proposed land modification project. In affirmative cases, such projects should be modified, unless they are considered “public necessity” or “national priority.” In those cases, the sites should be fully excavated with funds provided by those planning the project.

Contract archaeology in Peru presents some unique challenges. For one, archaeologists face major logistical and physical challenges from the rugged, sparsely inhabited landscape that often encompasses geographical extremes of arid deserts, snow-capped mountains, and/or dense tropical vegetation. Many of the proposed land modification projects are monumental in scale spanning multiple coastal valleys, strings of mountains, and/or major ecological zones. For example, the well-publicized \$1.6 billion Camisea Natural Gas Project that began in August of 2004 entailed laying of at least two separate pipelines (each well over 800 km in length) from the Camisea gas field in the lower Urubamba basin in the southeastern Amazon to Pisco and Lima on the Pacific coast, traversing the Andes (2006 <http://www.amazonwatch.org/amazon/PE/camisea/>; 2008 http://www.iadb.org/pro_sites/camisea/). The challenges to conducting comprehensive site surveys and excavations in such diverse and often challenging environmental settings are obvious in spite of large operating budgets and multiyear duration.

As expected, the proliferation of contract archaeology has had significant impacts on the formation and practice of Peruvian archaeologists. Camisea and many mining projects have generated correspondingly numerous contract archaeological projects that have offered not only fieldwork opportunities, but also relatively good wages. In the current socioeconomic context of Peru in which stable, gainful employment, academic (i.e., universities, museum, and research institutes) or otherwise, is quite rare, contract archaeology is obviously attractive as it provides well-paid jobs that could last perhaps a year or more, although many such positions are much shorter in duration (i.e., two-three months). Thus, a drove of young Peruvian archaeologists, including university students specializing in archaeology, have been actively involved in contract archaeology projects. In fact, many of them are specializing in contract archaeology, leaving research-oriented

colleagues as a definite minority. Kaulicke (2006) lamented a notable reduction in scientific production in recent years. By our estimation, over 80% of archaeological employment in Peru today is in contract archaeology. Not surprisingly, research-oriented Peruvian and Peruvianist projects are both finding it difficult to attract archaeology students for fieldwork.

An important consequence of the recent surge in contract archaeology is that Peruvian archaeology students are racing to acquire their professional title called *licenciatura*, so that they can direct or, minimally, participate in good-paying fieldwork. The title is *not* an academic degree, but a *certification* that the holder has a minimum technical competence to conduct his or her own archaeological project. Initially, the title was granted when a major manuscript resulting from original research (akin to a master's thesis in American universities) was accepted as demonstrating the aforementioned competence by an accredited university with an archaeology program. While this time-consuming practice continues today at a few Peruvian universities, pressure for a faster and less demanding way to acquire the title has resulted in modifications of university rules, so that today it is possible to acquire it through a qualification exam or completing a number of relevant university courses that last only one-two months. In reality, the criteria and standards for this title are far from uniform, varying considerably from one university to the next along with the depth and breadth of knowledge and understanding of archaeology of those with the title.

The notable increase in contract archaeology and attendant diversification and proliferation of archaeologists in Peru fueled efforts to establish formalized standards of professional qualifications/certification and conduct a related professional association. Additional factors that provided the impetus were the growing recognition of the variable quality of contract archaeology and its divergence from research or problem-oriented archaeology (usually by those with academic employment).

At the initiative of several archaeologists, a law (N° 24575) was passed in November, 1986, that established the Professional College of Archaeologists of Peru (*Colegio Profesional de Arqueólogos del Perú* or COARPE (2008a, b); <http://www.coarpe.org/>). It was not, however, until the governmental approval of its statutes by the Presidential Decree (*Decreto Supremo* N° 014-2004-ED published on 1 September 2004) that COARPE began impacting on the practice of Peruvian archaeology.

In many ways, the establishment of COARPE follows that of the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) that was established in the U.S. in 1976 and later (in 1998) transformed into the Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA). To be listed in the Register, the archaeologist must agree to abide by an explicit Code of Conduct, Standards of Research Performance, and Disciplinary Procedures. He or she must "... hold a graduate degree [such as an M.A., M.S., Ph.D., or D.Sc.] in archaeology, anthropology, art history, classics, history, or another germane discipline. ... have substantial practical experience and agree to be held accountable for their professional behavior" (2008a; <http://www.rpanet.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=1>). Although archaeologists in the original SOPA were

predominantly contract archaeologists, today the RPA includes diverse archaeologists from many areas of the world.

COARPE was the institution that many Peruvian archaeologists had long awaited, as they had struggled and continued to struggle for recognition of their scholarship within the national academic and professional world. Over the past several decades, Peruvian archaeology had seen extensive involvement (e.g., fieldwork, publications, and museum administration) of both national and foreign non-archaeologists (e.g., architects and medical doctors). Further, important decisions regarding the national archaeological heritage were being made at the National Institute of Culture (INC) by nonarchaeologists. Archaeologists expected the newly established COARPE to resolve these and other concerns much in the same way that the medical, legal, and engineering “*Colegios*” (formally accredited professional associations) had for those professionals.

The COARPE establishment, however, has resulted in much debate within and outside of Peru, particularly in regard to its bylaws which were formulated with little input from either national or foreign archaeologists working in Peru. Among its key stipulations were that, in accordance with Peruvian law, to be a member of COARPE, an archaeologist must hold the *licenciatura* title and that only COARPE members would be allowed to “practice the [archaeological] profession” (including fieldwork) in Peru. The INC issues permit to conduct archaeological fieldwork, but it is COARPE that accredits professionals to practice their profession. Prior to the establishment of this College, the INC appeared to be in charge of all these matters.

Although the bylaws of COARPE were legally applicable only to Peruvian archaeologists, a major problem arose when the above stipulations were imposed on foreign archaeologists and foreign-trained Peruvian archaeologists, nearly all of whom held either master’s and/or doctorate degrees in anthropology but not the required *licenciatura*, a title that does not exist in most countries.

As a consequence, for several years after governmental approval of the COARPE statutes, there was a significant drop in the number of foreign projects conducting fieldwork. Although some Peruvianist archaeologists became COARPE members after a complicated, expensive, and time-consuming process (several months to years, in some cases), formal recognition of their master’s or doctorate degrees in anthropology as comparable to the *licenciatura*. Many foreign graduate students who were hindered by financial and/or time limitations as well as the protracted and confusing certification process chose either to seek fieldwork opportunities in neighboring countries (i.e., Ecuador and Bolivia), postpone their research, or most commonly, seek licensed Peruvian archaeologists to *officially* direct their fieldwork.

The College was beset by additional problems: a seeming lack of transparency in financial and administrative aspects of the College, internal power struggles (e.g., provincial versus Lima-based archaeologists), various ad hoc rules announced after the establishment of the College, and the difficulty the Board of Directors of the College (as opposed to the College itself) faced in being officially recognized by the National Register of Peru (also see Higuera 2008: 1082–1083).

A memorandum of understanding established in 2007 between the RPA and COARPE to allow RPA members to become COARPE members (Register of Professional Archaeologists 2008b; <http://www.rpanet.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=17>) appeared to be an amicable and feasible solution to the difficulty that foreign archaeologists faced in being able to conduct archaeological research in Peru. Before this agreement had any effect, however, the INC made a controversial announcement in 2007 that it is the only institution empowered to issue permits for archaeological fieldwork – choosing to ignore the role and authority of the COARPE in various professional matters.

This announcement was a welcome relief for foreign archaeologists who had faced major uncertainties regarding their future fieldworks in Peru, not to mention the costly degree certification process. However, far from resolving the major issues of professional scholarship in Peru as expected, it has seriously undermined the position of the Peruvian archaeologist as a professional concerned with Peruvian cultural patrimony. The INC rejection of COARPE's authority has left Peruvian archaeologists without the possibility of having, at last, a formal institution that could legitimize and support their scholarship. This situation at present is in limbo now that the INC was subsumed under the umbrella of the new Ministry of Culture of Peru that was created on July 20, 2010 by Law No. 29565.

The above sequence of events surrounding COARPE did not solve various serious issues that face Peruvian archaeology today. Although the COARPE situation served as a forum that, for the first time, involved a large number of Peruvian archaeologists in the debate surrounding professional ethics and standards, the same forum revived widespread resentment toward foreign archaeologists.

Tension between Peruvian and Peruvianist archaeologists can be traced back at least to the post-Virú Valley project era (i.e., the beginning of 1950s; Schaedel and Shimada 1982). Since that time, foreign archaeologists, in general, have not done enough to share results of their research, whether in the form of public lectures, participation in regional or national conferences in Peru, or in publications. As a result, some foreign projects that are well known in their countries are little known in Peru. During the past decade, the number of archaeological projects directed by Peruvian archaeologists was roughly comparable to that of Peruvianists'; however, in general, the former had smaller budgets and were smaller in scale and shorter in duration. In addition, many of the costly analyses (e.g., archaeometric) available to the Peruvianist archaeologist were financially out of reach for the former. Further, foreign archaeologists typically publish their results first in their own language and country and only later, if at all, in Spanish in Peru (Shimada 1995: VII). Regrettably, the pressure to publish for promotion and tenure, for example, in the U.S., is compounded by the fact that many American universities marginalize Spanish publications in Peru or fail to properly weigh the ethical obligation of their archaeologists to share their results with Peruvian colleagues and public. Integration of Peruvian colleagues and students in their fieldwork, other than legally required Peruvian codirectors, is still inadequate. Foreign projects that have a formalized mechanism or a long-term collaborative agreement (i.e., *convenio*) with a Peruvian academic institution to assure such integration are still rare.

These and other factors have engendered resentment among Peruvian archaeologists and fostered their perception that foreign archaeologists come to Peru solely on a self-serving basis (i.e., purely for their personal research) and are not concerned with the protection of the cultural patrimony of Peru or public dissemination of their results. In fact, the Peruvian-Peruvianist relationship faced a major crisis with the controversy surrounding intellectual rights over discoveries (as well as resulting publicity) at the aforementioned, impressive Late Preceramic site of Caral and contemporaneous sites nearby in the mid-Supe valley on the north-central coast of Peru. This culminated in Peruvian requests for various sanctions against the American archaeologists, followed by behind-door mediation attempts. While the controversy involved only a few archaeologists, it clearly had adverse repercussions, particularly in the Peruvian perception of their foreign colleagues.

More recently, a tense impasse with Yale University over the return of objects taken by Hiram Bingham and his team nearly a century ago from the famed Inka royal estate of Machu Picchu east of Cuzco has contributed to the deteriorating climate (e.g., 2006, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5298164>; 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/17/arts/design/17peru.html>; Mould de Pease 2003). The site is a major symbol not only of identity for modern inhabitants in the Cuzco region, but also of the prominent pre-Hispanic cultural heritage of Peru as a whole (Flores 2004). The widespread interest within Peru in the candidacy of Machu Picchu in the 2008 worldwide election of the new Seven Wonders of the World (2008, <http://www.new7wonders.com/classic/en/n7w/results/c/MachuPicchu/>) is a further indication of its symbolic importance to Peru.

Mending badly damaged Peruvian-Peruvianist relations will take time and a multipronged approach by both sides. For example, Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Studies under the direction of Jeffrey Quilter and, more recently, Joanne Pillsbury has been cosponsoring with Peruvian colleagues and institutions (e.g., Catholic University of Peru and National University of Trujillo) thematic conferences in Peru, a welcome change of venue that has served as an effective means of sharing and discussing data and interpretations. Similarly, the Sicán Archaeological Project and the Sicán National Museum cosponsored a free-admission conference in 2008 to share with interested public major results of the 30 years of regional research by the project. Successful culture- or period-specific (and, more recently, thematic) conferences and attendant publications (*Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* – starting 1997) of their proceedings under the direction of Peter Kaulicke in close collaboration with foreign colleagues (e.g., Dillehay and Kaulicke 2005) also have served to bridge the Peruvian-Peruvianist divide. The publication of major field reports and syntheses in Spanish by some foreign institutions (e.g., *Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Bonn*; e.g., Hecker and Hecker 1985; Tellenbach 1986) and archaeologists (e.g., Golte 2009; Hocquenghem 1998; Shimada 1995, Shimada (ed) 1994b) has gone a long way toward informing Peruvian colleagues and the public of current research. Recent deluxe Peruvian books have been written in Spanish and English (e.g., Mujica 2007), although it seems reasonable that any foreign archaeologists with serious and long-term interest in Peruvian archaeology should be well versed in Spanish.

A major issue that has emerged with the expansion of contract archaeology in Peru discussed earlier is the long-term protection and conservation of archaeological sites. In Europe, the U.S., and many other countries, proliferation of “rescue” and contract archaeology has been accompanied by what has come to be called cultural resource management (CRM), archaeological heritage management, or conservation archaeology, which is built upon the conviction that archaeological sites and other forms of cultural heritage constitute nonrenewable national resources that must be protected. It usually counts on governmental legislations and/or policies for support. Peru has already enacted its share of appropriate protective laws (see Higuera 2008; Silverman 2006a). What is at issue, however, is *whether they are effectively implemented*, particularly in the face of the rapidly increasing number and extent of large-scale land modification projects described earlier and the number of sites being discovered through contract archaeology. In many parts of Peru, both on the coast and in the highlands, archaeologists of regional INC offices (commonly without any per diem support or vehicles at easy disposition) are already stretched thin with field inspections and other pressing tasks related to these and other smaller projects. Without a significant infusion of human and material resources by regional and/or national governments, the prospects for archaeological conservation apart from impressive sites look bleak. As Silverman (2006a: 58) notes, the INC and other relevant governmental institutions do not have “an explicit philosophy of cultural stewardship.” Long-term policies of cultural heritage management and their consistent application need to be promptly established by these institutions.

“Impressive” sites with the potential to attract tourists have been singled out for infusions of considerable amount of resources by both public and private sectors. PromPeru (*La Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo* or its antecedent *Comisión de Promoción del Perú*), the governmental organization charged with the marketing and promoting of Peruvian products for export and tourism to and within Peru, has been targeting such impressive archaeological sites as Kuelap (Kauffmann and Ligabue 2003) and Túcume as additional, if not alternate, tourist destinations, in addition to the already widely known Machu Picchu and Nasca geoglyphs (Higuera 2008: 1080–1081). Taking the concept of archaeological sites as touristic resources to a new height, the National Congress of Peru has established a program of direct funding for restoration, conservation, and research at a handful of major sites on the coast by regional museums or Peruvian archaeological teams. These sites include Caral (e.g., Shady 2006) and Chan Chan (e.g., Campana 2006; LivinginPeru.com 2007). Another focus of the governmental effort that merges archaeology and tourism is the *Unidad Ejecutora Autónoma Naymlap*, a consortium of the four museums in the Lambayeque region on the north coast, Brüning, Sicán, Royal Tombs of Sipán, and Túcume. Since 2007, funds from the congress have supported field projects by these institutions at the sites of Chotuna, Cerro Ventaron-Collique, Sicán, Sipán, Túcume, and a few other sites in the region.

While these projects with direct governmental funding include research components, the emphasis is on attracting tourists and stimulating local community

developments. Each project has worked out how to balance and articulate these aims. As noted above, we do not see, however, a national level policy that could guide these and other projects for feasible, sustainable, and productive apportioning of resources to simultaneously achieve all these goals.

We are also concerned about the increasing number of “site museums” that are being built throughout Peru (Silverman 2006b) without long-term support. There is also the worrisome governmental plan to place management of various well-known sites in private hands and to transfer the power to determine which objects, places, and monuments constitute Peru’s national patrimony from the National Institute of Culture to the Congress of Peru (Higueras 2008: 1079). In all cases, an optimistic vision is not enough to sustain them and there is strong possibility of *research being relegated to secondary or tertiary importance* and priority given to tourism/commercial concerns.

Private sector management of archaeological sites was proposed during the successive presidencies of Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000), Alejandro Toledo (2001–2006), and Alan Garcia (2006–present) with the idea that private investment and management would bring about improvements in promotion and physical access with a corresponding increase in tourism. However, in addition to a questionable commitment to research and conservation, this financially motivated and externally imposed plan ignores or at least underestimates local sentiments. This point became evident when residents in the Cuzco region united to stop the plan to have Machu Picchu privately managed, which included the construction of a cable car line for easy access to the site (Flores 2004).

It is clear by now that Peruvian archaeologists face constant challenges in financing their problem-oriented research. There are only a few Peruvian institutions that offer such support and they are not accessible to all Peruvian archaeologists and constrain research agenda. Private companies such as Backus and Johnston, the largest brewery in Peru, in return for their patronage of archaeological works, are interested in “restoration projects for touristic enhancement of monuments” (*trabajos de puesta en valor*); that is, sites with some impressive features such as Sipán (e.g., Alva 1994), Túcume (e.g., Heyerdahl et al. 1995, 1996), and El Brujo (Mujica 2007). The last two sites boast such impressive features as large, polychrome friezes and monumental architecture, while all three have yielded sumptuous elite tombs.

The biased funding by both private and public institutions of large sites with prominent features as seen thus far has had some unforeseen effects in regard to archaeological approaches. For example, it has reinforced long-standing, single-site-based research without prior or concurrent regional surveys or multisite testing to provide a good grasp of regional environmental, historical, and social contexts and processes (Shimada 2010). There is also a sense that projects centered at these sites are competing subtly with each other to claim the origins, the earliest dates, and/or the most advanced or spectacular form of certain features as publicity attracts further funding as well as public interest and excitement. These claims and associated discourse often become part of local or regional pride and identity, making them difficult to correct (Segura 2006; see also

Arnold 1992; Kohl and Fawcett 1995). Indeed, they are often tenuous lacking empirical support and/or bridging arguments. We urge greater caution on the part of archaeologists in making these claims, as well as a fuller presentation of their empirical base and reasoning.

Even the governmental foundation established for the promotion and support of teaching and development of science and technology in Peru, CONCYTEC (*Consejo Nacional de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación Tecnológica* – akin to the National Science Foundation of the U.S. in its role but of a much smaller scale in budget and support; CONCYTEC 2008; <http://portal.concytec.gob.pe/index.php/pagina-principal/quienes-somos.html>), imposes serious restrictions. CONCYTEC support ranges over many disciplines, including archaeology, and thus is highly competitive. In addition, eligibility to apply for their grants is restricted to members of established educational, cultural, or scientific institutions (e.g., universities, INC). Thus, nonaffiliated archaeologists (e.g., freelance) are excluded from such support.

The restricted access and highly selective apportioning of funds for research-oriented archaeology is a serious threat to the future of research-oriented archaeology in Peru, particularly in the face of increasing numbers of Peruvian students who are seeking their graduate degrees in archaeology or anthropology in Peru or other countries, particularly the US. What future possibilities are there for those with advanced degrees and foreign training? Will they be content to specialize in contract archaeology? We hope that at least for cases of long-term and/or large-scale contract archaeology, there will be emphasis on a problem-oriented approach so that Peruvian archaeologists will not be constrained from making greater contributions toward the advancement of Peruvian archaeology.

The notable surge in contract- and research-oriented projects during the time period under consideration implies a corresponding increase in quantity of archaeological data collected. But, how can a large corpus of data gathered by contract projects be analyzed, synthesized, and disseminated? Publication of the data collected and analyzed is of the utmost concern to both academic and contract archaeology (cf. Lockard 2009; Wester et al. 2000). Peruvian archaeology has had its share of data hoarding and publication inertia. We urgently need a national policy and mechanism that assure that rapidly accumulating data from contract archaeology are promptly analyzed and published. More than ever, Peruvian archaeology needs reliable, high caliber, stable and timely publication venues. With the number of periodicals declining over the past several decades, we can presently count only a few Peruvian journals that regularly publish archaeological manuscripts of diverse geographical and topical foci (e.g., *Arqueología y Sociedad*, *Boletín del Instituto Frances de Estudios Andinos*, *Boletín de Arqueología de la PUC*). All struggle for high-quality manuscripts, readership, and funds to sustain their publication. Implementation of the peer-review process and speedier publication of results by foreign archaeologists in Peruvian journals are two ways that can contribute to a long-term continuity of periodicals.

Conclusions

It is a major challenge to present an insightful and impartial review of the long history of the Peruvian archaeology that grew out of the input and interplay of multiple intellectual strands of Peruvian and Peruvianist traditions. Moreover, as seen in this paper, Peruvian archaeology has been quite dynamic over the past few decades, defying us to appropriately summarize and evaluate it. Undoubtedly, this review has numerous omissions, but the long trajectory of the Peruvian archaeology illuminated here, nonetheless, serves us well in characterizing and understanding current archaeological practices in Peru and defining its future tasks and directions. Such was our basic intent in writing this paper. Thus, we end it by outlining some major issues and tasks that await our attention.

One pressing task relates to improving dissemination of information that would cut across the Peruvian-Peruvianist and contract-academic archaeology divides. The rapid increase in the amount of information generated by the increasing number of contract archaeology projects in recent years has created an urgent need to devise an effective means for such dissemination. One way of accomplishing this task would be to require all authorized field projects to submit digitized field reports to be placed in electronic archives accessible at websites maintained by the Ministry of Culture and/or the COARPE. In order to assure that such archives remain updated and trouble-free, a small portion of the fieldwork permit fee and/or the annual membership dues could be collected to secure operational funds. This would be a relatively impartial, cost-effective, and quick solution to the problem at hand. It would also help address problems stemming from the dwindling number of journals.

Another challenge facing Peruvian archaeology is insularity. Both Peruvian and Peruvianists should become proactive in broad comparative discussions with colleagues working in other areas of the world so that there is a better basis for evaluating the evolutionary and cross-cultural significance as well as the presumed uniqueness (e.g., what is embraced in the concept of *lo andino*) of the past cultural developments in Peru. Greater participation in such discussions would stimulate theory formulation and refinement, whether Marxian, ecosystemic, structuralist, or other school of thinking.

Yet another concern is improvement of the depth and breadth of analysis being conducted. Typological classifications of artifacts (sometimes quite elaborate versions of the type-variety approach) are quite common, but often dissociated from research issues and objectives. The preliminaries of artifact and data analysis are all too often perceived as constituting analysis, resulting in logical leaps often to high-level interpretations. Greater use of statistical and archaeometric analyses, as well as experimental testing of working hypotheses, is needed. In this regard, we see encouraging signs of increasing applications of archaeometry (e.g., Reindel and Wagner 2009; Vetter and Portocarrero 2004) and concerted efforts (e.g., *Congreso Latinoamericano de Arqueometría; Conferencia Internacional de Espectroscopia*) to establish a closer collaborative relationship between archaeologists and specialists in other fields in Peru.

The recent surge in bioarchaeology is yet another encouraging sign that the conventional confines of Peruvian archaeology are falling. In fact, we hope the integration of bioarchaeology in burial excavations and analysis (e.g., Buikstra 1995; Nelson 1998; Shimada et al. 2004; Tung 2003; Verano 2008) will be accompanied by corresponding efforts to better contextualize the burials and a broadening of analytical focus beyond grave associations. As Parker-Pearson (2000: 5) correctly pointed out, funerary practices should not be studied “in isolation but as a set of activities which link with other social practices....” Only with an appropriate background cultural knowledge and understanding, we can make most of the information potential funerary contexts hold. Grave associations are a major source of social and other information (cf. Tainter 1978: 121), but many studies (e.g., Hecker and Hecker 1992; Millaire 2004; Shimada et al. 2004) have shown that they cannot be readily assumed to be synchronous in nature and should be studied in conjunction with the complex and durable dead–living relationship and related rituals.

The last concern is the need for better integration of single-site and regional approaches. Although focusing on a single large site in a given region has been very productive, it leaves lingering doubts regarding the general significance of its findings unless they are placed within the regional, historical, and social contexts. The latter may be defined by means of settlement pattern and landscape surveys and associated excavations at selected sites. Small-site methodology can be quite effective in this regard. Clearly, a regional approach requires a long-term commitment to a given study area as well as secure funding and a good relationship with local communities. At the same time, single-site and regional approaches are undeniably complementary. Peruvian-Peruvianist collaboration would be an effective manner of implementing and integrating both.

Overall, Peruvian archaeology today faces many challenges, some of which are outside of the archaeologist’s control. At the same time, improvement and strengthening of COARPE and Peruvian-Peruvianist relationships are essential if we are to meet these challenges.

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The Agency of Academic Archaeology in Colombia

Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo and Alejandro Dever

Introduction

As anthropologists, we approach historical processes by examining the academic production of agents through time. If we understand who are the principal agents that have shaped archaeology and its agendas, it becomes clearer why and how archaeology takes particular structures in different nation-states. The same can be argued about networks of local and principal agents, and more importantly about the demographics contributing to the production and reproduction of academic archaeology. Even with all of the arguments of globalization, it is obvious that at the end it is the locality of archaeological production which defines the characteristics of the field under the constraints of its practice (laws, cultural capital, centres of academic production, funding agencies, academic communities, social networks, and other variables) in a nation-state. However, in some cases the agendas might originate and dictate activities beyond the boundaries of the locality, and even correspond to other localities beyond the boundaries of a nation-state.¹ In any case, any external agenda produced outside a nation-state is limited by constraints defined by the arena of the

¹The basic concepts of agency and structure that are employed as a theoretical model to the approach in this research are based on Giddens (1979). Other works use agency in archaeology with limited success in relation to the archaeological record (see the edited volumes by Dobres and Robb 2000; Gardner 2007). However, the reader can see that this approach is not easy to use, even when the actors are still alive and their production is a testimony of their agendas (see Oyuela-Caycedo et al. 2010 for discussion on Max Uhle as agent in Ecuador). We apologize to those that might feel offended with our reductionist view or exclusion of recent and ongoing developments of the history of Colombian archaeology. What we hope to achieve with this paper is a consciousness of our own actions, as agents, producers, and consumers of archaeological agendas, and to explore an age-old question “Who sets the agenda?” (Yoffee and Sherratt 1993), with the case study being the practice of archaeology in the last 20 years in Colombia.

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theatre of actions (cf. Gnecco 2002). In summary, we can say that the history of the field can be examined by studying the cumulative building capacity of human resources and agencies as well as their social reproduction. The history of Colombian archaeology can be considered to be the product of a very liberal middle-class with a strong sense of centralism, concentrated in a few centres of academic production, namely in Bogotá, with two programmes where archaeology is taught, and a secondary centre in Medellín.² Since the 1960s Colombian archaeology has followed the model of the academic educational system in the USA. In this context archaeology is integrated with anthropology (in contrast, for example, to Brazil, where it is tied to history, or in Mexico, where it is approached as an independent discipline).

The spatial circumscription of archaeology is that it operates within a state. In order to evaluate such limitations of the field in Colombia, it should be taken into consideration that large parts of the country (probably 50%) lack the presence of state agencies. Additionally to its long history of violence Colombia has the second highest number of internally displaced people on the planet.³ Many displaced groups live outside the country as well. Colombia has the oldest active guerrilla movements in the New World, despite dramatic confrontations in the last 2 years that seem to have reduced their size and power. Such sociopolitical conditions, combined with a weak centralized state government still struggling for internal consolidation, define where and under what circumstances archaeology is produced in Colombia.

Even in such a context, there is a flawed tendency to see Latin American countries as being in a stage of decolonization in relation to the superpowers, and not in terms of problems with internal control by state elites (Frank 1978; Larraín 1989; Prados de la Escosura 2007; cf. Coatsworth and Taylor 1998; Haber 1997; Acemoglu et al. 2002). Researchers in political economy are still not willing to admit to the complications that accompany the internal processes of state formation, and inherent instability and fragility of political systems. That is not to say that

²Recent studies on the history of Colombian archaeology (Botero 2006) are oriented to creating a tradition of describing the rise of academic research in archaeology with the interest in collections of museums in Colombia and in Europe. These works seem to be a product of a projection of the history of anthropology in European countries, where such research in archaeology is very closely tied to museums in their early history. Although in some cases of Latin America, such as Argentina (Podgorny and Lopes 2008), there is clear evidence of the role of natural history museums and the development of archaeology, this aspect did not have any impact in Colombia. There is no hard data that support the notion that the origin of Colombian archaeology is the result of political agendas in relation to museums of archaeological collections or natural history. The fact remains that almost all the collections in the Colombian state museums are the results of policies of buying such collections and not of archaeological research. Museums generally have not been involved in archaeological projects directly. The only exception to this is the link to museums that are part of universities (*Museo Antropológico de la Universidad del Tolima and Museo de la Universidad de Antioquia*). Another approach to the history of Colombian archaeology has been to document the ideological interest by Colombian intellectuals for the pre-Hispanic past. Herrera (2001:356) made a detailed review of the agents and agencies involved in the process of Colombian archaeology that led to the foundation of the academic programmes in the 1960s and further until the end of the 1990s.

³After Sudan (U.S Department of State 2009; European Commission Human Aid 2009). Figures range from 2.8 million (official government reports) to 4.5 million (NGOs data).

global processes do not impact the internal political processes in Colombia. To the contrary, the effects of cocaine production in Colombia are a testimony to the broad links between locality and the globe where transnational capital is the dominant factor that links localities to the centralized economy of global cities today where servicing, managing, and financing of global operations and markets are concentrated (see Sassen 2001).

Historical Background of Agents and Agencies in Colombian Archaeology

The origins of Colombian archaeology are variable and contested. Recent reviews on its history illustrate a diversity of approaches (Herrera 2001; Langebaeck 2003; Botero 2006; Gnecco 2002). Anderson (1983) proposed that the rise of nationalism is linked to the role of archaeology in building of national consciousness. In another study (Oyuela-Caycedo 1994), the first author analyzed and presented the role of nationalism in shaping Latin American archaeology. Furthermore, the relationship between the state, in particular liberal ideas and the development of archaeology until the 1960s with the creation of the first university programmes in anthropology, was explored. The results allow for better understanding of the basic agendas in archaeology through its early history as an academic field (Jaramillo and Oyuela-Caycedo 1994). For example, a valuable approach to the history of archaeology is in terms of identifying the agents involved, and excluded, from the creation of the Colombian national identity. This analysis was conducted by Langebaeck (2003), who analyzed the use and counter-use of the indigenous past. In the 1930s Colombian archaeology developed as an academic discipline and a product of the liberal modernization of the state (for details see Langebaeck 2003:155–160). In terms of the history of archaeology in Colombia, it can be stated that Colombian archaeology was born at the time of arrival of academic exiles from Europe, who escaped fascism and were welcomed by the Colombian liberal government.⁴ With substantial support from the government these exiles created the first courses (1939) in anthropology and archaeology. Initially, archaeology was as part of the Teacher's Training College (*Escuela Normal Superior*). These teachers had an interest in educating professionals in the humanities by focusing on ethnographies of indigenous people and peasants. All of them shared a Boasian view of cultural relativism and rejection of any form of racism (Chaves 1986:15–52; Langebaeck 2003:169–170). This programme led to the foundation of the National Ethnological

⁴From Spain, Urbano González de la Calle, Francisco Cirre, José de Recaséns, Pablo Mercedes Rodrigo, Manuel Ussano, Luis de Zulueta, Francisco Vera, and José María Ots Capdequí; From Germany, Fritz Karsen, Kurt Freudenthal, Rudolf Hommes, Gerhard Massur, and Justus Wolfgang Schottelius; from France, Paul Rivet, all of them help shaped the Colombian academia during their stay in Colombia, especially in the literature, botany, medicine, anthropology, and other fields. They contributed not just in the initial development of the Normal Superior, but latter at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia* (Ospina 1984).

Institute (today known as the *Instituto de Antropología e Historia*) directed by Paul Rivet (director of the Museum of Man in Paris prior to German occupation) and after WWII by a Colombian-trained archaeologist. The Institute played a pivotal role at the beginning of the state archaeology programme that developed the first basic archaeological research conducted by Colombians and was sponsored for years by the WWII French organization for the liberation of France (Free France). After the war decentralization process of research took place and contributed to the creation of local branches of the Institute and management of archaeological parks.

The rise of archaeology and the kind of anthropology that was introduced in Colombia were part of the reforms that challenged the society's status quo at the time and which was ideologically oriented toward an identity of *hispanidad*. This identity was held by the descendants of Spanish traditions with values oriented to the "motherland" in Spain, and rooted strongly in Catholicism and a static class structure based on land ownership as capital. The new liberal ideology favoured different sets of values implemented by reforms of the educational system and, in particular, by the creation of the state-controlled National University. This structure of the educational system persists until present. The socioeconomic changes that occurred considered the recognition of the existence of a multicultural nation composed of indigenous people, Afro-Colombians, *mestizos*, and migrants of different backgrounds (such as the members of the displaced populations caused by the collapse of the Ottoman-controlled territories in the Levant and Europe). An economic shift involved the economy based on trade, exports, industrial agriculture (coffee becoming the key commodity), and the appearance of other industries and banking institutions that favoured class mobility and the creation of the middle-class through university-level education. However, it was the conflict in Europe that caused the migrations of academic elites from Europe to the New World and with whom new ideas and ways of thinking arrived. After that, changes in Colombian archaeology accelerated faster. Those exiles found either temporary refuge or, in some cases, permanent residence, and became leading figures in their respective fields. This was the case with geographers, biologists, and other intellectuals who arrived during the Second World War, including Paul Rivet, Jose de Recasens, Justus Schottelius, and Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff. They contributed to the formation of the first generation of educators and Colombian researchers in anthropology and archaeology (Chaves 1986:69–79). It is in this context that archaeology in Colombia was born with its critical view on racism based on European experience (Baquero 2008). Colombian archaeology did not pass through the perspective of a racist anthropological orientation that was common in Europe before the war. However, some previous works by Colombian intellectuals were in line with the global trend of pre-WWII racism (Villegas Vélez 2005), and not much different from works published in other Latin American countries such as Brazil (Noelli and Ferreira 2007).

All of the advances achieved with the liberal reforms of the state came to an end with the return to conservative policies and centralized control of the state in 1948 (Chaves 1986:99–160; Acevedo 2009; Langebaeck 2003:155). As a consequence,

archaeology was again controlled by a centralized government, which maintained its structure even after the 1991 constitutional changes (for example, the role of the *Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia* outside of Bogotá was still limited to the management of a few archaeological tourist parks). This centrally controlled management was in the hands of a conservative Colombian archaeologist. Political conflicts and social uprisings, followed by a period of dictatorship (1953–1958), put a hold on archaeological works during the 1950s, until the two major parties agreed to share the control of the government.

The foundation of the first department of anthropology took place at the *Universidad de los Andes* in 1963. This occasion marked the birth of anthropology and archaeology as a profession in Colombia. This programme was created by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, Austrian-born, who became naturalized Colombian in 1942. He was the founder of Colombian academic archaeological research in terms of fieldwork, methods, and research questions that were common to the international archaeological community (Oyuela-Caycedo 1996a, 1997; López Domínguez 2001; García Rodríguez 2005). More programmes followed with the creation of other departments of anthropology, such as at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia* (1964), the *Universidad de Antioquia* (1966), and the *Universidad del Cauca* in Popayan (1970). These schools produced the first generation of formal university-trained archaeologists, who received academic titles equivalent to Bachelor's degree in the USA. Since then the field exploded in archaeological research that was funded by the National Treasury Foundation or *Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales* (FIAN).⁵ As a result of the foundation's creation in 1978, many projects were pursued as Bachelor's theses and published in elegant fashion; However, this trend gradually came to an end in the middle of the 1990s (Duque Gomez 1999). The FIAN was unable to change with the transformation that took place after a wave of Colombians returned with advanced academic degrees (PhD) from overseas, taking over the academic field at the universities⁶ and

⁵An agency of the Colombian Central Bank that finances archaeological research.

⁶The academic community has achieved advanced levels of education with most of the professors holding Ph.D. degrees. Of this first generation of Ph.D.s, 10 were educated in North America, two in England, two in Spain, one in Russia, and one in China. In relation to the production of Ph.D. dissertations by Colombians on Colombia, a post-processual theoretical approach originating in North America has dominated. The first author of this chapter produced his dissertation in 1993. Until 2009 there have been a total of 10 dissertations. The orientations of the dissertations presented in North America are more on anthropological questions and processes, and demanded data collection through fieldwork. In contrast, the three dissertations produced in England between 1972 up to now have as a common characteristic a focus mainly on archaeological material culture (textiles, metallurgy, botanical remains, and one on the history of museum collections). Most of these were produced at the Institute of Archaeology in London, and none of them involved excavations or fieldwork. It is likely that in the next few years we will begin to see the first dissertations produced in Colombia under the supervision of Colombian professors. What is interesting to note is that most of the dissertations produced outside Colombia are linked to specific professors with strong interests and long-term fieldwork research in Colombia. This is the case in Pittsburgh with Robert D. Drennan and in London with Warwick Bray, who have shaped the research questions and methodology of the research conducted.

creating new conditions and standards of research. As a consequence of the “war on drugs” and conflicts with guerrilla movements, paramilitaries, and criminal organizations that control large parts of the country, the main problem was where archaeological research could be conducted. This situation favoured a return to more localized or region-specific research concentrated around the safe academic centres.

Colombian archaeology of the past 20 years has been characterized by the building and strengthening of domestic academia, not only in the number of Colombian professionals with doctoral degrees practicing archaeology, but also in the institutional growth visible in the foundation of a several newer anthropology programmes throughout the country (Cali, Santa Marta, Pereira, and Ibagué). During this time, the number of university programmes that included archaeology as a subdiscipline of anthropology grew from 3 to 8 (see Table 1), with three of these offering Master’s degrees in anthropology (since 2004). If we have to evaluate the state of archaeology today, we have to say that it has gained much in relation to academic discourse by making it more relevant at both the local and international level. However, in the last ten years archaeology has lost a lot of ground in relation to fieldwork due to the impossibility of conducting fieldwork outside the well-known study areas of the highland plateau, where the capital of Colombia is located. It is in this region where most of the resources and researchers are concentrated with minor roles still played by local centres, like Medellín, Popayan, Ibagué, Cali, and other secondary cities. Colombian archaeology has all the resources to prosper once the conflicts in the country disappear and normality is achieved in terms of political, economic, and social security. Only then will we see Colombian archaeologists getting out of the safe haven of intellectualism and into the field of scientific analysis with the creation of new agendas. In the meantime the practice of archaeology is still on hold and limited to “safe areas” and classrooms.

Table 1 Stages in history of Colombian archaeology and academic degrees

Period	Place of origin of the majority of professors	University offering anthropology studies with a component of archaeology	Academic degree
1935–1947	Europe	Escuela Normal Superior	Normalistas
1964–1968	Europe–USA	Universidad de los Andes	Anthropologist (Bachelor’s degree)
1968–present	Colombia	Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Universidad de Antioquia, Universidad del Cauca, Universidad del Magdalena, and Universidad Externado de Colombia	Anthropologist (Bachelor’s degree)
2004–present	Colombia	Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, and Universidad del Cauca in conjunction with Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia	Master’s degree

“The Past is a Foreign Country”: Introduction of Archaeological Techniques and Standardized Models of Research

David Lowenthal’s (1985) expression “*The past is a foreign country*” embodies the theoretical origins of Colombian archaeology as well as cultural anthropology (Uribe Tobon 2005; Pineda 2007). The past has been marked by the production of archaeological theory and use of methods that originated somewhere else, in a foreign country. After all, archaeology today is a global issue with roots in the Enlightenment and the foundation of European scientific thinking. After the consolidation of the first department of anthropology, Colombians took over academic education in the early 1970s with a strong emphasis on social concerns in anthropology (Caviedes 2007). However, this was not the case in archaeology. There is a continued emphasis on culture history, with a focus on archaeological cultural areas. In this respect two projects strongly influenced Colombian archaeology by training many students in the field. One, of short duration in the area of Tumaco (1976–1981), was directed by Jean-François Bouchard and funded by the CNRS. This work introduced the technique of *décapage*, or open area strip excavations to map out the spatial distributions of artefacts with very precise locations (Bouchard 1977–1978, 1987). This research involved several students who later expanded this method onto other projects, most recently a hunter-gatherer camp (Pinto 2003).

The second project began in 1979 in the Calima area under the direction of Warwick Bray from the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. This project received near exclusive funding from the Swiss consortium (Pro-Calima Foundation) established by art collectors and bankers who sponsored the project (Cardale 2005). Through many years of fieldwork, a number of Colombian students learned the basic archaeological field techniques. Students from Europe also participated. A few Colombians were trained in England or obtained Master’s degrees as a result of the project. Most of the research was oriented toward the description of archaeological materials and construction of culture history of the region through intensive survey and the use of radiocarbon dating supported by typologies of ceramics and metal objects of the “Calima culture.” Many of the trained students later continued similar projects financed by the FIAN. Pro-Calima, like no other project before, also employed specialists from different disciplines to analyze artefacts and botanical remains. Presently, the Pro-Calima project continues with the same goals as illustrated in a more recent research conducted by archaeologists that participated in the study of rare remains of the Malagana culture (some argue that it is a variation of the Yotoco complex, one of the Calima cultural phases, see Rodríguez 2002), discovered in the 1980s by looters. This recent research is directed toward descriptions of a burial site at Coronado, western Colombia (Cardale 2005; Correa Urrego et al. 2003; Herrera et al. 2007).

Outside the field of archaeology, there also was a research programme to structure research agendas over Colombia in the last decades. More importantly, it has been shaped in a unique way in comparison to other Latin American countries.

This programme was developed by Thomas van der Hammen, Dutch palynologist from the University of Amsterdam, who had a strong intellectual and personal link to Colombia. Ideas about the evolution and adaptation of humans as biological and social entities are derived in part from his strong academic influence and the international Tropembos programme⁷ in Colombia. Its initiatives in early phases were directed toward the impact of early human occupation at the end of the Pleistocene and early Holocene. This was a collaborative research project with the North American archaeologist, Wesley Hurt, who had experience working on hunter-gatherer issues, and the Colombian archaeologist, Gonzalo Correal (Hurt et al. 1972, 1976). This collaborative research sets the stage for the study of hunter-gatherers in the decades of the 1970s to early 1980s.

As part of the EcoAndes Project (Van der Hammen and Ruiz 1985), Luisa F. Herrera de Turbay developed her study on *Agricultura Aborigen y Cambios de Vegetación en la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Herrera 1984a, b, 1985), and later continued with a research project in the area of Araracuara (Caqueta), located near the Caqueta River. Tropembos International, through van der Hammen, collaborated with the Corporacion Araracuara that facilitates research in the Amazon region (Mora 2004). Over the last few decades the Dutch influence has materialized in the studies oriented toward the understanding of the effects of human beings on subtropical ecosystems, using methods from paleobotany for paleoclimatological studies and archaeology (Oyuela-Caycedo 1999). An early notable approach to this problem can be found in hunter-gatherer studies where the research boundaries between paleoecologists and environmentalists blur and soil and palynological sequences are intertwined with artefact analysis (Correal and Van der Hammen 1977). Tropembos Colombia developed studies oriented toward servicing not only their research agenda on tropical forests with a strong focus in the Amazon, but also facilitated the formation of many Colombian researchers with advanced degrees in biology. They created a field of intensive and high-quality interdisciplinary research with strong collaborations between botanists and anthropologists as well. In the early 1980s, Luisa F. Herrera de Turbay founded the *Fundación Erigaie*, which developed fairly sophisticated research projects partially financed through their commercial operations as a contract palynology firm. Herrera de Turbay promoted international interaction by inviting North American archaeologists to participate in discussions aimed at the general region of northern South America and Amazonia (Cavelier and Mora 1995; Mora 2003a, b, 2004), and their activities have expanded also to contribute to the academic development of an environmental archaeology with the formation of scholars with laboratory training and broader research agendas (Morcote et al. 2006; Mora 2004, 2007). Since the early collaboration of Thomas van der Hammen, research from the 1960s until the present has been strengthening the relationship between Colombian eco-functionalism and European academia where

⁷Tropembos is a non-governmental organization based in the Netherlands with research programmes on tropical forest in the Congo Basin (mainly Cameroon), Colombia, Ghana, Indonesia, Viet Nam, and Suriname (<http://www.tropembos.nl/index.php/General-Category/about-us/menu-id-58.html>).

many researchers have become accustomed to the interdisciplinary studies of biologists, anthropologists, and archaeologists (Romano and Morcote 2001; Berrío et al. 2006). This process has created the basis for the common use of paleobotanical analysis in Colombian research (Dever 2007; Berrío 2006).

The main contribution of all the three projects is the research approach that crosses over to other institutions outside anthropology departments and key research centres. They also have contributed to a new shift in the development of archaeology and how it is practiced. One project in particular has a tremendous impact on Colombian archaeology. The project was organized by Robert D. Drennan, professor at the University of Pittsburgh, who collaborated with the Colombian anthropologist, Carlos Uribe Tobon from the *Universidad de los Andes*. The study on the evolution of San Agustín chiefdoms followed an agenda similar to Drennan's research in Oaxaca. As a graduate student, Drennan participated in the University of Michigan Oaxaca project established by Kent V. Flannery (2006) and others such as Jeffrey R. Parsons and Henry Wright. Many of his contemporaries from the Oaxaca's project continued reproducing the same structured agenda in various locations around the globe (Fish and Kowalewski 1989; Kowalewski 1990; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Blanton 2006; Aldenderfer and Yinong 2004). The intellectual heritage of these projects can be traced from works in the 1960s, many of which follow regional settlement pattern studies. These projects utilized stringent statistical requirements for the study of large-scale settlement variations and population changes (see Kowalewski 2008:229, 235). They have been questioned in terms of their theoretical principles and methodology even by the disciples of the Michigan school (Yoffee 2005; Pauketat 2007, cf. Marcus 2008). It can be argued, however, that part of this paradigm's success is a product of the social network of funding and "The peer review process" and effective placement of graduate students on editorial boards, funding agencies, and academic programmes. For instance, the National Science Foundation has supported long-term research of regional studies on social evolution as well as individual Ph.D. dissertation research that share an evolutionary cultural agenda. One unique characteristic of Drennan's project was the interest in contributing to the development of the academic formation of Colombian archaeologists. This goal was achieved with the funding by the Heinz Foundation through a grant created exclusively for the training of archaeologists from Latin America in higher education, although recently funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation were also awarded. In more recent times the area of research on regional settlement pattern has shifted to China, but follows a similar line of thinking in terms of evolutionary comparative archaeology (Linduff et al. 2004; Drennan and Peterson 2006).

The Alto Magdalena Archaeological Project (AMAP) and the Pittsburgh School of Archaeology

The academic influence of the University of Pittsburgh has been one of the most pervasive in Colombian archaeology since the mid-1980s. This influence can be characterized by a persistent intention to include the participation of Colombians in

documenting long-term changes in human social organization using sampling procedures that extend from regional to community and residential scales (Drennan 1987, 2000; Jaramillo 1996; Peterson and Drennan 2005).

Interest in the development of institutionalized social inequality, the evolution of complex societies and chiefdoms led Robert D. Drennan to commence a series of long-term research projects in the Valley of La Plata and later in the archaeological region of San Agustín, both referred to as the Alto Magdalena (Drennan 1984, 2000, 2006; Drennan et al. 1991, 1993; Herrera et al. 1989). The Valle de la Plata project started in what was a relatively unknown archaeological region in Colombia. However, this region had statuary and mounds that had commonly been associated with chiefdoms in the region (Drennan 1987). The strategy to characterize population changes in size, distribution, and their relationship to the food-producing aspects of the environment using systematic sampling procedures was seen as an innovation that changed for many the paradigm of a site-centred archaeology focused on burials, mounds, and large residences to an archaeology that approached different scales with different levels of sampling intensity. The general conclusions of the project revealed that the region study by the Alto Magdalena Archaeological Project (AMAP) had a relatively large but dispersed population, and that social differentiation was not clearly related to economic control, that were better explained by the presence of an elite that controlled esoteric resources. As part of the 1990s AMAP project, a number of studies on population distribution, economic resources, and social changes in chiefdoms occurred. Among these are community scale studies on Formative Period households (300 BC to AD 0) directed toward the identification of social differentiation, which concluded that in the Alto Magdalena Formative there was no social differentiation (Jaramillo 1996). The results of these studies led to research that monitored what appeared to be wealth differences (or its non-existence) between the regional Classic Periods (AD 0–900) at the Mesitas community and the Formative Period. These studies not only monitored the appearance of very long-term communities but also refined the demographic data from relative indexes to more absolute measurements (González Fernández 2007). The food-producing aspects of these communities have been seen as a variable and not necessarily determinant in the AMAP studies (Quattrin 2001; Drennan and Quattrin 1995). As a result of the Colombian research of AMAP, the director of the project has been able to make comparative analysis of the effect of demographic variables in the evolution of chiefdoms and of social complexity, in general. Drennan used these data sets to compare three large residential distribution samples (Eastern Inner Mongolia in China, Oaxaca, and the Alto Magdalena) where he employed similar evolutionary research questions and settlement pattern studies (Drennan and Peterson 2006). At a more local level, comparative studies inside Colombia have been relatively few, although the use of systematic survey methodologies comparable or identical to those used by the AMAP has produced the potential for a very large dataset that may yield a very general reconstruction of the settlement patterns, social and political organization, and economy of Colombia and northern South America in the past.

Since the early 1990s regional scale projects that were not part of the AMAP, but were supervised by Robert D. Drennan, as part of doctoral dissertations, were developed in several regions of Colombia. Some of these projects were oriented toward the study of chiefdoms in the eastern Cordillera using systematic methods directed at regional studies of populations and communities. The first project of this type, led by a student of Drennan's, Carl H. Langebaek, studied the Fúquene Valley with the intention of determining the ways in which population distribution related to resource distribution and political centres (Langebaek 1995). The results showed a population size and distribution similar to those of the Alto Magdalena, and evidence did not support the descriptions found in historical sources. There were several projects directed by Carl H. Langebaek between 1997 and 2001 and co-directed by a group of archaeologists that participated in the AMAP. These resulted in five systematic surveys that covered areas from several hundred square kilometres to less than 7.5 square kilometers. The studied area stretched from the Caribbean coast to the Muisca highlands and western Cordillera. These projects produced data that was oriented toward the testing of models of sociocultural change, demography, and economics using standardized methodologies that ranged from systematic regional sampling to community-scale studies (Langebaek and Dever 2000; Langebaek et al. 1998, 2000, 2001a, b; Langebaek 2005). These projects were financed by a wide range of sources that include the Heinz Foundation and *Colciencias* to civil engineering and mining companies (Intercor, ISA and BP), and resources from the Medellín Metropolitan Area (Langebaek et al. 2003).

Another project began in 1994 in the region adjacent to the AMAP, the Tierradentro Archaeological Project (TAP) (Langebaek et al. 2001a, b), which was framed in the same line of theoretical thought as AMAP and produced data comparable to the AMAP results. It continued with the programme of training students, some of whom pursued doctoral degrees in the United States. The TAP was able to measure population changes and how they related to specialized salt production, and monumental burials over time and provided data that showed that in most cases residential distribution and artefacts of high esoteric value are not closely associated. Furthermore, it showed that initial community formation is not strongly related to economic conditions and that only as population density increased to its highest levels did the population distribution follow soil productivity patterns (Langebaek and Dever; Dever 1999).

Later in the same decade a community scale project under the direction of Robert D. Drennan focused on the community-level distribution of artefacts at the site of El Venado, also in the Muisca region. The El Venado project, led by Ana María Boada, another of Drennan's students, focused on systematic collections and excavations, including burial excavations of a large number of individuals and the analysis of materials sensitive to the detection of social differences between households. The results identified a clear division in diet, particularly in the cuts from deer, differences in access to resources, and differences in craft production that strongly suggest a process that led to a form of institutionalized social differentiation based, in part at least, on economic relations by the time of the late Muisca period (ca. AD 1200–1500) (Boada Rivas 2007). Another dissertation project in the

Muisca region, this time in the savanna of Bogotá, was also designed to study a community, using similar methodologies to those used in the Mesitas community in the Alto Magdalena (González Fernández 2007). The systematic programme of research directed by Michael Kruschek, as part of his doctoral dissertation funded by the NSF, produced data that allowed the identification of elite households with artefacts that suggest household craft specialization with similar conclusions to Boada's previous work (Boada 2006, 2007). This study again demonstrated the control of exchanged resources by the elite and economic differences between households in the late Muisca period (Kruschek 2003).

A series of projects in the *Parque Natural Nacional Tairona*, in the coastal area of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, also followed a similar methodological approach during the early part of the last decade. The initial study, funded by FIAN, systematically sampled 90 m² along the coastal valleys and bays. This yielded a body of data that allowed for the estimation of population distributions in relative terms and the analysis of this distribution in relation to soil productivity (Langebaek and Dever 2000; Langebaek 2005). A related project, doctoral dissertation by Alejandro Dever from the University of Pittsburgh, funded by ICANH and NSF, continued this systematic approach in the Parque Tairona in 2004. This project focused on one of the villages that had strong indications, both historical and geographical, of having been specialized in marine salt extraction. The research concluded that the formation of the village happened long before the salt industry was established ca. 200 BC, and that the salt flat used to extract salt was the result of both geological events and Tairona engineering. This led to the conclusion that the village of Chengue became specialized in salt extraction and exchange as part of the impetus of individual families that were tied to the complex Tairona chiefdom between ca. AD 1100 and 1650 (Dever 2007).

Other projects focused on the food production in chiefdoms, also supervised by Drennan, concentrated on raised fields and agricultural intensification, and were carried out during the early 2000s (Boada 2006). This research produced data on the distribution of Muisca raised fields and communities in the savanna of Bogotá and contributed to the chronology of specialization and intensification of food production. A similar project was carried out over the past eight years in the Alto Magdalena by Carlos Sanchez, professor of the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*, who obtained his Master's degree in Pittsburgh, and whose research focused directly on the relationship between residential distribution, modifications of the landscape for the purpose of agricultural intensification by the AMAP chiefdoms, and how these elements interacted over time (Sánchez 2000, 2007).

No doubt Robert D. Drennan and the ideas propagated through the "Michigan School" approach implemented in the AMAP project, had profound impact on Colombian academia from the mid-1980s onwards. By the mid-1990s systematic surface survey methodologies were widely used in Colombia, and the institutional proximity of the AMAP project and the Muisca region projects to the *Universidad de Los Andes*, *Universidad Nacional*, and *Universidad del Cauca* anthropology

departments allowed the researchers easy access to a considerable amount of student volunteers who were trained in systematic methodologies and archaeology. This led to a significant increase in research with similar objectives and methodologies to those initially outlined by the AMAP during the previous decade and greatly enriched the anthropological discussion on chiefdoms and added a strong processual element to much of Colombian archaeology.

Local and Global Agendas of Colombian Archaeology

Outside the research agendas that have developed as a result of foreign projects such as Tropembos, Pro-Calima, and AMAP, Colombian archaeology is very rich in diverse theoretical and methodological approaches that focus on resolving topics that require different strategies to those employed by the Pro-Calima project or AMAP. This is the case of research on hunter-gatherers which mainly uses a methodology of site excavation.

The archaeology of hunter-gatherers has permitted the development of fine-grained knowledge for that helps in understanding human strategies to cope with and modify the environment. Such archaeological evidence is missing in Colombian regional surveys due to taphonomic and geomorphological problems. The richness and quality of data obtained from a site can be overwhelmingly abundant compared to the data on sites obtained in regional surveys in terms of the recovery of artefacts and ecofacts that demand years of continuous material analysis. One example is the research on human interactions with the landscape of the Magdalena River during the late Pleistocene and early Holocene, which was initiated as a Ph.D. dissertation research by Carlos Lopez under the supervision of Anthony Ranere. This research has advanced our understanding of human use of landscapes in terms of historical ecology (Ranere and Lopez 2007; Lopez Castaño et al. 2004). Recent works in the North Central Cordillera of the Colombian Andes provided relatively rare insights into the diet of hunter-gatherers in the region from ca. 7500 BP until 3500 BP, and into environmental impacts on forests through human activities. The research was based on test-pit excavations at a regional scale that produced evidence for a long-term Andean process of forest colonization, hunting, plant gathering, horticulture, fishing, and the appearance of ceramics by ca. 5000 BP (Aceituno 2002; Castillo and Aceituno 2006). This project was developed with funding from a hydroelectric development assessment project.

The early Holocene site Galindo in the savanna of Bogotá has contributed to a detailed analysis of human use of resources and domestic use of space from 8745 to ca. 7735 BP and data on subsistence and seasonal occupation and a more stable settlement until ca. 5000 BP (Pinto 2003). This research was a Ph.D. dissertation, under the supervision of Danielle Lavallé (France), who developed similar research agendas in Peru (Lavallé 2000). Another example is the San Jacinto project, originated in

1986, that later developed into two doctoral dissertations focused on the study of early Formative communities (6000–5200 BP) along the Caribbean coast of Colombia. The objective of these studies was to understand the dynamics of mobility, resource gathering and production, use of space, and seasonality in the process toward sedentism and food production. The project was analogous to another conducted in Mexico, where the opportunity to obtain a large sample of data on the transition to agriculture was relevant. The Mexican study was conducted on a rock shelter site of Guila Naquitz, under the direction of Kent Flannery and tested models on group mobility (Flannery 1986). The case of San Jacinto was a unique opportunity, taking into consideration that archaic sites on floodplains are difficult to find and correspond to activities of human relations to the environment that are not well understood because of the difficulties in finding such evidence in the Americas. The site demanded new techniques of excavation designed for a deep-buried site, geoarchaeological understanding, and long-term analysis of an abundant quantity of ecofacts and artefacts sealed by metres of soil deposition in an active floodplain. This project yielded evidence on the degree of mobility and resource management in the particular of massive processing of grass seeds, during the dry season use of the site, as well as recovering the earliest evidence of the use of fibre-tempered pottery in the New World. The site also revealed the use of a relatively sophisticated technology of grinding stones used with wild plants, of earth ovens for cooking, and selective hunting that contrasted strongly with the diets of hunter-gatherers from the same period recorded on other open sites in the tropics. This data has broadened the recognition of strong variability in the kinds of sites formed by hunter-gatherers in the transition toward food production. San Jacinto 1 was the first site to yield detailed information on the use of space and seasonality on the continent for what is known as the “Archaic Period” (Oyuela-Caycedo and Bonzani 1995). The project also contributed to theoretical discussions on the archaeological methods used to measure seasonality at hunter-gatherer sites (Oyuela-Caycedo 1996b, 1998a; Bonzani 1997, 2005), and the use of plants in the past (Bonzani 1998, 1999), it also presented a model of dispersion of domesticated plants (Bonzani and Oyuela-Caycedo 2006), and led to the development of a theoretical model to account for taphonomy of the faunal remains from San Jacinto 1 (Stahl and Oyuela-Caycedo 2007), which had not been tested on previously recorded sites from that period. Another study focused on microlithic analysis and contributed to the creation of new methodologies to work with previously unknown unifacial microlithic technology present at the site (Campuzano 2009). Progress in what we have learned from this site was only possible due to the support of numerous researchers and institutions, and international funding (Colombia, USA, and Canada) that helped to advance the analysis of research with levels of funding difficult to obtain doing research with just the human resources available in Colombia. The San Jacinto project shows us that the research of a site today is able to move beyond the limits of nation-states and address in a profound way research problems geared toward the understanding of human diversity and its complexity in solving problems that have led to sedentary life and food production.

At the same time, during the development of this research, a close relationship with the San Jacinto community was maintained. During the excavation in 1991–1992, local schools were involved with educational programmes and the excavation was conducted with active participation of the local community members. A small museum was also built and managed by the community that continues, up to the present-day, with a major renovation initiated in 2008. The excavation at the site and creation of the museum made a strong impact on the local educational programmes and understanding of the role of archaeology in the community today. Internationalization of the locality in academic publications has also had a positive effect. This was done with difficulties given the context of violence that has dominated the area for more than 20 years (Oyuela-Caycedo and Bonzani 1995:xii–xviii; Campuzano 2009).

Other research agendas on hunters and gatherers-related topics that incorporate new technologies such as isotope analysis for example, remain scarce. However, a broad picture of hunter-gatherer diet between ca. 11000 and 2200 BP based on a stable isotope analysis of human skeletal remains from the savanna of Bogotá has been achieved. This work includes the comparative data from Checua, which is another hunter-gatherer site in Bogotá, being under study for the last 20 years (Cárdenas-Arroyo 2002; Groot 1992).

In Colombia, Marxist archaeology, or a school in line with social archaeology⁸ that developed in Peru with Luis Lumbreras, and expanded to other countries such as Mexico with Jose Luis Lorenzo, Eduardo Matos, Julio Montané, in Chile with Luis Bate (who moved to Mexico), or Venezuela with Mario Sanoja, never developed (Oyuela-Caycedo et al. 1997). However, other disciplines such as history, sociology, and others have been influenced by Marxist perspectives (Langebaeck 2006). Recent studies on the archaeology of violence, such as in the edited volume by Pedro Paulo A. Funari and Andres Zarankin (2006), have not taken place in relation to the violence in Colombia and massacres that have occurred since the 1950s. The role of archaeology in relation to repression in Colombia has been limited in recent years to the incipient development of archaeology of the mass graves (forensic anthropology) and in particular the ones generated by paramilitary groups in different parts of the country (for example, the Dam project; for discussion on human rights violation and archaeological research). However, research on persecution and disappearance of students and others, such as during the period of Turbay Ayala (1978–1982) and the time of the infamous *Estatuto de Seguridad Nacional* (today it is called *Seguridad Democratica*), has not occurred. In these cases, violations of human rights by the army were frequent and disappearances were similar to the process that occurred in the Southern cone of South America.⁹ In Colombia people often confuse democracy with the absence of repression.

⁸Editor's note: see chapter "The Past and the Revolutionary Interpretation of the Present: Our Experience of Social Archaeology, 33 Years Later" by Mario Sanoja and Iraidia Vargas for discussion on social archaeology in South America.

⁹Editor's note: see chapter "Archaeology and Politics in Argentina: The Last Fifty Years" by Gustavo Politis.

The fact is that Colombia has had periods of strong violence and repression against civil organizations, such as labour unions and political oppositions (for example, the legal leftist political party of the guerrilla movement Farc, the Union Patriótica (1985–2002), from which at least 1,163 members have been killed, Dudley 2003:190). Repressions have occurred in relation to intellectuals and journalists that criticized the state government. It is very likely that archaeology of repression will find a place in Colombia when the country becomes a more democratic society that allows for civil participation in state affairs.

There are very few archaeologists that advocate a post-modernist approach in Colombia. The main representative is Cristobal Gnecco (1999, 2002, 2006), who follows an agenda in relation to indigenous people established by Joanne Rappaport (Rappaport 1990; Rappaport and Gow 1997). Gnecco's works can be characterized as having a dual approach to archaeology. On one hand he makes a political compromise on multivocality and "decolonization," and on the other, approaches the classical questions on the origins of human populations in South America with a more post-processual view on hunter-gatherers. Recently, the arguments are more of a critique, for example, of basic aspects of archaeological research such as on the role of typology (Gnecco and Langebaeck 2006; cf. Mora 2007). Gnecco has been an agent in the creation of a network of archaeological inquiries in South America expressing the World Archaeological Agenda, founded by Peter Ucko, in confronting Anglo-American archaeology. This began with the meeting on "Archaeological Theory in South America" in 1998.¹⁰ A common theme on the agenda was the idea of an exclusive production of South American archaeology by South Americanists. It does not take much to see where this was heading: "1. To promote archaeological discussion of regional and national archaeology as well as to reinforce a dialogue between the academics from the countries that integrate the continent. 2. To account for the development of conceptual models and alternative interpretations to those traditionally known by the English-speaker" (quoted from the web page of the 2009 conference).¹¹ This group founded a journal titled: *Revista Arqueología Sur-Americana/Arqueología Sud-Americana*, which was launched in 2005 and produced five issues until 2007, in collaboration with the World Archaeological Congress.

To summarize, it can be said that Colombian archaeology continues to advance following multiple agendas that enrich knowledge and strongly impact its local and international context. This is the case with the environmental project in historical ecology by the *Universidad de Pereira* (López and Cano 2004) with support from the state and cultural resource management programmes. The trans-frontier project at the *Universidad del Valle* (Rodríguez 2005) and the development of the

¹⁰It is the journal that promoted exclusive publication by South Americans. This journal was created with an agreement between the doctoral programmes in human sciences of the *Universidad Nacional de Catamarca* (Argentina) and the *Universidad del Cauca* (Colombia).

¹¹This network of archaeologists met in Vitoria (Brazil) in 1998, followed by 2000 in Olavarría (Argentina), with the third meeting in Bogotá (Colombia) in 2002. The fourth meeting was in the city of Catamarca (Argentina) in 2007, and in 2009 the meeting was in El Coro, Venezuela.

International Journal of South American Archaeology (since 2007, see www.ijsa.syllabapress.com) have contributed to moving archaeology outside the previously centralized academia (see Salgado et al. 2006; Ramos and Archila 2008; Henderson and Ostler 2005). There are many other new agendas with entrepreneurial agents who are building and diversifying Colombian archaeology in areas such as historical archaeology (Therrien 2004; Therrien et al. 2002), marine archaeology (Uribe 2005a, b; Delgadillo-Garzón and Zapata-Ramírez 2007), or in other topics such as the archaeology of religion (Oyuela-Caycedo 1998b, 2001, 2005; Oyuela-Caycedo and Fischer 2006), and methodologies using ethnoarchaeology and model-building of hunter-gatherer adaptations (Cárdenas and Politis 2000; Politis 2007). This paper can only outline the large diversity of publications and research projects that have been conducted in Colombia, particularly in the last ten years. Not only are they diverse in topics but also they are gradually starting to move out of the centralized state institutions in favour of local archaeological centres, which have become globally known. Colombian archaeology is also growing in terms of graduates with Master's degrees, and it is likely that soon some Colombian universities will produce their first Ph.Ds, reaching a new critical mass in the production of archaeological knowledge. Hopefully, the conditions of archaeological praxis in Colombia will improve and our understanding of the past will be amplified by taking advantage of the growth in human resources to deal with the challenges of new research questions or old ones in the large remaining area of Colombia that has never been part of its history.

In the last decade we have witnessed major political shifts with nationalist agendas that continue to shape countries like Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia. We continue to mislead ourselves when we approach these studies in terms of post-colonialist models of explanation, imagining that Latin American countries just became independent a few decades ago like African countries or India and Pakistan. This view ignores the history of transnational capital, crony capitalism, corruption, and, more importantly, internal forces that control the production of capital and the reproduction of it in the context of the democratic processes through which leaders are elected. Archaeology is still shaped by the political context of its production. But, it is important that we recognize the agents and agencies that shape it so that we can review the production of archaeological knowledge and learn how archaeology can become more democratic (with multiple agendas) and useful to the local and universal understanding of the human condition and diversity.

Beyond the Agent: Rethinking the Locality and Globalization of Archaeologies in the Twenty-First Century

The formation of democratic state archaeologies has not been achieved in Latin America (Oyuela-Caycedo 1994), including nation-states such as Brazil and Mexico that allow a more democratic development of archaeological agendas. In a recent work on this issue in archaeology Joyce (2008) argues that countries such as

Honduras have become examples of state-controlled archaeology since the 1950s. Rosemary Joyce is correct that most likely Honduras, where there is not much diversity and autonomy in local academic archaeology, can be characterized as having a state archaeology, for the legislation controls foreign participation in favour of the local (Joyce 2008). However, Honduran archaeology, like in other states of Latin America, continues to be mainly dominated by foreigners who set the research agenda. The issue then is not just the legislation on the rights of indigenous people in relation to archaeological sites in their lands (most countries in Latin America have signed the accord 169 ILO, but very few have implemented it). The issue should be the application of legislation in relation to local communities in a democratic way and in particular this is the case of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Chile. Archaeologists cannot always account for past histories of indigenous groups, as Joyce points out (with few exceptions), ignoring the political agendas imbedded within the nationalistic policy of a state. We must also understand how such practices can generate conflicts with other identities. One recent example is the Aymarization of the political discourse in Bolivia in relation to the indigenous groups of the lowlands and non-indigenous groups (Kojan 2008), or the populist nationalist projects in Venezuela, where the ultimate goal is to create a national identity.

In Latin America discussions on identity cannot be reduced to relativistic multivocality. Having in mind that a high percentage of indigenous Latin American population migrates, concerns of identity get dissolved in the situational problems of everyday life. Contested ethnic agendas continue to be studied in the context of ethnic identities or ethnogenesis. These problems could be better understood in the context of nation-state formation and nationalism. These issues sometimes get confused with the process of “decolonization,” although the pursued process is directed toward internal decentralization. Archaeologists also contributed to decolonization debate with research on what can be defined as archaeological ethnographies (for example, Gnecco and Hernandez 2008:456; cf. Low 2002; Meskell 2005; Edgeworth 2006). In principle this perspective is useful, but only if it is not built on false assumptions or data, since the outcome might be damaging to local indigenous communities. After all, it is the archaeological evidence that supports or rejects the argument of competitive “multivocal” explanations. Archaeology cannot fall into political epistemological relativism, where we end up accepting agendas analogous to creationism in biological debates, just for “moral” reasons or simply ignorance.

Recent views on the post-colonial theory of multivocality in archaeology fail by ignoring different basic aspects like the political arena and the historical process where multivocality takes place (Trigger 2008; cf. Gnecco 1999), or the approach to a deeper multivocality (Atalay 2008; Hodder 2008:196). Multivocality does not make sense when there is no hegemonic power of the state beyond a circumscribed locality and where the viability of the state continues to be challenged (see Appadurai 2006 for the conflicted outcome of minorities’ imagination and state-nations). In most of the Latin American countries today, multivocalism can be seen as part of an agenda that contributes to the fragmentation of the state and its

subordination to transnational capital. For many Latin American countries the perspective of nation-state formation continues to be appropriate, otherwise the reality is obscured under ancient rubrics of colonialism, which also includes internal colonialism (in some countries such as Colombia, or Peru in relation to the Amazonian region). In today's globalized world with transnational capital centralized in a few global cities (Sassen 2001), multiple narratives of archaeology should take into account history and the political context of governments and political changes that occurred in state nations. The same can be said in dealing with labour mobility and urbanism that integrate multiple identities in overcrowded slums of millions of people that overshadow any single form of identity in favour of a fragile production of locality and self-identity as part of a place (Appadurai 1995). However, new localized neighbouring identities are created that pressure the state to solve problems and favour a broad dialogue of identity without intermediaries, and where the archaeological record can be integrated for multidimensional urban purposes, including museums, in the process of consolidation of a nation-state in a universal world of knowledge.

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Colonialism and the History of Archaeology in the Spanish Caribbean

L. Antonio Curet

Introduction

Ever since Columbus reached the New World in 1492, the Caribbean has been a fertile ground for European countries and the U.S. to impose their colonial systems. The basin became both an arena for competing metropolises and the first theater of resistance to colonialism in the New World. It is clear that even today this colonial substrate transpires in all aspects of life, including scholarship. Although archaeology is a relatively young discipline, it has not been immune to these forces, and the ancient and more recent pasts have been used, ignored, denied, recreated, manipulated, and interpreted in multiple ways by interests from all sides of the colonial formula (Gnecco 1999; Pagán-Jiménez 2004; Pagán-Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos 2008; Politis 2003).

Following suggestions of the editor of this volume, I present a critical discussion of local archaeologies in the regions. Of course, whenever we talk about the Caribbean we cannot simply talk about a uniform and homogenous social, political, and economic unit. This region has to be seen as a mosaic produced by centuries (in some cases millennia) of historical, political, social, environmental, and idiosyncratic processes. We cannot say, then, that there is *a* Caribbean archaeology; on the contrary, there are multiple and localized archaeologies. As presented in the next section, the history of Caribbean archaeology is, in great measure, the history of local archaeologies that have been influenced, impacted, molded, or even created by external influences, especially from the U.S. These diversity and particularities of archaeological histories in the Caribbean conspire against a meaningful synthesis in a short chapter, and thus will have to be a project for the future. For this reason, I focus the discussion on those cases I am more familiar with, the Spanish Caribbean: Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Cuba (Fig. 1).

An advantage of using these three case studies is that, in general, they share some history. For example, at the time of the inception of archaeology each one of

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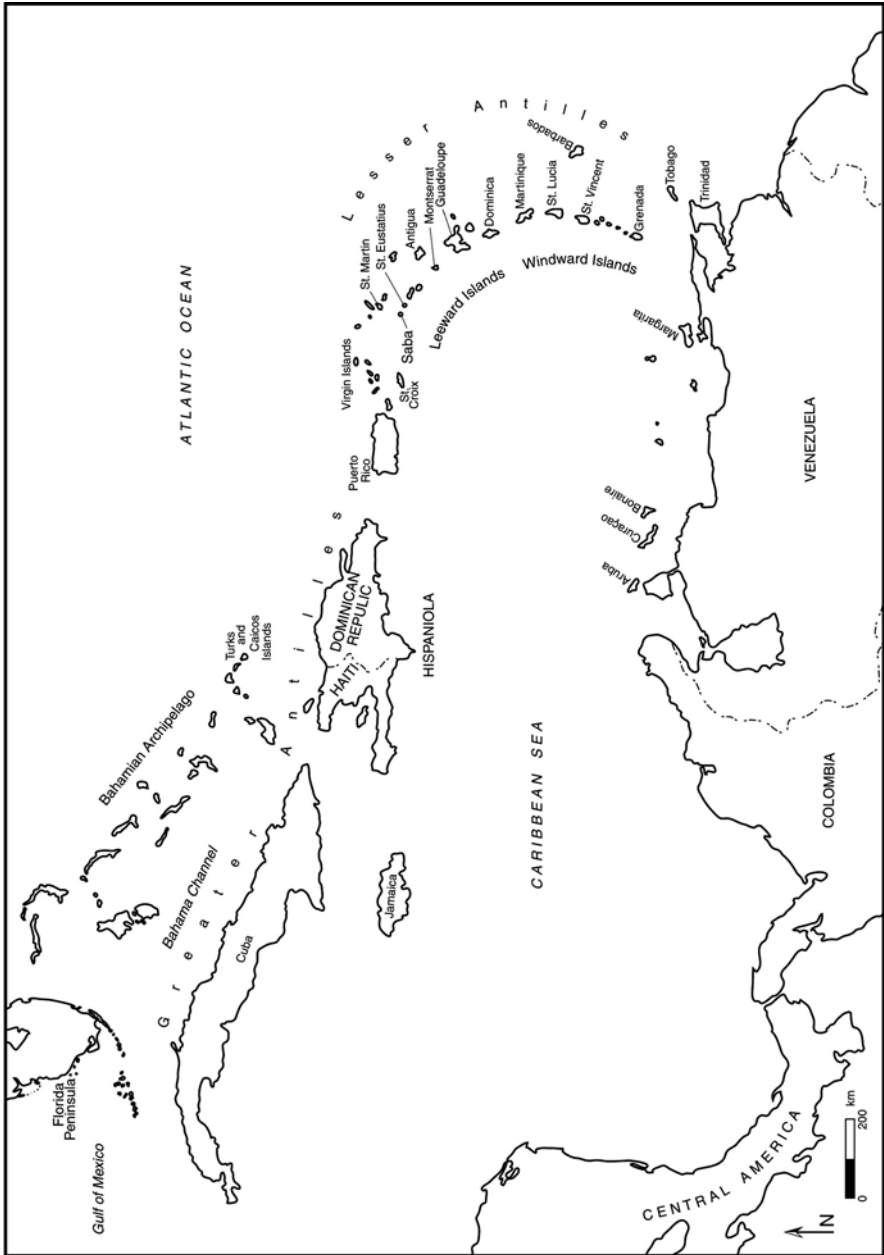


Fig. 1 Map of the Caribbean Basin (by Jill Seagard)

the discussed regions was a Spanish colony and all were later strongly influenced by North American neo-colonial policies, interventions, and domination. This does not mean, however, that we can treat these three islands or countries as a monolithic unit.

On the contrary, while their academic traditions may have some commonalities, they have experienced quite different historical processes and diverse forces (e.g., dictatorships, revolutions, independence, social and political movements, invasions by European or U.S. armies, and different forms of colonialisms, among others). However, together these case studies show intermittent parts of the spectrum of the effects of colonial history in the archaeology of the region. In other words, despite these localized characteristics in the history and scholarship, the history of local archaeologies has few general points in common.

I further restrict my discussion to the history of pre-Columbian archaeology. This decision reflects more my ignorance of the history of Historical or Colonial archaeology than the importance that this branch has as a source of information for reconstructing the recent pasts and as contributor to many debates in the discipline.

I begin this paper by summarizing and comparing the history of the Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Cuban archaeologies where both general similarities and dissimilarities are pointed out. The following section is on how local and North American archaeological perspectives interacted, leading eventually to a relatively widespread acceptance of the paradigms that dominated North American archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century. The third section summarizes the structure of the recent archaeological work in each of the three countries today. I conclude by presenting some general problems that I believe have limited the development of local archaeologies and how Caribbean archaeology has been the victim of stereotypes and biases within the discipline at large.

Caribbean Archaeology: A Historical Perspective

Before I begin discussing the history of archaeology in the Spanish–Caribbean, it is important to mention that, being Puerto Rican and having done most of my work in this island, I have much more personal and intimate knowledge on the history of Puerto Rican archaeology than the other two islands. So, it should not come as a surprise to the reader that in some occasions more space is given to this particular case study.

In this section, I discuss general historical trends and structures of the archaeology of the three cases studies. However, instead of concentrating on a long sequence of individuals from each case study, the years they were active, and what they did, I decided to organize the text in general topics and how they relate to the overall socio-political environment of the time. Individuals will be mentioned as examples of the general historical tendencies. Similarly, my discussion is not organized by presenting each case study separately. Again, they will be discussed within the general historical tendencies. Any idiosyncrasies of each case are mentioned within these generalizations. The more recent histories of the three archaeologies are discussed individually in more detail later in the paper. At this point, a particular emphasis is on how the social and political condition in each case helped to promote, mold, or curb the local archaeology in the past four or five decades.

If one were to describe the history of Caribbean archaeology in one word we have to say that it is amateurism. Since its inception to the present, amateur or avocational individuals and organizations have been, and still are, doing a great portion of the archaeological research in the region. I do not mean this in a demeaning manner; on the contrary, as is shown below, most of the work being conducted today in the region stand on the foundations set by non-professional archaeologists. Further, the success of projects relied in many ways on the help provided by many Caribbean avocational archaeologists.

Like in many regions throughout the world, the first avocational archaeologists of the Caribbean were what we now call antiquarians. In other words, individuals concerned with the ancient history of their own island and who began collecting archaeological objects by buying them mostly from peasants or by exploring the countryside themselves. In the Spanish–Caribbean this group was predominantly composed of professionals and educated people, mostly from the upper crust of the society, such as lawyers, doctors, writers, journalists, and others. This intellectual tendency became strongly prevalent in the nineteenth century, especially in its second half. Mixed with this group of antiquarians were also some historians who used the early European chronicles to reconstruct the indigenous culture and lifeways at the time of Contact.

These scholarly movements included at least two distinct perspectives, both highly influenced by the colonial condition of the epoch. The first one was composed of people interested in knowledge and science, highly influenced by the “knowledge for the sake of knowledge” that prevailed among the scholarly circles in Europe and the U.S. Some of the tendencies within this perspective fell more into the model of the humanities composed mostly of men that aimed at the ideals of the Enlightenment of the Age of Reason prevalent among the elite of this period. A sign of being cultivated was to be educated (or be knowledgeable) in multiple areas of knowledge. Because of this, it is not surprising to see many lawyers, doctors, and other professionals also being writers, historians, poets, and journalists. One aspect of this tendency focused more specifically on the sciences, and the emphasis was more on “science for the sake of science.” It is here that we can see a strong interest in natural history among European and New World elite that eventually led to the establishment of natural history museums. Thus, it is not surprising that many of the scholars interested in the indigenous past were also interested in paleontology, botany, zoology, and other natural sciences. Examples of such scholars are Agustín Stahl (1889), Cayetano Coll y Toste (1907) José Julián Acosta, and J. L. Montalvo Guenard from Puerto Rico (Alegría 1996); Miguel Rodríguez Ferrer (resident Spaniard), Andrés Poey, Eusebio Jiménez, Luis Montané, and Carlos de la Torre from Cuba (Dacal Moure and Watters 2005) and Schomburg (resident Englishman), José Gabriel García, Arzobispo Meriño, A. Llenas, and R. Imbert from Dominican Republic (Veloz Maggiolo 1972).

While many of the works of these people lacked a theoretical component, a few were indeed heavily influenced by European or North American schools of thoughts and, of course, their reconstruction of the ancient history of the islands mimicked European frameworks of history, especially cultural evolution.

For example, in some instances the Caribbean Indians were placed within Stone Age, a “universal” evolutionary scheme developed by European thinkers. This approach also supported a perspective where the indigenous peoples were seen as earlier evolutionary stages of human society frozen in time. An extension of this was a notion that native groups were considered as belonging to the past disconnected from the history of people that inhabit the islands today. For these scholars, their own past was in Europe, unrelated to the indigenous islanders or the “other.”

The second perspective was in many ways in opposition to the first one. Followers of this perspective were mostly individuals from the *criollo* class who were trying to construct a sense of some sort of identity independent from the one “inherited” from the metropolis (see Stewart 2007 for more on the process of creolization). Of course, their interest was tightly related to political independence movements and thoughts of the time. Here the indigenous past was used to build this identity where the Indians became the cultural and “national” ancestors of modern populations. Not only that, the Indians were also portrayed as the first Cubans, Dominicans (or *quiqueyanos*), and Puerto Ricans (or *borinqueños*) that resisted the colonial times and who were victimized by the imperial governments. This group of scholars included not only people with interest in history or sciences, but also politicians and literary writers, and their work included poems, essays, and novels. This practice was a part of a movement in Latin American literature known as *indianismo* or *movimiento indigenista* (Gnecco 2002). Representatives of this trend are Eugenio María de Hostos (1863) from Puerto Rico, José Fornaris y Luque (1862) and Juan Cristóbal Nápoles Fajardo (a.k.a. Cucalambé) (1856) from Cuba, and Javier Angulo Guridi (1857, 1881), José J. Pérez (1877), and Manuel de Jesús Galván (1879) from Dominican Republic.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century until present, terms such as “local collectors,” “amateur,” or “avocational archaeologists” have replaced the term “antiquarian.” In many islands those avocational archaeologists still play the same role as before and are the dominant force behind the local archaeology initiatives. In many instances, avocational archaeologists from different islands were formalized by the creation of local, archaeological groups such as the *Sociedad Arqueológica de la Isla de Cuba*, *Grupo Humboldt*, *Grupo Guamá* in Cuba, the *Fundación Arqueológica, Antropológica e Histórica de Puerto Rico*, and *Sociedad Guaynía del Sur de Puerto Rico*. These individuals and organizations have made important contributions. An example of the impact made by amateurs in Caribbean archaeology is the foundation of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, the only region-wide archaeological association, which sponsors its bi-annual meetings, the International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, and the publication of its proceedings.

While we cannot consider many of these individuals or organizations as scientific or academic archaeologists, they left behind a legacy that forms the foundation on which all Caribbean archaeologists stand on. This legacy covers many areas including the protection and conservation of the archaeological heritage, discovery of archaeological cultures, creation of inventories of sites, descriptions of archaeological materials, development of local chronologies, foundation of museums,

publications of finds, and successful persuasion of local authorities to preserve and conserve sites and create archaeological parks. In recent times many of these individuals have continued their education and have obtained degrees in archaeology, anthropology, history, or other related disciplines. Although few in number, these academically trained individuals placed in various organization began to promote an increasingly greater degree of professionalism in archaeology. Representatives of this turn to professionalism include Adolfo de Hostos (1919, 1923, 1924a, b, c, 1926, 1941) and Ricardo Alegría (1951a, b, 1965; Alegría et al. 1955) from Puerto Rico; René Herrera Fritot (1938, 1957); Felipe Pichardo Moya (1945a, b, 1949, 1956) in Cuba; and Emile de Boyrie Moya (1955, 1970) from Dominican Republic. Many of the efforts of these and other individuals led to the creation of governmental institutions dealing with archaeology such as the Department of Anthropology and the *Centro de Investigaciones Aqueológicas* at the University of Puerto Rico and the *Programa de Arqueología* at the *Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña*; the *Museo Montané*, the *Junta Nacional de Arqueología*, and the *Instituto Cubano de Arqueología* in Cuba; and the *Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas* at the University of Santo Domingo. Today a large number of amateurs are still present in Caribbean archaeology either as individuals or organizations and in many instances they still greatly contribute to the archaeology of the region as well as to the development of a true local archaeologies.

In the history of the archaeology of the Caribbean we also have foreign archaeologists conducting research in the islands. These were mostly composed of scholars from the U.S. or Europe who came to the islands representing different institutions such as museums, universities, or scientific academies, forming part of what Baatz (1996) has called imperial science. While some cases of travelers and people interested in the past are reported for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g., Miguel Rodríguez Ferrer 1847 (Dacal Moure 2006; Alphonse L. Pinart 1979)), the work that had the most impact on Caribbean archaeology took place after the turn of the twentieth century. In the case of Puerto Rico, some of them arrived after the Spanish–Cuban–American War to record the cultural resources obtained by the U.S. as part of the war booty (e.g., Fewkes 1907; Mason 1917, 1941; Rainey 1940; see examples from other disciplines in the monumental publication of the *Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands*, published by the New York Academy of Science (see also Figueroa Colón 1996)). In Cuba we have the examples of Culin (1902), Fewkes (1904), Osgood (1942), Harrington (1921) and Rouse (1942); and in Dominican Republic de Booy (1915, 1919). Also, at least, in one case, Dane Sven Loven (1935), a bibliographic study was conducted, producing the most complete treatise of the indigenous groups of the Greater Antilles at the time of Contact.

Most of these scholars were active in a period when scientific expeditions were sent by institutions to explore regions of the world little known by Europeans and North Americans. Part of their mission was to bring back objects or specimens, make drawings or take pictures, and collect information. Considering that little was known about the ancient history of the Caribbean, the emphasis of these works was exploratory and concentrated on identifying archaeological cultures, defining culture areas, and developing culture historical sequences. This was accomplished by

mixing the meager archaeological data available at that time with the relatively rich ethnohistoric documentation.

It is clear that these works set the bases, premises, and assumptions of most of the archaeological work conducted in the Caribbean for at least the first six decades of the twentieth century. For example, many of the concepts and cultural categories such as Taino and sub-Taino, developed by some of these foreign archaeologists or historians, are still being used today by local archaeologists. While some terms were developed for the whole Caribbean region, others were created for specific geographic locations, for example, the Caribbean as a cultural unit was divided into the Tainos of the Greater Antilles and the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles. Other categories formed smaller divisions such the Ciboneys and Guanahatabeys in Western and Central Cuba and the Lucayans of Bahamas. Despite the fact that many of these categories have limited archaeological support, they are still being used and perpetuated in Caribbean archaeology (see more on this problem in Curet 2003; Keegan 1989; Rodríguez Ramos 2006, 2010; Rodríguez Ramos and Pagán Jiménez 2006, 2007; Torres Etayo 2006).

The trends established by foreign archaeologists that began earlier in the twentieth century were reinforced and expanded by Irving Rouse, by far the most influential archaeologist in the Caribbean in that century. Rouse began working in the Caribbean in the 1930s in Haiti where he conducted field research for his dissertation (Rouse 1939; see Siegel 1996 for an excellent summary of Rouse's work and thoughts). Later on, he worked in dozens of sites in Puerto Rico as part of the Porto Rico Survey Project (Rouse 1952) supported by the New York Academy of Sciences. The key difference between Rouse and his impact on local archaeologies and many other foreign scholars of the early twentieth century who work in region before him and after his time is that Rouse worked in the region persistently for almost seven decades and, secondly, his work covered a broad area of the Caribbean Basin, including Venezuela (Rouse and Crucent 1961, 1963), Cuba (Rouse 1942), and some of the Lesser Antilles (Rouse and Morse 1999). His monumental work and the chronological sequences are still being used in the Caribbean and they are great heuristic devices useful as starting points for any research in the region. Furthermore, his attention to detail and reporting skills are still good sources of information and of great assistance, especially in cases where the sites or collections do not exist anymore.

Although poorly recognized by most young North American archaeologists, Rouse in many ways was one of the founders of the culture history movement of the 1930s. He was involved in the debates on the meaning of groupings developed by classificatory systems and how cultures and periods could be defined and identified archaeologically. Despite changes in archaeological paradigms in the U.S. and Europe, however, throughout decades Rouse continued the tradition of emphasizing culture history from a normative and positivist perspective (Rouse 1986, 1992). In a region where archaeology was dominated by amateurs or collectors with little theoretical and methodological preparation in archaeology, Rouse's paradigms, premises, methodology, and models became the standard for everyone. Even local scholars who did not agree with Rouse's interpretations (e.g., Chanlatte 1981, 1986;

Chanlatte and Narganes 1983, 1985; Veloz Maggiolo 1977, 1991, 1993; Veloz Maggiolo et al. 1981) still worked within the normative and positivist paradigm of the culture historians.

From the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1960s there were very few scholarly oriented local archaeologists (e.g., Adolfo de Hostos, Ernesto Tabío, Ricardo Alegría, and Emile de Boyrie Moya) in the three discussed regions, and it was not until the 1970s that we see a surge of native archaeologists with undergraduate or graduate degrees, some of them obtained in other countries such as Mexico, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Spain. This trend continues today as more and more young scholars with new and innovative ideas keep adding to the ranks of archaeologists. Although having different backgrounds and following diverse paradigms, all these scholars bring new theoretical frameworks to Caribbean archaeology, which is needed to overcome the limitations of the previous generations. Among them are Miguel Rodríguez, José Oliver, Diana López Sotomayor, Jaime Pagán, Reniel Rodríguez, and José Ortiz Aguilú, from Puerto Rico; Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, Renato Rimoli, Clenis Tavarés Maria, Manuel García Arevalo, Bernardo Vega, Luis Chanlatte Baik, and Fernando Luna Calderón from Dominican Republic; and Lourdes Dominguez, Gabino La Rosa, Manuel Rivero de la Calle, Ramón Dacal, José Guarch Delmonte, Jorge Ulloa Hung, Roberto Valcárcel, and Daniel Torres Etayo from Cuba.

In recent years, the region has also benefited from the influx of new generations of foreign archaeologists (mostly U.S. and European) who have been working in collaboration with local colleagues or employed by local institutions. These individuals combined with the above-mentioned local scholars have created an environment of collaboration that has helped the advancement of Caribbean archaeology in the past 10–20 years. But, more than anything, this has brought together a diversity of theoretical approaches and views that have led to healthy and productive debates.

Before ending this section, it is important also to mention that like any other region of the world, the Caribbean also has its share in what can be called as pseudo-archaeology. Pseudoarchaeology “refers to descriptions of the past that claim to be based on facts but actually are fictional accounts that distort our understanding of the past” (Sharer and Ashmore 2003). Pseudoarchaeologists, therefore, are people that are highly interested in archaeology, but with very little preparation and who definitely do not work within the standards of the discipline. Furthermore, they falsify reconstructions of the past with highly selective use of the information to support their unfounded arguments. In some cases these are individuals who have taken one or two courses on archaeological methods and consider this limited training satisfactory to call themselves archaeologists. Some may have also participated in an archaeological project where they were trained on controlled excavations or surveys. Because of the strong nature of amateurism in Caribbean archaeology and the lack of academic programs offering degrees in this discipline, many of these pseudo-archaeologists are able to climb the “career” ladder to the point that they are recognized and certified as being able to develop and conduct archaeological projects. However, the quality of their work is poor, descriptive, and, in many occasions, useless.

In conclusion, it is clear that the archaeologies of the Spanish Caribbean are the product of a combination of multiple factors, processes, social forces, and individuals. So far I have pointed out some of the commonalities present in each of the discussed regions. One of these common factors was the influence from North American archaeology, promoted in great extent by the colonial context of the region, but also by the interests of local individuals who represented certain social class and favorably adopted the North American paradigm because it conformed very well to their personal, social, and political interests. Of course, each region adopted this paradigm in different ways according to their specific political and social conditions. The following section discusses how the paradigm of North American archaeology impacted Caribbean archaeology from an intellectual perspective and the section after that one discusses how it was adopted in each of the regions in the second half of the twentieth century.

Caribbean Archaeology and Early North American Archaeologists

As mentioned above, foreign archaeologists have visited the Caribbean since the 1800s. In one way or another, the work of these scholars has been very influential and, in some cases, even instrumental and decisive in directing the discipline in the region. Of special interest is the work of the early researchers who, from the late 1800s to the first half of the twentieth century, set the intellectual foundation that dominated (and still dominates) Caribbean archaeology. While this group includes both U.S. and European archaeologists, the former was not only present in larger numbers but also left a deeper mark in the Spanish Caribbean. For this reason, I focus my discussion on the impact of North American archaeology in the region.

Because of the lack of basic background and comparative information most of the early work in the Caribbean can be described as exploratory, where researchers focused on collecting or excavating material culture of a particular region or island. These collections were used in two ways: first, to confirm the ethnohistoric data and second, to begin developing cultural-chronological sequences and defining culture areas.

While many of the contributions by the early U.S. archaeologists working in the Caribbean can still be seen in local chronologies and interpretations, here I want to focus more on the intellectual (or paradigmatic) impact. Particularly, I want to emphasize the influence of the work of Irving Rouse, not only because it is a great example of the influence of North American archaeology in the Caribbean, but also because he was the most prolific and worked in the region the longest.

Rouse began working in the Caribbean not in isolation, but as part of a larger project developed by Cornelius Osgood from Yale University (see Siegel 1996). The goal of the project was to use the Caribbean islands to develop new methodology in the study of the past cultures. As it was the case of the later “Island Archaeology” movement developed during the New Archaeology years (e.g., Kirch 1986;

Watters and Rouse 1989), the premise was that, because of their bounded and isolated condition, island societies would be easier to research than continental ones. Using his background in forestry and botany, Rouse was interested in developing classification systems and typologies (Siegel 1996). He first attempted the classification of the materials he recovered in Haiti for his dissertation but the ceramic variability was too pervasive (Rouse 1939; see also Read 2007). Working on those classifications he developed his concepts of mode and modal analysis. His later work in Puerto Rico and Venezuela led him and José Cruxent (Rouse and Cruxent 1963) to utilize the concepts of style, series, and subseries. All these concepts were used to prepare cultural, chronological, and regional sequences for which Rouse is well known in the archaeological world. A characteristic of this system is that these concepts were organized in a hierarchical and dendritic way. In other words, style was the lowest level scale of analysis; related styles in a relatively larger geographic area were combined in subseries, and related subseries in series (Curet 2004, 2005; Rouse 1986, 1992; Siegel 1996). According to Rouse (1986:7), each of these categories “has” to be as internally uniform (or homogeneous) as possible. Therefore, the lowest level of analytical importance for Rouse, the style or culture, consisted of a homogenous and uniform cultural entity that occupied and dominated exclusively a particular area at a particular time. Based on this premise the ancient (as well as modern) history was seen as a lineal succession of cultures where co-existence of multiple cultural groups of equal standing/dominance in the same place at the same time is not an option.

In order to fully understand Rouse’s work it is critical to put it in the historical context. Like most of archaeological work of the early 1900s, Rouse’s research emphasized reconstruction of culture histories and culture areas using anthropological ideas of the time, many of them developed from the colonial perspective at the beginnings of the discipline. This is a very important point needed to comprehend the impact of his work, because he followed the same paradigm consistently during more than six decades of research covering a large geographic area. While Rouse changed his interpretations multiple times throughout these decades, his premises, assumptions, and, most importantly, his paradigm remained intact. In other words, Rouse was a man of his times and the times were the early part of the twentieth century, where North American Anthropology, as a whole, was dominated by the Boasian school of historical particularism, emphasizing specifically the constructions of culture areas and local histories. This paradigm and its two main principles, normativism and positivism, are part of Rouse’s legacy in Caribbean archaeology.

Normativism argues that all cultures have norms followed by all members and that explains the sense of uniformity of behavior present in all cultures. Since culture is also material, the premise was that material culture could be used to identify “the conceptual system held by the artisans and users of artifacts” (Read 2007:46) and, consequentially, to define the archaeological cultures. In other words, the emphasis was on behavioral aspects of cultural patterns and not on their internal variability. This perspective impacted the discipline both methodologically and theoretically. Methodologically, because it was argued that, since everyone in a culture learned the same norms in the process of acculturation and socialization, the excavations of

only small fractions of archaeological sites or culture areas were needed to define their rules of behavior and the culture itself. Theoretically, normativism limited the goals of the discipline to understanding only behavior at the level of culture (group behavior); behavior at lower, individual level, or smaller scale, was not relevant. Individuals, households, communities, and other cultural and social institutions were not considered decision-making agents. Culture determined individual behavior through norms.

Positivism is a position that holds that the only authentic knowledge is that based on actual experience. A particular version of this philosophy popular in the early twentieth century and of critical importance for this discussion is the perspective that data speak for itself independently of the theoretical or personal perspective of the researcher (also called empiricism). Thus, the important goal for North American Anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century was to know how to collect and organize data. Here Rouse's methodology of organizing data to define cultures, chronologies, culture areas, migrations, and interactions comes to play.

It is under the light of these premises that we can better understand Rouse's system and approach. For example, concepts such as modes can be translated as cultural norms of artifact production, which reflect culture (or style in Rouse's nomenclature) as a whole. Also, it explains why Rouse (and many others from his generation) never excavated large areas of archaeological sites, using instead the infamous "telephone booths" test pit excavations highly criticized by the New Archaeology. Furthermore, it clarifies why Rouse considered of great importance to develop his famous culture/chronological charts as a way of organizing the evidence in order to understand the past. Finally, it also explains the lack of theoretical framework in most of Rouse's work, since it is the data not theory what provides answers to our questions (Rouse 1986:171).

Needless to say, both the normative and positivist (empiricist) perspectives have major theoretical, philosophical, epistemological, and methodological drawbacks. I am not going to discuss these problems here and I refer the reader to works by Trigger (1989) and Clark (1993). What is important for this discussion is that these are the two perspectives of a paradigm that were uncritically adopted by most Caribbean archaeologists and still persist among certain followers of the discipline. One reason for such resiliency of Rouse's models and perspectives in the region is that during most of his career in the Caribbean, archaeology was dominated by amateurs or collectors, who had none or very little preparation on theoretical or methodological philosophies. Because of this lack of exposure to other paradigms, local archaeologists simply adopted Rouse's premises without questioning them. In other words, in the kingdom of the blind, the one-eye man is king. Interestingly, later "professional" archaeologists with post-graduate degrees also adopted these premises even when they were interested in answering questions other than those related to culture history.

The adoption of both Rouse's classificatory system and an interpretive paradigm based on a normative and positivist perspectives, combined with the lack of native, professional archaeologists in the region, created a condition that hampered the development of local archaeologies. In one way, the strict adoption of this perspective

by local archaeologists, almost like a dogma, helped to perpetuate it but also intellectually froze Caribbean archaeology, while major theoretical and paradigmatic debates were going on in the rest of the Americas and the world (Politis 2003). Such is the case of many colonial regions; it was considered by many local scholars that the great schools of thought were in the metropolis. The development of an autochthonous archaeology was curbed by a combination of such colonial constraints and the “inferiority complex”; Caribbean archaeology developed because of its avocational origin. This situation was very clear in the heated debate by La Hueca as discussed below.

Another way the development of local archaeologies was restricted was the widespread use of Rouse’s concepts and system (Rouse 1964, 1986, 1992). In defining cultural categories Rouse used the three concepts mentioned above: style, subseries, and series. For Rouse, style was synonymous with peoples or cultures and they covered large geographic areas from large regions in the Greater Antilles and whole islands to groups of islands. Series or subseries are supra-cultural categories that set the decision-making process and other significant behavior further away from smaller social and cultural units. This approach ignored first the internal diversity in cultural regions and, second, the possibility of the existence of independently local histories of the local communities separate from the history of the larger cultural group. Thus, localities cannot claim ownership of the ancient history of indigenous groups since it was not unique to that location, but was part of a bigger, almost abstract entity. In a way, this also increased the cultural distance between the local archaeologists and the people they are studying, making the latter more susceptible to be seen as the “other” instead of as part of their own cultural, social, and historical processes.

I want to make clear here that I am not attacking either the person of Rouse or his integrity as a scholar. I am not blaming Rouse for the stagnation of Caribbean archaeology, but more to those of us who succeeded him and kept using his models without questioning many of the underlying premises, even when Rouse’s system was not in concordance with their research question or methodologies. What I am trying to specify here is that the acceptance, adoption, and resiliency of Rouse’s models in Caribbean archaeology, first, were in great part because of the colonial situation in the Caribbean in the first few decades of the twentieth century and, second, that it actually impacted the development of local archaeologies in a negative way. The colonial conditions that led to this situation merely created the right conditions for Rouse and other North American scholars to conduct research in the Caribbean and for local archaeologists to accept and retain their perspectives. In other words, I do not believe that Rouse’s or any other North American archaeologist’s approach was imposed in a forceful manner (but perhaps in a surreptitious way) to Caribbean archaeologists; in my view, it was accepted by groups of local archaeologists. There can be many reasons for this acceptance including that Caribbean people thought that metropolitan scholars knew better or because Rouse’s perspective went well with their own scientific, political, or social agendas. Furthermore, Rouse, as a scholar from an institution of the caliber of Yale, imparted in him an aura of “authority” that was easily and blindly accepted by many local archaeologists.

Recent History of Caribbean Archaeology: The Cases of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Dominican Republic

Even though all three case studies included here shared similar historical trends, their archaeologies have taken different, diverging paths, especially in the last five decades. In this section, I discuss separately the recent history of the archaeology of the three case studies and how they are tied to the local political and social processes. Some of these processes began in the 1950s, but it was during the 1960s and 1970s that they accelerated.

Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico has been a U.S. colony since 1898, when it was obtained from Spain as part of the Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish–Cuban–American War. In 1952 the island gained partial autonomy when the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (*Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico*) was established as a result of the decolonization program of the United Nations. With the establishment of the new Puerto Rican government, the need arose for developing a “national” identity, something that was ignored by previous colonial governments. The *Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* was created in 1955 to promote “a systematic rediscovery of our cultural heritage” (Alegría 1996:261), and Ricardo Alegría, Puerto Rican archaeologist and first director, was entrusted with developing this identity. Using his anthropological perspective, his archaeological work on pre-Hispanic sites (Alegría 1951a, b, 1965, 1983), and the ethnographic work in the town of Loiza (Alegría 1954) of predominantly African-descent population, Alegría created the concept of Puerto Rican identity as being the result of the merging or blending of the Spanish, Taíno, and African cultures and “races.” As a matter of fact, the seal of the Instituto de Cultura shows this more vividly when at its center has a Spaniard who looks like Cervantes (the author of *Don Quixote*) holding a book, an Indian with an idol or *cemí* and an African slave with a machete (see Dávila 1997 for a more thorough discussion on the role of the Instituto in developing the Puerto Rican identity).

In my opinion it is at this point that the ancient past of Puerto Rico was democratized and proletarianized and ceased to be of interest only to an intellectual and social elite. The life, culture, and society of the Taíno, late pre-Hispanic indigenous groups from the Greater Antilles, began to be included in elementary school textbooks. Alegría himself wrote a book on the Taínos for children (Alegría 1950). Moreover, the Instituto bought the land of the Pre-Hispanic *Centro Ceremonial de Caguana* in the municipality of Utuado and created the first pre-Columbian archaeological park of the island. Since then, this site has become a landmark of Taíno culture that is now considered by most Puerto Ricans as our cultural ancestors. Since then, other archaeological projects and the creation of additional archaeological parks have continued with the strengthening of these sentiments (Fig. 2). The representation of this past is also included as a theme in many contemporary



Fig. 2 Excavations of a house floor and post-molds at the ceremonial center of Tibes, Ponce, Puerto Rico (Photo taken by L. A. Curet)

artistic media and crafts such as murals, paintings, carvings, and sculptures (Oliver 1998, 2005) (Fig. 2).

Despite the popularization of the indigenous cultures, however, a strong and official local archaeology did not develop in the island. For example, no strong, serious, and healthy archaeology program were supported adequately either by the government (i.e., the Instituto) or educational (e.g., universities) organizations developed in the island. Archaeology was not promoted as a career; if anything it was discouraged by advisors who promoted careers more affine with the industrialization plans of the government. Archaeological work was still dominated by avocational archaeologists and organizations that set the agenda of what needed to be done. Intellectually, Puerto Rican archaeology was still being dominated by the paradigm and models established by Rouse's work.

In the late 1970s and 1980s the practice of archaeology in Puerto Rico changed dramatically. First, the Clean Air Act passed by the U.S. government included clauses on the protection of historically significant sites in danger to be destroyed by government projects and the need to study them. It is here that Cultural Resource Management (CRM) or "Contract" archaeology began. These new regulations created an enormous demand for archaeologists to conduct works to discover, evaluate, and mitigate sites; a demand that could not be matched because of the lack of professional archaeologists or training programs in the island. This need was exacerbated in the late 1980s when the Puerto Rican law passed a law for the protection and study of archaeological sites that was stiffer than the U.S. laws since it included both public and private land and projects and that created a council (or *Consejo*) to oversee the archaeology of the island. Instead of fully trained and prepared archaeologists, this demand was satisfied by amateurs who began to do consulting work on the side, and

eventually became career archaeologists. Ever since this trend began in the late 1970s the number of career archaeologists has swelled exponentially, to the point that Puerto Rico is probably the island with more archaeologists and archaeological projects in the Caribbean. These numbers, however, also include few but significant professional archaeologists with degrees obtained in other countries as mentioned above.

The enactment of the Puerto Rican law brought to the surface some problems produced by the colonial condition of the island. While some problems were present from early on in Puerto Rican salvage archaeology, they have been exacerbated in recent years, particularly by two projects run by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for the Puerto Rican government and in the land owned by the Puerto Rican government. The two projects were the Río Tanamá project on the north coast of the island and the Jacana project on the south coast. Although the issues involved in both cases can be complicated, one of the main factors that produced the conflict was the perception of the federal agency (i.e., U.S. Corps of Engineers) and its archaeologists that they did not have to abide by the Puerto Rican law, even if the work is conducted in land owned by the Puerto Rican government. An example of this is that in both the cases, the Corps or the archaeological consulting company who conducted the works did not follow the protocols established by the Puerto Rican law and did not contact the local authorities, particularly the Consejo, the institution that oversees the archaeology of the island, and did not follow the protocols established by the council to do archaeological projects in Puerto Rico. Needless to say this lack of recognition of the local laws and procedures became a scandal once the media got a hold of it that arouse strong nationalist feelings among the general population and led many to accuse the Corps and the consulting company of destroying or stealing the Puerto Rican cultural heritage. It is clear that the controversy was created not so much because of conflict between the Puerto Rican and federal laws, but by the complete disregard of the local laws by the Corps. Despite all the arguments, debates, and clarifications the Corps, the consulting company and their archaeologists still deny any wrongdoing in a recent publication in *Archaeological Record* (the official bulletin of the Society for American Archaeology) about the Jacana project, where they do not even mention the controversy. Moreover, in a symposium at the annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology, the Corps archaeologist, David McCullough, in a very colonial attitude, still claims that the Corps did not have any obligation to follow the Puerto Rican law.

Another problem that has arisen from the establishment of consulting archaeology is that many of the projects are open to both Puerto Rican and American archaeologists and companies. Because of the lack of well-trained archaeologists in the island many of the projects (especially large, federal funded projects) are given to American companies with little knowledge on Caribbean archaeology, much less on Puerto Rican ancient history. Although not all, most of these companies send their staff to the island to conduct the projects with little or no involvement of Puerto Rican archaeologists. In many occasions their staff is poorly trained and without a full understanding of archaeological assemblages in tropical or island settings, applying the same methods following a “one-size-fits-all” research design. They also have a tendency of doing the minimum work necessary to comply, recovering

very little information. Their reports tend to be descriptive and normally their interpretations are made without taking into consideration the ancient history and cultural traditions of the Caribbean. This problem, however, is not unique to Puerto Rico and is present in many U.S. states or North American cultural areas.

Despite the surge in the number of archaeologists, archaeological projects, and increase in awareness among the general public produced by both the federal and Puerto Rican conservations laws, academic (non-consulting) archaeology is still suffering of lack of strong programs with a well-defined vision and set goals. I dare to say that while over 95% of the work is CRM related, only two universities in the island have serious, but poorly funded academic programs or research centers (Universidad de Puerto Rico and Universidad del Turabo). The Division of Archaeology of the Instituto de Cultura, the only government program for the preservation and study of archaeological sites in the island, right is now working almost entirely on CRM issues, including evaluating hundreds of CRM reports. A sign of the seriousness of the crisis in Puerto Rican archaeology is the low number of archaeological work that actually sees its way to academic or popular publications. Despite the enormous number of archaeological projects and the amount of money involved, Puerto Rico is the island with the lowest number of publications in the Spanish Caribbean. Cuba and Dominican Republic produce more popular and professional publications with fewer resources at hand than Puerto Rico.

Summarizing, the contributions of all these historical factors (the formation of a national identity, contract archaeology, and the lack of academic programs) have all combined to form an ill-produced local archaeology in Puerto Rico. Based on the number of projects, Puerto Rican archaeology is dominated by a profit-making system that has allowed the incorporation in large numbers of poorly trained “archaeologists.” Furthermore, there is very little support for developing long-term or permanent archaeological programs in the island, and the ones that are in place suffer of very limited resources and personnel and the lack of serious commitment from their institutions and the government. Training programs are also scarce with the University of Puerto Rico being the only one offering a bachelor in Anthropology, and the Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe beginning to offer the first ever masters degree in Archaeology in 2009.

More importantly, however, is that most of the Puerto Rican archaeology still follows Rouse’s system and suffers of the same epistemological issues, not to mention the acceptance of a colonial interpretation of the ancient history of the island. There have been, however, few cases of interpretation that tried to break away from Rouse’s model such as the case of La Hueca culture contemporaneous (see Oliver 1999; Pagán-Jiménez 2005; and Rodríguez Ramos 2001a, b for more details on these discoveries and the debate that followed them). As it was discussed above, Rouse’s modeling of the culture of the Caribbean was relatively simplistic and unilineal, one culture following another. In the 1970s Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde (Chanlatte 1981, 1986; Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde 1983, 1985) discovered deposits with a new ceramic style that differed markedly to the ones defined by Rouse previously. This “new” culture was called La Hueca. Curiously, these deposits were side to side with deposits belonging to Rouse’s Saladoid

cultures and which seem to have been contemporaneous. This violated several of Rouse's main premises, creating very heated debates among Caribbean archaeologists. But, instead of admitting problems with the theoretical premises and system, most Caribbean archaeologists decided to close ranks with Rouse and either ignored the strong evidence, dismissed the evidence as more of the same, or questioned the data and methods of the local researchers. Many Puerto Rican and Dominican archaeologists, however, supported Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde. In many occasions the discussion included discourses that had either colonial or anticolonial tones.

There is no doubt that many vocal reactions to La Hueca phenomenon from both sides had a non-scientific basis, if anything, it brought out a lot of feelings, emotions, and biases from many of the debaters and many social and political issues that were underlying Caribbean archaeology, but never discussed. One point I want to make here is that despite the differences of the opposite sides, both were making arguments from the same paradigm of culture history with the same problems generated from their normative and positivist perspectives (Oliver 1999). Thus, even though the interpretation may have changed and some change could be made to Rouse's system, they were still using the same paradigmatic foundation brought to the Caribbean by early U.S. archaeologists. The case of La Hueca is perhaps the best and most extreme example of the situation of Puerto Rican archaeology, where people, with some exceptions, are more concerned with identifying cultures and dating them, than with local historical processes that eventually influenced modern Puerto Rican culture.

Cuba

Cuba was also a Spanish colony that was acquired by the U.S. as war loot after the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898. However, contrary to Puerto Rico, the U.S. Congress gave Cuba its independence in 1902, but with a constitution that gave the U.S. the rights to intervene in any internal affair. From then till the 1950s Cuba's political history is characterized by a succession of democratic governments and dictatorships, all of them highly influenced or controlled by U.S. policies. The last of these governments was that of Fulgencio Batista, a brutal dictator who was deposed in 1959 by the Cuban Revolution. Since then Cuba has been under communist government that until recently was headed by Fidel Castro.

The Cuban Revolution and the establishment of a leftist government greatly impacted Cuban archaeology in at least two ways. The first one is that, like in the case of Puerto Rico, the new Cuban government saw the need to re-create or reinforce the national identity and the concept of "patria." As Domínguez (2005) and La Rosa (Dawdy et al. 2005; see also Robaina Jaramillo et al. 2003 and Berman et al. 2005) clearly explain, since the beginning of the Revolutionary government archaeology was seen as playing a critical role in the creation of this identity. Castro himself mentioned this in one of his early, now famous, long speeches (Castro 1975).

The second impact the new government had on Cuban archaeology was the requirement that all scholarly work had to limit their theoretical framework to historical materialism or Marxism. One positive consequence of this policy is that it forced all works in the Social Sciences to have a well-founded theoretical orientation, breaking away from positivist/empiricist premises. However, a second consequence is that it limited all discourses to a single, state-supported theoretical view.

These political changes had heavy impacts in the local archaeology of Cuba. Probably, one of the most dramatic signs of these changes is the publication in 1966 of *Prehistoria de Cuba* by archaeologist Ernesto Tabío and historian Estrella Rey. This book discussed both archaeological and ethnohistoric information from a Marxist perspective to produce an overview and explanation of the pre-Columbian history of the island. In many ways, this publication was a landmark not only in Cuban and Caribbean archaeology, but also in Latin American archaeology (Politis 2003). In Cuba and the Caribbean, it was one of the earliest and most complete works where archaeology and ethnohistory combined not only to describe the culture, but also to better understand social behavior. It was one of the earliest and most serious works that went beyond the mere reconstruction of culture history and cultural characteristics. More importantly, in the Caribbean it was probably the first work with a strong theoretical base since the work of Adolfo de Hostos, and since the wide acceptance of the positivist North American school of thought in the region. Finally, it is one of the earliest works in Latin America that broke away from the North American paradigms (see Politis 2003).

Another way that Cuban archaeology began to develop a stronger theoretical perspective was by incorporating anthropological concepts to explain not only the lifeways and sequence of cultures, but also the inter- and intra-variability present in the pre-Hispanic assemblages. Perhaps the best example of this is the concept of *transculturation* developed by Fernando Ortiz (1943). In studying the origin of Cuban society, Ortiz encountered that traditional concepts such as acculturation are not enough to explain its racial and cultural complexity. These concepts, developed early in anthropology in places under strong colonial condition (e.g., Africa and Asia), assumed that in the process of culture contact, the dominant culture influences the other in what we can compare to a one-way street. However, Ortiz saw that processes more complex than this were involved, including the exchange of information, practices, beliefs, and traditions between cultures, no matter which one was the “dominant” or more “advanced” one. Cuban archaeologists found that the concept of transculturation was useful not only to explain modern Cuban society, but also ancient ones, which will explain the complexity of the archaeological assemblages and the difficulty of classifying them in clear, homogenous and uniform cultures.

One problem developed from the policy that all work had to be done from the Marxist perspective is how it was applied to archaeological data. Most of the data were interpreted in order to support historical materialism instead of testing it. One example of how this limited their interpretations is how all pre-Columbian cultures were lumped into the pre-state Primitive Communism Mode of Production without social classes, and, therefore, lacking any form of institutionalized social and economic differentiation. Moreover, most Cuban archaeologists normally took a

strong, orthodox Marxist position, which was normally at the margin of more recent developments in theoretical position of historical materialism. Interestingly, despite the strong presence of Marxist theoretical perspective, the interest on classifying cultures in time and space characteristic of earlier work persisted, especially to explain the broad variability present in the archaeological record of Cuba. However, instead of using the concepts of mode or cultural norms, now many of them were using economic factors and systems as criteria for their classifications (Guarch Delmonte 1990). In many of these classificatory models of pre-Hispanic cultures, the normative and positivist perspective and paradigms of the early North American archaeologists persisted.

This section on Cuban archaeology would not be complete without discussing it within the context of the Cold War. After the triumph of the revolutionary movement the relationship between the new government and the U.S. quickly deteriorated. As a result of this and considering the imminent risk of an invasion by U.S. funded forces, the Cuban government strengthened their ties with the Soviet Union (USSR), an action that led to the Cuban Missile Crisis of October of 1963 and the North American blockade and embargo to the island nation. The final result of this for Cuba was an even closer relationship with and increased dependency on the USSR. This political situation in the international arena influenced Cuban archaeology in two ways. First, many Cubans had the opportunity to obtain advanced degrees at the Soviet Union, learning more than anything new methodology and approaches to classification. In my opinion, with the exception of studies on stone artifacts and hunting-gathering societies, this practice had little impact on the theoretical perspectives, general approach, or paradigms of Cuban archaeology. I would say that the Soviet influence on Cuban archaeology is more visible in two areas. First on the realm of methodology, where Cuban began paying more attention to and developed new methodology and research techniques between the 1960s and the 1980s (see section by La Rosa Corso in Dawdy et al. 2005). Second, theoretically, it strengthened the orthodoxy of the historical materialism perspective already present and well developed in the social sciences of the island even before the establishment of the new regime (see Oliver 2004).

The second influence was the appearance of scholars from the Soviet Bloc in Cuban archaeology such as Aleksandrenkov (1985) and Kozłowski (1972, 1974, 1975). However, these scholars were few in number, and their involvement in Cuban archaeology was, in most cases, temporary. Again, with the exception of lithic and archaic studies, the influence was not as marked as previous foreign scholars. A special case of these scholars is the Polish Kozłowski, who worked extensively on the pre-ceramic cultures and lithic technology (Kozłowski 1972, 1974, 1975; Kozłowski and Ginter 1975).

In more recent years, a new generation of Cuban archaeologists has begun to be more critical of the traditional Marxist school. While still using historical materialism as its theoretical framework, this recent group of young archaeologists is changing many of the basic premises of the previous generation. Some of the topics that have been critically revised by this group of scholars include a revision of the basic premises and epistemological issues of both the traditional culture history

school and the early revolutionary archaeology (Torres Etayo 2004, 2006; Ulloa Hung 2005), the premise that no institutionalized social or political differentiation existed among the pre-Hispanic groups of Cuba (Guarch Delmonte 1996; Torres Etayo 2004, 2005; Valcarcel Rojas 1999, 2002; Valcarcel Rojas and Rodríguez Arce 2005; see also Domínguez 1991), and the study of superstructural aspects, including the world of ideas and beliefs (Godo 2005; Godo and Celaya 1990).

Today, one of the major problems that Cuban archaeology faces is the lack of academic programs to train students in archaeological methods and theories. Since the 1960s multiple institutions have opened programs in Archaeology and Anthropology, but many of them have not lasted. While officially there are at least two Masters programs today, both of them are not active (Daniel Torres Etayo, 2009, personal communication). Nevertheless, despite this lack of academic programs, many of the young archaeologists recognize this deficiency and are trying to overcome it with self-education, working with more experienced archaeologists, establishing relationships with other Cuban and foreign archaeologists, and, in some instances by studying abroad.

Summarizing, after the Revolution, Cuba began developing a local archaeology that tried to break away from many of the premises and standards of earlier times heavily influenced by North American archaeology and anthropology. Under the new revolutionary government, Cuban archaeology was not considered a purely academic discipline, but a branch of the social science that contributed to the construction of national identity and the concept of “patria.” Furthermore, because of the emphasis on using historical materialism, Cuban archaeologists were required to specify in a conscious manner their theoretical position that influenced how they collected, analyzed, and interpreted data. This was rarely practiced, if at all, in Caribbean archaeology. However, the pre-eminence of historical materialism in Cuban academia has also limited the development of multiple views and restricted alternative ways of interpreting the ancient history. Independent of how one views Revolutionary Cuban archaeology, it is clear that a local archaeology was developed that included new approaches that at some levels broke away from the traditional archaeological paradigm inherited from the North American schools, but at other levels it retained some its old premises. Thus, Cuban archaeology embraced an orthodox perspective of historical materialism, its role in the new social system, and the use of its own intellectual heritage such as the work of Fernando Ortiz, at the same time that continued using the traditional, normative perspectives in the classification of archaeological cultures. However, a new generation of archaeologists is emerging that is taking Cuban archaeology to another level.

Dominican Republic

Of the three cases studies, Dominican Republic (DR) was the only one that was already independent at the time of the Spanish–Cuban–American War. DR obtained its independence from Spain in 1865 and since then it has had a series of military

governments, dictatorships, and democratic governments. Between 1930 and 1961 they suffered the brutal dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo who was killed in 1961 and his regime deposed in 1962. The same year, Juan Bosch, a historian and poet, was elected president, but he was deposed by a right-wing military coup in 1963, and shortly after the U.S. invaded the country. In 1966 Joaquin Balaguer was elected president, in an election “blessed” by the U.S. Under this government a re-definition of a Dominican identity and culture was needed and, like in the cases of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the pre-Hispanic indigenous groups were also adapted (or adopted) as cultural ancestors. As part of this effort, the *Museo del Hombre Dominicano* was formed in 1972. Similar to the case of the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, the mission of the Museo is:

...to preserve, protect, exhibit, and divulge (popularize) aspects of Dominican culture, including the contributions of the diverse ethnic groups who are part of its composition (Natives, Europeans, Africans, and more recent migrations) (<http://www.museodelhombre-dominicano.org.do/>; my translation).

Su misión básica es preservar, proteger, exhibir y difundir los aspectos de la cultura dominicana, incluyendo los aportes de los diversos grupos étnicos que la conforman (aborígenes, europeos, africanos y migraciones recientes) (<http://www.museodelhombredominicano.org.do/>).

Again, like in the previous two case studies, archaeology was used to develop or strengthen the local identity. Initially, however, Dominican archaeology remained within the canons of the North American school of culture history with the normative and positivist perspective.

The emphasis was defining cultures, chronologies, and migrations. Archaeology was used to confirm the chronicles instead of complementing them. Thus, modern Dominican culture was seen as a blend of European, native, and African traditions. However, in the late 1970s and beginning 1980s, Dominican archaeologists, especially Veloz Maggiolo, in conjunction with Venezuelan archaeologists Iraida Vargas and Mario Sanoja, began developing what is known now as the Latin American Social Archaeology (LASA). This is a school of thought based on Marxism, and highly influenced by Steward’s and Megger’s cultural ecology and the theoretical works of Lumbreras (1974). In trying to explain the variability among pre-state societies, but that cannot be simply be placed under the primitive communism mode of production of orthodox Marxism, Vargas and Sanoja developed the concept of Modos de Vida. While this concept has changed somewhat through time (see Vargas 1990), Modo de Vida can be summarized as an intermediate concept between the concepts of mode of production and culture. In other words, it is an attempt to put some cultural flesh on the skeleton of the pure materialist approach of orthodox Marxism and its emphasis on the economic structure and relations of production. However, most of the times the concept was applied from a strong cultural ecological perspective that overwhelmed the Marxist approach (Moscoso 1986). This movement has evolved in recent times to become a more sophisticated and elaborate theoretical framework. For more detail on this concept and the current state of this theoretical school the reader is referred to Felipe Bate (1998).

To a certain degree, this school of thought began developing a local archaeology independent of the tradition implanted by the early North American archaeologists in the Caribbean. It provided a theoretical framework considerably different than the one from the cases already discussed above. However, despite the explanatory potential of this approach, the way it was applied by Dominican archaeologists, it emphasized the classification of archaeological cultures in *Modos de Vida*, explaining them in ecological terms. Furthermore, culture is still seen as the basic decision-making unit, with little agency from lower levels. Interestingly, many of the *Modos de Vida* corresponded to the traditional cultures defined by Rouse and other culture historians (e.g., compare the Mellacoid (Rouse 1964) and the *Modos de Vida* Mellacoides (Veloz Maggiolo et al. 1981)). A difference between both approaches, nevertheless, is that the LASA used economic practices as criteria to further define the traditional categories. While the theoretical approach of LASA has evolved and matured beyond its culture ecological origins, its application in Dominican Republic has not kept up with these developments.

Thanks, in great measure, to the Museo del Hombre Dominicano, for a decade between the early 1970s and early 1980s Dominican Republic was probably the most archaeologically active country in the Caribbean archipelago. During these years Dominican archaeology saw a boom in multiple fronts. First, field projects increased exponentially. Second, a number of researchers were trained in various specializations including human osteology, palinology, and zooarchaeology. And, third, a great number of works were published by the Museo and other institutions (e.g., Fundación Manuel García Arévalo).

Despite this short-lived boom time, today, like in the previous two cases, one major problem present in Dominican archaeology is the lack of academic (graduate or undergraduate) programs to train new generations of archaeologists. There have been several attempts to develop graduate programs in archaeology, but today the Dominican Republic does not have any of such academic programs. While until recently this is true for the three cases discussed here, I believe that the situation of the Dominican case is more severe because of lack of interest among the youth to the point where very few young archaeologists are practicing a career in this discipline.

In recent years there has been a movement that many have called Taino Revival (Haslip-Viera 2001), which claims that much more of the indigenous cultures survived, including populations in the mountainous inland regions of the country. This phenomenon is part of the Neo-Taino movement that developed in the New York City area and consists of organizations of self-proclaimed descendants of the indigenous groups of the Greater Antilles. Several scholars have also supported this position and have even identified communities that can potentially be descendant of the native groups (e.g., Guitar 1998). Interestingly, this possible survival of early communities has been adopted by the greater society, who have incorporated it within the national discourse of Dominican identity and it has become part of the national pride. This discourse has used various forms of evidence including tantalizing, but problematic genetic evidence to support the survival (see various articles in Haslip-Viera 2001). This phenomenon also has a strong presence in Puerto Rico, and, to a much lesser degree in Cuba.

Summary of Recent Histories

As can be observed from this short summary of the recent history of the archaeologies of the three case studies, local archaeologies developed in two fronts. The first one is in the national-popular level, where archaeological and ethnohistoric information was used to build national or local identities. In all the cases, the modern culture of their respective islands was seen as a combination of the indigenous, European, and African cultural traditions. Of course, the Spanish culture was seen as dominant. However, the case of Cuba is a little different when they used the concept of transculturation instead of acculturation. So, at least for most Cuban academics, the indigenous contribution is not the result of a one-way interaction of the Spanish influencing the local groups and limited to the survival of only few cultural traits such as words, names of geographic locations, fruits, animals, and trees. It was the result of a complex process that involved a two-way interaction, where the Spanish acquired knowledge and adopted many cultural traditions, including subsistence strategies, from the Indians.

The Taino survival or Neo-Taino movement has also added to the national-popular adoption of archaeological evidence, especially supporting the idea of the ancient ancestry of the modern Caribbean cultures. For many in Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, these groups become part of the national pride and discourse.

The second front is in the field of professional archaeology. In this topic, the three cases vary considerably. Puerto Rico is a special case, since in great measure, it followed the path of consulting or contract archaeology developed in the United States. Most of the archaeology in the island is of this kind and this practice has attracted a large number of individuals without the proper training to join the ranks of archaeologists making a living in this branch of the discipline. Theoretically, Puerto Rico is still heavily dominated by the normative and positivist perspective of culture history. Differently, due to the strong influence of the political situation, Cuba developed a theoretical position based on Marxism. However, deep inside, until recently, the normative and positivist positions were still profoundly ingrained in the archaeology of this island. The recent generation of archaeologists, however, has been changing this considerably. Dominican archaeology is also taking another direction. In reality, contrary to Puerto Rico and Cuba where archaeology has been popularized as a career, there are very few young archaeologists coming out and most of them are ill prepared and trained. Some of them have been trained by the previous generation of the 1970s and 1980s, but few have seriously contributed to archaeology (see Tavarez Maria 1996 for an exception).

It is clear that the archaeologies of the three case studies have gone through different historical and social processes. However, all of them are still going through major changes. Many of these changes are being produced by new generations that have noticed the inadequacies of the old culture history paradigms. In the next, and final section of this work, I discuss two problems for Caribbean archaeology, one internally produced and the other externally.

Discussion and Conclusion

The road to the development of local archaeologies in the Caribbean has been a long and arduous one that has included factors such influence from local and foreign scholars, the colonial and internal political conditions throughout history, and the role of the discipline in specific historical moments. While in this section I can re-hash many of the issues discussed in this paper, I have decided to briefly present two conditions that have limited in great ways the further development of local archaeologies. Although my discussion concentrates on the Spanish Caribbean, these two conditions are widely applicable to the rest of the archipelagos.

I am convinced that one of the major limitations of archaeology in Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Cuba is the lack of serious graduate programs specialized on one hand on the discipline of Archaeology (or Anthropology) and on the pre-Columbian Caribbean, on the other. Despite the great interest of many young scholars on archaeology, their options to academically further their interest are very limited. Many are able to obtain undergraduate degrees in History, Anthropology, or other Social Sciences related to archaeology, but there are no local academic programs where they can pursue graduate degrees. To the best of my knowledge, the only exception is a recently developed (less than a year old) masters program in archaeology at the *Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe* in Puerto Rico. A consequence of the lack of academic options is that many young scholars have to migrate to Spain, Mexico, Russia, the U.S., or other countries in order to further their preparation and training in archaeological theory and methods. In many of the cases, these programs do not have Caribbean specialists that can advise students appropriately on their field research. Once they finished their degrees, only few find adequate jobs in their place of origin, some have to do consulting work, and others find jobs in foreign lands. Another consequence is the lack of enough numbers of scholars with the appropriate credentials to begin developing strong academic and research programs in the islands. Without these programs, the local archaeologies cannot mature to a level where the discipline is taken seriously by local authorities, university administrators, and foreign colleagues. Furthermore, with few exceptions, this situation has not allowed for the development of truly local schools of thought in the local archaeologies. This, in a way, is a vicious cycle, where well-trained archaeologists cannot be produced because of lack of jobs and program, but at the same time, good programs and jobs cannot be opened because of the lack of well-trained archaeologists. Of course, this is a generalization and there are exceptions to this; but the reality is that the options of good and serious academic programs and job opportunities are very scarce or non-existence in the three case studies and, to a certain degree, in the rest of the Caribbean.

The second condition that has greatly limited local archaeologies to bloom is the biases and misconceptions the discipline at large has about Caribbean archaeology. For example, in my own experience it is extremely difficult to acquire grants or funds for archaeological projects in the Caribbean. Furthermore, the Caribbean, as a case study, or models developed in the region are ignored in favor of models

developed in the few regions of the world that are considered “core” areas, such as Mesoamerica, the Andes, the U.S. Southwest, and the U.S. Southeast. These models, and the evidence used to support them, are considered universal, and they are thus applied to many other parts of the world in a blatant example of the homogenization of human behavior. Models or evidence from other regions are considered second-class citizens and are thought to be of minor importance or non-universally applicable, especially if they contradict the ones from the “cores.” This ignorance is further exacerbated in regions that are poorly known by many in North American and European archaeology who, in a form of academic colonialism, consider these regions to be too marginal or as places where no “good” archaeological work has been or is being conducted.

It is clear to me that the Caribbean is one of these regions marginalized by North American and European archaeology, particularly since the New Archaeology. Before the 1960s, the Caribbean was at the forefront of not only archaeological debates, but also anthropological ones (e.g., Mintz 1960; Steward 1956; Wolf 1956). For example, in 1950s, the Caribbean, represented by the works of Rouse, was one of the major examples used by Willey et al. (1956) to model intercultural interactions and migrations. In 1948, Steward published the *Handbook of South American Indians* in which he developed a model of social evolution suspiciously similar to the one published by Service (1962) years later. In this model, the Circum-Caribbean represents a form of socio-political evolution and more elaborate version of what Service later called chiefdoms. In 1955, Oberg published another typology of social organizations in South America wherein he included many Caribbean groups under the rubric of “Politically Organized Chiefdoms,” the first time that the term chiefdom was used in anthropology. In the early 1900s, Adolfo de Hostos, a Puerto Rican archaeologist, was interpreting indigenous iconography and symbols from the Greater Antilles from the perspective of the indigenous minds, ideology, and way of thinking; research that today could be considered as important semiotic or post-processualist studies. Also, as mentioned above, in studying the formation of Cuban culture and identity, Fernando Ortiz, the famous Cuban anthropologist and former student of Malinowski, developed the concept of transculturation. This concept opposed the traditional and simplistic colonial idea that cultural contact always produced acculturation where the “dominant” culture will impose over the more “docile” or less-developed one. Unfortunately, these contributions and the potential of the Caribbean to contribute to broader archaeological and anthropological debates were lost in the lore of North American anthropology and archaeology to the point that the names of Julian Steward, Fernando Ortiz, and Irving Rouse are barely recognized by graduate students or young scholars.

In order for local archaeologies in the Caribbean and other regions of the world to develop and mature into healthy disciplines they have to work both with internal and external factors. Internally, the discipline has to be formalized developing more sophisticated and realistic goals, perspectives, and explanations of ancient (or ancestral in the case of cultural or national identities) people. It also needs to have a clear view of what their roles are in both the academic world and the society at large.

To accomplish this strong academic research and government programs are needed. Externally, the local archaeologies of the Caribbean have to go beyond communicating almost exclusively with each other and expand these lines of communications to colleagues at least from adjacent culture areas (e.g., Southeastern U.S. and the Isthmo-Colombian region), but, more ideally, to even further regions.

Once this said, however, we have to admit that strong efforts to solve these two issues have already began, many of them pushed by young scholars with new and refreshing perspectives and ideas. An example of this is the publication of more articles in international journals such as *Latin American Antiquity*, *Antiquity*, *Ethnohistory*, *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology*, *Revista del Area Intermedia (Colombia)*, and others. Also, there has been an increase of Caribbeanists participating in international conferences outside the Caribbean such as the Annual Meetings of the Society for American Archaeology and the World Archaeological Congress. As mentioned above, at least one new masters program on Caribbean archaeology has opened recently and we know of similar efforts being made in other Caribbean countries to open others.

To conclude, it is clear that Caribbean archaeology is going through very exciting times showing that local archaeologies are coming to age. While it is true that a lot still needs to be done and we still have a long way to go, it is equally true that the discipline has reached a level of maturity where theories and methods being used or proposed in the region cannot be ignored anymore by colleagues from other regions. We are finding our way to contribute to both our own social and scientific needs and those of the discipline at large.

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Part III
Archaeology in Asia and the Pacific Region

Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan

Fumiko Ikawa-Smith

Introduction

To those accustomed to North American anthropological archaeology, archaeology practised in Japan appears locally focussed, with the primary interest in the history of the Japanese people and nation and heavy emphasis on typology and chronology (e.g., Barnes 1993:40; Crawford 1983; Ikawa-Smith 1975; Pearson 1976). About a decade ago, I stated (Ikawa-Smith 1999; 2001) that the major theme of archaeology in Japan, as in many other East Asian countries, is the construction of national identity with reference to the past, and that archaeology thrives in Japan because of broad-based public interest and support to increase the understanding of who they are and where they came from. I believe that this is still largely true. Nevertheless, as I went over different data, in preparation for this chapter, such materials as the contents of archaeology programs currently offered at universities, and the numbers and the topics of papers presented at recent archaeological conferences in Japan and abroad, I was struck by greater diversity in research objectives, methodology, and strategy adopted by current Japanese archaeologists. Later in this paper, I will discuss how the practice of archaeology in Japan is rapidly changing, and address those new trends and challenges faced by archeologists in the twenty-first century. I will begin with a brief review of how the discipline originated, as its beginnings define how we arrived where we are today.

In the Beginning: Antiquarian Scholars of the Tokugawa Era

If “archaeology” is the reconstruction of the past through the study of material remains, we find examples of what Bleed (1986) called “almost archaeology” in the activities of the officials, wealthy farmers, and merchants of the Tokugawa Period

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(AD 1603–1868). Under tight political control and highly restrictive policies regarding access to external contacts of the Tokugawa Shogunate, peace prevailed and arts and scholarship flourished in urban centres. There actually were several intellectual traditions that produced the “almost archaeologists” of the time. They created a receptive environment to which the “scientific archaeology” could be introduced in the late nineteenth century. They also fostered a positive social milieu for protection of cultural heritage, when it was threatened by the rapid economic development later in the twentieth century.

One of the intellectual traditions of that time was Neo-Confucianism, the dominant philosophy of the hierarchical society under the Shogunate. Some of the Neo-Confucian scholars, with characteristically rational analysis of phenomena, offered remarkable observations about archaeological objects. For example, it has long been known that stone arrowheads were often found after rain storms, and were thought to be weapons of a heavenly army that had fallen from the sky, or alarming signals that called for special rituals. Arai Hakuseki (1656–1725), a Neo-Confucian scholar, who also served as an advisor to the Shogun government, thought otherwise. He reasoned that the heavy rains simply exposed what had been buried for a long time, and that these stone arrowheads were in fact artefacts made by humans. He further suggested that the arrowheads may have been left by a continental ethnic group who, according to the chronicles, had come over to the northern part of the archipelago during the sixth and seventh centuries (Sasaki 1991; Saito 1974). Another Confucian scholar, To Teikan (1731–1798), who collected and described meticulously in his many books stone, ceramic, and bronzemade artefacts, made a startling statement in his 1781 volume *Shohohatsu* about the origins of the Imperial family. Based on his close observation of the earthenware *haniwa* figures placed on the elite burial mounds of the fifth and sixth centuries, he concluded that because the clothing on these figures were stylistically so similar to the Korean dresses of the day, the founders of the Imperial line must have been of Korean origin. He further observed that the founding of the Imperial line could not have taken place in 660 BC, as stated in the chronicles, but 600 years later, as it did not make sense in view of continental chronologies (Saito 1974:50–51).

To's calculations were remarkably accurate, but such statements were met with strong opposition from the scholars of the *Kokugaku* (“National Learning”) school, another intellectual tradition that produced “almost archaeology” of the time. Having started, early in the Tokugawa Period, as a literary movement emphasizing the importance of ancient Japanese texts, *Kokugaku* by this time was developing into an anti-Confucian, nationalistic ideology. It held that ancient texts such as *Kojiki*, compiled in the eighth century, are to be taken literally as the account of the early history of the nation. Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), one of the prominent scholars of the *Kokugaku* school, was so irked by To's statement about the Imperial origins that he wrote a book of his own, branding To as a raving lunatic.

The *Kokugaku* school of inquiry had impacts on later development of archaeology in Japan in several ways. Their veneration of ancient emperors led some of the *Kokugaku* scholars, including Motoori Norinaga, to studies of burial mounds, or *kofun*, as tombs of the ancient rulers. Many went on survey trips, and some conducted actual field investigations, resulting in numerous accounts describing distributions and archaeological features of the mounds. *Zempo-koen*, a term coined by Gamo

Table 1 Periodization of Japanese archaeology

AD600	Historic Period		
AD300	Kofun Period		
	Yayoi Period		
1,000BC	Jomon Period	1,000	Final Jomon
		2,500	Late Jomon
		3,500	Middle Jomon
		5,300	Early Jomon
		8,800	Initial Jomon

		14,500BC (Calibrated)	Incipient Jomon
33,000BC	Late Palaeolithic		

????	Early Palaeolithic		

Kumpei (1708–1813) to describe the keyhole-shape of the elite burial mounds of the Kofun Period (AD 300–600, see Table 1), is still being used as part of archaeological terminology by current Japanese archaeologists. They deplored the neglected state of what they believed to be Imperial tombs, and their identification of many *kofun* as Imperial burial grounds had the positive effect of protecting these archaeological resources from destruction and looting. However, the identification, in many cases, was not based on firm evidence, and once designated as the graves of Imperial ancestors, and considered the property of the Imperial Household, accessing them became severely restricted, even for academic research until present.

The third tradition in the “almost archaeology” of the Tokugawa Period was the rise of curio collectors, some of whom specialized in collecting rocks, including stone artefacts. Prominent among them was Kinouchi Seikitei (1724–1808), a wealthy official in the Omi Province (Present Shiga Prefecture), who collected over 2,000 lithic specimens which he studied and described in numerous publications. He was a central figure in a national organization of a rock-collectors’ club, who held meetings to exchange ideas as well as specimens. These collectors represent the beginning of amateur interest in archaeology, that provides the basis of public support for

archaeological operations today. These amateur archaeologists must have been many because Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925), who arrived in Japan shortly after the Tokugawa Period ended, remarked that there were more people interested in archaeology in Japan than anywhere else in the world (Morse 1879).

Hoffman (1974) suggested that the rise of antiquarianism in the Tokugawa Japan may have been stimulated by Western sciences, which trickled through Nagasaki, kept open for trade with the Dutch and the Chinese. There is no clear evidence of direct European contribution until the nineteenth century, when Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) came to teach medicine in Nagasaki (from 1823 to 1829). Siebold's greatest contribution to archaeology was to make Japan known abroad. He also trained some students, such as Ito Keisuke (1803–1901), who were to participate in establishing Western sciences during early Meiji Japan.

Meiji Restoration and Establishment of Institutional Bases

It was the increasingly strident nationalism of the *Kokugaku* movement that supplied the ideological justification for the political process known as the Meiji Restoration of 1868, overthrowing the Tokugawa Shogun government, and re-establishing (in theory at least) direct Imperial rule. It is ironic that a patriotic ideology, which ushered the Meiji Period (1868–1912), had a highly xenophobic overtone, yet the new government, once established, took various measures to bring Japan out of isolation and catch up with the advances in Western sciences, technology, and medicine. These policies resulted in the introduction of archaeology as practiced in nineteenth century Europe and America, and the creation of institutions, which were to become major operational bases for archaeological inquiries in Japan.

Arrival of Euro-American Archaeology

The Euro-American methods and concepts of archaeology were brought to Japan by scientists and technical experts whose special knowledge and skills were thought to be useful by the new government, and who also happened to have avocational interests in archaeology. They included John Milne (1850–1913), an English seismologist, who came in 1876 to teach geology at the institute which became a part of the University of Tokyo, and where he remained until 1895; William Gowland (1842–1922), an English chemist who served as a consultant to the Mint from 1872 to 1888; and Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925), whose research trip to Japan in 1877 to study molluscs turned into a 2-year appointment to teach zoology at the newly established University of Tokyo, and who is generally credited, through his excavation of the Omori Shellmound in Tokyo (Morse 1879), as being the father of modern archaeology in Japan.

Soon after his arrival in Japan, Milne wrote about prehistoric remains in Hokkaido and the Kuril Islands, and speculated about the ethnic identities of the

people who left them (Milne 1880, 1881, 1882), while Gowland, stationed in Osaka, made numerous excursions to study burial mounds which abound in that part of the Archipelago. It was not until after his return to England that Gowland published the results of research on the mounds which he called “dolmens” (e.g., Gowland 1899, 1907). These papers, all written in English, would have been read by very few Japanese, if at all, at the time of publication. While their scientific approach and accuracy of descriptions of archaeological features and artefacts were much appreciated by Japanese archaeologists many decades later (e.g., Abe 1984; Saito 1974; Serizawa 1977; Ueda and Inamoto 1981), the impact of their contributions was not immediately visible.

Edward Morse excavated the Omori site with students from the University of Tokyo, and the results were published both in English and Japanese (Morse 1879). He took students on field trips, and two of them conducted their own excavation of a shellmound (Iisima and Sasaki 1883). One of Morse’s lasting legacies is the term “Jomon”, which is now used as the name for a long segment of Japanese prehistory, *ca.* 14500–1000 BC (cf. Table 1). Morse originally used the term, “cord-marked”, to describe the pottery recovered from the Omori site, which was literally translated into Japanese as *jomon*. This descriptive term was then applied to other ceramics recovered from similar contexts, even when they were not actually cord-marked, but were decorated with such methods as incision, punctuation, and shell-impression. Jomon eventually become the name for the prehistoric culture and the period characterized by such ceramics. Records indicate that Morse travelled widely, giving engaging lectures and visiting archaeological sites and avocational archaeologists, but like other foreign visitors of the period, he did not leave students who would follow him in archaeological studies. His appointment was in Zoology, and some of his students, such as Iishima and Sasaki mentioned above, pursued their careers in biology.

Preservation of Cultural Heritage

In the meantime, foundations for archaeological investigation in the Euro-American style were being established. If the first wave of the Euro-American archaeology arrived in Japan only as a byproduct of westernization, the Meiji government took some deliberate measures to preserve the nation’s archaeological heritage, by (1) issuing a series of edicts in 1871, 1874, and 1881 intended to preserve ancient objects and to restrict excavation of ancient tombs, and (2) by initiating, as early as 1871, the process which resulted in the establishment of the Imperial (today “National”) Museum as a depository of the nation’s heritage.

There are several competing interpretations of these measures. Some scholars find the edicts, particularly the one issued in 1874 that strictly regulated excavations of ancient tombs, as the beginning of the oppression of archaeological inquiry (e.g., Inada 1986:82–84; Tsude 1986:41; Umehara 1973:206), while others suggest that archaeologists in fact have benefited from these measures as they protected the cultural resources from destruction by treasure-hunters (Saito 1977:238).

Another point of contention concerns the origin of the very idea of cultural properties protection. Clearly there were several forces at play. In the first place, it is reasonable to expect the Meiji government, ideologically based on *restoration* of the direct rule by the Emperor, to be interested in preservation of the nation's cultural heritage, particularly those that have been attributed to be Imperial tombs, which Edwards (2003) characterized as “monuments to an unbroken line”. In the second place, these measures were to counteract the effects of the government's own policy of modernization and westernization, which had created a tendency to neglect things ancient and native. Thirdly, however, practices in the enlightened nations of the West were cited as models to be emulated. For example, Hisanari Machida (1838–1917), who visited England and became a high ranking official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education, was one of those who pressed for protection of cultural properties, and establishment of an institution modelled after the British Museum (Inada 1986:75–77, Saito 1974:80–83, Tanaka 1977).

Even though the inspiration for the museum may have come from abroad, the curatorial positions were filled by archaeologists who continued with the antiquarian tradition of the Tokugawa Era, perhaps due to the lack of alternatives at the time. They pursued their artefact-oriented approach at the Museum, contrasting sharply with the research activities of younger prehistorians based at the Anthropology Department of the University of Tokyo, who were vigorously debating about the ethnic identity of the people who made the artefacts. Terada (1980) cites a source which states that there were two schools of archaeology in the Meiji Era (1868–1911): one known as the “Museum school” or “Antiquarian school”, and the other referred to as the “University school” or “Ethnic archaeology school”.

Prehistoric Research as a Natural Science

The central figure of the latter school of archaeology was Shogoro Tsuboi (1863–1913), who was appointed the first Professor of Anthropology at the University of Tokyo in 1893, on his return from his anthropological studies in England, 1888–1892. His anthropological activities, however, began a decade earlier while he was still a student, when he, with several other science students, formed the Anthropological Society of Tokyo in 1884 (the precursor of the Anthropological Society of Nippon). The Society inaugurated its organ, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, in 1886. Tsuboi is said to have emphasized the fact that none of the founding members of the Anthropological Society were students of Edward Morse, nor did they witness his research methods first-hand (Kudo 1977:192). Indeed Tsuboi entered the University of Tokyo as an undergraduate in 1880, one year after Morse left Japan.

Anthropology in Japan began in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of general anthropology in the 1880s. The articles that appeared in the early issues of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, of which Tsuboi was the *de facto* editor, covered full range of archaeology, ethnology, linguistics and physical anthropology. Yet, the

Anthropology Department was placed in the College (later Faculty) of Science at the University of Tokyo, and, over the years, it developed into a major centre for physical anthropology in Japan. While the successive heads of the Department since 1925 were biological anthropologists, the Department continued to be an important research base for prehistoric archaeology, even after archaeology programs were established at several other institutions.

In the recent past, the Anthropology Department of Tokyo University was particularly notable for contributions to prehistoric research through applications of various methods and techniques of natural sciences. Naotsune Watanabe (1919–1999), professor in the Department from 1968 to 1979, was an energetic and influential promoter of such research. He organized large multi-year interdisciplinary research projects on the applications of natural science methods for investigation, restoration, and preservation of archaeological sites and artefacts, that produced two huge reports, 630 and 984 pages long, respectively (Kobunkazai Henshu-iinkai 1980, 1984). In addition to his own chronometric research, some of the research conducted by younger scholars in the Department during Watanabe's professorship were to gain international recognition, such as Akazawa's analysis of the Jomon fishing practices based on reconstruction of fish body size (Akazawa 1969, 1980; Akazawa and Watanabe 1968), Suzuki's pioneering work (Suzuki 1973, 1974) on obsidian sources and their implications to prehistoric human behaviour, and Koike's (Koike 1979, 1986a, b) studies of shell growth lines to shed light on seasonality of hunting-fishing activities. Interest in the application of natural science methods to archaeological materials remains strong in Japan to this day, as will be mentioned in a later section.

Archaeology as a Discipline of the Humanities

In addition to the Imperial Museum, where research of artefacts was common, and the Anthropology Department of the University of Tokyo, which was the hub of the prehistoric research with the natural sciences orientation, the third centre of archaeological activities was added in 1916, when specialization in archaeology was formally established within the History Department of Kyoto University's Faculty of the Arts. With the creation of this centre, the tripod of what I once called "co-traditions" of Japanese archaeology (Ikawa-Smith 1982) was now complete. Kosaku Hamada (1881–1938), who had been teaching at the University of Kyoto since 1909, was appointed Professor of Archaeology there in 1917 on his return from his studies in Europe (1913–1916). Most of his time abroad was spent in England, where he studied with Hinders Petrie. Hamada's *Tsuron Kokogaku* (1922) is considered to be the first systematic statement in Japanese on the methods and theory of archaeology.

Under Hamada's leadership, Kyoto University archaeologists conducted systematic excavations of prehistoric and proto-historic sites, paying close attention to stratigraphy and the artefact's context, and published site reports with quality illustrations

(e.g., Hamada 1918). They also compiled catalogues of the artefacts with precise typological definitions (e.g., Hamada 1919). The meticulous excavation methods and the styles of publications were adopted by others. Thus, the following decades, until the end of World War II, was the time of increasing professionalization of archaeology, when empirical evidence, based on stratigraphy and typological comparisons, was emphasized, with the ultimate goal of establishing a sound chronology. In this context, Sugao Yamanouchi (1902–1970) wrote a seminal paper on the classification of the Jomon pottery (Yamanouchi 1937), and laid out the foundation for the chronological framework of the Jomon Period, with hundreds of sequentially arranged pottery types, which is still in use.

The principles of stratigraphy and methodology for typological sequence were new imports from European scholarship. At the same time, as many authors have pointed out, the socio-political climate of the period, from the late 1920s to the early 1940s, was particularly favourable to such devotion to details that had no obvious connection to the history of Japan and its people.. The official version of the early history of Japan taught in schools in those years was based on literal interpretation of the eighth century chronicles, placing, as did the *Kokugaku* scholars of the pre-Meiji Era, the founding of the Imperial state by the descendant of the Sun Goddess in 660 BC. Those who attempted to interpret the prehistory and proto-history of the archipelago in terms of archaeological data ran the risk of losing their jobs, or even imprisonment. Under the circumstance, the excessive empiricism of chronology-building, with no apparent reference to the “national history”, was a prudent approach.

In fact, Yamanouchi himself, who as a student took part in the first and the second May Day Demonstrations in Japan in 1920 and 1921, respectively, and had read *Das Kapital* in English and German (because having a Japanese version of the book in his possession would have been too risky [Harunari 2003:117]), is quoted as having recalled later (Sahara 1984:239) that he was particularly careful with the choice of words and expressions when he wrote “Nippon enko no bunka” [“Ancient Cultures of Japan”], which appeared in the periodical *Dolmen* in four parts in 1932. Police knocked on his door in 1921, but he literally managed to escape arrest by fleeing to his great-grandmother’s house in the south of Japan, or sleeping in a stalactite cave (Sahara 1984:234–235). Others were not so prudent nor were they as fortunate. Although the socio-political climate of the early twentieth century had been receptive to liberal ideologies and democratic activism, the growing popularity of Marxism among students and young professionals, stimulated by the 1917 Revolution in Russia, and the founding of the Japan Communist Party as an underground organization in 1922, so alarmed the government that it enacted the infamous Peace Preservation Law of 1925 that severely restricted freedom of speech and association. Under the provisions of the Law, over 70,000 were arrested between 1925 and 1945. Among them was Yoshimichi Watanabe (1901–1982), who was arrested for his labour union activities in 1928 and, according to his own account (Watanabe 1973), started his research on the ancient history of Japan from the Marxist perspective in his prison cell. Continuing his work after his provisional release due to illness, he acted as a mentor to the young Seiichi Wajima (1909–1971) who had been detained by

police and expelled from Waseda University, where he was an active undergraduate member of a Marxist philosophy study group. They, along with several other young historians, collaborated in producing Part 1 of *Nippon Rekishi Kyotei* [*Japan History Curriculum*] (Watanabe et al. 1936), which presented a version of Japanese history, alternative to the official one based on myth, as well as to the sequence of artefact types offered by professional archaeologists. Wajima, under the pen-name of Akira Misawa, wrote the chapter on the Yayoi Period, in which he emphasized the relationship between the economic base and socio-political development. He then took part in a series of excavations of settlement sites, first with his own funds (he came from a well-to-do family), and later as a student in the Anthropological Institute of Tokyo University. These investigations, as will be mentioned later, prepared him for his contribution to settlement archaeology in postwar Japan.

End of World War II: Starting Over

Japan's surrender to the Allied Forces in August 1945 ushered in a radical change in the socio-political climate and a new era for the practice of archaeology in Japan. It was like a second beginning for the discipline, with new organizations launched and the old ones reoriented and reorganized. In the first place, with the restrictions on the academic inquiry removed, it was now possible to rewrite the national history based on archaeological evidence. The end of the War and the economic recovery also meant easier access to foreign publications and international travel, ending the isolation of Japanese archaeologists from international scholarship. The economic recovery, which accelerated in the 1950s through the 1970s, brought on numerous construction projects that threatened archaeological remains, leading to the public outcry for more effective measures to protect nation's cultural heritage. In 1950 the Cultural Properties Protection Commission was established within the national government, and the pre-war laws relating to the protection of cultural properties were combined into the *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties*, which was amended and revised in 1954 and 1975 to expand its coverage. Over the years, an elaborate, government-sponsored cultural resource management system was created, causing a profound change in the practice of archaeology in Japan.

Rewriting the History of Japan

The excavation of the Toro site in Shizuoka Prefecture (Fig. 1) that took place from 1947 to 1950 underscored the new role archaeology was to play in the construction of national history in postwar Japan. Resources were still scarce during those early post-war years, yet excavation was conducted on an unprecedented scale, both in terms of expenditure and the number of participants, with hundreds of professionals, students, and volunteers taking part in the project. They recovered actual rice

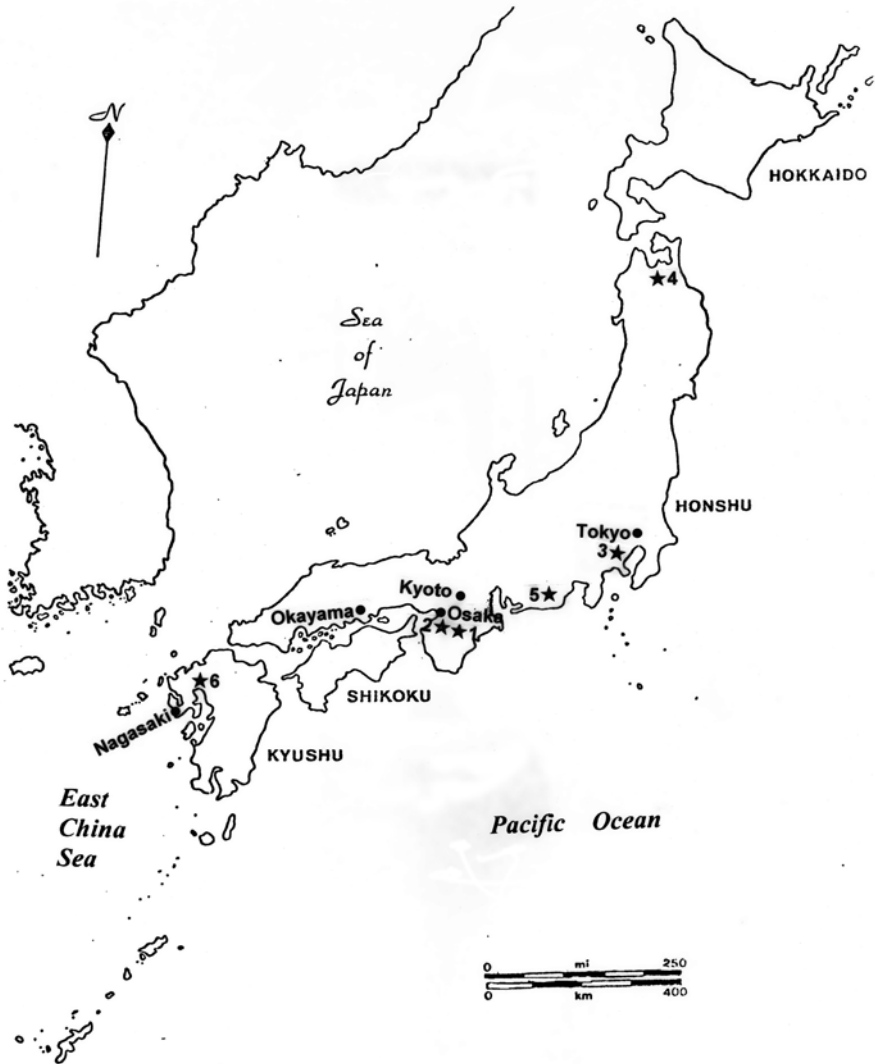


Figure 1. Archaeological Sites (★) and Major Cities (●) Mentioned in the Text
 ★1 Heijo Palace; ★2 Itsuke Kofun; ★3 Omori Shellmound; ★4 Sannai Maruyama;
 ★5. Toro; ★6 Yoshinogari.

Fig. 1 Archaeological sites and major cities mentioned in the text

paddies from an archaeological site for the first time, and many artefacts, including wooden agricultural tools and building materials used in residential and storage structures. The similarity of the wooden implements for cultivation and food processing to those used in recent historic times suggested an affinity with the people who left the remains. The results were widely reported in the media, raising an

awareness of archaeology among the public (Fawcett 1995). As Edwards (1991) noted, the image of the ancient, peaceful rice-growing village, reconstructed from the archaeological remains, supplied the new metaphor of continuity for the Japanese culture and nation. The multi-disciplinary and multi-institutional investigation of the Toro site was to become the model for large-scale projects in the coming years. By bringing archaeologists who had been scattered during the war to the common cause, the Toro excavation also served as the catalyst for the formation of the Japanese Archaeological Association in 1948. Starting with 81 members, the Association now has about 4,400 members.

While school textbooks were literally being rewritten, replacing the myths and legends with the accounts of the Stone Age in the Japanese Archipelago, the adult population was also being served with new versions of a narrative about the nation's past. The early post-war years saw the ideological pendulum swing to the far left. The repeal of the Peace Preservation Act, release of political prisoners, and reconstruction of political parties, including the Japan Communist Party in 1945, was followed in 1947 by election of a coalition government with Tetsu Katayama, a Social Democrat, as its Prime Minister. His ten months in office was the only period (until September 2009) when the position was held by someone other than a member of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party in postwar Japan. Although the pendulum began to swing back again with the "Red Purge" of 1950, the Marxist interpretation of human history was widely accepted by Japanese intellectuals in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. This was because, as Fawcett (1995:234–235) notes, Marxists were seen as the only group of scholars who stood up to the repression during the pre-war and war years. Noteworthy among the discourse on early history of Japan in the Marxist framework that appeared in the late 1940s was a paper on settlement systems in prehistoric and protohistoric Japan by Seiichi Wajima, mentioned above. Using the data and insights he had accumulated during the 1930s and early 1940s, he presented his interpretation of the process of social transformation leading to an early state with class differentiation (Wajima 1948). Wajima's approach and the lasting influence it had on the reconstruction of social organization from settlement systems in prehistoric and protohistoric Japan are discussed in some detail in English by Habu (2004:79–83) and Sasaki (1999:328–334).

Another noteworthy contribution, not couched in the Marxist paradigm, was the *Introduction to Japanese Archaeology* (1951) by Yukio Kobayashi (1911–1988), in which he presented archaeological data from the prehistoric and protohistoric periods as a synthesis of cultural history addressed to a nonprofessional audience. It was well-received and widely used. My own copy is the 26th printing, issued in 1978. In the Preface to his book, Kobayashi stated (1951:3) that he deliberately avoided describing artefacts in terms of typology and chronology as his intention was to bring forth their cultural significance. Generalizations presented by Wajima (1948) and Kobayashi (1951), however, were among the exceptions, because the majority of archaeologists, who were also eager to participate in the rewriting of Japanese history based on archaeological evidence, continued with the particularistic approach, with emphasis on stratigraphy and typological comparisons, strongly entrenched in the 1930s tradition. Yokoyama (1998) in his review of 50 years of

archaeology in post-war Japan, presented in a volume commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Japanese Archaeological Association, describes the situation in harsh words, saying that Japanese archaeologists at that time had no theoretical framework, other than Marxism, to pull archaeological materials together into a coherent narrative. The concerns with chronology and typology continue to be the dominant preoccupation in Japanese archaeology to this day, although, as will be noted below, some changes are taking place with the increasing international contact and the generational turn-over of archaeologists.

Reopening to the International Community

With the end of World War II in 1945, the archaeological community of Japan was once again brought into contact with the international scholarship. The first exposure to the international scholarship took place during the Allied occupation of Japan, 1945–1952. In one of the earliest post-war publications on Japanese archaeology in a foreign language, Kraus (1947) wrote about “visiting several archaeological laboratories and university departments engaged in anthropological research,” as a member of the United States Military Government program in Japan “in the latter part of 1945.” Another post-war update on Japanese prehistory by Beardsley (1955) was prepared while the author was in Japan several times in 1950–1955 as a member of the University of Michigan Japanese Studies project located in Okayama. J. Edward Kidder, in a volume on the Jomon pottery (1957:5–6), which was originally presented as a PhD dissertation at New York University in 1953, stated that he went to Japan in 1950 and again in 1953–54. All the three authors acknowledge generous assistance given by many Japanese anthropologists and archaeologists, including Sugao Yamanouchi, mentioned above, as well as Hisashi Suzuki (1912–2004) of the University of Tokyo, Sosuke Sugihara (1913–1983) of Meiji University, and Ichiro Yawata (1902–1987) of the Tokyo National Museum. They were the leading figures in Japanese anthropology and archaeology of the time. When the Americans met them, information must have flown in both directions, but it is not clear, from available sources, what the Japanese gained from these early post-war contacts. In the years to come, Richard Beardsley was to contribute towards the training of a number of American and Japanese archaeologists at the Center for Japanese Studies at the University of Michigan until his death in 1978, while Edward Kidder served as Professor at the International Christian University in Tokyo until his return to the United States on his retirement in 1993.

Starting gradually in the 1950s and at a much quicker pace throughout the 1960s and 1970s, opportunities for international contacts increased for Japanese archaeologists, with graduate fellowships, visiting professorships, and travel grants to international conferences in both directions. While many Japanese scholars went to such major centres of anthropological research and/or Japanese studies as Berkeley, Harvard, Michigan, and Yale, the most productive centre for international exchange of archaeological information between Japan and the English-speaking world during

the 1960s and the early 1970s was the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Under the leadership of Chester S. Chard, a series of young Japanese scholars were invited to Madison, where they helped to translate publications on Japanese archaeology, participated in workshops and seminars, and generally interacted with the staff and graduate students. Out of this interaction came out (1) useful annotated bibliographies of Japanese archaeology in English (Befu et al. 1964; Okada et al. 1967), (2) several papers, also in English, on methods for analysing microblade technology by both American and Japanese scholars (Hayashi 1968; Kobayashi 1970; Morlan 1967, 1970), which still serve as the basis for comparative analysis (e.g., Bleed 2002, 2008; Chen 2004), and (3) some research projects in Japan, launched by those who were graduate students at Wisconsin at the time (e.g., Bleed 1972, 1974, 1978; Hurley 1974; Hurley et al. 1978). When the latter scholars left Wisconsin to their respective places of employments, those institutions, in turn, became centres of teaching and research on Japanese archaeology in North America and attracted the next generation of interested students (Crawford 1983; Crawford and Takamiya 1990; D'Andrea 1995; D'Andrea et al. 1995).

As for the impact of the Wisconsin experience on the young Japanese scholars who were to become major figures in the archaeological community of Japan, and through them on the practice of archaeology in Japan, the effects appear to be rather limited, as far as I can see from the archaeological literature of the 1960s and 1970s. Tatsuo Kobayashi (1971), soon after his return from Wisconsin, published a short paper, entitled “The background of the establishment of ‘settlement archaeology’ in American Archaeology” as an introduction to Charles Keally’s paper (1971) on the subject, and co-authored a settlement pattern analysis of a Palaeolithic site complex in suburban Tokyo (Kobayashi et al. 1971). He followed these studies with another short but influential paper on the settlement system during the Jomon Period of the area (Kobayashi 1973). In these papers, the terms like, “settlement archaeology”, “settlement patterns” and “settlement system” were used in the texts as transliterated English words, without translation, to indicate that these were new concepts derived from American archaeology. He and his colleagues defined six different kinds of artefact concentrations, both during the Palaeolithic and Jomon periods, which they proposed to call Settlement Types A to F, and remarked on the different combinations and frequencies of settlement types through time. As I commented on their procedure in some detail elsewhere (Ikawa-Smith 1975), the units of artefact concentrations, apparently, were to be delineated by inspection and intuitively assigned to appropriate types, in the same way as artefacts were classified into types. In other words, some elements of the study of archaeological settlements, as practised in the United States were adopted, and incorporated into the typological method in the empirical tradition of Japanese archaeology.

Kensaku Hayashi, another Wisconsin-returnee, also addressed the question of the Jomon Period settlement patterns soon after his return. He attempted to define “the group territories” of the residents of later Jomon sites on the Pacific coast of Honshu, from the probable sources of materials used in bone, antler and stone tools represented in the assemblages (Hayashi 1974, 1975). He, too, used such English words as “base camp,” “temporary camp,” and “band” in the text, but, as Habu

(2004:83) notes, his ultimate goal, as with those of other Japanese settlement archaeologists at the time, was to reconstruct the “primitive community” as delineated by Marxist historians, in the theoretical orientation of Wajima and his followers. In a sense, Ken’ichi Sasaki (1999:324) may be right to characterize the method and theory of settlement archaeology in Japan as being “largely indigenous” development. Even though Marxist theoretical framework is not indigenous, the particular blend of the methods and concepts that were built on it are indeed indigenous development in Japan.

As in the case of the first opening to the West in the late nineteenth century, what was actually adopted and incorporated into the practice of archaeology in Japan through the postwar reopening was highly selective, as would be expected for anywhere else. At the time when archaeologists in the English-speaking world were preoccupied with the debate over the theoretical and methodological issues raised by the processual/analytical archaeologists, such concerns were not shared by practising archaeologists of the time in Japan. The issues raised by processual archaeologists were described in summary translations in a few papers (Ikawa-Smith 1972, 1976; Suzuki 1973), and I am told that they were read avidly by Japanese students at the time, some of whom were inspired enough to go abroad for further study. Nevertheless, as Kaoru Akoshima, who went to the University of New Mexico to study with Binford in the 1980s, puts it quite plainly: “The impact of the New Archaeology was minimal on Japanese archaeological scene” (Akoshima 2008:191).

There are indications that a phrase like “an explicitly scientific approach” (Watson et al. 1970) of the New Archaeology was misunderstood in some quarters in Japan to mean a call for greater use of natural science methods and techniques on archaeological materials. It was those newly developed “scientific” methods and techniques that were readily accepted and put to use. As mentioned above, there has been a tradition of archaeology as natural science since its beginning, and there already were anthropologists and archaeologists with natural science backgrounds in some departments. They were joined by others who were interested in broadening the scope of their research with new methods, as well as by a number of chemists, physicists, and earth and atmospheric scientists, to inaugurate a periodical called *Kokogaku to Shizen-kagaku* [*Archaeology and Natural Science*] in 1968, and to launch the Japanese Society for Scientific Studies on Cultural Property (*Nippon Bunkazaikagakukai* in Japanese), with 327 founding members in December 1982. In January 2008, the Society had 846 members, evenly distributed between the natural sciences and humanistic disciplines.

The contact with the outside world was not limited to the scholarship in the United States, nor was it unidirectional. In the field of the Palaeolithic research, several young scholars sought training in Europe, particularly in France, and a Japanese translation of Francois Bordes’ book on the Palaeolithic Studies (Bordes 1971) was widely used. Overseas expeditions by Japanese archaeologists also resumed, beginning with the University of Tokyo expedition to Iran and Iraq in 1956, and the first of the many expeditions to Peru in 1958. Anthropologists and archaeologists affiliated with Meiji University launched their work in Alaska and northern North America in 1960, followed by numerous other expeditions to various parts of the world.

Expansion of Public Archaeology

The creation of the vast system of administrative archaeology to cope with the rapidly increasing number of archaeological sites that were threatened by post-war construction projects, resulted in a significant restructuring and reorientation of archaeological operations in Japan. The 1929 *Law for the Preservation of National Treasures*, and the 1919 *Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Scenic Spots and Natural Monuments* were combined in 1950 as the *Law for the Protection of the Cultural Properties*. The Law created a new term, “Buried Cultural Properties” (*maizo bunkazai*), to apply to a category of the items to be protected by the Law (The Japanese Archaeological Association 1998:297). *Maizo Bunkazai*, often abbreviated as *mai-bun*, has become a well-established term for archaeological remains in Japan. The process by which the laws and regulations were consolidated and amended, and new agencies and committees were formed to meet the needs of the changing landscape of post-war Japan have been described in English by several authors (Barnes 1990; Fawcett 1995; Kobayashi 1986; Pearson 1992; Tanaka 1984; Tsuboi 1986). Saville (1986), as a visiting British field archaeologist with a similar experience in his home country, gives a very clear description of the system as it emerged in the mid-1980s – how it was organized and how it worked in several key areas of Japan. What I would like to note here is where the initial impetus for the reorganization came from, what compromising solutions were reached, and the ramifying effects of the expanded system of public archaeology.

It was the public opinion that prompted the government to act, as Barnes (1990) described with some vivid anecdotal examples. One of the early movements was the 1955 protest over the imminent destruction of the fifth century Itasuke Burial Mound in Osaka, followed by the 1962 outcry against a private railway company’s plan to turn a large area of the eighth century Heijo Palace site in Nara into a switch-yard. In both cases, archaeologists’ concern over the loss of archaeological data was picked up by opinion leaders and mass media, developing into vociferous citizen movements. There were several sub-texts to these movements, some of which are at odds with each other. On the one hand was the left-of-centre stance of the intelligentsia of the time, that was disposed to react negatively to capitalist enterprises, destroying the material evidence for the real history of Japan. For example, Seiichi Wajima, the settlement archaeologist mentioned above, devoted much energy to the preservation movement in postwar years. Part of the public may have shared this view, but there was also a growing number of citizens who wanted to cherish the archaeological remains as something left by their ancestors, seeking to define their own identity with reference to the ancient remains. As the years went by, more practical motivations were added to the sense of local pride of living among valuable archaeological remains, such as promotion of tourism and consequent benefits to the local economy.

The solutions to the Itasuke Mound and the Heijo Palace cases were purchases of the land in question by the government, leaving the developers to find alternative locations for their respective projects. This solution could not be applied in every case, in a country where an estimated 440,000 archaeological sites are packed in the total land area of 369,000 km². The actual site density is much higher than one

archaeological site per one square km area, because only about 40% of the total land area is flat enough to be comfortably occupied by the past inhabitants, and that is the very area which contemporary developers would want for their projects. The procedure which became established by the early 1960s was for the developer to notify the Agency for Cultural Affairs two months in advance of any construction project to be carried out in an area where archaeological sites are known to exist. This is followed by a preliminary investigation, negotiation, and, if the project could not be modified to avoid destruction, archaeological excavation of the sites must be carried out at the developer's expense. This is a compromising solution: the sites will be destroyed, but at least artefacts will be recovered, and the records will be kept. It is a compromise in another sense, too, because the procedure requires only "notices", not permits. Introduction of a permit system for archaeological excavations was discussed in the 1970s, but was never implemented.

In 1959, 345 notices of excavation were filed with the Agency for Cultural Affairs, of which 227 were purely academic in purpose, and 118 were for pre-development investigation. The ratio of the academic to salvage excavations became reversed in 1963, when the former numbered 209 and 227 were salvage operations (Kobayashi 1986:492). This was the beginning of the radical change in the nature and scope of archaeological operations in Japan. Ten years later in 1973, the figures were 204 academic versus 1,040 emergency excavations, and in 1983, the number of academic excavations went down to 137, while the emergency excavations shot up to 4,968. The number of salvage operations kept increasing, to reach the peak of 11,738 in 1996 (Agency for Cultural Affairs 1999), but generally stayed between 5,000 and 10,000 since then (Table 2). The latest available data are for the fiscal year 2007, when 9,516 excavations were conducted. Of these, 143 (1.5%) were for academic investigation, while 110 (11%) were for maintenance purposes, and the remaining 9,263 (97.3%) were for pre-construction investigation and preservation of whatever could be saved from destruction (Center for Archaeological Operations 2009:2). The total cost for the non-academic, "administrative" operations in 2007 was 69,245,444,000 yen, of which 58,668,206,000 yen came from the public sector, and 10,577,238,000 yen from private corporations and individuals (Table 3; Center for Archaeological Operations 2009:4). At today's rate (29 October 2009), 70 billion yen is approximately 773 million US dollars.

Organization of the Archaeological Community, 1970–2000

In the early years, excavation teams for pre-construction investigations were created by putting together ad hoc groups, consisting of volunteers and hired labourers, led by university-based archaeologists. It soon became necessary, however, for the prefectural governments and municipalities, which were charged with actual administration of rescue excavations and site protection, to employ archaeologists specifically for that purpose. The earliest available records are from the 1970s: in 1970, 181 archaeologists were employed by the prefectural governments, and 308

Table 2 Notices of Excavations, 1974–2007. (Source: Center for Archaeological Operations, 2009: 3)

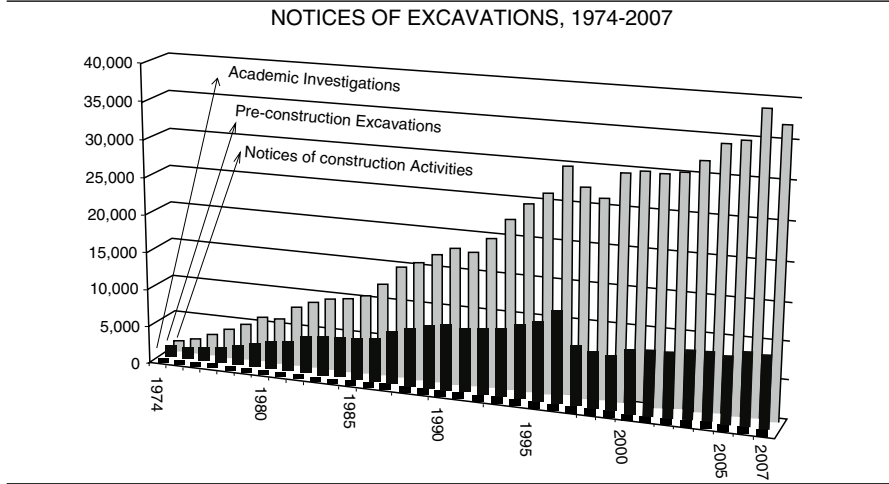
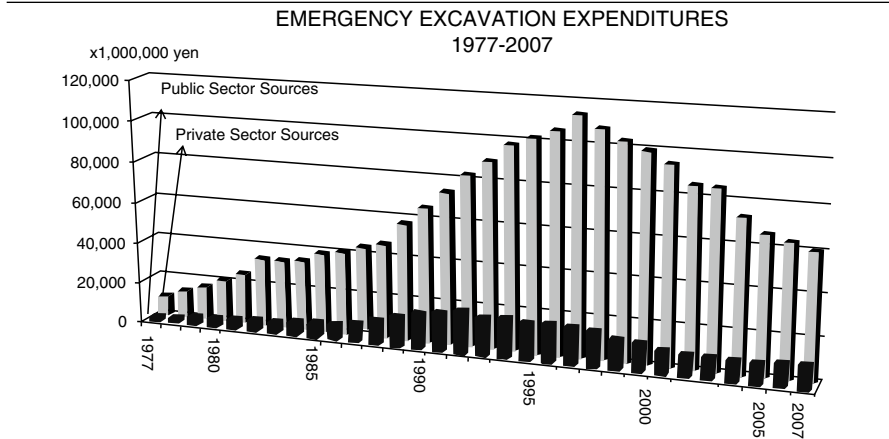
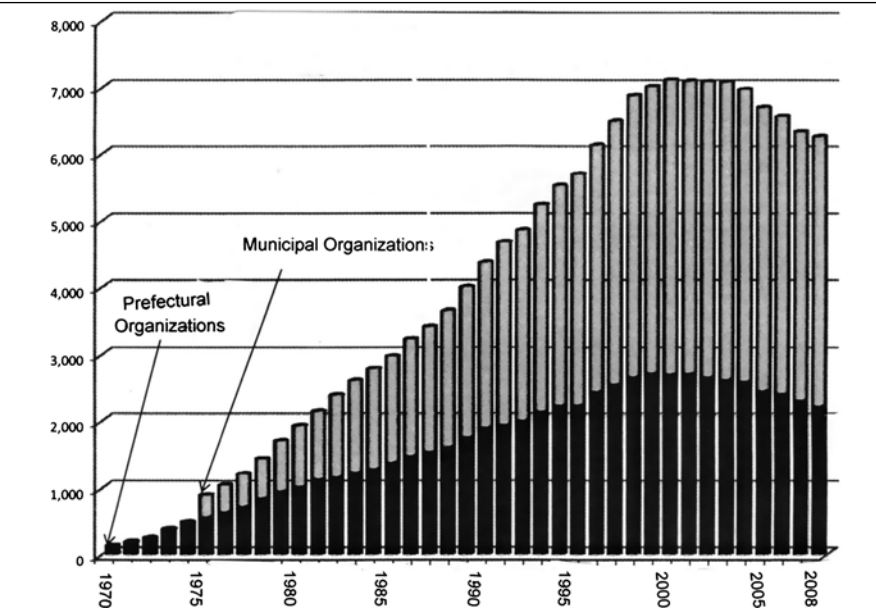


Table 3 Emergency Excavation Expenditures, 1977–2007. (Source: Center for Archaeological Operations, 2009:5)



by various municipalities in 1975 (Agency for Cultural Affairs 1999). As Table 4 shows, the numbers increased at a phenomenal rate through the 1980s and 1990s, reaching the combined total of over 7,000 by the end of the last century. The figures for 2007 show (Center for Archaeological Operations 2009:7) that the total number of administrative archaeologists has come down to 6,255, and 2,242 of them were working at the prefectural level, either as full-time prefectural civil servants, usually in the Social Education Division, or as employees of affiliated organizations, typically called “Buried Properties Research Centers”. The remaining 4,013 had similar

Table 4 Numbers of Archaeologists in Prefectural- and Municipal-level Organizations, 1970–2008. (Source: Center for Archaeological Operations, 2009:6)



arrangements with cities, townships and even villages. There must have been an additional hundred or so archaeologists at the national level, employed at the Agency for Cultural Affairs and affiliated institutes. All the 47 prefectures of Japan have archaeologists on staff, while 65% of the 1,811 municipalities employ an average of 3.4 archaeologists (Center for Archaeological Operations 2009). They handle administrative tasks in the office, and supervise excavations and oversee preparation of excavation reports. Actual digging at the sites and much of the laboratory work of cleaning and drawing of artefacts are done by part-time workers, mostly local housewives, engaged as the needs arise.

The consequences of the expansion of the “administrative archaeology” in the past 50 years were many. On the positive side, levelling of large tracts of land for such purposes as construction of airports, factories and apartment complexes with the access roads, and utilities installations contributed to further development of settlement archaeology. As discussed above, there has been a long-standing interest among Japanese archaeologists to reconstruct prehistoric social organizations from distributions of settlement sites, but the “telephone booth-size” test pits of academic excavations, dictated by the research orientation geared to chronology and stratigraphy, as well as by restriction on time and funds, could not be expected to reveal distribution patterns of settlements. While the flood of valuable information was most welcome, the archaeological community, before long, began to feel it was drowning in it. The administrative archaeologists are always pressed for time, from

one operation to the next, conducting excavations and preparing mandatory excavation reports, which are technically excellent, but purely descriptive. These reports, with illustrations of all the major artefacts in line drawings and photographs, often run into hundreds of pages. Yokoyama (1998:9) estimates that over 3,000 volumes of these are published every year. Administrative archaeologists do not have time to fully digest the significance of their own findings, nor could the relatively small number of the “academic” archaeologists, approximately 1,000 in university departments and in museums, keep up with the rapidly accumulating data and come up with theoretical formulations.

By the end of the last century, then, there developed parallel groups of practicing archaeologists in Japan. On the one hand were “administrative” archaeologists, just over 7,000 in number, who were employed by the three levels of governments, the national, prefectural, and municipal. On the other were “academic archaeologists”, approximately 300 in universities and additional 700 in museums (Tsude 1995:298). It may be noted here that museums abound in Japan, partly because of the antiquarian tradition, but also as a result of the need for storage and display facilities for the archaeological resources recovered in recent years. They range from large national museums in Tokyo, Kyoto, Nara, and Kyushu, through prefectural and municipal museums, to specialized private museums. As for the archaeologists in university departments, their duties, as everywhere, consist of teaching and research, but here again, the demand of salvage archaeology had impact, because it was the universities which had to supply an increasing number of archaeologists required in the “administrative” sector. The national government encouraged universities to create or expand archaeology programmes by making funds available for the purpose (Barnes 1990). Having studied and taught prehistoric archaeology in North America, where the subject usually is presented as part of an anthropology curriculum, in which archaeology adds temporal dimension to the human variability, I am struck by the different orientation and emphasis with which archaeology programmes appear to be structured at Japanese universities. While we talk about methodology and theoretical frameworks, Japanese students are exposed to practical methods and techniques in hands-on settings. I have no personal knowledge to determine whether this has always been the case in Japan, where most archaeology programs have been housed in the History Departments, and were characterized by particularistic approach, or it is a new development in recent decades. Whatever the origins, the result is that archaeology programmes seem to be meeting the needs of the situation by producing field archaeologists, who should be able to direct excavations and organize preparation of the report, almost the day after their graduation.

Bifurcation of the “administrative” and “academic” archaeology in Japan has been a cause of concern, but the parallel systems do not operate as completely sealed off compartments. In addition to the fact that the academia responds to the needs of the administrative sector by supplying the junior members for the system, as noted above, some personnel movements between the two sectors occasionally take place at senior levels as well. Notable examples include Tatsuo Kobabayashi, mentioned earlier as a Wisconsin returnee, who recently retired

from Kokugakuin University after a distinguished career as the foremost authority on Jomon archaeology, and Hiroaki Sato, the current head of the Archaeology Institute at the prestigious University of Tokyo. Kobayashi began his career in the late 1960s, as a field archaeologist in salvage excavations at the site of a housing development in suburban Tokyo, then, as an administrative officer in the Tokyo Metropolitan government and the national Agency for Cultural Affairs, before his academic appointment at Kokugakuin in 1978. During his decade in the “administrative” sector, Kobayashi published numerous articles and edited several major collections, both in English and Japanese (Kobayashi 1970, 1975a, b, 1977, Kobayashi et al. 1971, 1977). Hiroyuki Sato, similarly, was a productive scholar in the field of Palaeolithic archaeology (e.g., Sato 1992; Sato and Kudo 1989; Sato et al. 1995), while working in the Buried Cultural Properties Center of the Tokyo Metropolitan government over a decade, before his appointment at Tokyo University in 1997. There are also those who manage to produce impressive numbers of scholarly publications, while spending their entire working years as administrative archaeologists.

A possible third group of archaeologists, working in private firms, is now emerging, but this group was not much in evidence until more recently, as will be mentioned in the next section.

In the meantime, through the 1990s, the administrative archaeological activities continued, supported by the high level of interest on the part of the tax-paying public. Results of excavations are widely reported by electronic and print media and visitors flock to archaeological sites. The public interest in archaeology is the legacy of the antiquarianism dating to pre-modern times, but the level of the interest has risen in recent years, in part because of the series of spectacular finds. For example, the Sannai Maruyama site, a very large Jomon period site at the northern end of Honshu (Fig. 1, Table 1), dating to about 3500–2000 BC, received over 1 million visitors between 1994 and 1997 (Habu and Fawcett 1999). The site contains over 700 pit-dwellings, approximately 20 long houses, about 100 remains of raised floor buildings, and hundreds of graves. At the other end of the Archipelago is the Yoshigari site, dating to the Yayoi Period from about fourth century BC to AD fourth century (Fig. 1, Table 1). Investigated since the 1980s, it covers an area over 40 ha, where large structures, clusters of burial mounds and jar burials were located, surrounded by two lines of ditches with stockades and watch towers (Figs. 2 and 3). Here, as at other sites, some of the structures are reconstructed, and there are a museum and an interpretation centre offering hands-on experience for children. It should be noted that Japanese archaeologists had been some years ahead of North American counterparts in their outreach efforts to the public, informing their activities through books and articles addressed to the non-professional audience, organizing informative site visits for local residents during excavations, and working with the regional authorities on the post-excavation preservation and presentation of the sites to the public. These activities will continue, but the nature of public archaeology, and the practice of archaeology in general, in Japan may be at the cross-roads, as the combined effects of various external and internal factors, as we will see below.



Fig. 2 High School students touring among reconstructed buildings at Yoshinogari site, Saga Prefecture, Kyushu

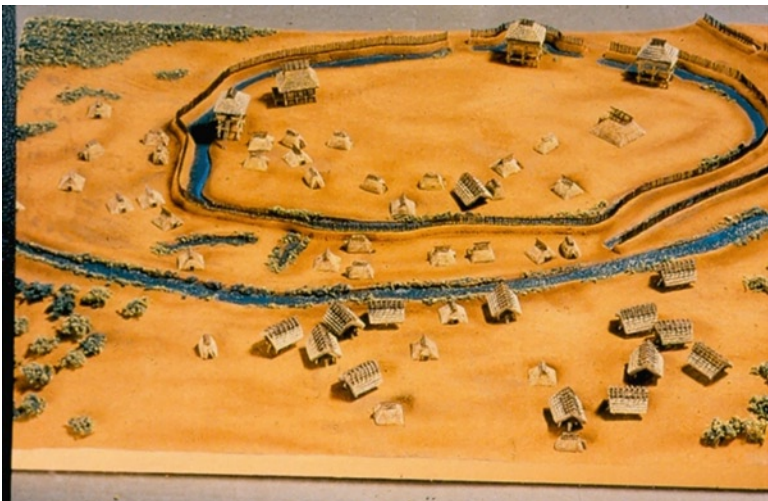


Fig. 3 Model of the Yoshinogari site, Saga Prefecture, Kyushu

Japanese Archaeology in the Twenty-First Century

As the first decade of the twenty-first century closes, Japanese archaeologists are grappling with some new challenges, while experiencing new trends and intensification of the existing trends. The sources of these challenges and developments range from the

economic downturn that began in Japan about a decade earlier than in the West, through the general trends towards administrative decentralization and privatization, to the demographic changes of the Japanese society, with smaller numbers of university-age population and ethnic diversity, as well as the increasingly international outlook of the current generation of archaeologists in Japan in the age of globalization.

The Early Palaeolithic Scandal

As the twenty-first century was about to open, the Japanese archaeological community encountered something completely unexpected and unwelcome. It was the disclosure in November 2000 that archaeological evidence at many “Early Palaeolithic” sites had been actually manufactured by an amateur archaeologist, Shinichi Fujimura, who inserted genuine, but later, artefacts from his own collection into early, well-dated geological strata. As the news was widely reported in both domestic and international media, the credibility of Japanese archaeology suffered considerable damage, and the negative impacts of the events probably continue to this day. The archaeological community acted promptly by setting up a Special Committee to investigate over 150 sites where Fujimura was known to have participated in excavation, and publishing the detailed results of the investigation in a large, well-illustrated volume (Kobayashi et al. 2003). In addition, the Association took an initiative to organize a symposium entitled, “Tainted evidence and restoration of confidence in the Pleistocene Archaeology of the Japanese Archipelago”, at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Montreal, in their attempt to reestablish international credibility of the practice of archaeology in Japan. This is indicative of the international stance of the Japanese archaeological community in the twenty-first century. Doubt about the integrity of Japanese archaeology probably lingers on abroad, while the disillusionment over the scandal probably cost the archaeological community in the form of loss of public support and decreases in student enrollments.

Privatization of Public Archaeology

The “Bubble Economy” of Japan finally collapsed in 1990, but its effects did not become evident in the archaeological operations until later in the decade. The numbers of construction projects and pre-construction excavations kept increasing for a while until the latter reached the peak at 11,738 in 1996, and then suddenly plunged to 7,572 in the following year (Table 2). It began to recover above the 8,000 mark in the early 2000s and has remained like that to this day. It was not only the number of projects, but also the scale of the projects, both in terms of the area and duration of investigation, that was reduced. Consequently, prefectural and municipal organizations were obliged to reduce the number of professional archaeologists on their staff. The figure for 2007, as quoted above, was 6,255, representing a 10% reduction in eight years (Table 4). The organizations are also reducing locally recruited

part-time workers, who used to make up the bulk of the labour force for excavation and specimen processing, turning instead to outside commercial firms that provide technical expertise complete with their own work crews (Ishii 1998:91–92).

There had been an increasing tendency, in any event, to use the services of commercial firms for emergency archaeology operations, in the social climate that encouraged privatization of former “national” institutions, including universities and museums, turning them into independent administrative corporations. Kanagawa Prefecture, next to Metropolitan Tokyo, has gone so far as to propose to make the Kanagawa Archaeology Foundation, which has served as the salvage archaeology arm of the Prefectural Government, into a private corporation, completely detached from the Prefecture. The rationale for privatization and selecting the unit to perform archaeological excavation through a public tender is cost cutting, yet the prospect of having the lowest bidder to excavate an archaeological site is causing a serious concern in the archaeological community in Japan, where the use of private consulting firms has largely been limited to technical services such as dating and pollen analyses. Thus, at the 74th General Meeting of the Japanese Archaeological Association in May 2008, the Association’s Committee for Protection of Buried Cultural Properties presented its own Poster on the implications of the Kanagawa proposal, while the certification of CRM practitioners (Ishikawa 2008) was one of the topics discussed at a Special Session on “Current Issues in Archaeology”. At the 75th General Meeting in May 2009, an entire afternoon session was devoted to the issue of certification of CRM archaeologists.

Currently, there are two certification programs for the purpose of ensuring the quality of salvage operations. One is a program offered by the Japan Association for Preservation of Cultural Properties, an association of archaeological consulting firms founded in 2005. With the current membership of 84 firms, the certification process, with a short training session, written examination, and interviews, went into operation in 2007. As of February 2010, 241 persons have been conferred the title of “Buried Cultural Properties Investigator” and 134 were certified as “Assistant Buried Cultural Properties Investigator” (www.n-bunkazsaihogo.jp). The other program consists of a set of courses leading to qualification as “Archaeological Investigator”, offered at Waseda University in Tokyo since 2008. The programme, created at the request of the national Ministry of Education and Technology, is currently offered as an adult education programme, with a view to establishing an undergraduate component as well (Ishikawa 2008). It remains to be seen how much of the government-sponsored system of salvage archaeology in Japan will be privatized, and what measures will be devised to ensure the quality of the work and proper storage and curation of recovered remains.

Japanese Archaeology in the Globalized World

I would like to conclude with some musings on the direction the current post-boomer generation of practicing archaeologists, who grew up during Japan’s “high-growth” period and were educated under the “internationalization” policy, seems to

be taking the discipline of archaeology in Japan. The direction is certainly different from what we observed at the beginning of this paper, about the “locally focused archaeology”, with “heavy emphasis on typology and chronology”, searching for the origin of the Japanese people and culture in the archaeological records.

The Japanese society, of course, has undergone considerable changes. According to a report recently released by the Justice Ministry, there were 2,217,000 registered foreign residents in Japan at the end of 2008, accounting for 1.74% of the total population (<http://www.debito.org/?p=3824>). Compared with the figure for 1998, when the 1,234,000 foreign residents accounted for 0.98% of the total (Kawai 1999:58), the proportion of foreign residents in the Japanese society nearly doubled. What is significant is not only the increase in the actual number of foreign residents, but the self-awareness of the diversity that has changed since the time when the then Prime Minister Nakasone made the now infamous statement about the homogeneity of the Japanese population as the cause of their superior characteristics, which was received without much ado in Japan, until the international media picked it up (Ikawa-Smith 1990). Soon after the Nakasone statement in 1986, Fujimoto (1988) presented his arguments for the “two other kinds of Japanese culture” that had existed in the northern and the southern ends of the Archipelago, which are generally consistent with the interpretation Hanihara (1992) had offered of biological evidence. As the Japanese government was finally persuaded to recognize the Ainu as the “indigenous people” of Japan in June, 2008, the idea of the pre-existing ethnic diversity in the Japanese Archipelago seems to be accepted by the archaeological community, as well as by the general public.

The international outlook of the current generation of Japanese archaeologists, many of whom have been abroad for study or for pleasure, is seen, for example, in the Japanese Archaeological Association’s undertaking to hold a symposium to explain the circumstances and aftermath of the Fujimura frauds at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, as noted before, as well as in the presence of increasingly large numbers of archaeologists from Japan at meetings of such organizations as SAA, the World Archaeology Congress, and the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. It is also seen in the title chosen for the collection of essays to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Society of Archaeological Studies, *Cultural Diversities and Comparative Archaeology* (Society of Archaeological Studies 2004). The Society, based in a western Honshu city of Okayama, was originally founded in 1954 as a “progressive”, inclusive association of both professional and amateur archaeologists, and, has over the years promoted innovative research in its organ, *Kokogaku Kenkyu*. Several papers in the Anniversary volume offer interpretations of archaeological data from Japan in terms of theoretical models generated from data abroad (e.g., Fujio 2004; Inada 2004), or present comparison of archaeological phenomena in Japan with similar instances overseas (Maekawa 2004; Ogasawara 2004), while several others are straight discussion of archaeological problems outside Japan (e.g., Goto 2004; Komoto 2004; Miyamoto 2004). In order to see a temporal trend in the collective research interest, I went through the list of the papers presented at the General Meetings of the Japanese Archaeological Association, which represents the mainstream

Table 5 Topics of Presentations at Japanese Archaeological Association Meetings by Geographical Areas, 1949–2009 (Sources: Japanese Archaeological Association 1998, 2004, 2009)

Year	Total number	Papers about non-Japan area						Non-Japan sub-total (%)
		Japan (%)	China	Korea	South and Southeast Asia	West Asia	Others	
1949	16	14 (87.5%)	2					2 (12.5%)
1954	21		2	1				3 (14%)
1959	18	18 (100%)						0
1964	27	27 (100%)						0
1969	30	30 (100%)						0
1974	23	23 (100%)						0
1979	9	9 (100%)						0
1984	25	25 (100%)						0
1989	20	19 (95%)		1				1 (5%)
1994	22	18 (82%)		2	2			4 (18%)
1999	41	39 (95%)			1		1	2 (5%)
2004	67	51 (76%)	1		6	1	8	16 (24%)
2009	51	43 (84%)	1	2	3	1	1	8 (15%)

archaeological establishment. The titles of the papers presented, since the Association's founding in 1948–1998, are conveniently published in their own 50 year anniversary volume (Japanese Archaeological Association 1998). While it is not possible to discern the actual content of the research from the titles alone, the shift in the geographic area of the research is clearly evident in the list. Table 5 is the result of my counting the numbers of the papers presented, with respect to the geographical area where the research was conducted. I counted the numbers for every five years, since 1949, adding the data extracted from the published abstracts for the 2004 and 2009 meetings. It seems that, from about the late 1980s, Japanese archaeologists are coming out of the confines of the “locally focused” interest in the history of themselves, and spreading out to explore the wider world. I was surprised to see, however, there had been a few papers each about non-Japan subjects, namely about China and Korea, presented at the meetings in the in the very early decades of the Association, but the title and the authors suggest to me that these probably were updates on the research done during and before World War II. By contrast, the more recent papers on archaeology abroad since the 1990s are based on the presenters' own field research overseas, in such areas as Thailand, Vietnam, Mongolia, and Russian Far East.

Just over a decade ago, Barnes and Okita (1999:378) stated: “There is no doubt that the Japanese are the largest producers and consumers of archaeological data in the world.” In spite of the economic down turn and the consequent reduction in number of excavations, it probably holds true today.

Acknowledgment I am indebted to a number of people who helped me with gathering data in preparation for this paper. I am grateful, in particular, to Dr. Akira Matsui and his colleagues at the Center for Archaeological Operations in Nara for the statistical material on archaeological

investigations in Japan over the past decades, to Mr. Izumi Hayakawa of the Japan Association of Preservation of Cultural Properties for the documents regarding this newly emerging organization, and Professor Hiroyuki Sato of the University of Tokyo for his kind assistance to hunt down some missing data. I must add that I benefited from conversations with the people above, as well as with Professor Hideji Harunari of the National Museum of Japanese History and Folklore, Professor Tetsuo Kikuchi of Waseda University, Professor Tatsuo Kobayashi of Kokugaiin University, and Professor Koji Mizoguchi of Kyushu University. Last but not least, I appreciate the opportunity Dr. Ludomir Lozny gave me to put together the material I have accumulated over the years, and to his patience and valuable comments he has provided on the earlier drafts of this paper.

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Contemporary Archaeology as a Global Dialogue: Reflections from Southeast Asia

Rasmi Shoocongdej

Introduction

As in many countries in the world, archaeology in Southeast Asia has been used to legitimize both colonialism and nationalism, especially “nation-building” (e.g., Glover 2006; Majid 2007; Shoocongdej 2007). Since the colonial era the practices of professional archaeology in Southeast Asia have generally been inherited from and influenced by western archaeologists and amateurs (e.g., Daz-Andreu 2007; Glover 2001; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl, Kozelskey and Ben-Yehuda 2007; Ucko 1995). Because local archaeologists, who are western trained and trained by local universities in Southeast Asia, are presently in charge of their own research and advancing knowledge of their own past, nationalist sentiments have strongly dominated archaeological activities in the region.

In the past two decades, contemporary Southeast Asian archaeology has developed by incorporating western theories and methodologies into its own archaeological practices. At the same time, the search for indigenous archaeological knowledge has been important in the post-modern world era. Evidently, a number of Southeast Asian archaeologists face many challenges. Increasingly, they have been examining the history of archaeology in local contexts, and how these contexts have impacted the development of archaeological knowledge and practices in the present. These contributions reflect self-awareness, and help us to gain a better understanding of the current situation in the region (e.g., Bray and Glover 1987; Glover 1986, 1993, 1999, 2006; Shoocongdej 1992, 1996, 2007; Tanudirjo 1995).

Perhaps the most troublesome problem concerns the proposed West/East and foreign/local dichotomies in the current discourse. In my view such a dichotomous way of thinking will lead us nowhere. Consequently, Southeast Asian archaeologists are more locally focused on cultural developments in their own countries. They seek to trace the historical roots of their own societies and ancestral links

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between their specific cultures. There is still less interest in studying the cultural developments of humankind in a broader context, while western archaeologists are interested in studying human past and heritage on the world's scale. Therefore, we see differences in the questions being asked by Southeast Asian and foreign archaeologists working in the region due to disparities in research goals.

This paper examines the history of the development of prehistoric archaeology in Southeast Asia from a local perspective, and how the current status will impact the growth and construction of archaeological knowledge in the region. In particular, this paper emphasizes archaeological traditions, research methodologies, and the current status of archaeological practices within Southeast Asian countries. I am aware of many contributions by foreign archaeologists to Southeast Asian archaeology, which I cannot discuss here due to lack of space. I focus only on a few as I would like to provide some examples from local Southeast Asian's works. Finally, in writing this paper, I share my self-reflections from my personal experiences working in prehistoric archaeology in Thailand and Southeast Asia as case studies.

The Historical Contexts of Southeast Asian Archaeology

Before critical examination of prehistoric archaeology in Thailand, I think it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the development of archaeology in Southeast Asia as a whole. Geographically, Southeast Asia includes Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Vietnam (Fig. 1). Due to the lack of information from a few countries (e.g., Brunei, Myanmar, and Singapore), I am not able to provide a complete discussion for these countries of Southeast Asia. Here, prehistoric archaeology is not always distinguished from historical archaeology,¹ and I will discuss both interchangeably. It will be shown that the cultural historical frameworks of pioneer archaeologists of the colonial era still strongly influence contemporary archaeology in Thailand as well as other Southeast Asian countries.

Research Traditions and Methodologies

The development of archaeology in Southeast Asia can be divided into the following three major phases: the colonial era to World War II; post-World War II-1960; and the present.

¹I mean the period from the appearance of written records onward; with an exception of the Philippines where historical archaeology refers to the period from European contact onward.



Fig. 1 Map shows southeast asian countries mentioned in text

Colonial Era-WW II (ca. 1800–1945)

Between the eighteenth and early twentieth century, most Southeast Asian countries had fallen under the control of western colonial powers. Burma, the Shan state, Brunei, and Malaysia were under the British; Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia were under the French; Indonesia was under the Dutch; and the Philippines – under the Spanish and the US control (Steinberg 1987; Dixon 1993). Several colonial institutions devoted to archaeology and the past emerged during the colonial period (Anderson 1991), for instance, the Royal Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, and an Archaeological Survey were established in 1778 and 1885 respectively, in order to collect antiquities and to encourage scientific exploration in Indonesia. These institutions had a strong influence on research concerning the history and archaeology of Indonesia (Soejono 1994; Daud Tanudirjo 1995: 61–75). In 1899,

the Archaeological Department of Burma was founded by the British, which aimed to study the culture, history, and antiquities of Burma.

Later, around 1904 the Siam Society was founded in Thailand by royal Thai elites and westerners who worked in the government, as missionaries, and in the private sector. Their goal was to conduct research on the people, nature, and ancient history of Siam (Davis 1989). At about the same time, the French school of the Far-East (*Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*) was founded in Hanoi, Viet Nam in 1901. This organization served as a training institution for French “orientalists” and later for training indigenous scholars. During this time, no archaeological research was undertaken by the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian scholars. Early French archaeological research in the region was closely tied to history and history of art, oriented toward typology, monumental architecture and epigraphical research (Audouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1982: 170–183). In addition, the Geological Service of Indochina also played an important role in research on early prehistoric times of the region. Particularly interesting were the results of the geological expeditions to northern Viet Nam by Madeleine Colani and Henri Mansuy in the 1920s and 1930s (Ha van Tan 1992). The French successfully established a general history of Indochina, especially focused on cultural chronology of Cambodia and Viet Nam (Coedès 1983; Higham 1989). It is interesting to note that George Coedès, a French epigrapher, served as president of the Siam Society (Davis 1989: 87) and was also a researcher in the French school of the Far-East (Forest 1990: 72–73). He played a major role in building and linking cultural chronologies in and between Thailand and Indochina during the 1930s and 1940s.

The beginning of the discipline of archaeology in Southeast Asia is usually attributed to western influence. Although prehistoric studies were gradually developing, generally, at the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were no organizations or institutions supporting prehistoric archaeology. The majority of the research focused on historical archaeology, art history, or history, while prehistoric archaeology received less attention. Archaeology was utilized for both cultural and political purposes in order to gain insight into local Southeast Asian peoples and their histories. Especially, archaeology showed that Southeast Asian cultures were “backwater” and were not “civilized.”

Prior to World War II, the first Far-Eastern Prehistory Congress was organized by P. V. van Stein Callenfels, a Dutch archaeologist who worked in Indonesia for the Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies at that time. George Coedès served as a chair at the Congress held in Hanoi, Vietnam, in 1932. The Congress evolved into the Far-Eastern Prehistory Association and changed its name to the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association in 1976. This organization was the first attempt to encourage Western scholars/archaeologists working in Southeast Asia to think beyond each individual country and to view Southeast Asia in a regional context. The 1932 meeting was the first attempt to foster prehistoric archaeology and archaeological activities in this region before World War II (Solhiem 1957). Three consecutive meetings were held in Hanoi (1932), Manila (1935), and Singapore (1938).

These organizations no doubt have had a tremendous impact on the development of Southeast Asian archaeology in general, and on the establishment of a cultural

chronology specifically. It is important to keep in mind that prior to World War II prehistoric research in Southeast Asia was in its emergent stages. Cultural history, therefore, generally was developed in two ways: by arranging the archaeological data from a small number of individual sites in Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam into tentative cultural sequences that were extrapolated to the whole region, as well as by correlating similar artifacts with groups of people endowed with distinctive cultures (e.g., Movius 1948). During World War II, most organizations in Southeast Asia had to lay aside their archaeological research and activities for over a decade. Therefore, archaeological activities were carried out mostly by western archaeologists.

Post-WWII-to 1960

Since World War II, modern archaeology has been introduced in Southeast Asia and prehistoric archaeology has rapidly developed throughout the region by a number of collaborative projects (e.g., SPAFA 1987). For example, the Siam Society initially supported the first prehistoric research in Thailand, a joint Thai-Danish expedition, during 1959–1960 in Kanchanaburi, western Thailand (van Heekeren and Knuth 1967). At the same time surveys and excavations were carried out by the Dutch in Indonesia focusing on *Pithecanthropus erectus*, rectangular axes, megalithic structures of stone slabs, and kettle drums (Daud Tanudirjo 1995; Soejono 1994); by the French in Cambodia on Hoabinhian (Mourer and Mourer 1971; Mourer 1977), in Vietnam on Hoabinhian and Dong Son (Janse 1958) and by the British in Malaysia (e.g., Nik Hassan 1993).

Concerning research methodology, it is important to note that systematic techniques of survey, excavation, and data processing were introduced after World War II. Prior to the war, methodology was mainly based on description and typological classification of artifacts (e.g., van Heekeren 1957). Relative dating including artifact typology and stratigraphy was used to establish culture histories of each country. The development of prehistoric archaeology in Southeast Asia was strongly influenced by the ideas of geological and biological evolution from the pioneer western archaeologists (Movius 1948; van Heekeren 1957) and geologists (Higham 1989). Chronology based on stratigraphic sequences of the geological timeframe constructed by geologists provided a model for the development of cultural chronology of Southeast Asian prehistory.

For example, a number of stone tools from Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia were collected and identified by Hiram Movius in the 1930s. Based on these collections, Movius proposed that there was a geographical division between Europe and Asia and that these two regions underwent distinctive technological developments during the Middle Pleistocene. Movius characterized the stone tools from the region extending from East Asia to eastern India as belonging to a chopper-chopping tool tradition, and the western India to Europe and Africa region as belonging to a hand-axe tradition (Movius 1948). Movius' work became a significant

framework for Paleolithic studies in Southeast Asia since the earlier research was heavily concerned with lithic classification and typology as well as the correlation of lithic types with stratigraphy in order to establish cultural sequences. In other words, a developmental framework of cultural stages was applied to Southeast Asian prehistory based on a presumed progression of technological stages (Heine-Geldern 1932). The archaeological research in this period was inductive in nature. In addition, archaeological materials were collected from uncertain cultural and stratigraphic contexts such as secondary deposits along river terraces.

In summary, prehistoric archaeology in Southeast Asia did not develop equally in all parts of this region, and it is relatively young in comparison with European or North American archaeology. The development of this discipline has been influenced and affected by Western archaeology since the colonial era. Prehistoric archaeological research in Southeast Asia developed based on the European cultural-historical approach. It has only been since the 1970s that most archaeological activities in Southeast Asia have been conducted systematically by local archaeologists. Research agendas slightly changed aiming to serve national interests, but methodologies remained the same.

From 1961 to the Early Twenty-First Century

Reviewing the current status of prehistoric research in Southeast Asia is a very difficult task. I must admit that my knowledge of research in all the Southeast Asian countries is uneven because my analysis generally is based on the available publications written in English and Thai. In the following discussion of the current archaeological research in Southeast Asia covering the period from 1960 until present, I comment on the transformation of Southeast Asian archaeology and the increasing use of more sophisticated analytical techniques. The Vietnam War tremendously impacted archaeological research in Southeast Asia; as a result of this war a number of archaeologists and students were attracted to study of Southeast Asia. During this period, we have seen an increase in the number of well-trained local archaeologists pursuing research supported by funds from their governments and western foundations (e.g., Adi Taha 2000; Bannanurag 1982; Dizon 1988; Kijngam 1985; Lertrit 2002; Majid 1982; Ratnin 1988; Pookajorn 1988; Sovath 2003), the involvement of local archaeologists in archaeological research and “*collaboration*” between local and foreign archaeologists (e.g., Adi Taha 1986; Dizon 1993; Nik Hassan Abdul Rahman 1987; Ronquillo 1985).

Research Traditions

During this period a number of initiatives aimed at developing local archaeology in Southeast Asia have been funded through foreign aid and local governmental support, for example: the Thailand Research Fund, the Toyota Foundation, the Ford

Foundation, the National Science Foundation, National Geographic Society, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Many Southeast Asian archaeologists hold M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, the Netherlands, Germany, the People's Republic of China, etc. They mostly serve the government (e.g., state archaeological offices and universities) and private sectors (e.g., private museums and universities, consulting companies). Presently, archaeological research concerns both the government and the academia. Generally, the structure of government archaeology is similar in all Southeast Asia countries, which involves centralized control and management of cultural resources.

In terms of training, very few universities in Southeast Asia have active programs in prehistoric archaeology with faculty members who are local Southeast Asian such as Silpakorn University in Thailand, the Centre for Archaeological Research in Malaysia, University of Sains in Malaysia and the University of the Philippines. However, several universities have archaeology under the Department of History, for instance, the University of Hanoi in Vietnam, University of Gadjah Maha, University of Indonesia, University of Malaysia, University of Rangoon, etc.

As for conceptual training, in most Southeast Asian countries archaeology is closely tied to art history, history, and the humanities. The Philippines is an exception, for anthropology is a major approach to archaeology there. As mentioned above, archaeology is structurally placed in history departments in most Southeast Asian universities. Regardless of the disciplinary placement of archaeology, there has been an increase in the use of new scientific methods and high-tech analyses, for instance, DNA analysis, GIS, Geo-radar, neutron activation analysis.

American archaeology has increasingly influenced Southeast Asian archaeology since the 1960s due to economic and political factors. For instance, a few dam construction projects in Thailand and Laos required archaeological assessments, which resulted in the significant archaeological discoveries of domesticated rice and bronze metallurgy by American archaeologists from the University of Hawaii (Solheim 1968, 1971, 1974). Later, in 1971, the Ford Foundation provided support to strengthen local Southeast Asian communities to protect and conserve their own heritage through training programs and collaborative archaeological projects. As part of this program, some prominent Southeast Asian archaeologists were given an opportunity to study at American universities, for instance, the University of Pennsylvania (Charoenwongsa 1982; Lyon and Rainey 1982; Tanudirjo 1995; Bannanurag 1982; Dizon 1988).

In terms of prehistoric archaeological research, each country seems to have its own research agenda, which is based on the local developmental history of archaeology. Therefore, I will briefly outline the archaeological organizations and prehistoric research interests in each Southeast Asian country, beginning with the mainland Southeast Asia.

In Viet Nam, there is the largest number of Ph.Ds. in Southeast Asia. Most Vietnamese archaeologists received their Ph.Ds. from China, or Eastern European countries such as the former Soviet Union, the former East Germany, and Bulgaria. In contrast, in most Southeast Asian countries, local archaeologists have been

trained in the western capitalist countries. However, prehistoric research in Vietnam still is influenced heavily by the French tradition; especially research on the “Hoabinhian,” “Dong-Son,” and “Sahyun.” For instance, Vietnamese archaeologists have devoted a great deal of time and effort to re-excavating sites that had been excavated by the French, and they have reinterpreted the prehistory of Vietnam as the roots of Vietnam today (Ha Van Tan 1991, 1992). The Institute of Archaeology in Hanoi plays an important role in archaeological research in Vietnam. The University of Hanoi in the North and Ho Chi Minh National University in the South dominate archaeological teaching in this country. Other universities such as Hue University, Da Lat University and Thai Nguyen University provide courses in archaeology under their history program. There are twenty faculty members, and approximately twenty BAs, ten MAs, and six PhDs students for the entire country annually train in archaeology (Nguyen, Doi 2009, Personal communication). Apart from the Institute of Archaeology in the North, there is the Institute of Social Science in Ho Chi Minh City in the South, which is very active in archaeological research. Moreover, a number of museums also carry out their own archaeological research, for instance, the National Museum of History in Hanoi (Ha van Tan 1993: 73). Most research focuses on prehistoric and historic archaeology. It is interesting to observe that Marxist approaches are not being important in their research in comparison, for instance, to Chinese archaeology (Glover 2006: 25–27).

Due to political upheavals in the 1970s and through the 1980s, archaeological research in Cambodia has only recently been resumed. National Museum of Cambodia and the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh have begun conducting archaeological research with the assistance of the SPAFA, UNESCO, the University of Hawaii, Sophia University, the University of Sorbonne, DAAD, etc. Most research has focused on historical archaeology, art history, and restoration of the ancient monuments, in particular Angkor Watt and surrounding area. Prehistoric research in Cambodia has also been influenced by the French tradition, and it has been used as a symbol of the Khmer people and Cambodia. Unfortunately, very few prehistoric projects have been carried out in Cambodia after the excavation of Samrongsen by the Frenchman Mourer, such as excavations at the circular earthwork structures in Kompong Cham province (Phoeurn 1999). However, the French works remain an important framework for prehistoric research in Cambodia. Since 1995 the prehistoric research has been taken into account by a few collaborative projects such as the joint project between Cambodia and the University of Hawaii, which has been launched by M. Chunch and Miriam Stark at Angkor Borei focusing on the pre-Funan period (Stark et al. 1999). There are a number of Cambodian archaeologists who have graduated with MA and PhD degrees from the University of Hawaii (Sovath 2003). At present, Cambodia has produced 10 PhDs, 50 MAs and 400 BAs in archaeology (Thuy, Chanthoun 2009, Personal communication). It is important to point out that during the 1980s Cambodia was under heavy political influence from communist China, but there were no traces of this political domination in the local academic institution, the Royal Fine Arts University, which resumed in the 1990s.

Archaeology in Laos has been gradually re-established during 1976–1981. The Department of Archaeology was set up during the 1970s (Sayavongkhamdy 1993: 69–72). There is the National University of Laos, but presently offers no training in archaeology. Archaeological research has been supported through foreign aid including UNESCO, Australian National University, etc. Prehistoric research in Laos has been influenced by the French tradition and is little known in comparison to historical periods (Karlstrom and Kallen 1999; Kallen 2004; Karlstrom 2009). The Department of Library, Museums and Archaeology under the Ministry of Education is in charge of all archaeological research in this country due to lack of funds and administrative organizations.

In Myanmar, prehistoric research is only a part of archaeological projects that focuses on broader cultural developments in the Paleolithic, Hoabinhian, Neolithic Periods, and the Bronze and Iron Ages (Aung-Thwin 2001; Min Swe 1999). Clearly, in the ongoing research, European tradition in studying the country's prehistory is well traceable. Recently, there has been a major excavation focusing on the Bronze Age site. However, there has been a tendency to focus on conservation and restoration of ancient monuments rather than on prehistory. The Department of Archaeology under the Ministry of Culture is in charge of archaeological research in this country. Archaeology has been taught under the Department of History at the University of Yangon, Yangon Eastern University, Yangon Northern University, Mandalay University, Dagon University, and Monywa University (estimated number of 300 BAs and 50 MAs; see Han, U Nyunt 2009, Personal communication). Now, Myanmar is opening the country by allowing research collaboration with individual foreign archaeologists from different countries (such as France, Australia, and the USA) (Glover 2006; Moore 2007).

Malaysian archaeology has been dominated by museums and the Department Arts and Tourism in the Ministry of Culture. Recently a number of universities also became more active in archaeological research, for example, the University Sains Malaysia (four faculty members), the University of Kebangsaan, and the University of Malaysia (three faculty members), all providing training through the M.A. and Ph.D. levels in both prehistoric and historic archaeology (they produce approximately 30 postgraduate students from three universities, see Mohktar 2009, personal communication). The prehistoric research practice still follows the British tradition.

In Thailand, there are two major institutions involved in archaeological research and cultural heritage management: the Royal Thai Fine Arts Department (FAD) in the Ministry of Culture and Silpakorn University structurally under the Ministry of Education. The Division of Archaeology of the FAD is primarily responsible for conducting archaeological research and is in charge of registration, restoration and preservation of all archaeological sites in the country (Sangkhanukit 1999). Most research focuses on historic archaeology, conservation, and cultural resource management. Research collaboration with foreign archaeologists is common in Thailand. At present, the government uses archaeology to promote tourism, since the tourist industry provides direct profits for the Thai economy. The majority of the FAD budget is used to maintain, restore, and preserve archaeological monuments all over Thailand. Rescue archaeology also is a major priority of the FAD as

there are large mega projects rapidly expanding in major cities in this country. Unfortunately, only a small amount of money is left for conducting genuine academic-style research projects. However, at present, there are quite a few archaeological projects focusing on prehistory. The Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University is the only institution in Thailand providing direct training in archaeology through the M.A. level in both prehistoric and historic archaeology, and the Ph.D. level in historic archaeology (17 faculty members trains about 120 BA students annually; they have also produced 100 MA and 15 PhD students within 5 years, 2004–2009). Recently, the Faculty of Archaeology of Silpakorn University, Thammasat University, and Chulalongkorn University have started an M.A. program in cultural resource management. Silpakorn University was originally established as the School of Fine Arts under the Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Education. The school attained university status in 1943, offering formal programs of study in fine arts including the Faculty of Painting, Sculpture, and Printing, Faculty of Architecture, Faculty of Archaeology, and Faculty of Decorative arts. Currently, Silpakorn University has grown to include six established faculties. It is clear that archaeology is a part of the humanities rather than the social sciences at this institution. Therefore, archaeology and anthropology are separate disciplines but rather closely related to art history, history, and eastern Asian languages.

Now, let us look at the current status of prehistoric archaeology in the island region of Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, the Dutch tradition still is influential in prehistoric research, especially in the study of hominids, which is a well-known and important field of research in this country (Soejono 1987, 1993). Archaeological research in Indonesia has been carried out by the National Research Centre of Archaeology from its head office in Jakarta and its branch offices (i.e., Yogyakarta, Bali, and Bundung). The major universities providing training in archaeology through the M.A. level are the University of Gadjah Maha and the University of Indonesia. Archaeological research focuses on prehistoric (early hominids), historic, and underwater archaeology. A number of collaborative research projects between Indonesian and foreigners, including the recent Hobbitt controversy, paleoanthropology (Sémah et al. 2001, Simanjuntak 2001) have been conducted there. Moreover, a number of archaeological organizations in Indonesia are quite active in organizing annual conferences.

In Singapore, the Department of History at the National University of Singapore plays an important role in archaeological research in both Singapore and Indonesia. There is only one professor, who is an American, and three PhD students. Most of the archaeological research in this country focuses on trade, ceramics, and historical archaeology (Miksic, 2009, Personal communication).

Prehistoric archaeology in the Philippines has been carried out in the American tradition since the 1940s. Most prehistoric research focuses on cave sites with deposits from the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Periods, and the Bronze and Iron Ages. Archaeological research is controlled by the National Museum of the Philippines. Several ongoing projects are conducted in this institution, focusing on prehistoric and underwater archaeology. There are several universities that provide training in archaeology through the M.A. level, including the University of the

Philippines (40 MA and 2 PhD students, see Paz, 2009, Personal communication), the University of San Carlos, and Silliman University (Dizon 1993).

Finally, archaeological research in Brunei has resumed fairly recently, since the 1970s. The National Museum of Brunei is the only institution involved in archaeological research in this country. Currently, the University of Brunei Darussalam provides training in archaeology. Research has mainly focused on underwater archaeology, historical archaeology, and cultural resource management (Omar 1981).

Another significant development for archaeological research within the region occurred after World War II. Southeast Asian countries reestablished relations among themselves by forming a regional organization in 1986 (SPAFA 1993). Here, I am focusing specifically on the role of SEAMEO-SPAFA (SEAMEO is the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization), the Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SPAFA) which is located in Bangkok, Thailand. The major objectives of SPAFA include:

- To disseminate information on archaeology
- To promote and help enrich archaeological and cultural activities in the region
- To advance mutual knowledge and understanding among the countries of Southeast Asia through regional programs in archaeology

Consequently, cross-cultural, comparative studies have received slightly more attention in Southeast Asian archaeological communities as a result of SPAFA training programs and regional conferences. However, these training programs generally focus on methodologies (e.g., lithic analysis, bead analysis, and palynology) and cultural resource management. This is an attempt to share information and to unify archaeological methodology throughout the region.

In sum, at the present time, the number of well trained local archaeologists has increased, there is more collaboration among the Southeast Asian countries, and more research projects are being conducted by local archaeologists. However, as archaeology originally was a European discipline, Southeast Asian prehistoric research continues to follow the European tradition of taking a culture-history approach. The anthropological approach also was introduced to the region by the Americans through educational training and archaeological research. In addition, archaeology has recently played an important role in economic development and nationalism in Southeast Asia (Ronquillo 1987), which will be discussed in more details below. As a result, the protection, conservation, restoration, and rescue of endangered archaeological sites have been major concerns in each Southeast Asian country, especially for sites that are more closely tied to recent history.

Research Methodology

The most recent developments in archaeological research in Southeast Asia are:

- Increase in interdisciplinary research (e.g., Charoenwongsa 1982; Pookajorn et al. 1994; Shoocongdej 2004; Majid 2003, 2005)
- Application of scientific analyses and computer technology originally developed by western archaeologists (e.g., Maloney 1999, Morwood and van Oosterzee 2006)

These scientific analyses include radiocarbon dating, chemical analyses of ceramics (Chia 1997), metallurgy (Dizon 1988; Natapintu 1991), archaeobotany (Paz 2004a), dendrochronology (Pumijumngong 2007), micromorphological study (Mijares and Lewis 2009), etc. In result, the archaeological methods for survey, excavation, data recording, analysis, and publication are now well developed in Southeast Asia. In addition, archaeological research is carried out using both inductive and deductive approaches (e.g., Dizon 1993). Nevertheless, classification and typology are still the principal archaeological methods for correlating cultural chronology from major excavated sites and often one major site is used persistently to represent an entire region (Shoocongdej 1996).

Obviously, different theoretical approaches have been introduced by western archaeologists and have made their presence visible in archaeological practices in many Southeast Asian countries.

Due to current economic conditions in Southeast Asia tourism has greatly influenced archaeological investigation. In recent years, most Southeast Asian countries have boosted their local economies through heritage tourism. In addition, damage and destruction of cultural resources have increased with the expansion of industry, urbanization, and tourism (Majid 1998). Therefore, most archaeological work has focused on salvage or rescue archaeology (e.g., Ronquillo 1985). Conservation and restoration of historical sites and the development of historical parks are considered high priorities. Meanwhile, new archaeological research is considered as low priority. Consequently, archaeological investigations of sites increasingly have been conducted through contract archaeology. To date, there are no standard guidelines or rules for regulating consultant companies in Southeast Asia. Therefore, many sites have been damaged by ill-advised preservation efforts. A large quantity of data has been quickly produced by rescue archaeology with very little concern for detailed analyses and final reports.

In sum, Southeast Asian archaeologists have perceived western archaeological theoretical approaches and practices as useful and practical tools for archaeological research and activities. But archaeology in this region is not only for archaeologists. It also contributes to the economic and educational well-being of the general public.

Uses of Archaeology

As I mentioned above, Southeast Asian archaeology has been impacted by the processes of western colonialism and nationalism in its history. The emergence of nationalist archaeology is a very strong rationale among the colonized and newly developed countries in our region (Saidin and Chia 2007). Indeed, the archaeological research and activities have directly served both the present political and economic concerns. The roles of western colonialism and nationalism in contemporary archaeology in Southeast Asia over the past few decades have been discussed in a number of articles (e.g., Glover 1986, 1993, 1999; Paz 1998; Saidin

and Chia 2007; Shoocongdej 2007) and I will not address these issues here. Rather, I will highlight a few key points made at these discussions.

Archaeology is Central to Nation's Pride

Undeniably there is a close relationship between political environment and archaeological research. The past is a matter of pride for the Southeast Asian nations, as it provides political and ideological symbols for each country. Most importantly, these symbols are rooted deeply into local traditions of the Southeast Asian nations. For instance, Angkor Wat represents the Khmer while the Sukhothai kingdom represents the Thai's origins as it was the first Thai state (Shoocongdej 2007). In Vietnam, the Hoabinhian and Dong-Son cultures are the roots of the Vietnamese people (Glover 2006), Sangriran represents the very beginnings of local populations in Java, Indonesia (Majid 2007). These symbolic roots became important for the Vietnamese after their independence in 1954 when nation-building was a political priority (Glover 2001: 121). In the Philippines, Victor Paz (2007: 52–62) has argued that a nationalist practice of archaeology was a positive force in the nation-building process. The stone ruins of Christian churches on the island of Mindoro have led to a general national consciousness in the Philippines.

Archaeology and Politics

Political usage of contemporary archaeology in Southeast Asia varies in pattern and scale depending on the political contexts in each country. As in other parts of the world, the construction of the past in Southeast Asia takes place in the nexus of global politics. The Cold War is considered to be over now, but civil conflicts, political turbulence, or struggles for democracy persist. Unavoidably, archaeology often plays an important role in legitimizing political power. The past and the present are clearly influenced by archaeological interpretations, which are controlled by political authorities through symbolic meanings and territorial claims.

For example, three provinces in southern Thailand, Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, have been under martial law since 2004. Historically, these provinces have had predominantly Muslim communities with Malay origins. They were incorporated by the Kingdom of Thailand during the early twentieth century. As a part of nation-building, Thailand endeavored to create a uniform national identity and the Muslim communities have been transformed into "Thai Muslims." For many decades, there have been organized armed groups in southern Thailand including the Pattani United Liberation Organization and Barisan Revolusi Nasional. Their goal is to liberate the Muslim communities in these three southernmost provinces of Thailand. The Muslim communities in this region feel closely related to the Malay culture and they have strong ties to their common ancestors. Historically in this region, the

ancient Langkasuka kingdom emerged within political, economic, social, and cultural networks of the Malay kingdom of Srivijaya and later, between sixteenth – eighteenth centuries A.D., developed into Pattani. The past has been used and manipulated by different ethnic groups within the same nation, and in this case it has been used to resist the central Thai state. Archaeological evidence shows that Langkasuka did not develop simply by conquering other indigenous states. Rather, peoples of diverse ethnic groups and cultural traditions/religions lived together there for many centuries. The concept of the Thai/Malay-Muslim identity, which refers to language, culture, and so on, was created during the development of the Thai/Malay nation-state in the colonial period. Currently, archaeological and historical evidence of the Langkasuka kingdom are being used as political tools by the organized armed groups to separate the three southern provinces from Thailand (Staanan 2008; Vallibhotama 2007).

Archaeology as an Economic Asset

At present, archaeology as part of cultural heritage management has become very important for economic development in Southeast Asia (Bautista 2007; Paz 2007; Peleggi 2002; Shoocongdej 1992). In many Southeast Asian countries, local economies have benefitted from cultural heritage tourism. For example, in the Philippines, the Tabon Cave Complex is identified as the Filipino cultural heritage site representing the unity of the nation. Between 1972 and present, the National Museum, the Department of Tourism, the Philippines Tourism Authority, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts, and the local government of Quezon have implemented a development project at this site to create opportunities for economic growth (Bautista 2007: 47–51).

In Thailand, as I have argued elsewhere (Shoocongdej 2007), the development of cultural heritage tourism has affected the practice of archaeology in two ways. First, the conservation and restoration of archaeological sites and their management for tourism have come to be considered a high priority, while archaeological research and public education have become lower priorities. Another important phenomenon observed in the development of cultural heritage tourism in Thailand is the promotion of the concept of “Thai Cultural Heritage.” This promotion is an effective state cultural propaganda aimed at conserving Thai culture, which draws on a popular desire for a romantic view of the past (Charoenwongsa 2003; Nagavajara 2003).

In Myanmar, cultural heritage management fuelled by tourism has grown rapidly. Many development projects have been completed or planned around ancient cities such as Mandalay and Pagan. On the one hand, a number of archaeological sites were restored around Pagan for tourism and on the other, very little effort was spent on research aimed at improving our understanding of cultural developments in the past in this area (Miksic 2001).

Discussion

Over several decades, Southeast Asian archaeologists have become more aware of the significance of theory, and scientific research and applications in their research and professional activities (Dizon 1993; Shoocongdej 2004; Majid 2005). Nevertheless, Southeast Asian prehistory is still considered marginal in the world's prehistory. I do not mean to imply that Southeast Asians have not made any progress in the study of Southeast Asian prehistory/archaeology. Rather, I think it is important to conduct a frank self-evaluation of our current archaeological practices in order to move beyond western dominance.

For the last two decades, I have struggled to find indigenous theories in Thai archaeology. Thus far, I have not been successful. My thinking obviously has been influenced by my western training in the cross-cultural, comparative approach at the University of Michigan. I realize that there is a serious conflict between my quest for (indigenous) Thai theories and the Anglo-American theoretical approaches that I have been taught and practice in my own research. At this stage, from my personal perspective, I think it is more important to be critically aware, to recognize and understand “how and why” we use, apply, or follow western models in explaining and interpreting the past (e.g., a cultural historical approach, processual vs. post-processual approaches) as well as how we conduct archaeology (e.g., cultural/heritage management) than it is to construct a clear-cut dichotomy of western vs. local archaeology.

Based on the above review of the historical context of Southeast Asian archaeology, I would like to offer a few observations to initiate a fruitful discussion.

First, prehistoric archaeologists in Southeast Asia still suffer from the lack of diversity in theoretical frameworks because training focuses on methodology rather than on conceptualization (Bray and Glover 1987; Peterson 1982–1983; Shoocongdej 1996). I must admit that theoretical debates are not common practices in Southeast Asian region. Like archaeologists working in other parts of the world, Southeast Asian archaeologists fall into the scientific trap of methodological progress rather than theoretical development. They believe that improvement in techniques will upgrade the quality of archaeological knowledge and is essential for global communication with archaeological colleagues. Perhaps the techniques of hard science are easier to understand and require more practical experience to learn than the theories of hard science. Therefore, local archaeologists can spend less time in formal training programs focusing on methodology. It is clear that the archaeological use of advanced methodologies is constrained by the lack of adequate theoretical constructs that allow effective incorporation of the data into a systematized body of archaeological knowledge. Apparently, there is an increasing and uncritical use of scientific analyses. A series of sophisticated laboratory techniques or high-tech analyses are being thrown at the artifacts with the hope that something useful will come out from it (Shoocongdej 1996). However, I see nothing wrong with applying scientific approaches/methods in archaeological inquiry in Southeast Asia as long as someone is consciously aware of why and how they are doing them.

Second, our understanding of Southeast Asian prehistory/history depends on our knowledge of local temporal sequences and prehistoric developments or cultural history. Typological studies and cultural history are very powerful approaches used in Southeast Asian prehistory. There has been a strong emphasis on labeling the geographical and temporal distribution of archaeological remains as different cultures and ethnic groups (e.g., Vietnamese cases such as Son Vi culture and Nguom cultures represent the upper Paleolithic period; Hoabinhian culture represents the Mesolithic Period and Bac Son culture represents the Neolithic Period), which creates a lot of confusion in Southeast Asian prehistory (e.g., Ha Van Tan 1991). Archaeological cultures generally are defined by different artifact types and often ignore the similarities between archaeological assemblages. The efforts by Southeast Asian archaeologists to develop cultural chronologies in their own countries involve the search for identities or nations which serve political ends. Processual approaches have also been utilized in very few research projects. In comparison to other disciplines such as literature, the arts, political science, history, and anthropology, post-modern (post-processual) approaches have had very little impact on archaeological research in Southeast Asia. However, we do find some applications in CRM or heritage studies (e.g., Pricharnchit 2005; Shoocongdej 2009) and post-processual approaches have been used by some western archaeologists (e.g., Kallen 2004; Karlstrom 2009).

Third, most research by local Southeast Asian archaeologists is relatively unknown to foreign archaeologists or the world's archaeological community, and there is a tendency to narrowly focus on research in each country. There are, however, archaeological journals published in English, such as Hukay of the University of the Philippines, Sawawak Museum Journal, Silpakorn International Journal of Silpakorn University. Evidently, each Southeast Asian country mainly has focused on the prehistoric people in that country as the ancestors of modern homogenous populations, particularly the major ethnic groups (e.g., the Thai, the Viet, the Malay, the Indonesian, etc.), which has served a political agenda. Cross-cultural analysis between Southeast Asian countries and other parts of the world is rather limited. In contrast, western archaeologists have often used generalized models of cultural evolution which can be tested in many parts of the world. They can incorporate archaeological data into broader theoretical frameworks. This appears to be a different research focus. In result, it seems that most of the best known archaeological research in Southeast Asia is conducted by foreigners (e.g., Bellwood 1997; Higham 1989), although local archaeologists are working hard throughout the region. I don't mean to imply that all local archaeologists are not attracted to other ways of thinking about the past. There are archaeologists who address broader archaeological issues such as social complexities, hunter-gatherers, mortuary practices, trade, etc (Bacus et al 2006; Paz 2004b). But the number is rather small in comparison to rescue archaeology or contract archaeology.

Fourth, obviously, archaeological historiography, texts, or reports written in English by local archaeologists are very rare (e.g., Majid 2005). Most reports are published in a Southeast Asian language, which very few western scholars can read. Many publications are of limited distribution within each country and very

few are available outside Southeast Asia. Due to academic imperialism, it is often the case that publications in local languages do not receive as much attention from the world's professional community as publications in English. The use of English in academic writing and communication remains a major problem for most Southeast Asian archaeologists, who rarely use this language in their academic and daily contexts unless they attend international meetings.

Fifth, I think most Southeast Asian archaeologists have developed their knowledge of the field through foreign/western training, colleagues, publications, and the Internet. Therefore, archaeological practices in the region have been influenced by the Anglo-American models. However, Southeast Asian archaeologists lack access to information generated by western archaeologists, and vice versa. As a result of this inaccessibility (including both documents and direct communication) as well as differences in research traditions, Southeast Asian archaeologists are particularly disadvantaged in learning what is going on in contemporary world of archaeology. Very few Southeast Asian archaeologists follow current debates about archaeological theories and methods internationally. At the same time, western archaeologists have problems keeping up with current research in Southeast Asian archaeology because they generally lack knowledge of the local languages. I think Southeast Asian archaeologists have developed their own models based on data oriented research. However, many are still influenced by the Anglo-American models, in particular culture history approach.

Sixth, in this globalized era, I think archaeology has something more to accomplish in contemporary societies. Most Southeast Asian countries have a handful of PhDs in archaeology with many responsibilities. Most of them have to do many tasks at the same times such as administrative jobs, teaching, research, rescue archaeology, consultation with and service to local communities and societies on issues relating to cultural heritage, etc. As mentioned above, research is not a high priority in many Southeast Asian countries. Cultural resource management or applied research for the tourism industry is much more likely to receive funding than theoretical research. Academic research generally is ignored by governments Southeast Asian states. In this capitalist world, scientific research generally is carried out by foreign archaeologists who have secured research funding that can support extensive fieldwork abroad. Southeast Asian currencies have been devalued for a few years; consequently, dollars and pounds have increased in value. With this economic power, foreign archaeologists have more opportunities to initiate collaborative archaeological investigations in most of the Southeast Asian countries (e.g., an Indonesian-French project, Indonesian-Japanese project, Thai-New Zealander project, Laotian-Australian project, etc.). Hence, the structure of archaeological research still depends on specific scientific inquiry. The search for alternative Southeast Asian archaeologies has rarely been attempted (Shoocongdej 2009). Clearly, building theory through text is not an integral part of the Southeast Asian way of practicing archaeology.

Finally, how can we reach beyond the purely academic and administrative to the ethical and moral aspects of the field? I think archaeology has been used and interpreted in multiple ways by different countries. In Southeast Asian countries,

I think archaeologists are more aware of their professional responsibilities to the communities and societies with which they work (e.g., Natapintu 2007; Paz 2007; Pricharnchit 2005; Shoocongdej 2009). More recently, the ethical and moral aspects of the profession also have been acknowledged. Southeast Asian archaeologists have become sensitive to issues concerning multiple cultures and ethnic minorities in their countries. Admittedly, this is due to the influence of post colonial studies. The archaeological evidence of the past and control over interpretations of the past do not belong to one particular ethnic group; instead these belong to all human beings who live in the area (e.g., Shoocongdej *in press*). Understanding cultural diversity in the past will make a significant contribution to the current situation, in particular, in countries with many cultures such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Myanmar, Thailand, etc.

What is the future of Southeast Asian archaeology? From very practical points of view, I think we need to have more communication among archaeologists from Southeast Asia and western/foreigners. Southeast Asian archaeologists should encourage research across the region. There are Southeast Asian conferences (such as SPAFA seminar, Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists), annual archaeological meetings of each country, joint projects (such as Thai-Malaysian, Thai-Cambodian, Thai-New Zealand, Indonesian-French, Indonesian-Australian, Filipino-French, Cambodian-US, Vietnamese-Japanese), workshops, and personal communications which contribute to better recognition of regional archaeologies.

Concluding Remarks

With the above discussion and suggestions in mind, I unfortunately must admit that contemporary Southeast Asian archaeology is of western origin. Indeed, I did not want to come to this pessimistic conclusion. While there are increasing numbers of studies on alternative archaeologies applying ethnohistories (Bacus 2002), oral histories (Junker 1999), Buddhist philosophy, folklore, etc. (Karlstrom 2009), they still are very few when compared to the contemporary literature on Southeast Asian archaeology as a whole. Modernization and westernization have had a strong impact on Southeast Asian societies, cultures, and archaeology. Whether we like it or not, we, local Southeast Asian archaeologists, cannot isolate ourselves and ignore the contemporary trends in the world-wide community in our profession. We still need to obtain information about archaeology from elsewhere in the world, and we must have critical minds with strong theoretical backgrounds in order to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of current theories and methods. In my view, interpretations and explanations must be based upon clear and rigorous analysis theoretical and methodological. Then we will be able to develop theories and practices that are applicable to the Southeast Asian region. In addition, we should be encouraged to conduct research across the region, like our colleagues in South America or Africa do. This will give us a broader perspective on the prehistory of

our own countries and of Southeast Asia as a whole. And we will be able to have an impact on the awareness of the international academic community in our field. Moreover, I think greater use of the internet, blog, and website can help achieve these goals.

Lastly, I want to stress that all discussions between local and Anglo-American/western archaeologists on the subjects of archaeological theories and practices should be based on mutual respect for different priorities in research and professional activities. Critical evaluation of Anglo-American models might assist Southeast Asian archaeologists in self-reflection by allowing them to consider the “otherness” of western archaeology. However, an understanding of the factors affecting the nature of archaeological research will help us move toward the development of future archaeologies. Applying and adapting the Anglo-American model to local contexts requires an awareness of our own cultural backgrounds as these relate to global archaeological theories and practices. Moreover, alternative interpretations of the past have gradually been accepted in many countries of the region. So, this is the direction to which we can head.

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Pacific Islands Archaeology

Frank R. Thomas

Introduction

The Pacific Islands, also referred to as Oceania, and comprising the three “culture areas” of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, are scattered across a quarter of the earth’s surface. With over 40,000 years of human settlement (in the region’s western part), several of these islands display great ecological and cultural diversity. Pacific Islanders speak a quarter of the world’s languages, but some communities of speakers are fast disappearing due to culture contact with larger ethnic groups and the adoption of more universal languages, such as Melanesian pidgins and English, following more than 150 years of interaction with Europeans.

The region, which came primarily under British, American, and French control, was only recently decolonized, although some political dependencies remain. The islands were formerly administered by a half dozen imperial powers that managed to influence many aspects of indigenous peoples’ lives. Yet, many traditional cultural expressions remain, as Pacific Islanders now navigate the often hazardous seas of social, political, economic, and environmental changes in this era of globalization.

As the pace of European exploration of the Pacific accelerated in the second half of the eighteenth century, an increasing number of insular communities became affected by the various processes of culture contact, often with disastrous consequences. Thus ended the pre-contact history of an area, archipelago, or particular island and the beginning of the historic period, heralded by the first written accounts about the region and its inhabitants. Explorers and later missionaries, traders, and colonial officials, as well as anthropologists have provided a wealth of descriptive and interpretive materials pertaining to the islands’ indigenous groups. However, these accounts probably revealed more about outsiders’ views and their societies than an “objective” assessment of ethnographic data. Outsiders also theorized on

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the origins of Pacific Islanders, sometimes contradicting indigenous oral traditions (Heyerdahl 1952).

Pre-contact history or prehistory, to use an increasingly politically incorrect term, draws on several disciplines, including, but not limited to ethnology, linguistics, biological anthropology, the study of oral tradition, and archaeology. These approaches may also provide important information on the recent past, and offer alternative perspectives on the nature of early Western and Pacific Islander encounters. Clearly, no single approach for understanding the past can claim supremacy. Conflict between disciplines may be a source of healthy skepticism that allows us to look at our methods and theories in a more critical way.

However, this chapter focuses on the discipline of archaeology and its place among the various cultural expressions in the region today. As the noted Solomon Islands scholar, David Gegeo (1998) argued, dehegemonization or liberation of the mind remains the next stage of decolonization. It is expected that archaeology will come under increased scrutiny by Pacific Islanders as they collectively commit themselves to reconstructing or refashioning their own epistemologies, including the ways they relate to their past.

Academic Antecedents

James Cook, one of the most famous explorers of the European Enlightenment era was struck by the similarities he perceived among the inhabitants of the eastern Pacific, those who would later be described as Polynesians. The similarities were especially noticeable among languages separated by thousands of miles of ocean:

It is extraordinary that the same Nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in this Vast Ocean from New Zealand to this Island [Rapanui or Easter Island] which is almost a fourth part of the circumference of the Globe (Thomas 2003a, b:225).

By his third and final voyage (1776–79), he outlined a theory of origins by drawing parallels with the inhabitants of the Marianas and Caroline Islands, as well as the Malays. With the expansion of exploratory journeys by Europeans in the nineteenth century, a wealth of ethnographic data was added. The French explorer Dumont D’Urville established the tripartite classification of Pacific peoples as Polynesians, Melanesians, and Micronesians. The American ethnologist, Horatio Hale, who served as philologist on the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838–42, confirmed Cook’s earlier thoughts on a link between Polynesia and Island Southeast Asia and laid the foundations of the ethnography of the former region. British and American missionaries who began their work at the end of the eighteenth century established orthographies for several indigenous languages, and encouraged new converts to write down their own indigenous oral traditions and histories.

The end of the nineteenth century coincided with the rise of ethnology and anthropology as formal academic disciplines in European and American universities. In two Pacific island localities, New Zealand and Hawai’i, with large “settler”

populations, Western academic frameworks quickly became established. The Polynesian Society was founded in Wellington in 1892, while the Bishop Museum in Honolulu opened its doors in 1889. Kirch (2000:17) states that “in this premodern period of academic anthropology, archaeology (or the study of “antiquities”) was not yet distinguished from ethnology, and the same practitioners undertook both ethnographic work and museum studies of artifacts”.

Although archaeological excavations had been carried out during this incipient scholarly period by Western researchers, there was little to indicate a long period of human settlement together with an appreciation for changes in cultural sequences or insular environments. With the rise of functionalism in anthropology in the early decades of the twentieth century, questions related to past cultural expressions were deemed to reside outside the purview of serious academic inquiry and were relegated instead to the realm of speculation and fanciful reconstruction, not worthy of serious investigation. Bronisław Malinowski’s (1932) research in the Trobriand Islands and Raymond Firth’s (1957) work on Tikopia exemplify the functionalist orientation in the Pacific. However, the discovery of extinct *moa* bird bones in New Zealand in association with artifacts raised the possibility of significant cultural change elsewhere in the islands. The archaeological community would have to wait until the early 1950s and the application of radiocarbon dating to realize that the region had a much greater time depth since colonization by indigenous groups.

The end of World War II opened up the Pacific Islands to a number of American researchers and stimulated work elsewhere in the region. It was also during this period that comparative ethnology and the diffusionist paradigm previously used to explain cultural differences gave way to an *adaptationist* program emphasizing “cultural change and process” (Kirch 2000:29).

While it would take some time to identify chronologies of material culture change in tropical Polynesia, Gifford (1951) decided to excavate two sites on the largest island of the Fijian Archipelago: Viti Levu. Fiji had long intrigued anthropologists in view of its proximity to Western Polynesia, with which it shared a number of cultural features, and the presence of so-called “Melanesian” physical traits similar to those found among populations living in the archipelagoes further west, such as Vanuatu and the Solomons. Gifford’s efforts were rewarded by the discovery of well stratified sequences displaying changing pottery styles. A second expedition was organized to New Caledonia, setting the stage for the discovery of a pottery style that would soon become famous among archaeologists in the region: Lapita, named after a locality on the island’s west coast (Sand 2003). It was immediately recognized that the distinctive dentate-stamped decoration was nearly identical to sherds previously identified in Tonga to the east and the Bismarck Archipelago to the west. Subsequent discoveries confirmed the presence of Lapita pottery in Samoa and several other island groups, including Fiji. Radiocarbon dating confirmed the antiquity of this cultural horizon, exceeding 3,000 years in some areas, and stretching over a distance of 4,000 km. Here was the first archaeological evidence in support of a unified culture or groups closely related to each other straddling the boundary between Melanesia and Polynesia, thus reshaping or deconstructing the long-established cultural categories acknowledged by generations

of ethnologists (Thomas 1989). Before the appearance of Lapita several islands in the western Pacific (Near Oceania), including New Guinea, the Bismarcks, and the Solomons were occupied about 40,000 years ago during the Pleistocene (Leavesley 2006). However, Lapita colonists apparently did not cross the water gap between the Solomons and Vanuatu until the mid-Holocene. Australia, once connected to New Guinea when sea levels were lower, has a comparable antiquity for human settlement, which is still subject of much debate (Hiscock 2008). As Australia's cultural evolution appeared to have had only minor influence on subsequent developments elsewhere in the Pacific, it will not be discussed any further.

The third cultural division, Micronesia, displays a great deal of complexity, making "generalizations about Micronesian society gloss over many exceptions and variations" (Campbell 2003:28). Although the high islands of the Marianas, Palau, and Yap in western Micronesia have a settlement history comparable in length to the earliest Lapita sites in Near Oceania, with similarities in pottery design techniques, decorative motifs, and vessel forms, the eastern Caroline Islands, including most of their low coral atolls, as well as the Marshall Islands and Kiribati seem to have been colonized only in the last 2,000 years (Carson 2008; Rainbird 2004).

The spread of ancient seafarers across the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean culminated in the settlement of the last island frontiers outside the tropics, in sub-Antarctic conditions, a few centuries before European contact (Anderson 2005). For many years, the only piece of evidence for contact between Polynesia and South America was the presence of the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), introduced prior to European discovery, from the latter region, but probably picked up by Polynesian navigators who then brought it back to the islands (Yen 1971). Questions remain as to the presumed South American origin of the Polynesian bottle gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*) (Clarke et al. 2006). More recently, the coconut (*Cocos nucifera*), Polynesian chickens, and sewn-plank boats and composite fishhooks have been added to the list of plants, animals, and items of material culture that could have been carried from the Pacific Islands to the west coasts of North, Central, and South America in pre-contact times (Jones and Klar 2005; Storey et al. 2007; Ward and Brookfield 1992).

Renewed interest in culture contact between archipelagoes and with Pacific Rim localities complements current research focusing on cultural evolution, such as demographic change, agricultural intensification, and the development of social complexity, as well as environmental change (Allen 2006; Anderson 2007; Golson 1986; Kirch 1984, 1986, 2007; Kirch and Hunt 1997; Kirch and Rallu 2007; Leach 1999; Nunn 2007a, b; Weisler 1994; Weisler and Kirch 1996).

Archaeology has not yet attracted a large following of indigenous scholars, who remain underrepresented in theoretical debates (but see Cachola-Abad 1993; Cauchois 2006; Dugay-Grist 2006; Mandui 2006). The critique of the discipline's goals emanates mainly from the emerging field of *cultural studies*. For example, Haúofa's (2000:461) assessment of Pacific historiography calls into question Western historians' emphasis on chronology, which is considered inappropriate, as so much attention to *when* overlooks the "*where, how, and in what sequence*" that should instead be the focus of histories in the region. Precise dating is deemed irrelevant, as "The past ... is going ahead of us, leading into the future, which is

behind us” (2000:460). Nevertheless, the expanding fields of public archaeology and cultural heritage management, particularly in places with greater financial resources (e.g., Hawai‘i, the freely-associated states of Micronesia, New Zealand) are now drawing more attention from indigenous communities, in large measure because of the close link between archaeology and land development and growing recognition of indigenous rights and ownership and control of cultural expressions (Graves and Erkelens 1991; Prickett 2003).

Key Theoretical and Methodological Concerns

There are a number of archaeological research objectives currently being pursued in the region. Generally, they are not treated as competing paradigms, with the notable exception of “postmodernist” thinking versus “orthodox” processualism (Anderson 2004; Boomert and Bright 2007; Fitzpatrick et al. 2007; Terrell 1997; Watson 2008). Rather, debate is often focused on methodological issues within each approach, and consequently in data interpretation. In recent years, archaeologists have addressed a range of questions of local and regional significance (e.g., origin and timing of settlement) or of broader applicability (e.g., island studies, the extent of pre-contact impact on resources by indigenous communities, theoretical discussions on political economy, monumentality, and long-distance exchange). Some of those research interests and their theoretical underpinnings are discussed below.

Culture history through the establishment of acceptable chronologies still ranks high on the agenda for several researchers, as the scope of geographic and temporal coverage remains uneven (Jones and Spriggs 2002). Other major approaches include environmental archaeology, and more recently the interdisciplinary perspective of historical ecology (Garden 2005; Kirch and Hunt 1997; McNeill 2001), “selectionist” archaeology (Allen 1992; Bentley et al. 2008; Cochrane 1998; Eerkens and Lipo 2007; Hunt 1987; Pfeffer 1995; Rindos 1989), and the emerging field of post-processual archaeology (Shanks 2008). Although the latter paradigm has found expression in other parts of the world for well over two decades, it is a relatively new approach in the Pacific, reflecting postcolonial ethics and politics with its emphasis on the fluidity of boundaries, cross-cultural engagement, microscale household archaeology, and studies of past gender and power relations (Boomert and Bright 2007; Kirch and Kahn 2007; Kirch and O’Day 2003; Millerstrom 2006; Rainbird 2007; Terrell 2004; Torrence and Clarke 2000).

Origins of the Lapita Culture

The settlement of the Pacific may be divided into two broad phases: (1) a Pleistocene occupation of Sahulland (Greater Australia, including New Guinea) and islands of Near Oceania (Bismarck to Solomon Archipelagoes) and (2) a mid-Holocene colonization past the main Solomons into Remote Oceania (Green 1991).

As the glaciers retreated worldwide and sea levels rose at the end of the Pleistocene, important cultural transformations were underway. One of the most important changes involved the first attempts at plant domestication, which would later have such tremendous impact on human demography and social evolution (Kirch 2005). By the early Holocene, New Guinea and most, if not all, the islands of near Oceania displayed rich cultural, linguistic, and human biological diversity.

Suddenly (within a few centuries), a well-marked cultural horizon appeared, from the Bismarcks to Samoa. On present evidence, this Lapita horizon was the first to have reached the islands of Remote Oceania (east of the Solomons into Vanuatu and beyond) (Green 1979). Because of the absence of pre-Lapita occupation in Remote Oceania, it has been suggested that further expansion into the eastern Pacific required substantial improvements in navigational skills and technology, not available to Pleistocene and early Holocene seafarers, even at times of lower sea level (Irwin 1992:43; but see Nunn 1993:20 for the opposing viewpoint). Alternatively, factors of biogeography (limited plant and animal resources on more distant islands) rather than limitations in seafaring ability could effectively have prevented settlement of Remote Oceania unless “an economy based on cultivation, or at least a developed form of wild plant-food production involving transportation of many useful plant species” was already established (Spriggs 1993b:141).

Lapita may be looked upon in terms of continuities and discontinuities in relation to the preceding Pleistocene/early Holocene period. As archaeological teams from the United States and Australia concluded their analyses and reports on the “Lapita Homeland Project”, launched in the mid-1980s, quite divergent opinions emerged regarding the origins and development of this cultural complex.

A case for continuity is apparent in the exchange system, in place for at least 20,000 years, consisting primarily of obsidian and a trend towards increasing exploitation of marine resources since the early Holocene (Spriggs 1993a). At Kuk, in the New Guinea Highlands, there is evidence for a well-developed pre-Lapita agricultural system 6,000 years ago where taro and possibly *Australimusa* bananas were grown (Golson 1977). The earlier assumption that Lapita colonists carried with them cultigens and agricultural techniques from Southeast Asia has been modified by genetic research showing that some of these cultigens are native to wider areas, including New Guinea (Denham et al. 2004; Yen 1985). A regional interactive model and mutual transformations of practice before, during, and after the presumed appearance of Lapita have been proposed for understanding the development of agriculture and arboriculture in New Guinea (Denham 2004).

Cultural discontinuity is manifest by the sudden appearance in the archaeological record of elaborately decorated pottery in the Bismarcks more than 3,000 years ago, and the almost instantaneous (in archaeological terms) spread of Lapita as far east as Samoa within a span of a few generations (Kirch 1997b; Kirch et al. 1990). Other elements associated with Lapita include a distinctive adz kit, shell ornaments, animal husbandry of pig, dog, and chicken, direct evidence of plant domestication, a new settlement pattern of stilt houses over lagoons or on small offshore islands, and the expansion of trade in obsidian covering a much wider area. These elements, together with data from linguistics and human genetics (Bellwood

1993; Gibbons 1994; Oppenheimer 2004; Pawley and Ross 1993; Pietruszewsky 1994; Serjeantson and Hill 1989), led Spriggs (1999:112) to conclude “that the discontinuities far outweighed the continuities, and ideas of a predominantly Melanesian origin for Lapita were unconvincing”. The situation appears more complex, however, in the light of recent molecular data that indicate substantial admixture bias in Polynesians towards more Melanesian men than women, perhaps as a result of matrilocality in ancestral Polynesian society (Kayser et al. 2006).

Settlement of Eastern Polynesia

The rapid spread of Lapita from the Bismarcks to the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa area is in marked contrast to the colonization history of the rest of Polynesia and eastern Micronesia. The so-called “long-pause” on the order of perhaps 1,000 years or more along the western margins of Polynesia has intrigued archaeologists. While some radiocarbon dates and environmental proxies, such as charcoal influxes in sediment cores, suggest settlement of the remote eastern Pacific in the first few centuries A.D. or perhaps earlier (Hunt and Holsen 1991; Kirch 1997a; Sutton 1987), critics point out the unreliability of the dated samples or their precise association with human activities (Anderson 1996; Hunt and Lipo 2006; Spriggs and Anderson 1993). On the other hand, some of these early dates might represent failed isolated settlements.

Irwin (1992:71–74) argues that there was no navigational threshold compelling people to pause in West Polynesia, and that a distinction should be made between voyages of exploration and those carried out for the purpose of actual colonization. He further states that the apparent dearth of evidence for early settlement of the region east of western Polynesia and north of eastern Melanesia could relate to sampling error and low archaeological visibility. For example, the intervening atolls would have presented ecological factors to filter out pottery-making. Subsidence of Pacific Plate islands, together with coastal progradation from land clearing and deposition of upslope sediments later in time, are some of the processes that would hinder the discovery of early human settlements in coastal environments.

Dickinson (2003) has reviewed the evidence for mid- to late-Holocene high sea level stands, and argued for the relatively late appearance of habitable islets on several of the atolls and table reefs, which might explain why the earliest indications of human occupation on some of the low coral islands do not seem to stretch back more than 2,000 years ago. Even on islands exposing volcanic bedrock or uplifted limestone, coastal flats most suitable for habitation were largely submerged during highstand conditions. Alternative hypotheses for the centuries-long pause in West Polynesia prior to the colonization of East Polynesia are presented by Kennett et al. (2006) and Anderson et al. (2006) who suggest that this chronological gap might relate to population infilling and the intensification of subsistence strategies, and the increasing difficulty of sailing against the prevailing southeast trades until El Niño events became more frequent and of greater intensity.

Continued expansion towards the extremities of the “Polynesian Triangle” or “Marginal Polynesia” brought people to lands lying outside the tropics (e.g., Easter Island, New Zealand). The peculiar climate of those regions, the great distances separating the various archipelagoes and the attendant reduction in the frequency of contacts, together with the challenges and opportunities offered by the new environments contributed to further divergence among scattered communities.

Should the accumulated data support the “short” chronology for the settlement of East Polynesia after about A. D. 900, then models of population growth and socio-political development would indicate rapid evolution in island settings that lacked most Old World diseases together with the required land area and resource base that would have encouraged social complexity in selected contexts (Kirch 1984, 2008; Ladefoged and Graves 2008).

Islands as Laboratories

With the release of MacArthur and Wilson’s (1967) treatise of island biogeography, archaeologists began to investigate the applicability of biographical principles to the study of cultural processes on islands (Evans 1973; Keegan and Diamond 1987; Terrell 1986). However, the concept of “islands as laboratories” was explored even earlier by anthropologists (Goodenough 1957; Mead 1957; Vayda and Rappaport 1963).

Although environmental degradation and the assault on cultural expressions by the advent of modernity are not limited to islands, the latter are commonly seen as more vulnerable to disturbance compared to continental areas. This is especially true in the case of oceanic island ecosystems, where relative isolation has often resulted in high rates of endemism and the loss of defensive mechanisms among both plants and animals (Kay 1999). When isolation is broken, dramatic changes often follow. Admitting that humans show more flexible survival strategies to cope with outside pressures than most other organisms, island societies have also suffered, physically and psychologically. While postmodernist thinking argues that the sea acted more as a highway for communication rather than a barrier (Haúofa 1998), it does not change the fact that Pacific Islanders lacked immunity to a host of diseases introduced by European explorers and those who followed. The well-recorded epidemics of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries bear testimony to the devastating consequences of culture contact, reinforcing the concept of isolation from an epidemiological point of view (Kirch and Rallu 2007). But isolation is indeed a relative concept. Even present-day biogeographers and biologists admit that insular ecosystems were open habitats facilitated by winds and currents (Fosberg 1994). Similarly, near-complete isolation of human communities on islands appears to have been more of an exception than the norm, bearing in mind that isolation can also develop from deliberate social strategies (Anderson 2002, 2006; Terrell et al. 1997).

Countering earlier views of Pacific Island societies as being largely isolated following initial settlement until their discovery by Europeans beginning in the early

sixteenth century, the occurrence of exotic materials at archaeological sites throughout the region has been interpreted by some archaeologists as evidence for trade between widely dispersed communities. Alternatively, the limited presence of exotic materials, such as New Britain and Vanuatu obsidian in relatively distant places like New Caledonia and Fiji might indicate initial transport by colonizers rather than large-scale exchange (Kirch and Kahn 2007).

The application of archaeometric techniques to document the movement of commodities (e.g., obsidian, pottery, fine-grained basalt) complements more traditional approaches to studying interaction, such as linguistic relationships, oral histories, portable artifacts, and architectural styles. Long-distance exchanges and inter-island population transfers are thought to have contributed to the success of the Lapita expansion into Remote Oceania (Galipaud 2006; Kirch 1988). As a result of environmental and social factors, these trade networks expanded or contracted over the centuries (Cox et al. 2007; Fitzpatrick and Anderson 2008), but with the exception of a few insular communities, regional contacts persisted throughout the post-contact period and the establishment of colonial governments (D'Arcy 2006a, 2006b). Sustained contacts between communities would confer advantages in the event of persistent demographic instability and shortages in food or raw materials caused by environmental stresses (Hunt and Graves 1990).

Historical Ecology

From the late 1940–1960s, archaeology rapidly incorporated new perspectives and approaches, often borrowing methods from the natural sciences. In the Pacific, a number of research projects explored changes in subsistence strategies by embracing the ecological paradigm and contributing to the development of environmental archaeology with its distinct subfields of zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, and ge archaeology (Kirch 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983). Ethnoarchaeology has also played an important role in behavioral inferences, notably in attempts to develop and test hypotheses regarding past fishing behaviour and to explain patterns of variability in archaeofaunas, as well as to address questions related to horticultural production (Cauchois 2002; Chazine 2005; Conte 2006; Bird and Bird 1997; Jones 2007; Kirch 1994; Kirch and Dye 1979; Thomas 2002).

Environmental archaeology has made important contributions to our understanding of pre-contact human impact on island ecosystems. Until recently, it was generally assumed that major anthropogenic impacts were the result of Western influence via the introduction of alien crops, ornamentals, and domesticated animals, which caused considerable damage to local environments. However, the last 30 years of research revealed that indigenous groups have also contributed in altering their environment to a significant degree on both large and small islands (Anderson 1989; Denham 2006; Kirch and Yen 1982; Rapaport 2006; Steadman 1997). These impacts can sometimes be traced to the early phases of human settlement, leading in some cases to resource depression, extirpation, and extinction.

By engaging with researchers in environmental history, ecology, geography, and anthropology, environmental archaeologists have sought to develop the integrative field of historical ecology: the transdisciplinary study of how human societies and the “natural” environment interact and transform each other through time (Balée 1998; Crumley 1994). Several themes in historical ecology were explored in “high” island contexts (Fitzpatrick and Keegan 2007; Kirch and Hunt 1997). Far less is known about atolls and table reefs. More specifically, little is known about cultural development and change, and the extent of human-induced environmental impacts on low coral islands prior to Western contact (Anderson 2002; Thomas 2009; Weisler 2001a).

From the 1970s onwards, archaeologists working in the Pacific, with support from environmental scientists, have contributed towards our understanding of the processes of landscape change coinciding with the arrival of early settlers and continuing throughout the pre-contact sequence. By contrast, the influence of pre-contact groups on marine ecosystems is less well documented (Allen 2003; Anderson 2008; Erlandson and Rick 2008; Morrison and Hunt 2007).

In addition to assessing the degree of environmental change across time and space, historical ecologists are challenged in their attempts to disentangle the effects of natural processes from those induced by humans (Allen 2006; Amesbury 2007; Fitzpatrick and Donaldson 2007; Kirch 1997a; Morrison and Addison 2008; Nunn et al. 2007; Spennemann 1987). Coastal zones and small islands present certain difficulties in view of their susceptibility to natural changes linked to sea level rise, tectonic events, coastal erosion or sedimentation, storms, and other ecological perturbations (Fitzpatrick 2007).

The inclusion of indigenous oral traditions in historical ecology analysis demonstrates ways outside researchers can make their work relevant to local communities. Authenticated or partly authenticated oral traditions related to vanished islands, some of which supported human settlements, have been recorded throughout the Pacific (Nunn 2009; Nunn and Pastorizo 2007). In most cases, it is unclear when these islands disappeared. Others have a more detailed history. Similarly, oral traditions, combined with archaeological evidence, ethnohistoric records, ethnographic research, paleoenvironmental data, genetic sequencing from both living populations and human and Pacific rat (*Rattus exulans*) remains, linguistic information, and other sources of data can assist in understanding how and why different degrees of interaction and isolation affected island societies at various points in time (Fitzpatrick 2008; Matisoo-Smith and Robins 2004).

Archaeological Heritage Management in the Pacific: Problems and Prospects

The changing face of archaeology in the Pacific, at least in some jurisdictions, is summarized by Kirch (2000:39): “until the 1960s, virtually all archaeological research in the Pacific was carried out by museum- or university-based scholars. In the

United States (including Hawai'i), things began to change in the 1960s and 1970s as new federal and state laws encouraged and mandated the recovery and preservation of archaeological materials, both in connection with public works and, often, for privately financed developments”.

Cultural resource management (CRM) on a contractual basis, although carried out by several universities and museums, also led to the rise of independent archaeological firms. Areas under American influence, including the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (now the freely-associated states of Micronesia) received U.S. funding to build inventories of local cultural resources. Initially, these focused on the tangible cultural heritage, with the majority of recorded archaeological sites dating from the colonial period and World War II. Nowadays, most Pacific countries and territories possess legislation related to cultural heritage management, but the level of funding is comparatively small because of other national priorities.

Archaeological heritage management displays certain tensions between members of academia, CRM practitioners, and indigenous voices. Concerns include the need to synthesize large bodies of data compiled in the “gray literature”, wider dissemination of results, more theoretically driven projects, issues of site significance, the role of museums, greater awareness of public outreach and education programs, and sometimes the practice of archaeology itself (Brown 2006; Carson 2005, 2007; Fairclough et al. 2008; Healy and Witcomb 2006; Kirch and Kahn 2007; Meskell 2002; Watkins 2005), by recognizing that “archaeological knowledge is historically contingent and multivalent” (Merriman 2002:557).

An example of a Pacific Island country currently without effective legislation in place is the Republic of Kiribati (Micronesia), a former British colony. This can be attributed to cultural notions of ownership. Traditionally, many cultural objects, sites, and the land upon which they stand, belong to specific clans and not the country as a whole. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the government, as well as local island councils to formulate and implement appropriate legislation for this purpose (Thomas and Teairo 2010).

The absence of a regulatory body to provide for the preservation and management of archaeological sites puts that heritage at risk, but without mechanisms for enforcing laws, this becomes a moot point. Elsewhere in Micronesia, while historic preservation legislation follows the American model closely (National Park Service 2002), there have been attempts to accommodate the specific context of Pacific island societies in drafting local legislation, particularly in the light of issues surrounding land ownership (Spennemann 1992). Some archaeologists advocate education rather than legislation as a means of encouraging the preservation of the tangible cultural heritage (Williamson 2001).

Moreover, while Pacific Islanders share a common history with the Western world and some Asian countries, notably Japan, the legacy of colonialism and twentieth century warfare expressed through visible and potentially preservable sites might not necessarily appeal to local communities (O'Neill and Spennemann 2002; Smith 2006). For this reason, heritage preservation and management efforts in the Pacific are increasingly engaging local practices (Spennemann 2006b).

Similar to recent academic practices that allow for the reemergence of more local histories in the region (Hanlon 2003), local preservation initiatives call attention to what is important to the community.

Research for its own sake is probably the main reason why preservation programs have had limited positive impacts on local communities in the Pacific region. As Hezel (2006) remarked, preservation and protection of cultural heritage should always point to something beyond, namely education. Western preservation concerns have generally overlooked issues of processes, continuity, tradition, and other more “intangible” features of cultural life.

Much work remains to be done, both within and outside the sphere of U.S. influence in the Pacific. Vanuatu, for example, imposed a decade-long moratorium on archaeological research, which has now been lifted. Increased collaborative work, whether framed as pure research or with wider educational objectives in mind, is sought by Pacific scholars and officials who perceive a lack of participation by locals on archaeological projects run by outsiders. The latter are often regarded as perpetuating Western interpretations of other cultures through the dissemination of narratives still heavily tainted by outsiders’ views of other people’s past and knowledge (Sand et al. 2006; Sorovi-Vunidilo 2003). However, there is growing appreciation among heritage managers of the linkages between cultural and natural resource management via the concepts of biocultural diversity and land and seascape, and the need for active participation by local communities to ensure the success of these preservation goals (Ayres and Mauricio 1999; Maffi 2005; Miller 1987; Thaman 2004).

In the end, decisions regarding the management of cultural heritage will reflect epistemological differences on how the past is to be understood. At issue, beyond the cultural impact of modernity is preservation of the material and intellectual past. That is, conservation of the physical remains and traditional knowledge essential for cultural maintenance. The question that needs to be answered is: preservation for what and by whom? Here we face the concerns raised by indigenous Pacific scholars who are wary of the Western idea that knowledge is absolute, and can be learned directly from experience.¹ Haúofa (1998:409) echoes the feeling of many Pacific scholars when he writes:

As a region we are floundering because we have forgotten, or spurned, the study and contemplation of our pasts, even our recent histories, as irrelevant for the

¹The portrayal of Western thinking as being solely grounded in empiricism ignores the complexity of how various Western intellectuals have considered the alternative that knowledge is relative and situation-dependent (Burik 2006). Nevertheless, the experimental sciences, which are grounded in empiricism, led to a view still explicitly or implicitly held by many people that knowledge results from a reflection of external objects. If several archaeologists are now willing to concede that archaeological theory can be situated within a specific context of knowledge production (Hodder 2002), we should be equally concerned if politics are allowed to dictate findings. As Carson (2005: 126) puts it, “Positivism is certainly a productive way to approach archaeology, as it views the archaeological record as containing observable data within a system that can be analyzed to reach supportable conclusions. Otherwise, if facts could not be known, then all efforts would be futile”. Spriggs (1999:121) sums up the debate: “Presenting the past we think we see must be done with an awareness that the ground is contested and who the combatants are”.

understanding and conduct of our contemporary affairs. We have thereby allowed others who are well equipped with the so-called objective knowledge of our historical development to continue reconstituting and reshaping our world and ourselves with impunity, and in accordance with their shifting interests at any given moment in history.

Oral traditions, as forms of intangible heritage, are an important source of information for archaeologists working in the Pacific, having a marked influence on the interpretation of archaeological remains, as well as supporting conclusions drawn from work such as computer simulations and experimental voyaging, which suggest that settlement of several far-flung islands was the result of purposive voyages of exploration requiring great navigational skill, and an understanding of variation in winds and currents. Nevertheless, because most projects in the region are still being carried out by foreign-based researchers from North America, Europe, Australia, Japan, and other countries, ethnographic data are prone to being misunderstood, particularly when there is lack of consensus among indigenous informants.²

The importance of preserving aspects of traditional culture in the Pacific is apparent in recent efforts by international, regional, and local organizations to devise and implement strategies for ensuring that cultural heritage, both material and intangible, is recorded and maintained for future generations. It is also recognized that the success of broad educational and legislative actions in this area will be largely determined by Pacific Islanders, in setting up the agenda to determine what should be worth preserving, and to what extent the knowledge associated with cultural heritage ought to be disseminated in print or other media to ensure protection of intellectual property rights (SPC 2001).

A Future in the Past?

Archaeology has long been perceived as a discipline lacking relevancy to contemporary issues and problems. However, in the light of increasing awareness of global environmental concerns, attitudes are changing about the contributions that archaeology could make to better understanding of past human-environment relations (Redman 1999; Trigger 1998). In essence, attempts are directed to reconstruct long-term sequences of human impacts on the environment, while recognizing that the latter also influences decision-making. “Global-change” or “sustainability” archaeology (Hardesty 2007; Kirch 2004; Kirch and Kahn 2007) is closely tied to historical and political ecology with its interdisciplinary approach, combining elements of processualism and post-processualism, (the latter highlighting the importance of *history* and *agency*) (Gardner 2008; Kirch and Green 2001), and aims to provide data useful

²Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001) argue for the incommensurability of anthropological/ethnographic knowledge on the one hand, and indigenous epistemology, on the other. The present writer is more optimistic in light of productive dialogues between indigenous and non-indigenous voices and the recognition that societies often operate under “hybrid” epistemological categories.

to contemporary resource management and biodiversity issues (Lyman and Cannon 2004; Nunn 2001, 2003).

The archaeological record in the Pacific is rich with examples of stable long-term adaptations of humans to their environment, as well as significant ecological changes brought about even by small-scale, low-technology, indigenous societies prior to Western contacts. Of course, the archaeology of the more recent past documents rapid environmental changes resulting from the “biological expansion of Europe”, late nineteenth century imperialism, and especially the current forces of globalization (Anker 2001; Crosby 1986; Merchant 2005).

Considerable attention has been given to biological “hot spots”, places with diverse and often unique fauna and flora, which are under growing threat from human-induced environmental change. Oceanic islands are places *par excellence* where endemic species have been described (Berry 2007; Percy et al. 2007). To a large extent, so-called acts of nature are exacerbated by people’s abuse of land and seascapes, which make them less resilient to disruption (Hughes et al 2003; Kabutaulaka 2000; Nunn 2007c; Stoddart and Walsh 1992).

At the other end of the biological spectrum are the “cool spots”, with low species diversity and few or no endemics. Atolls with their characteristic “strand vegetation” from lagoon to ocean sides are good examples of insular entities containing relatively simple biological communities, which are nonetheless threatened in a number of places (Thaman 1992). Even the comparatively rich marine ecosystem has been modified to some degree by human harvesting of resources and shoreline development against the backdrop of changing environments (Beets 2001; Thomas 2001).

A better understanding of extant biodiversity can only be comprehended through a temporal perspective. Adding an archaeological dimension significantly expands the concept of biodiversity by generating a genuine long-term perspective on the impact of natural processes and Pacific Islanders on terrestrial and marine ecosystems. Knowledge of ecological complexity over centuries and millennia is a critical first step in the process of identifying the causes of environmental change and devising realistic methods for managing and conserving resources (Erlandson and Rick 2008; Jackson and Johnson 2001).

The shifting boundary between land and sea has particular relevance in the case of small islands, as people are never too far from the coast. In the past as in the present, the coastal zone has been affected by a host of factors, with consequences to both marine and terrestrial ecosystems. Today, sea level rise and various forms of pollution loom large on the agenda of environmental concerns facing small island nations (Connell 2003; Thislethwaite and Votaw 1992). The contribution of “global change” archaeology and historical ecology of the coastal zone rests in its ability to document how natural and cultural events and processes affected people in the past and how they responded to environmental hazards. Better long-term planning can also be achieved by examining the frequency of these occurrences in the past as compared to the present (Nunn 2004b).

If concern over the sustainability of pelagic fisheries by industrial methods has been raised on a number of occasions (McGoodwin 1990; World Bank 2000),

coastal resources are under pressure as well, and might have been so for much longer than previously imagined. It has been argued that resource depletion in coastal zones might have resulted in the first significant ecological impact by humans (Mannino and Thomas 2002). In the Pacific Islands, a majority of people still depend on coastal fisheries as their main source of protein. In recent years, high human population densities, urban drift, more efficient extractive technologies, and expanding market opportunities have affected a number of inshore species (Blaber 1994; Munro and Fakahau 1993; Thomas 2003a, b).

At issue is the assumption that contemporary inshore resources might be quite different from those that existed in the more distant past, because of natural and anthropogenic changes or intentional human selection (Jones and Kirch 2007; Thomas 2007). Such hypothesis could be tested, for example, by refining our taxonomic categories through DNA and mtDNA analyses of fish and other faunal remains found at archaeological sites, to detect possible subfamilial variation in diet, habitat preference, and maturation rate, with implications for when, where, and how these different species may have been captured and variation in the related costs (Allen 2002; Barnes 2007). This sort of information could assist in understanding the dynamics of local fisheries, including changing habitat use, prey switching, and human impact.

As argued by Jackson et al. (2001), overfishing precedes all other anthropogenic disturbances to coastal ecosystems. Time lags of decades to centuries occurred between the onset of overfishing and consequent changes in ecological communities. In sum, ecological extinction of entire trophic levels makes ecosystems more vulnerable to other natural and human disturbances, such as nutrient loading and eutrophication, storms, and climate change. Remediation and restoration efforts of inshore environments could thus benefit from a historical perspective that provides a sequence of human disturbance that would otherwise remain largely invisible.

While remaining conscious of “unworkable” solutions to restoring ecosystems to their so-called pristine or pre-European contact conditions given more than a century of radical environmental changes (Nunn 2004a), there have been notable successes in the case of marine resource management in the Pacific using the concept of co-management involving local communities and their traditional ecological knowledge, government, NGOs, scientists, and other stakeholders (Aswani 2005; Baines 1994; Johannes 1998; Jones 2007). Long-term temporal data will be crucial in guiding decisions regarding present and future management of marine and coastal environments (Fisher and Feiman 2005), in the light of recent debates regarding the value of traditional ecological knowledge for conservation (Alvard 2002; Smith and Wishnie 2000).

Returning to the theme of islands as “laboratories”, the key point here is not that they should be perceived as closed systems, which are fundamentally different from other socially-constructed landscapes, but whether they provide “model systems” (Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:234) for studying processes in non-insular situations. I agree with Kirch (2004:13) when the latter states that “an analytical clarity results from looking at oceanic islands as microcosmic examples of global change, and more particularly as examples of the human dimensions of such change”.

The interlinked topics of “sustainability” archaeology, historical ecology, and conservation biology highlight the many challenges faced by communities in the Pacific Islands, as they attempt to cope with changing environments, economies, and social values, which now more than ever pose a threat to sustainable livelihoods. As the noted geographer, Harold Brookfield (1980: 16) remarked, “one of the more significant trends in modern environmental research is the growing realization of how much can be learned about the present from study of the past”. But we need to be cautious in applying lessons from past adaptations in contemporary settings (Overton 1999; Rapaport 1990; Spennemann and Alessio 1991; Thomas 1993). Surely, adjustments will have to be made to assist in developing long-term ecologically secure approaches to survival in the Pacific Islands region.

With rising costs of fossil fuels and the health risks faced by many Pacific Islanders who are neglecting their traditional diet in favour of less nutritious imports, enhancing self-sufficiency is an achievable goal if local communities, cultural heritage managers, and other concerned parties turn to the maintenance or restoration of traditional knowledge, together with selected and judicious application of Western science. Hybrid knowledge of this sort could provide a workable template as contemporary communities work towards sustainability (Beardsley 2006). Although controversial to some professional archaeologists, the adaptive reuse of WWII artifacts and features in certain island communities (Spennemann 2006a) illustrates the active manipulation of the past to satisfy current needs.

The proverbial low coral islands, no doubt among the most fragile and challenging environments for human existence, present cases of both sustainable living over centuries as well as instances where societies did not survive (Di Piazza and Pearthree 2001; Weisler 2001b, c). It may be that the success of some communities rested partly on a more pronounced awareness of resource limitations, and thus the need to conserve and manage resources carefully (Akimichi 1986; Klee 1985; Zann 1985). Today, atoll countries face several new social and environmental challenges linked to growing population, modernization, and global warming, but the past and traditional knowledge and values can still be a source of inspiration to navigate the uncharted seas that lead into the future.

The documentation of traditional material culture and skills is becoming an increasingly important component of cultural heritage management in the Pacific Islands region. For decades, the traditional skills and technologies used by indigenous groups were perceived by governments, the media, and consultants to be outdated and inferior to those introduced from the outside. Illustrative of the struggle to “decolonize the mind”, it should be noted that many locals who have been conditioned through formal education to value and aspire to foreign ideas, goods, and lifestyles usually regarded these materials and aspects of culture as obsolete or useless. Consequently, these were not seen as worth documenting let alone promoting. Gradually, however, attitudes began to change. The Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific has played an active role in encouraging the preservation of Pacific peoples’ knowledge, including skills in sailing technology, fishing, gardening, and medicine for future generations. Likewise, the Institute of Education, School of Education, and the Re-thinking Pacific Education by Pacific Peoples have been at the forefront of efforts to conduct research into indigenous

epistemologies with a view to grounding contemporary educational practices on Pacific worldviews, assumptions, and values. Archaeologists, for their part, have come to realize that a more holistic approach to heritage management is required to obtain the support of local communities. For example, King (2006) reported that areas of Micronesia had in fact changed the U.S. Historic Preservation Program for the better, so that places became important not only for archaeology, architecture, or history in the Western sense, but acquired meaning for the roles they play in contemporary but anciently rooted culture – how they figure in traditional stories and spiritual beliefs, how they are used, and who possesses ownership rights.



Outrigger canoe, Kiribati Museum.



Leeward side of Viti Levu, Fiji.



Sigatoka Dunes, Viti Levu, Fiji.



Swamp taro pit mound excavations, Kiribati.



Lapita sherd, Bourewa, Viti Levu, Fiji.



Lapita stone artifacts, Bourewa, Viti Levu, Fiji.



Swamp taro pit, Kiribati.



Post holes, Bourewa, Viti Levu, Fiji.



Winward side of Viti Levu, Fiji.



Lapita stone artifacts, Bourewa, Viti Levu, Fiji.



Atoll agroforestry landscape, Kiribati.



Coral fish trap, Kiribati.



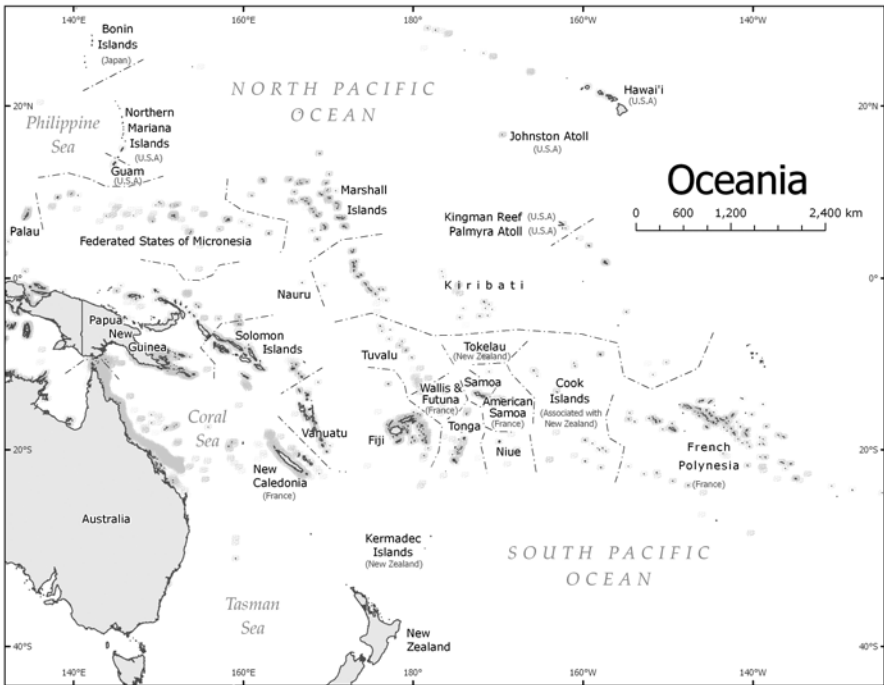
Shell tools, Kiribati.



Coral fish trap, Kiribati.



Areal view of an atoll, Kiribati.



Map of Oceania.



The cultural divisions of Oceania.



Directions of human settlement in Oceania.

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Part IV
Archaeology in Africa

The Status of Archaeology and Anthropology in Southern Africa Today: Namibia as Example

Beatrice H. Sandelowsky

Introduction

Discoveries in the field of molecular biology have provided a new dimension to the field of archaeology in southern Africa. Have the concepts of African Adam and mitochondrial Eve already been incorporated into the general knowledge of the average European or American? In the following text I describe the role which archaeologists and archaeology played in countries of southern Africa.

In broad terms, the following countries share a similar history: Angola, Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. I am using Namibia as an example to illustrate how changes in political and economic conditions in the region have influenced the development of archaeology and the people working in the field here.

After sketching the present situation and local history I deal with critical issues concerning languages and education. This implies commenting on government structures, museums, and institutions of learning. There is enormous potential for archaeology and work in related fields in southern Africa. It can contribute to the ultimate objective of history in terms of discovering who we are and where we came from. This knowledge must also be shared with the populations in southern Africa.

Background

If archaeology is now becoming a worldwide operation, the interest and awareness of the subject should be growing worldwide. But the vast majority of indigenous populations in southern Africa are not even aware of the discipline. Here, matters

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relating to archaeology have always been the precinct of a few professionals and amateurs of European backgrounds, speaking, reading, and writing European languages to the exclusion of any African language. Under colonial rule higher academic education was tailored by the elite to the – mainly European – white section of the population. Archaeology was developed by archaeologists according to political guidelines for archaeologists who respected the political principles in force at the time. Separate development was ubiquitous, whether latent or manifest.

With Independence from colonial rule in southern Africa, governments and governance changed. The “new” black African governments have not been interested in academics and science. Strict control of education and the pursuit of scientific research were abandoned or replaced by a *laissez-faire* attitude. Consequently, the field of archaeology remained within the domain of that small section of the population interested in the field since the beginning of the twentieth century. National institutions and museums that could guide and promote professional archaeological work are few, poorly managed or mismanaged.

There is no incentive, no drive, and no vision for archaeology or prehistory as contributing to the general knowledge of the public, or the science of historiography. The idea of including archaeology in the school curriculum is of no concern to the decisions-makers although it could stimulate interest, pride, and self-confidence. A sense of owning the national heritage could promote the protection of archaeological sites and finds. At the University of Namibia, the Ministry of Education does not recognize the subject of archaeology or prehistory, and has so far, considered it as distinct from history. The Department of History has dwindled to a single lecturer and has recently been made to resort under the Department of Geography. The suggestion of establishing an international center of excellence for of arid lands, archaeology, and anthropology – because Namibia could serve as a laboratory for studies of multicultural societies past and present – has been ignored (Sandelowsky 2004).

During the late 1970s the first multiracial Non-Government-Organization, TUCSIN (The University Centre for Studies in Namibia) suggested such a center tailored to the needs and resources of the country. The South African Administration was hostile to the idea and a headline in a local newspaper expressed the sentiments of the ruling class: “TUCSIN belongs to the lunatic fringe.” Subsequently, an institution modeled on the South African “bush colleges” was established by the government. It was declared a university in post-Independent Namibia when the new ruling party also favored political appointments more than scientific expertise.

Students interested in archaeology and anthropology are reluctant to choose the profession since the Namibian government does not employ a single qualified archaeologist and there is very little credit given for qualifications in anthropology or archaeology.

In South Africa this harsh criticism does not apply as directly as in Namibia and the other smaller countries in the region. Courses in archaeology have been offered at South African universities since the middle of the last century. Museums and

sites such as the Cradle of Mankind near Pretoria and the Origins Centre at the University of the Witwatersrand measure up to international standards. The South African Archaeological Society (SAAS) and the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) are dynamic organizations pursuing a noble aim: “to demonstrate the key importance of archaeology in post-colonial Africa” (The South African Archaeological Bulletin 2008).

History

The development of archaeology and anthropology is best explained in the context of political, economic, and educational history in southern Africa. Nationalism and colonialism have been characterizing the field since the times of Darwin in the nineteenth century. The international scientific community ignored the discovery of *Australopithecus* by Raymond Dart in southern Africa for 25 years until the radio-carbon dating method was discovered in the 1950s. The Nazi regime in Germany advocated racism on the grounds of physical anthropology between the 1930s and the end of World War II.

In 1948 racial discrimination in the form of “apartheid” was institutionalized in South Africa and the plan of holding the second Pan-African Congress on Prehistory in Johannesburg was rejected. The conference was rescheduled in Algiers. In America, cultural anthropology dominated the field and Carlton Coon advanced the theory of subspecies with African Congoids ending up in an evolutionary dead-end.

All of these perceptions influenced the development of this new field at South African universities. Educational institutions in the country were organized according to the two official languages and skin color as being black, white, colored, English, or Afrikaans. The trend in the Afrikaans medium universities for whites and all non-whites, was aligned with American cultural and physical anthropology. Only the few English medium universities were influenced more strongly by the school of British social anthropology.

As an illustration of these trends during the 1970s I cite my own experience at the University of the Western Cape. This institution was officially tailored to students of mixed descent, the so-called Coloureds. But members of all other ethnic groups, except the so-called whites, were also allowed to attend. Students enrolled for anthropology courses because many posts in the government system in South Africa and Namibia at that time gave credit for having taken these courses. The negative reactions of students to the condescending attitudes of the proponents of separate development also implied rejecting everything that had to do with history and traditional values. Each ethnic group was to be proud of its own special history and its own peculiar traditions which were to distinguish it very clearly, from other ethnic groups. Having been trained at the University of California at Berkeley during the 1960s my way of presenting anthropology was not appreciated by the governance of

the Afrikaans medium University of the Western Cape, for so-called Coloureds. I was identified as a “security risk” and had to vacate my position (Sandelowsky 2004). Any behavior reflecting an egalitarian attitude was suspect because it undermined the principles of apartheid. One misdemeanor that was pointed out to me was my talking to students outside the classroom beyond lecture time.

The politics of separate development with Christian National Education advocating Bantu Education ensured a clear distinction between the small minority of whites speaking Afrikaans and English (or German in Namibia) and the vast majority of the so-called non-whites speaking any of 50 or 60 different languages and dialects. Afrikaans, mother tongue of the ruling minority as well as of most so-called Coloureds was the *lingua franca* and a conduit allowing control over the information made available to the nation. Afrikaans had developed in South Africa as a dialect of Dutch and was recognized as a separate language during the 1920s. The number of publications in a language with a small readership was limited and the content could be controlled more easily than that published in a world language.

Although separate development or “apartheid” had not been legalized in the neighboring countries, similar conditions also divided those societies. Professionals in the fields of the natural sciences such as geologists, engineers, archaeologists, and biologists usually were white. Together with dedicated amateurs they formed clubs, societies, and associations seeking acknowledgement from those in power. Membership was inadvertently restricted to the dominant class. Consequently relationships between whites and blacks sharing similar interests were clandestine and generally ended up being of a political nature rather than being concerned with archaeology.

Namibia as an Example

A museum which was established under German colonial rule was taken over by the South-West African Scientific Society in 1925. The founder and curator, Erich Zelle, an exceptional scholar in many fields, collected over 14,000 stone artifacts all over the country. Together with his friend, Dr Gerhard Fock, a German archaeologist visiting the country after World War II, he sorted artifacts from 500 different sites all over the country (Fock 1957).

Drs Korn and Martin, German geologists, who spent two years living off the Namib Desert to avoid incarceration by the British during World War II drew attention to stone tools they had found in the desert (Korn and Martin 1957). They were prominent members of the South-West African Scientific Society as was Dr Ernst Rudolf Scherz, a physicist who also had emigrated from Nazi-Germany before World War II. He had devoted himself to a country-wide survey of rock art and was instrumental in bringing the Abbé Henri Breuil to visit the White Lady of the Brandberg.



The White Lady of the Brandberg in Namibia

The controversy about the White Lady being a man or a woman was commented on by the work of Lenssen-Erz. Accordingly “there are many depictions of an ideal zero-marked human, free from all restrictions of role or status ... in a community internally governed by equality ...” (Lenssen-Erz 2001:334).

The Abbé had become famous for his work on rock paintings in southern France and was convinced that the ancestors of the “primitive tribes” living in South-West Africa (Namibia) could not possibly have produced the works of art he saw in the Brandberg.

When the South-West African Scientific Society handed over their private museum to the State in 1957, Rona MacCalman, trained at Cambridge as a student of Desmond Clark, was the first government appointed archaeologist. During her time at the museum the first professional excavations were undertaken under the auspices of the State Museum, now the National Museum of Namibia (Sandelowsky and Viereck 1969b). Methods of collecting and excavating were changing. All artifacts as well as all organic remains began to be recovered in the course of excavations, and even the unsorted deposit was sampled. Plotting, mapping, and recording became much more meticulous. This holistic approach supported and enhanced multidisciplinary study as advocated by Fred Cagle, an American geologist and myself (Sandelowsky and Cagle 1969).

Dr Scherz had forged links with the University of Cologne and the *Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft* (DFG). Consequently Dr Erich Wendt arrived in 1968 to complement the survey of rock art which Dr Scherz and his wife, an accomplished photographer, had undertaken. Wendt was to excavate deposits in painted rock

shelters which would lead to a better understanding of our rock art. He belonged to the postwar generation of scholars who had been scarred by the reputation which Nazi-Germany had given to the discipline of anthropology and paleontology in Germany. Erich Wendt considered ethnology as distinct from archaeology and had little sympathy for my multidisciplinary method.

I had found remnants of the endemic cucurbit *Acanthosicyos horridus* in layers going back to 8,000 years at the Mirabib Hill rock shelter in the Namib (Sandelowsky 1977). Since this plant still remains a staple of the local Topnaar community, I persuaded Ursula Dentlinger to do an ethno-archaeological study among the Topnaar people living along the Kuiseb River (Dentlinger 1977). This work in turn motivated Patrick Van Damme et al. (1992) from the University of Gent to launch an ethno-botanical study of the plants in the desert and semidesert of Namibia. Since the preservation of plant remains in the Mirabib Hill rock shelter was excellent, I also attempted an archaeo – ethno-botanical study (Sandelowsky 1976).

Drs Peter Breunig (2003), Ralf Vogelsang (1998) and Jürgen Richter (1991) from Germany began visiting Namibia and complementing Wendt's work with further excavations and meticulous analyses of the Stone Age. The DFG also employed Harald Pager, originally from Austria and well known for copying rock paintings in South Africa, to trace the rock paintings in the Brandberg massif. He spent the last eight years of his life tracing and describing paintings in 789 rock shelters. Dr Tilmann Lenssen-Erz, also from the University of Cologne, analyzed the data Pager had collected and presented a basis for textual rock art archaeology. By analyzing thousands of pictures and features he portrayed the core values of the prehistoric society. With this work he demonstrated the aim of archaeology as interpreting how people used to live in the past. The Brandberg is now considered to be one of the best documented rock art sites worldwide.

Jürgen Richter, presiding over *Ur-und-Fruehgeschichte* at the University of Cologne suggested three phases of development for archaeology in Namibia. Accordingly the earliest isolated reports, often by lay persons, marked the first phase: *Wahrnehmung* – perceiving or recognizing items of archaeological interest. The next phase, called *Sichtung* – seeing or sighting, relates to the collating and mapping of data preceding the *Ordnungsphase* – or the quest for order according to a carefully worked-out framework for clearly defined regions (Richter 1991). However, none of the visiting scientists were ever concerned with the issue of making the results of their work available to the local public.

I would add a fourth phase for what has been happening to archaeology in Namibia since Independence in 1990: FREE FALL. “Free” relates to the absence of constraints which previously hampered work. “Fall” on the other hand relates to the lack of any kind of local support, structure, and/or guidelines for research. Collections are not curated professionally. There are no local or regional research programs and there is no regular or systematic reporting of work done.

Yet there is hope because “fall” could be arrested! If we could draw enough attention to archaeology, methods of work would ensue. Gradually, an awareness of environmental issues is developing. It should be possible to convey the concept of

our endangered, fragile, and rapidly changing environment and our common ancestry reaching back millions of years: Imagine making a film about the ancestors of our species making the kind of Early Stone Age tools that we find in the Namib desert, at a time when moister conditions provided for vegetation and forests along river beds which are now covered by inhospitable sand dunes.

The post-Independence government welcomes visitors to Namibia. This was not the case under the previous dispensation. The country is becoming well-known and is attracting students, researchers, and tourists from all over the world (Limpricht and Biesele 2008). The only prerequisite for doing archaeological work is a permit from the understaffed and underfunded National Heritage Council. Good laws are in place but the measures for implementing them and for protecting archaeological sites and finds are inadequate. The dearth of professionals in the field begs foreigners to come in and to promote the discipline to the best of their abilities and advantage.

An increasing number of reports and publications stems almost exclusively from foreign investigators. The information and knowledge which they gain in the course of their intermittent and short periods of fieldwork are neither easily accessible nor generally available to the local public. While the visiting scientists are “in the field,” much of their valuable time, for which they have to find funding, is taken up with logistics and subject specific work. Usually they meet only a few local experts and possibly visitors who happen to be in a situation like their own. Communication with local people, particularly in rural areas, is difficult and may even be considered a waste of time.

Analyses and interpretation of the data take place at institutions where the visitors are at home. Large collections of artifacts and related materials are exported for longer or shorter periods of time for further study. Often yet more experts in foreign countries are involved in studying or analyzing special problems. Eventually publications appear in foreign languages and in esoteric journals. Although English, as in Namibia, may be the official language, it is not the language commonly used by the local population. Nor is a culture of reading a widespread phenomenon in southern Africa. Although other media like radio, TV, DVDs, CDs, the INTERNET, and mobile phones are rapidly coming into their own, they are not used for conveying information about archaeology. Nor do all the sections of the indigenous populations have access to more sophisticated media such as TV and computers.

Information about archaeological discoveries is dispersed inadvertently. It may be considered of interest to tourists. Stories get told and the information gets applied innocently but often counterproductively. Tour guides are bent on entertaining their clients at any cost, and will offer whatever information they may have or can think of. There has been the case of a site advertised by brilliant oil paint on the same rock face as some ancient paintings.

I am occasionally requested to assess the value of an archaeological site or phenomenon for the sake of using it as a tourist attraction. As soon as a need for research or training is mentioned, before making a profit from the discovery, the interest declines. Self-styled explorers and collectors do a great deal of harm by removing artifacts or by disturbing deposits. Progress and industrial development threaten to destroy a wealth of archaeological evidence. Mining activities in the Namib Desert alone are multiplying and disturbing vast areas of natural surface.

A single two-person-team of qualified archaeologists can hardly cope with protecting sites via Environmental Impact Analyses over an area the size of Texas or a large chunk of western Europe. Furthermore the increase in population density, whether due to the birth rate or to increasing numbers of visitors with 4×4 vehicles, exposes ever more vulnerable areas that previously were inaccessible or uninhabited.

Museums

In 1982 TUCSIN, a Non-Government-Organization, established a private museum in Rehoboth focusing on research and heritage conservation. It was the first museum in a so-called non-white community. A few years after TUCSIN had established a library in the town, the traditional leadership under Kaptein Hans Diergaardt requested the organization to develop another institution that would enhance school education locally. This had always been a priority for the Baster community of Rehoboth and at Independence the largest group of academically well-qualified persons, proportionately speaking, came from Rehoboth. The idea of a museum was welcome although it was a foreign concept to the general public. It implied fighting for the interest and support of the adult community in competition with churches and welfare organizations. The community was confronted by poverty and the majority of all able-bodied adults were constantly commuting over long distances to their places of work in Windhoek or on farms. There was little economic development in the community itself. Tourism only began to develop after Independence and has not yet had much of an effect in terms of creating job opportunities in Rehoboth.

In the absence of any extramural activities school children flocked to the museum. They enjoyed simple programs aimed at discovering interesting features in their immediate environment. They went on a sponsored walk from Rehoboth the Windhoek (95 km) to thank the German government for funding spacious extensions to the existing museum building. A network of students, volunteers, and scientists became involved in research and in educational programs (Britz et al. 1999). Visitors came to see archaeological excavations on the outskirts of the town, as well as previously forgotten monuments, and rock art sites. A dedicated Board of Curators consisting of well-educated members of the local community worked in their free time in an honorary capacity. Professor Jeanne Toetemeyer described the Rehoboth Museum as a model in her report on libraries and museums to the University of Namibia (Toetemeyer 1999).

For 20 years challenges of funding and finding personnel were met until the Rehoboth Museum as a private institution became the victim of party-political infighting. Issues involved the desire of one ethnic group wanting to be portrayed more prominently than others in the museum. The squabbles played into the hands of the ruling party who favored propagating the glories of the liberation struggle to the exclusion of topics dealing with archaeology or other aspects of the national and natural heritage.

Consequently the government took over the museum in 2002 and at this writing (2008) it has become dysfunctional. Apparently, only an unqualified attendant is employed on a full-time basis, apart from a cleaner working part-time. Visitors' numbers have dwindled. Exhibits are neither changed nor renewed. The museum's library is not registered regionally. What used to be a vibrant research center has closed down. Open air exhibits are neglected and falling apart.

During the early 1990s ICOM (International Council of Museums) did a survey of museums in Africa. It reflected a common pattern of deteriorating conditions at museums which had flourished during colonial times. They had been established by whites for whites with non-whites limited to the duties of cleaners or security guards. In South-West-Africa (Namibia) non-whites could visit museums only on two afternoons a week. After Independence the leaders and decision-makers were more concerned with governing and alleviating abject poverty than with museums and archaeology. Often political appointees replaced qualified professionals in government funded museums. They paid much needed attention to programs catering to a broader public, unfortunately at the cost of neglecting research and curatorial work.

The founders and owners of private museums established during colonial times were themselves amateurs. They had collected large numbers of items over many years and had no idea of using the collections for anything other than for exhibition. Occasionally a visiting scientist might contribute a specialized display illustrating his/her research. But the concept of a research program or even a collection policy was unknown. A committee or board of such a museum would concentrate on running the museum on a day to day basis and on raising funds needed to maintain the infrastructure. A lack of funds and qualified personnel implied that here too, curatorial work and systematic research was not attended to. Since Independence these museums target tourists first and foremost. Museums and cultural centers in rural areas were stimulated by tourism. Their priority too, consists of attracting visitors for the sake of making money.

At the National Museum of Botswana the idea of a mobile museum was developed in 1980. It consisted of a fleet of three Landcruiser trucks labeled *Pitse ya naga* – “the zebra” (logo of the museum) and proved to be very successful. The trucks were operated by an Assistant Curator and two assistants. Equipped with a set of museum artifacts, slides, power generators, and projectors, illustrated lectures were given to children and their parents on the cultures of Botswana and the environment. In this way people were reached who might never have had the opportunity of visiting the museum in the capital (Madondo 1991). The Tsodilo Hills museum was established when this site was declared a World Heritage Site in 2001.

The Museums Association of Namibia (MAN) which was established in 1991 developed the idea of a mobile museum service. For seven years MAN succeeded in engaging volunteers to demonstrate how this could work as an educational tool. A truck equipped with materials needed for demonstrations, public lectures, and workshops on cataloging and exhibiting, traveled from museum to museum in Namibia. The museologists advised, supported and inspired the different museum communities. The volunteers were to train Namibian officials who should take over from them.

The government promised to provide for this service under the auspices of the National Museum of Namibia. When funds became available, after seven years, a well qualified man was appointed to operate the mobile museum service, as a staff member of at the National Museum of Namibia. Unfortunately he did not succeed in following the example of the volunteers and the project was abandoned.

The following quote from the Windhoek Observer (23/08/2008), a weekly newspaper, sheds light on another government funded museum under the auspices of the Ministry of Mines and Energy. Under the heading: *Home to an Amazing Wealth of Geological and Palaeontology Treasures* the report reads that “... it is however sad to note in the visitors’ book that very few Namibians visit the place...The museum however seems to be frequented by international tourists ... who find the place a veritable paradise and valuable in tracing the early history of man and planet.”

Archaeological sites can and do draw tourists. In Botswana at the Tsodilo Hills with its adjacent museum, a team of foreign experts in cooperation with local and national help have nicely demonstrated what can be done to raise interest in local archaeology. Yet, extreme poverty is manifested on the outskirts of the park area. Zimbabwe is a sad example of what politics can undo. Beautiful museums in Harare as well as in Bulawayo and Livingstone are neglected. After long years of civil war, Angola has not yet reconstructed its infrastructure and several areas are still infested with land mines.

Friedeman Schrenk and Timothy Bromage (2002) started work in Malawi over 25 years ago and established the *Hominid Corridor Research Project*. They involved the local population, tried to disseminate the information they were recovering and found support for establishing the *Cultural and Museum Centre Karonga* to “demonstrate the key importance of archaeology in post colonial Africa.” Here, too conflicts arose due to political issues.

Several groups of amateur archaeologists and divers established the Namibia Underwater Federation in 1990. They identified some 350 wrecks along the Namibian coast and also explored Lake Otjikoto. Their finds are well documented and their exhibits are carefully prepared. They reconstructed two Liberian surf boats dating back to the nineteenth century as open air exhibits at Meob Bay. The organization is privately funded but works in cooperation with the National Museum and the National Heritage Council.

Yet, the Namibia Underwater Federation was ignored when the Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture on behalf of the government took responsibility for protecting the “greatest discovery of the century” which was made on 1 April 2008: a sixteenth century wreck of a Portuguese merchant vessel with its cargo of navigational equipment, elephant tusks, silver, copper, and over 2,000 golden coins. The Ministry issued a work permit to a team led by a South African marine archaeologist, originally from Holland, together with scientists from Portugal, Spain, the USA, two local archaeologists, and six history students from the University of Namibia. Apparently the in-fighting among the scientists who were to cooperate in the rescue operation was so bad that one of the specialists withdrew even before coming to the country.

This occurrence is symptomatic of interpersonal relationships within the small circle of archaeologists and people working at museums. They often vie for funds, recognition, and terrain. Perhaps the exciting discovery of a treasure boat will do more for promoting archaeology within government circles than any number of publications, books, or proposals. I was delighted to hear the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry himself point out the fact that the government does not employ a single archaeologist. He hopes that some of the students sent on this mission might be inspired to become archaeologists. He would provide them with scholarships! Will he be able to rescue the department of history at the University of Namibia from disappearing completely?

It is to the credit of the National Heritage Council of Namibia that Twyfelfontein, a rock art site in north central Namibia, was declared the country's first World Heritage Site. Together with innumerable other archaeological sites it draws thousands of tourists. They call for educated tour guides and so-called museums are mushrooming in different shapes and sizes. The lack of regulations and structures allows freedom for the entrepreneurial spirit and creativity and this is promoted by the government's policy of encouraging civic society in participating in economic development and governance (Sandelowsky 2006).

But without wisdom and vision among leaders and decision-makers, ethics and professionalism are in danger. The few national institutions that should guide archaeological work are poorly managed. The noble aim of the SAAS and ASAPA "to demonstrate the key importance of archaeology in post-colonial Africa" seems to be out of reach – but it does exist. As a first step leaders and administrators need to be informed. With their support archaeology should feature in the curriculum of all educational institutions.

Education

Prior to Independence, the education system in Namibia had neglected the teaching of the natural sciences, particularly in the non-white schools. On the other hand, history – for what it was worth – and Bible study – the basis of "apartheid," as well as the Afrikaans language were promoted. With Independence the pendulum started swinging in the other direction. Science and Mathematics became key words. Afrikaans, the lingua franca was demoted to be taught as mother tongue in the same way as a few of the other indigenous languages.

English was declared the national language and medium of instruction, although it was mother tongue to only 0.8% of the population, according to the 1991 census. This contributed significantly to the education system failing to convey the basic skills of reading and writing to the majority of the population. Teachers have little command of the medium which they are to use for teaching. While the standard of mathematics and science has improved remarkably, language skills and an understanding of history and literature are utterly neglected.

There is not much that archaeology or archaeologists can do about that except for using mediums of communication not requiring literacy and making use of translations. Alternatively we could target only the privileged section of the population that can afford good private schools. Presently what information of an archaeological nature is available is hard to come by. Scholarly reports are not advertised, nor are they written in a style that reads easily. Archaeological information for the lay public should be presented attractively and understandably in a common medium. It may take more than one shipwreck to introduce a faculty of archaeology or anthropology at the University of Namibia. There are very few Departments of Archaeology between Cape Town and Nairobi.

Namibia with its numerically small population and its widespread popularity could function as a model for the Southern African Developing Countries (SADC). I am trying to introduce a consumer-friendly text with sound information about our prehistory into the school syllabus. In writing the book “Archaeologically yours ...” I targeted the young generation by relating the work done by archaeologists and specialists in fields such as biology and geology. I describe the exciting experiences of discovering that our human ancestors – one to two million years ago – lived, where we today could not survive without cars or radios: in the sand dunes of the Namib. I also mentioned how interesting it was to discover that people already were herding sheep in this country 1,500 years ago.

NIED, the National Institute for Educational Development, has recommended this book “without reservation as a good reference and teaching tool for schools and colleges of education as well as anyone interested in the lives and history and richness of the indigenous people of southern Africa and their ancient heritage.” UNESCO has suggested that parts of it should be put on CD or DVD since the proposal would fit well into the *UNESCO Young People’s Heritage Education Project*. But the world organization cannot even fund the pilot project in Namibia which would require reprinting copies of the book. The Ministry of Education in Namibia can only afford to buy copies for their libraries.

While archaeologists may be prepared or even keen to share the information they have gained, more attention must be paid to conveying this information. Apart from using different media, the local languages should be employed in spreading the word. This would work both ways. Many discoveries and finds can be enhanced by the intangible heritage which is stored in languages, music, performing arts, and traditions. Linguistics and language study are the best way of acquiring that knowledge and having it enrich archaeological data and information. The fusion of the tangible and the intangible evidence will add up to more than the sum of the two. It could also prove to be the key to unlock the channels of communication for which we are looking.

Languages, Linguistics, and Oral History

“The San people of southern Africa are not only unique in their cultural heritage and language, but study of their mitochondrial DNA has revealed that they are the most ancient genetically modern people on Earth” (McCarthy and Rubidge 2005).

This statement, more than any other, ought to motivate anyone with an interest in the nature and history of our species, to become involved in the study of the San and their languages.

Linguists, geneticists, and archaeologists are challenged by trying to decipher how these three universal features of all human beings – language, genes, and culture – can be correlated. While DNA studies and the finds of Early Stone Age tools indicate the cradle of mankind to have been in Africa linguists are exploring the relationships between language varieties and the remnants of material culture. This work concentrates on the past 2,000 years when the introduction of domestic stock became critical in changing the hunter-gatherer economy (Arthur et al. 2008).

Since 1986 speakers of the most widely spoken indigenous languages in Namibia could take up studies in their mother tongue at tertiary level. Not many did. Currently, only about 60 students are enrolled at the University of Namibia in the Department of African Languages. Most of them are studying Oshiwambo, the language of the largest ethnic group in the country. Only 9 of approximately 40 language varieties in the country can be used as a language of instruction during the first three school years.

Is it realistic to expect that soon there will be more people proficient in reading and writing the indigenous languages? Will they translate and convey texts relevant to archaeology and prehistory? Or is it more likely that the next generation will have adopted European languages? We have observed how languages are lost within a generation.

In 1991 Dr Megan Biesele, anthropologist and community development worker together with a linguist, the late Patrick Dickens, and other workers founded the Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project under the auspices of the Kalahari Peoples Fund. They trained teachers and produced curriculum materials for the Ju |'hoan in their language. In her introduction to a recent publication Biesele presents an account of dovetailing academic and practical activities among a society still speaking click languages in Namibia and Botswana (Dickens 2005). This is a fine example of applying and disseminating information in the best interests of all stakeholders. Similarly, the collection of folklore and oral history which involves people can also be turned back to them, thereby enriching education as well as promoting research. Megan Biesele (1993) and Sigrid Schmidt (1980) are well known for their recordings of folklore of the click languages.

The indigenous languages as a receptacle for culture and literature should be tapped soon, as they are bound to disappear. In addition to the linguistic approach oral history offers another avenue for communication and research. It consists of capturing oral traditions reflecting a record of important events as well as eye witness accounts and life histories. Oral literature can throw light on a wide range of experiences related to migration, practices in everyday life and attitudes to historical events. Recently Casper Erichsen published one of the first examples of this kind of work in Namibia (Erichsen 2008).

The study of Bantu languages and how they spread has received much more attention than that of the click languages implying that these are two separate issues, which is not the case. People speaking Bantu languages have been in contact

with speakers of click languages for hundreds of years. One phenomenon that reflects this situation is the introduction of clicks into the Xhosa language.

Bieseles points out another important aspect of language study: “Oral modes of communication are astonishingly different from printed modes, but it is only in the last few decades that western scholars have begun to grasp the implications of that difference” (Bieseles 1993).

Linguists have postulated different waves of Bantu migrations implying that Bantu speakers settled along the northern borders of Namibia approximately 2,000 years ago (Nurse et al. 1985). Dates obtained from archaeological work along the Kavango support this perception. A multidisciplinary approach using the different methods of language study and archaeological research would contribute to a better understanding of this history (Kose 2008; Möhlig 2008).

The Potential of Archaeology in Southern Africa

Namibia is no longer the “Unknown” as it was referred to during the 1940s and much less so is South Africa “unknown.” Nor have archaeologists ignored other countries in the subcontinent. Nevertheless there still is a great deal of uncharted territory for those who are looking for research projects or for specific data relating to any point in time on the calendar of human prehistory. The potential is immense and the dissemination of the results adds another dimension to the work that needs to be done.

The story of human origins and dispersals, based on the discipline of archaeogenetics, is unknown in southern Africa. Once heard and understood, this story would take care of many troublesome prejudices. Coupled with more information about regional histories, people would gain insight and develop more self-confidence and pride. Greater awareness of the value of the national heritage will do more to ensure protection and preservation of sites and artifacts than any law enforcement office or its office bearers can accomplish. A deeper appreciation of what we have is linked to a better understanding for protecting the natural environment and preventing the unscrupulous exploitation and destruction of irreplaceable resources.

The upsurge of multidisciplinary work connects archaeology to a host of issues dealing with environmental consciousness and governance. It implies that the role of archaeologists is becoming more diversified. The Association of South African Professional Archaeologists recently sent out the following advertisement which illustrates the point to its members:

News of a course on Architectural and Urban conservation below for your information:

Architectural and Urban Conservation: Skills Development 29 September – 1 December 2008, 17h00 – 20h00

This course is designed to develop the basic skills of the participants (who should have completed the first introductory course in Architectural and Urban Conservation: Theory

and Practice) and to equip them to make applications in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act to the heritage resource authorities.

In South Africa and in Namibia tour guide qualifications require a course in ethnology. The Namibian Academy for Tourism and Hospitality (NATH) does also offer a course in archaeology but it is not yet compulsory. All members in the tourism industry should be made aware of these subjects.

Information, innovation, and initiative must guide the progress of archaeology in southern Africa. Statesmen and women have to divorce themselves from the idea of commanding power by controlling knowledge instead of acquiring and sharing it. The teaching of anthropology would promote the policy of reconciliation and the concept of unity in diversity. By offering our fellow human beings more information about humanity we will gain insight. It will enable us to reconsider which priorities determine the quality of our lives. With knowledge and self-confidence creativity will be unlocked and resource-fullness will unfold.

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Excavating the History of Archaeology in Malawi

Yusuf M. Juwayeyi

Introduction

Prior to 1964, when Malawi (Fig. 1) became an independent country, everything that was known about Malawi's archaeology was the result of the work of a few interested individuals among Malawi's European-based settler community. Unlike archaeology where the interested individuals worked out of personal interest or curiosity, the collection of oral traditions was often Government sponsored and was carried out by District Commissioners in each of the country's administrative districts. They recorded their findings in district notebooks now permanently preserved in the National Archives of Malawi in Zomba. In later years, it became possible to publish oral history reports locally. Kalinga (1998: 531) wrote about W.H.J. Rangeley, a Government administrator who took advantage of this opportunity. In the 1940s and 1950s, he published the results of his research in the newly established *Nyasaland Journal*. The rest of his papers and reports were archived by the Nyasaland Society, now called the Society of Malawi. This society formerly published the *Nyasaland Journal* which is now called the *Society of Malawi Journal*. The membership of the Nyasaland Society was almost exclusively drawn from the European-based settler community. Its aims, as printed on the inside cover of every issue of the Journal were:

...to promote interest in literacy, historical and scientific matters among individuals of all races in the protectorate and to discuss and place in record, fact and information about its people.

Rangeley was one of its most prolific contributors. His research has had a lasting impact on Malawi's cultural history, and his papers are regularly consulted by both anthropologists and historians.

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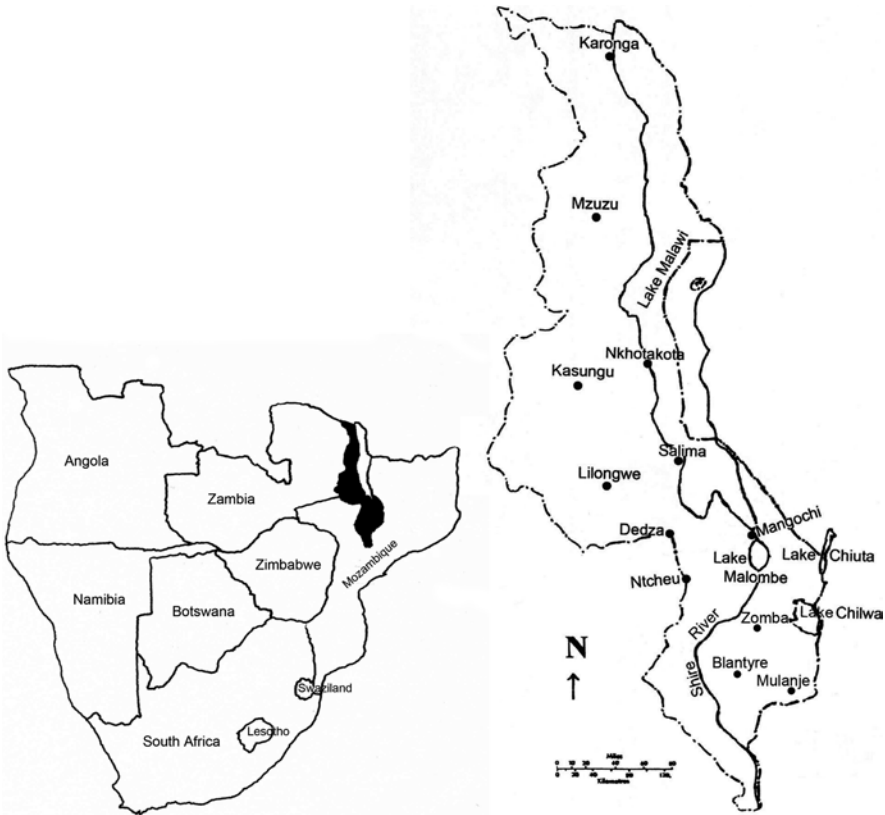


Fig. 1 Malawi in Southern Africa

Collection of oral traditions was done concurrently with the collection of various ethnographic materials, most of which were still in use in the rural settings of the various Malawian tribes; apparently European collectors found them fascinating. In the absence of a law prohibiting the exportation of such items, most of them were shipped outside the country. Some, however, were eventually given to a small local museum in Blantyre, the country's commercial centre. As a young boy living in Blantyre in the early 1960s, I recall going to the Museum of Malawi repeatedly to view, not the ethnographic materials which were still available in my village, but animals that had been skinned, stuffed and mounted. That was what I found fascinating.

Toward the end of the colonial period, the European settler community became increasingly interested in the preservation of buildings and other structures built early in the colonial period. This interest, coming at a time when the country was about to become independent of colonial rule, was probably an attempt to ensure that the incoming African-dominated government preserved the colonial buildings.

Background to Archaeological Research in Malawi

Until the late 1970s, only South Africa and Zimbabwe had qualified resident archaeologists – and they were all white. The lack of indigenous black archaeologists had to do with the colonial history of the region which for a long time denied black Africans higher education. By the turn of the twentieth century, all the south-east African countries were colonized either by the British, the Portuguese or the Germans. The British colonized more countries in southern Africa than the other European powers so their effect was far reaching. They took an interest in the history of the indigenous people in their respective colonies. Eventually this led to archaeological research.

The rate at which archaeological research progressed in each colony depended on how striking or sensational the initial archaeological discoveries were. The dawn of archaeological research in Zimbabwe for instance, began soon after the ruins of Great Zimbabwe were visited by Carl Mauch in 1871 (Pikirayi 2001). The origins of the ruins, constructed in stone, in a country where the most common construction material at the turn of the twentieth century were wood and daga, aroused great debate among both the colonial-settler community in Zimbabwe and people in England. There were those who believed erroneously that the architecture of the ruins was too complex to have been the work of the ancestors of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. They attributed the ruins either to the Phoenicians, the Arabs, or the Ethiopians and the queen of Sheba (Bent 1892; Burke 1969; Hall 1909; Hall and Neal 1902; Hibbert 1982; Peters 1900). But there were also those who on the basis of the strong presence of artefacts of African origin at the site refused to associate the ruins with foreigners. They correctly insisted that the ruins were the work of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Further, the ruins were of a more recent origin than had been thought, dating to no earlier than the tenth century AD and most likely as recently as 1300 AD (Caton-Thompson 1931; Pikirayi 2001; Randall-MacIver 1906). One positive and important result of this debate is that it eventually led to a more intensive investigation of this and other archaeological sites in Zimbabwe. Most of the researchers, particularly after the Second World War, were of the first generation of “trained resident archaeologists” (Pikirayi 2001: 18; consult this publication for more references on Zimbabwe). None of them however, were indigenous black archaeologists. These research activities also spread to neighbouring Zambia, where the 1921 discovery of an early *Homo sapiens* called *Homo sapiens rhodesiensis*, also known as Broken Hill Man or Rhodesian Man (Clark 1970; Clark et al. 1947; Klein 1999: 309) helped to intensify archaeological research in that country (Clark 1959a, b, 1969, 1974; Macrae 1926; see also Barham 2000; Phillipson 1976 for more references on archaeological research in Zambia). Consequently, the archaeology of these two countries became very well known in archaeological circles.

A similar picture emerged in South Africa, Tanzania and Kenya during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In South Africa, the discovery in 1924 by Raymond Dart of *Australopithecus africanus* commonly called the Taung Child (Dart 1925), generated great interest in archaeological research in that country (Brain 1958; Broom 1938, 1949; Broom and Schepers 1946; Goodwin 1928, 1929;

also see Sampson 1974; Klein 1999 for more references on archaeology in South Africa). With its abundant financial resources and establishment of college-level education many decades earlier than any other country in the region, South Africa was the first to train archaeologists locally. As a result, it has the most vibrant archaeological research program of any country in the region.

Results of the research activities in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia must have encouraged Louis and Mary Leakey and others (Cole 1963; Leakey 1935) to intensify their own research in Kenya and Tanzania beginning early in the 1930s. Their discovery of hominid remains at the world famous site of Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania (Leakey 1960, 1961; Leakey and Leakey 1964) increased the pace of hominid research in both Tanzania and Kenya to the degree that South Africa began to be eclipsed. In addition to Louis and Mary Leakey, and later their son, Richard, research in Tanzania and Kenya became an international affair with many researchers from Europe and the United States participating (see Cole 1963 for references on archaeological research in Tanzania and Kenya during the early period, also Isaac 1977; Klein 1999 for both early and more recent periods).

In Malawi, on the other hand, archaeological research started at such a slow pace that Clark referred to the country as the “Cinderella of Central African Prehistory” (Clark 1956: 92). Besides Swaziland and Lesotho, Malawi was one of the smallest and poorest of the British colonies in the region, with an equally small European settler population; this was probably an important factor for the late and slow start to archaeological research. Despite reports of great finds in the other colonies, no deliberate effort was made to locate archaeological sites in Malawi during the first few decades of the twentieth century. The earliest observations of painted rockshelter sites were made by Metcalfe (1956). She recorded geometric and semi-naturalistic figures in rockshelters that she had observed in the 1930s in Dedza district of central Malawi. In the 1940s, more rock paintings were discovered in Mzimba district (Clark 1968: 23), and in the 1950s, Rodney Wood collected some archaeological artefacts in the area between Livingstonia and Songwe River in northern Malawi. He recovered “Lupemban-type artefacts from around Mwenirondo mission” (Clark 1968: 23, 1995: 3). It was perhaps due to these amateur activities that professionals such as Clark, Inskeep, and later Robinson were compelled to come to Malawi for intensive archaeological investigations.

Clark from England was the first professional archaeologist to work in the country. While based at the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in Zambia, he came to Malawi in the 1950s to carry out excavations and to study rock paintings at rockshelters located on Mphunzi hill in the Dedza district of central Malawi (Clark 1956, 1959c). Even though not many sites besides painted rockshelters had been located in the country, Clark was able to declare at the time that Malawi “has just as long a prehistoric past” as Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa and that “important and interesting material is awaiting discovery” (Clark 1956: 93). In 1959, Inskeep, also from the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in Zambia, excavated a Late Iron Age burial site at Nkhudzi Bay in the southern Lake Malawi area (Inskeep 1965). In 1965 and 1966, a team of scientists that included a geologist, a palaeontologist, three archaeologists and four graduate students (Clark 1968: 23, 1995: 3) came to Malawi under

the leadership of Clark, who by then had become Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. The team's goal was to investigate Lower Pleistocene deposits in Karonga district and the neighbouring areas (Clark et al. 1970). Referred to as the Chiwondo Beds, the Lower Pleistocene deposits in the area were first described by Dixey (1927). He identified four stratigraphic units of quaternary age. He assigned them informal designations which Clark's team used. Ultimately, only the younger middle and upper Pleistocene units yielded archaeological material. The earliest of them were the Chitimwe Beds. Clark excavated an elephant butchery site located beneath the Chitimwe Beds whose associated stone artefacts were "dated to >300 Ka" (Clark 1995: 4; Clark and Haynes 1970). Some in Clark's team worked at Later Stone Age and Iron Age sites in the area (Robinson 1966; Robinson and Sandelowsky 1968; Sandelowsky 1972).

Reports of the absence of cultural material in the Lower Pleistocene Chiwondo Beds were disappointing and probably caused researchers to delay reinvestigations. No other serious researchers ventured to do that until the 1980s (Schrenk et al. 1993; Bromage et al. 1995; Kaufulu et al. 1981; Kaufulu and Stern 1987; Juwayeyi and Betzler 1995). Much of the work since then has been carried out by the Hominid Corridor Research Project (HCRP) (see *Journal of Human Evolution*, Vol. 28: 1995 for detailed references). The HCRP is a German, American, and Malawian research cooperation with an aim to look for hominid evidence in the gap between South Africa and east Africa. Hominids were presumed to exist in that gap and the HCRP hoped to locate them.¹

Management of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Institutions: 1957–1983

The local European settler community was not deterred by the absence of Early Man sites in Malawi. They felt there was still a great deal of archaeological work to be carried out in the country. For instance, there were many rockshelters in the country featuring both rockpaintings, and surface evidence of Late Stone Age and or Iron Age occupation (Cole-King 1973). Further, oral traditions suggested that targeted archaeological site surveys might yield Iron Age sites. The European settler community therefore proceeded to put in place mechanisms for the management of the country's cultural heritage. In 1957, they established a National Museum in Blantyre in which they placed some of the interesting material they had collected in the previous decades (Clark 1968: 8). Further, they moved to formally protect as national monuments some of the important immovable material remains in various districts of the country. They therefore drafted a law and prevailed on the

¹Editor's note: in 1992 the international team led by Tim Bromage and Friedemann Schrenk found the 2.4 million years old jaw, the oldest of the genus homo. The author of this chapter participated in the project and coauthored its publication (Schrenk et al. 1993).

colonial Government to pass it. It was called the *Monuments Act*. Under that law, the Government would protect objects of archaeological and historical interest, including buildings and military fortifications built in the late nineteenth century by the colonial government, missionaries, and various European settlers. The law would also protect places of distinctive natural beauty (Laws of Malawi, Act no. 44: 1965). In addition, the *Monuments Act* provided for the establishment of a Monuments Advisory Council composed of members appointed by the relevant Government minister to advise the Government on matters related to the declaration and preservation of national monuments. This law was drafted when the country was very close to winning its political independence from Britain. When the law passed in 1965, it was the new African-dominated Government that passed it. Thus the new government seemed to have had a good start with respect to archaeological research and the preservation of the country's cultural heritage.

Realizing that there were no qualified archaeologists or museum curators in the country, the new government moved quickly to seek support and advice from the United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on how to proceed. UNESCO responded by sending Clark in July 1968 as a consultant on Malawi's archaeology. Clark was also asked to supervise ongoing archaeological excavations being carried out by amateur archaeologists under the auspices of the National Museum of Malawi (Clark 1968: 1).

In his report to UNESCO and to the Malawi Government, Clark (1968) observed several flaws in the *Monuments Act*. For instance, although the Department of Antiquities was eventually established in 1967 to carry out archaeological research and to preserve national monuments, the *Monuments Act* did not provide for the establishment of that department nor did it provide for the employment of staff to run it. Therefore, the Department of Antiquities had no legal status. Clark therefore called for an immediate revision of the Act to give the Department of Antiquities legal standing and to define the responsibilities of the Director of Antiquities and the Monuments Advisory council. Without such a revision, he feared complications were bound to occur. However, despite the support of the then expatriate and subsequent Malawian directors of Antiquities, Clark's call to revise the *Monuments Act* was not heeded until 1990 (Laws of Malawi Vol. IV, Chap. 29.01: 1990). Thus management of archaeological research in Malawi, though recognized and supported by the Malawi Government and UNESCO, was for over two decades backed by an inadequate law.

Since the Department of Antiquities was a Government Department unlike the Museum of Malawi, it was expected to be fully staffed, housed, equipped, and funded by the Government. However, none of these things were adequately provided for. For instance, the Government hired only one person, an expatriate historian to run the Department. He was the only full-time employee. The other was a part-time copy typist (Clark 1968: 7). The Department was allocated one four-wheel vehicle, which was adequate considering there was only one employee, but the funding to run the Department for the whole year was only 1,345 British pounds which converted to \$5,420 at the time (<http://fx.sauder.ubc.ca/etc/GBPages.pdf>; Clark 1968: 7). This amount was less than 25% of the subvention that the Museum

of Malawi, run by a Board of Trustees, used to receive from the Government! Obviously, that did not sound right. These disparities needed to be rectified in order to have a viable Department of Antiquities. It should have been clear that a one-person Department was unlikely to fulfil the objectives envisioned in the *Monuments Act*. Fortunately for Malawi, these developments were taking place within 3–4 years of the country's attainment of political independence from Britain in 1964. The country's new political status brought about new socio-economic and political dynamics that would affect all sectors of Malawian life including research and dissemination of information about Malawi's cultural heritage.

Clark also recommended expansion of the National Museum of Malawi. The museum was initially housed in temporary premises where the small collection of archaeological, ethnographic, historical, and other materials of scientific interest was exhibited. By the mid 1960s a new museum building had been constructed with the support of the Beit Trust (Clark 1968: 8). However, with an exhibition area of only 565 m², those who planned the building appear not to have had much confidence in the future development of archaeological and museums work in Malawi. If the artefacts likely to be recovered by the newly established Department of Antiquities were to be exhibited in that museum, the exhibition space would have to be extended considerably. Clark therefore recommended expansion of the museum's exhibition and storage areas (Clark 1968: 8). An expanded museum would provide enough room for various outreach programmes to neighbourhood schools.

Neither the Government nor the Museum's Board of Trustees worked on Clark's recommendation to expand or increase the space in the museum. Instead, efforts were directed at establishing small museums in other parts of the country. In 1971 the Society of Malawi acquired a building in the lakeshore town of Mangochi and renovated it to become a museum exhibiting cultural material related to life on Lake Malawi and its shore areas. This museum was initially operated by the Department of Antiquities and then by the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Malawi. This too is a small museum with an exhibition area of only 386 m², of which over 8% is taken up by one exhibit – the hull of the *Guendolen*, a British gunboat that disabled the *Herman Von Wissmann*, a German gunboat, on Lake Malawi in the first British-German maritime engagement of the First World War (http://www.clash-of-steel.co.uk/pages/battle_details.php?battle=GUENDOLENV01). Some of the Iron Age artefacts excavated in the southern Lake Malawi shore area are also exhibited at this museum.

In 1985, the National Museum of Malawi decided to establish a regional museum in Mzuzu, the regional headquarters of northern Malawi. Rented space was acquired in which exhibits were mounted in an exhibition area of 160 m². The Mzuzu museum opened in 1990 with exhibits on the material culture of the land and the people on northern Malawi. In the mid 1990s, the Mtengatenga museum was opened at Namaka in southern Malawi's Chiradzulo district. This museum depicts material related to the development of early postal services in Malawi. This is the smallest of the museums with a display area of only 16.5 m².

In 2004 a Cultural and Museums Centre commonly called the Karonga Museum was opened in Karonga town. The Department of Antiquities and not the Museums of Malawi manages this museum jointly with a Board of Trustees.

It has an exhibition area of 559 m² and it exhibits palaeontological, archaeological, and historical materials recovered from various sites in Karonga district. This is the only district in Malawi where both dinosaurs and hominids have been excavated. Both are exhibited in the museum.

The daily number of visitors is one of the indicators of success or failure of the delivery of museum services. In Blantyre, the country's largest city with a population of over 730,000 people, the monthly average number of museum visitors is only 1,000 or 33 people per a day. At the Lake Malawi, Mzuzu, Mtengatenga, and Karonga Museums, the average monthly figures are 800, 700, 50 and 198 respectively (official e-mail and telephone communication with museum curators). Except for the Mtengatenga museum, the rest are in well-populated urban centres; and though it is located in a rural area, the Mtengatenga museum is on one of the busiest roads in the country. Therefore it ought to receive more visitors than it does.

Museum curators think that entry fees in a poor country discourage people from visiting museums. That view may not be accurate because the fees are very low even for a poor country. The highest entry fees are charged at the semi-privately managed Karonga Museum where individuals pay Mk100 or \$0.70 and Mk500 or \$3.50 for Malawians and for foreigners respectively. Over 75% of the people who visit Karonga Museum are foreigners of European origin. Rates at the other museums are Mk12 or \$0.08 and Mk100 or \$0.70 for Malawians and for foreigners respectively (official e-mail and telephone communication with museum curators). These rates including those at Karonga Museum are very affordable for a majority of the people who live in towns and cities. Therefore entry fees as well as location of the museums can be eliminated as the reason for the low level of museum visits by Malawians. Museum curators need to investigate the reasons for this apparent lack of interest in museums by Malawians and come up with measures to reverse it.

Training of Malawian Archaeologists and Museum Curators

One of the immediate benefits of Malawi's political independence was the establishment of the University of Malawi in 1964. This was done in order to expedite the training of college graduates. People with a college education would be able to eventually take over most of the jobs and responsibilities in the Malawi civil service that were then in the hands of British and other expatriates. Thus the establishment of the University hastened the retirement and departure of European expatriates back home to England. However, training in certain professional disciplines such as palaeontology, archaeology, museum management, and many areas of graduate training could not be done at the University of Malawi. So while the 1968 Government funding estimates for the Department of Antiquities provided for the professional training of one individual (Clark 1968), such training could only be done abroad.

By this time, the Museum of Malawi had already sent one Malawian to the United States of America for undergraduate level training. He was replaced by another Malawian who was a qualified artist but with no museum training (Clark 1968: 8). Clark therefore recommended the training of more Malawian professionals. For the Department of Antiquities, Clark and the first two directors – the only expatriate directors to head that department and both historians – worked hard to place college educated Malawians in graduate schools abroad. Between 1973 and 1984, four members of the Department of Antiquities were sent to the United States of America. Three of them including myself went to the University of California at Berkeley where Clark and his colleague, Glynn Isaac supervised us. We all obtained doctorate degrees in African archaeology (Juwayeyi 1981; Kaufulu 1983; Mgomzulu 1978). The fourth person obtained a Masters degree at the University of Chicago. A fifth obtained an undergraduate degree at the University of London and two more obtained doctorate degrees, one in history at Dalhousie University in Canada (Chipeta 1987) and the other in Palaeontology at Southern Methodist University in Dallas Texas (Gomani 1999). With the exception of Tanzania and Kenya, the three Malawian archaeologists and the one palaeontologist were the first indigenous Africans to obtain such qualifications in the southern Africa region.

The Museum of Malawi did not fare well in terms of providing high-level training to its Malawian staff. The Museum Trustees must have believed that a qualification higher than an undergraduate degree was not necessary to run the museum. Perhaps they viewed the Museum more as an exhibition than a research facility. The European settler community's continued provision of ethnographic and other cultural materials collected in the countryside must have convinced them that materials for exhibition would always be readily available. The establishment of the Department of Antiquities and the likely success of its archaeology program would also bring in a steady supply of archaeological artefacts for exhibition. That was probably why the first Malawian museum curator was sent abroad to obtain only an undergraduate degree. In 1972, the Museum also hired a recent graduate of the University of Malawi as an Assistant Curator. He had earned a Bachelor of Science degree with majors in Biology and Chemistry. He would have been the first qualified scientist at the Museum had the Museum Trustees sent him abroad for graduate studies, but that never happened.

The recruitment of four more University of Malawi graduates toward the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s brought the number of such employees to five. Their recruitment coincided with the dissolution of the Museum Board of Trustees and establishment of the Museum of Malawi as a Government department in 1981. This change made graduate training possible so that during the next several years these five individuals obtained graduate degrees in various fields at universities in Australia, South Africa, and England. Two individuals had doctorate degrees in Ornithology and Zoology respectively. Two obtained the Master's degree in Museum Management and the third obtained a Master's degree in Zoology.

Management of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Institutions: 1984–2009

By 1984, the Department of Antiquities featured a team of four young Malawian archaeologists ready to carry out various archaeological research projects. For much of the 1980s and early 1990s, the team worked together and was successful. That success was due partly to assistance from two organizations: the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Catholic Church in Malawi. At the conclusion of one of its projects in Malawi, the UNDP gave the Department of Antiquities three vehicles and camping equipment enough for three research teams to be in the field simultaneously. The Catholic Church gave the Department of Antiquities a large building at its Nguludi mission in Chiradzulo district, which the Department converted into a laboratory and storage facility. The Government provided funds to carry out archaeological research, preserve national monuments, and embark on an outreach programme to schools, colleges, and the general public.

Archaeological research was and remains the most important mandate of the Department of Antiquities. Besides the research projects carried out by Malawian archaeologists, the Department gave free research permits to interested foreign researchers who worked either on their own, or in collaboration with Malawian archaeologists. In southern Malawi, archaeological site survey was done in the Mwanza, Neno, and the southern Lake Malawi areas. In Mwanza and Neno, many Late Stone Age rockshelter sites, some with rock paintings, were located (Juwayeyi 1988). In the southern Lake Malawi area, both Early and Late Iron Age sites were located. Several sites were excavated in all the three areas (Juwayeyi 1988, 1991a; Davison 1992). In central Malawi, a site survey of painted rockshelter sites was done in Dedza district. Building on previous work on rockpaintings carried out by amateur investigators, the Department's site survey confirmed that the district has the heaviest concentration of painted rockshelter sites in Malawi (Anati 1986; Juwayeyi 1991b; Juwayeyi and Zalinga-Phiri 1992; Lindgren and Schoffeleers 1978; Mgomzulu 1978; Smith 1995, 2001). Many of the sites are located on Chongoni Mountain and Mphunzi hill.

The Department's research helped to convince UNESCO once again to send another consultant to Malawi. This time UNESCO sent Professor Emmanuel Anati from Italy to study rock art sites and recommend appropriate action to be taken by the Department of Antiquities. While in the country, Anati also trained Malawian technicians in graffiti removal and tracing of rock paintings. His consultancy eventually led to UNESCO's recent inscription of the Chongoni rock art area on its World Heritage List (<http://thesalmons.org/lynn/world.heritage.html>). It also led to increased interest by local and international researchers in Malawi's rock art. One of the most intensive investigations was done by Benjamin Smith of Witwatersrand University in South Africa. He compared the rock art of the Chongoni Mountain and Mphunzi hill with that of Kasama District in eastern Zambia (Smith 1995, 2001). He established a clear relationship between some of the pictographs painted on rocks, and various past and current cultural practices of the local people such as initiation ceremonies. This finding has been expanded upon by Zubieta (2006). Besides rock art research in central Malawi, site survey and archaeological excavations (Fig. 2)



Fig. 2 Excavations at Mankhamba Iron Age site in Dedza district

were also carried out at Iron Age sites in Dedza, Salima, Nkhotakota, and Kasungu Districts (Davison-Hirschmann 1984; Juwayeyi 2010; Killick 1990; Robinson 1979).

In northern Malawi, archaeological research was confined to the Lower Pleistocene deposits of Chiwondo Beds in Karonga district. Besides attempting to locate Lower Pleistocene fauna, researchers also hoped to locate hominids and cultural material in the deposits. Stone artefacts were eventually excavated at Mwimbi-1 and 2 (Fig. 3), but the claim that they were in situ in the Chiwondo Beds



Fig. 3 Excavations at Mwimbi-2 Stone Age site in Karonga District

(Kaufulu and Stern 1987) has been disputed (Juwayeyi and Betzler 1995). The HCRP eventually located hominids (Schrenk et al. 1993; Kullmer et al. 1999).

Concurrent with archaeological research was the national monuments preservation program which apparently, was not as successful. Malawi has five groups of monuments: (1) Graves of important colonial explorers, early missionaries, important chiefs, soldiers who died in the First and Second world wars, and individuals who died during Malawi's struggle for independence; (2) War fortifications commonly called Forts; (3) Buildings including churches constructed during the early colonial period and those that are related to Malawi's struggle for independence; (4) Painted rockshelter sites; (5) Sites of significant natural beauty such as Cape Maclear. Conservation work at these sites depends on several factors including their state of disrepair and the ability of owners of privately-owned monuments to maintain them using their own resources.

The Department's success in protecting and maintaining national monuments often depends on whether or not the local people have significant historical or cultural ties to the monuments. People tend to have such ties to graves and churches which cause them to be venerated. Conservation efforts at graves have been successful. They consist of painting any existing structures and enclosing them in a steel wirmesh fence or a brick wall. This is done to prevent people from walking up to the painted structures and touching them; otherwise such fences are unnecessary since it is taboo to desecrate graves.

Equally successful have been conservation efforts at churches. Malawians are very religious and Christianity, which was introduced by Scottish Missionaries shortly before the country became a British colony in the late nineteenth century, is the major religion in the country. Unlike graves, churches are not caged in fences. Instead the conservation efforts include termite proofing, repainting walls and foundations and other general repairs as needed. Many of the church buildings date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They are therefore, protected on the basis of their age and in at least one instance, also on the unique history of the founder. One such church is the Providence Industrial Mission's church in Chiradzulo district which was founded by the Reverend John Chilembwe in 1900. He was the first Malawian to receive theological training in the United States and the first and only Malawian to mount an armed rebellion against colonial rule in 1915 (Phiri 1999; Shepperson and Price 1958). Besides his church being a national monument, he is considered the greatest Malawian hero. His face graces Malawi's paper currency.

Unlike graves and churches, the other types of monuments were of little or no interest to most Malawians. The forts in Malawi were constructed by colonial administrators upon the imposition of colonial rule. The purpose of the forts was to house soldiers involved in the campaign to stop slave trading, which at the time was still being perpetrated by agents of Arab traders based at the Indian Ocean coast. After the slave trade ended in this area, the forts were abandoned and left to disintegrate. It is not clear why the colonial administration allowed that to happen. However, on the eve of the country's political independence, there was a resurgence of interest in old colonial buildings by European expatriates. Perhaps their interest was intended

to ensure that the incoming African government did not destroy symbols of British architecture. While no repair work of war fortifications was done, two of the forts, Fort Mangochi and Fort Lister, were enclosed by a steel wire-mesh fence. Within a short time at Fort Mangochi, both the steel wire-mesh and the supporting poles were removed by unknown people. At Fort Lister, the materials survived because the Department of Antiquities hired two people to be site guards and tour guides.

Two of the several painted rockshelters that are easily accessible to tourists – Mwalawomolemba on Mikolongwe hill in southern Malawi (Cole-King 1968) and Chencherere on Chongoni mountain in central Malawi (Clark 1973) – were also enclosed in a steel wire-mesh fence to prevent “I have been here” signs and other forms of graffiti from being written on them. At both sites the existing graffiti was removed and the paintings traced before the sites were fenced. Since like forts, rockshelters are not objects of veneration by the local people, the steel wire mesh and the supporting poles were also removed by unknown individuals.

The scenic site of Cape Maclear experienced a different kind of vandalism. The site lies within the Lake Malawi National Park which was placed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List in 1984 (<http://thesalmons.org/lynn/world.heritage.html>). It was “the world’s first freshwater national park” (<http://www.malawitourism.com/Pages/The%20Regions/South/lakemalawinp.html>). The Department of Antiquities proceeded to protect a spot in the park called Otter Point as a national monument because of the large schools of multi-coloured cichlid fish it contains. From time immemorial, exploitation by the local people of certain species of cichlids was done for subsistence purposes only and it never depleted the supply of fish. From the 1970s, however, there was an increased demand for these fish in European homes both locally and abroad for house-hold ornamental fish tanks. Although Otter Point was within a world heritage site and the Department of Antiquities declared it a national monument in order to save the fish, the site was not policed and eventually it was depleted of its fish.

An outreach program to encourage Malawians to take an interest in their cultural heritage and to visit museums was initiated; but it achieved very little success. During the 1970s and early 1980s, the Department of Antiquities put out several publications based on archaeological research done largely by Robinson (1970, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1982). All the publications were printed in English, and therefore circulated more among the expatriate population than the majority of Malawians. From about 1984, an effort was made to publicize painted rockshelter sites in order to promote cultural tourism. Since the painted rockshelters were surrounded by villages, and some of them were still being used by villagers for various cultural and economic practices (Juwayeyi 1997; Lindgren and Schoffeleers 1978; Smith 1995, 2001), the rockshelters might bring in enough money to encourage villagers to willingly protect the sites. The Department started this by launching a small scale effort targeting the Mphunzi hill area where the sites are within easy reach of each other. It hired two assistants to take care of the painted rockshelter sites and to also serve as tour guides. Unfortunately, these activities were not followed by adequate publicity nor were the necessary logistics put in place to

enable tourists to reach the sites without difficulty. As a result the sites did not attract many visitors and the Department's effort to promote cultural tourism was unsuccessful.

An outreach program to other sectors of Malawian society had a limited impact on Malawians because of their unfamiliarity with archaeology. No archaeological courses were offered in any of Malawi's schools and colleges until two years ago when a newly established private university began to offer them. Occasional displays of archaeological artefacts and ethnographic material was done at public events in order to encourage people to visit museums, and to engage them in a discussion about the country's history and cultural heritage. However, there was no organized follow-up and as a result they failed to achieve the intended objectives. Sometimes public lectures both by Malawian and foreign archaeologists were given to clubs or societies such as the Society of Malawi and the Wild Life Society. The membership of these societies, however, was overwhelmingly European and therefore the lectures had little impact on the larger Malawian population.

The Structure of Government Civil Service and the Decline of Archaeological Research and Museums Services

By the early 1990s, that is about ten years after the last of the four Malawian archaeologists returned from training abroad, three of them had left the Department of Antiquities; and none was actively practicing archaeology. The fourth archaeologist probably would also have left the Department had he completed his doctorate degree. He became the Director of Antiquities. The departure of the three archaeologists had to do with the ways in which the new post-colonial government structured the professional and administrative categories of the Malawi civil service, and the slow rate of career advancement in the professional category. In Malawi the civil service structure is split into an administrative category and a professional category. Employees in the administrative category carry out the daily administration work of the Government. Often, such work is carried out in Government ministries and at regional and district headquarters' offices. Unless the senior administrators in those organizations have been promoted from the professional category, their initial highest level of education is often an undergraduate degree in public administration or in other social science discipline. The professional category, on the other hand, consists of workers trained in various technical skills or those with professional qualifications. The top levels in this category consist of people with a master's or doctorate degree or people in such professions as engineering, medicine, law, and education (Malawi Public Service Regulations 1991). Until recently, graduate-level training in these professions was not available in Malawi.

Professional officers are often in charge of specialized Government departments, such as the Department of Antiquities or Geological Surveys. Specialized Government departments are subordinate to Government ministries. The head of such departments is referred to as Director or Chief depending on the size of the department. They report to a head of the ministry under which their department is placed. The head of the ministry is referred to as the Permanent or Principal Secretary under whom are Senior Deputy and Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and other senior officials. The position of Permanent Secretary is very prestigious and powerful, as its occupant reports directly to the Minister, who in turn reports to the President. Since ministries are large and include various sections, one has a better chance of career advancement by joining the administration than the professional category. Promotions to various senior administration positions occur more frequently in that category than in the professional category. Rarely is a professionally-trained person such as an archaeologist or an engineer who heads a specialized department ever promoted to be in charge of a ministry.

Sometimes however, it is possible for a Permanent Secretary to justify to the Government the need for senior positions in a specialized department to prevent many qualified people from clustering in one rank. This was the case with the Department of Antiquities and the Museums of Malawi. Too many qualified people clustered in one rank is often undesirable, as it is an indication of the absence of senior positions to which some could be promoted. Often it leads to frustration and possible resignations, as people seek to free themselves from working for a department that offers no opportunity for career advancement. Establishing more positions, on the other hand, broadens areas of activity within a department and creates more senior lines which can be filled through promotion of qualified individuals. In the 1980s most professional personnel in the Malawi civil service had been trained abroad and the Government was keen on retaining them. In the case of the Department of Antiquities, there were delays in drafting the relevant law so that it took nearly a decade for the Government to approve its request to create more senior positions. By the time it did so, one archaeologist had left the department to join the University of Malawi where the salary for faculty with doctorate degrees was then higher than in the Government civil service. Since archaeology was not taught at the University of Malawi, he taught the next best course he was qualified to teach, geology.

The approval to establish more positions in the Department of Antiquities resulted in the repealing of the *Monuments Act* and the passing of a replacement Act called the *Monuments and Relics Act* (Laws of Malawi Vol. IV. Chap. 29.01: 1990). The new Act restructured the Department of Antiquities. It provided for career progression of the professional staff, pegging the position of the Director of Antiquities two steps higher and giving it the title of Chief Antiquities Officer. The Government then established a senior administrative position based at the Ministry which controlled the Department of Antiquities. That position was titled Commissioner for Culture. The respective heads of the Department of Antiquities, the Museum of Malawi, and three other specialized departments would be super-

vised by the Commissioner for Culture who, in turn, would work under the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry. The Government then proceeded to promote the Chief Antiquities Officer to become the Commissioner for Culture. Another individual in the Department of Antiquities was then promoted to be the Chief Antiquities Officer.

Occupying a senior administrative position, the Commissioner for Culture was well placed to become a Permanent Secretary someday. In fact that promotion came sooner than expected. When he became a Permanent Secretary, he was succeeded as Commissioner for Culture by the Chief Antiquities Officer. This meant that two successive Commissioners for Culture had been archaeologists promoted from the Department of Antiquities. Except for a brief hiatus a few years ago, the trend of promoting the Chief Antiquities Officer to the position of Commissioner for Culture has continued. Currently, the country's only palaeontologist, a former Chief Antiquities Officer, is now the Commissioner for Culture.

While these promotions were desired since they meant a much higher salary, good benefits, power, and high visibility within the Malawian civil service, they also removed well-trained archaeologists from archaeological research. In other words, the restructuring of the Department was counter productive for archaeology since all the talent got promoted to administrative positions leaving none to do the archaeological work. Today, the Malawi Department of Antiquities no longer has a qualified archaeologist or an officer capable of doing any kind of archaeological work without supervision.

The Museum of Malawi suffered a similar fate. Except for the Head of the Museum, the rest of the professional officers had for a long time clustered in one rank or within one rank of each other. There was no room for career advancement and that led to frustration. None of the five curators hired between 1972 and 1992 still work for the museum. One died and two retired, one at the young age of 50 and the other on medical grounds. Two took teaching positions, one at the University of Pretoria in South Africa and the other at the University of Malawi. Thus both the Department of Antiquities and the Museum of Malawi must start again to rebuild what were once thriving cultural institutions.

Conclusion

The decline of archaeological research and museum services in Malawi was a direct consequence of government failure to restructure the Department of Antiquities and the Museum of Malawi in such a way to retain professional staff. Although Malawi, unlike her neighbours in southern Africa, had a slow start to archaeological research during the colonial period, the situation changed after the country became independent in 1964. During the post-colonial period, the new African-led Government passed a law called the *Monuments Act*. This law led to the establishment of a Monuments Advisory Council to advise the Government on matters related to

national monuments. It also indirectly led to the establishment of the Department of Antiquities which would be responsible for archaeological research. These were positive developments which convinced UNESCO that the Malawi Government had taken commendable steps to preserve the country's cultural heritage. UNESCO therefore responded favourably to the Malawi Government's request for assistance. It sent Professor J. D. Clark as a consultant to study the state of archaeological and museum work in Malawi and advise the Malawi Government on how to manage successful antiquities and museums services.

Clark's report resulted in the training of Malawian archaeologists and later museum curators. These were the first indigenous African or black archaeologists to be trained in southern Africa. Upon their return from training, the Malawian archaeologists carried out successful archaeological projects for at least a decade. Their success, however, was prematurely curtailed by a rigid government civil service structure that did not promote the career advancement of professionally trained personnel. The government failed to provide the necessary infrastructure for archaeological and museum programmes to flourish. There were no opportunities for career advancement for museum curators and archaeologists. Museum curators were unable to mount successful outreach programmes to cultivate interest among Malawians to visit museums. Consequently, the professional staff became frustrated and some began to leave. The Government attempted to improve the situation by establishing the ministry-based senior administrative position of Commissioner for Culture. Promotions to that new position had the unintended consequences of removing heads of the Department of Antiquities from archaeological research. This weakened the delivery of cultural services in the country. Archaeological research and Museum services in Malawi have yet to recover from these mistakes.

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The Practice of Archaeology in Nigeria

C.A. Folorunso

Introduction

The history of archaeology in Nigeria goes back to the colonial era (Andah and Folorunso 1992). The first archaeological excavations in Nigeria, though unscientific by current standards, took place in Ife in 1910. Leo Frobenius, the German anthropologist visited Ife in November 1910 to find out about the Yoruba sacred city he had heard of in 1908 in Timbuktu and Ouagadougou. Frobenius dug up several buried terracotta figurines and also made the local people to search for artefacts where, as the legend said, ancestral god had gone down below (Frobenius 1913, cited by Eyo 1974: 100). Following the discovery of terracotta pieces in tin mines on the Jos Plateau in 1928, Bernard Fagg, an archaeologist and colonial assistant district officer, started in 1939 what might be described as salvage or rescue archaeology in Nigeria by creating collections of archaeological materials salvaged from the tin mining areas. There were accidental finds of archaeological materials in other locations in Nigeria, including Ife, Benin and Igbo-Ukwu, where bronze objects were uncovered in 1938 through such activities as digging foundations for houses and buildings.

These accidental finds of archaeological materials called for conscious efforts to provide some kind of protection for endangered archaeological material as well as the documentation of the antiquities of Nigeria. In 1939, the colonial Government in Nigeria was urged to set up a Nigerian Museum (Shaw 1969), and that urge culminated in 1943 in the establishment of the Nigerian Department of Antiquities. This paved the way for the appointment of professional archaeologists by the colonial administration to take charge of the management of the archaeological resources. The practice of professional archaeology therefore started in Nigeria in 1943 with the first scientific excavations carried out at the grove of Osangangan Obamakin on the Modakeke side of Ife. The excavations were directed by John Goodwin of the University of Cape Town, Bernard Fagg and Kenneth Murray of

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the Department of Antiquities. The Department of Antiquities sponsored several archaeological investigations, which were conducted on sites where there had been accidental discoveries of archaeological materials; these included the works of Frank Willette, Thurstan Shaw and Graham Connah, at Ife, Igbo Ukwu and Benin respectively.

Though the colonial administration in Nigeria did not by design set out to protect archaeological resources in the course of public works, it however responded favourably when urged to protect the archaeological heritage and thereby aided the birth of the practice of archaeology in the country. Politicians and nationalists during the colonial period showed interest in the protection of the cultural heritage as they used the evidence of the past to justify their call for an end to colonial rule. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa while introducing the Antiquities Bill in 1953 stated that, in contrast to what had been imported,

...our antiquities and traditional arts are Nigerian ... and owing to the absence of written records, the old arts of Nigeria represent a large part of the evidence of our history, it is necessary to protect and preserve our history and artistic relics because of their importance to Nigeria and in order that our people today and in the future may study and get inspiration from them.

With the attainment of independence in 1960 there was the development of interest in the cultural history of Nigerian peoples and Institutes of African Studies were established at the University of Ife, University of Ibadan and University of Nigeria, Nsukka with provision for archaeological research. However, when the Kainji Dam was being executed by the successive national governments, archaeology was not considered as was the case during the colonial period (see Breternitz 1968; Hartle 1970; Shaw 1970). The Kainji Dam was a major development project during the early post-independence period that could have defined the course of archaeological investigations in Nigeria but the opportunity was missed. With the lost of the battle to establish a Cultural Resource Management based archaeology which was developing from the colonial era, attention shifted to more academic archaeology that aimed at investigating sites that were not threatened but would provide data that would throw light on the unknown past of the country. The investigations conducted by Thurstan Shaw (Shaw and Daniels 1984) at Iwo Eleru, Frank Willette at Mejiro Cave at old Oyo both in Western Nigeria and Grahame Connah at Daima in North-eastern Nigeria exemplified the new direction with universities playing the major role.

Archaeological Practice in Nigeria

With the establishment of academic archaeology programmes in some Nigerian universities in the 1970s, Nigerians began to acquire training in archaeological research. Few individuals had obtained PhD degrees in Archaeology from foreign universities in Europe and the United States of America and had taken up academic appointments in Nigerian universities in the 1970s alongside expatriate archaeologists/lecturers. Postgraduate studies in archaeology were introduced at the

University of Ibadan in the mid-1970s and the first set of PhD dissertations were produced in the first half of the 1980s. While studies in archaeology in the universities continue to expand, the professional practice of archaeology in the country remains grossly undeveloped. In result, archaeology in the country has become a purely academic discipline in the universities with the consequence of a very bleak future for heritage protection. There is lack of adequate protection policies for heritage resources in the country, with massive destruction of archaeological sites due to construction works and urban developments. Looting of archaeological sites is widespread and unchecked. Instead of a unified front of archaeologists demanding professionalism in the approach to heritage management matters and a cultural resources management oriented archaeology in the country, which is the ethical and moral thing to do, some academics are desperately seeking to ally archaeology with tourism in the rat race for economic gains. Attempts had been made to change the name of departments teaching archaeology in some universities to Department of Archaeology and Tourism. Some archaeologists are now leaving their primary duties of archaeological research and are pretending to be tourism experts when they have not even shown that they have proper and deep understanding of the relationship that should exist between archaeology and tourism. Archaeology will continue to be undeveloped in Nigeria if the academics who are supposed to provide leadership and direction take the narrow view of associating archaeology to tourism in order to reap economic benefits and abandon the ethical option of a cultural resource management archaeology which would create employment for hundreds of archaeology graduates in the country who are unable to practice archaeology because of lack of employment positions.

Structure of Archaeology in Nigeria

Archaeology in Nigeria tends to be more academic in nature and content and it is based in the universities, though there is the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) empowered to regulate archaeological research in the country and the Directorate of Research at the NCMM responsible for conducting and coordinating of archaeological research in the country. However, the personnel of the Commission are made up of persons who function mainly as bureaucrats and they are hardly adequately equipped to function as researchers. The Commission usually recruits first degree holders and they are never designated as researchers. Some of the staff after some years in service do enrol for the Masters degree but hardly proceed to obtain the Ph.D. degree that would properly establish them as researchers. The capacity of the Commission to conduct scientific archaeological research and contribute to the production of archaeological knowledge is extremely limited. In order to mitigate the problem, the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Ibadan developed a collaborative research relationship with the NCMM in the first half of the 1980s. The Commission supported the Department by providing field vehicles while archaeologists of the Commission, some of whom were also

postgraduate students in the Department, received further fieldwork training and were able to write Master's degree theses on subjects based on the sites they investigated. Two important archaeological locations were used for this exercise between 1980 and 1984, one in the Benue Valley and the other was the Early Stone Age site at Uturu Ugwelle in Eastern Nigeria. Unfortunately, the collaborative research efforts between the NCMM and the University of Ibadan had not continued.

The problem inherent in the structure of archaeology in Nigeria is the fact that the archaeologists in the NCMM do not realize and appreciate their limitations in matters of archaeological investigations. They tend to see themselves as researchers, which they are not, and have no training as such, and with very limited research experience some of them investigate archaeological sites without any defined research design. The results are always palpable when presented in the national archaeological conferences. Trying to create the semblance of the collaboration that existed between the NCMM and the University of Ibadan in the early 1980s, some individual archaeology lecturers were very recently invited to participate in archaeological fieldworks that had no set research objectives other than searching for art objects and to ensure the spending of the budgeted sums for research before the year ran out. In such a situation, the result of work done within a period of 5–10 days has no scientific value and it is hardly better than the search for antiquities in Greece and Italy in the eighteenth century. It could therefore be understood why most of the reports of the research works in the Commission are not published. As a result of their level of training, exposure, experience and competence, most of the archaeologists in the service of the NCMM would only pass for technicians who should be research assistants to more experienced and established researchers. One would also have expected a different kind of archaeology being conducted by the NCMM with the absence of researchers on its staff. There are more technical works which are left undone, like recording of sites and monuments and watching out for threatened sites where large-scale land modifications take place, since there is no law protecting archaeological sites in the course of development projects. As far as archaeology is concerned the Directorate of Research of the NCMM has nothing or very little to show for. This is more so disheartening in a nation where on regularly basis archaeological sites are being destroyed due to developmental projects.

The private sector archaeology is far from being developed in Nigeria despite the need for it because of the wanton destruction of archaeological sites by land developers and industrial concerns. Instead of agitating for and pursuing a cultural resource management based archaeology with conservation and protection of archaeological resources as its main focus, tourism seems to preoccupy the minds of some Nigerian archaeologists, as they are ready to sacrifice archaeology on the altar of tourism. Instead of seeing tourism as a means of community/public involvement in the conservation of archaeological resources, some scholars in Nigeria erroneously see archaeology and tourism as being synonymous. They tend to ignore the fact that tourism is more than visiting sites and places and they see themselves as being capable of awarding academic degrees in tourism. Tourism as an alternate academic subject to archaeology seems therefore to be taking the place of developing a proper public education programme about the past instead of tourism being part

of that programme. No wonder that the public perception of the past is still very low and archaeological sites continue to be destroyed by looters. Destruction of archaeological sites by treasure hunters and looters is very common particularly on sites bearing terracotta figurines in the Nok valley and the Kwatokwashi area of Sokoto and Katsina regions, where archaeological sites are left at the mercy of greedy locals and their sponsors in the network of international antiquity trade. The practice of amateur archaeologists is non-existent in Nigeria however some communities had shown interest in the archaeology of their areas and had supported archaeological investigations by inviting and encouraging archaeologists to conduct research within their communities.

The Research Directorate of the Commission issues permits for archaeological investigations in the country and an important requirement for obtaining a permit is evidence of competence and this is literally taken to mean having some experience in archaeological research. In the case of the postgraduate students, the permits are issued to their supervisors who may never visit the sites. The regulatory function of the NCMM in the issuance of permits for archaeological research makes it the only establishment that knows about the programmes of foreign researchers and the acceptance of a “research attaché” from the Commission may be an added condition for the issuance of a permit for the foreign researchers. The Commission has no visible structure to coordinate the activities of the various researchers from and outside of the country. It is of course difficult to assess the archaeological research works being done and one may never get to access some of the publications resulting from such archaeological researches.

It is important to note that archaeological research in Nigeria had over the years slowed down due to the economic problems. The 1970s and 1980s saw probably the finest of archaeological research conducted by resident expatriates and national researchers from Nigerian universities. Almost all archaeological investigations served as field schools for undergraduate and postgraduate students of archaeology. For the University of Ibadan, the sites frequented included old Oyo and Shaki in Oyo State, Ijara Isin in Kwara State, Tse Dura site in Benue State and Rop in Plateau State. The subjects of study on these sites spanned from the Stone Age to historic periods. It was the period when archaeological investigations enjoyed good funding in the country. From the 1990s to the present, the story had changed and well funded archaeological projects seem to be limited to expatriate Africanist Archaeologists from Europe and North America. In this later period the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Ibadan had managed at times to conduct some field schools that produced substantial archaeological knowledge. In 1996, a field school started at Ijaye, a historical town with the nineteenth century relics including a defensive system composed of ditch and embankment, mounds, house remains, wells and other features spread over a wide area (see Folorunso and Olayinka 1997; Folorunso 2001). In 2002, the field school on the old Oyo site, frequented in the 1970s (see Sowunmi et al. 2004; Folorunso et al. 2006), resumed. Aside these field schools, archaeological research had become limited to persons working on Ph.D. dissertations and in most cases there is hardly any depth to these studies and the major excuse had been lack of adequate funds for research.

The time period investigated had shifted solely to the historic period with little or no interest in the prehistoric period by local researchers and postgraduate students.

Archaeology in Nigerian Universities

There are three Nigerian universities with departments of Archaeology: the University of Ibadan, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. There was a Department of Archaeology at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, but it has been closed and the staff moved to the Department of History and the Museum of Natural History. In several other universities, including the University of Port Harcourt, the University of Benin, the University of Maiduguri and Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago Woye, there are archaeologists teaching courses in Departments of History or Centres for Cultural Studies. Of all the universities, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ibadan is unique as it offers both archaeology and anthropology degrees and it is located in the Faculty of Science. The Department started as a research unit in the Institute of African Studies in 1963 and it was never a part of the Department of History. As a research unit it had conservation and palynology laboratories. The Department, in addition to students admitted through the Faculty of Science also admits students through the Faculty of Arts for the Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and PhD in Archaeology and Anthropology. The Department has Palynology, Conservation and Geo-Archaeology laboratories, a Teaching Museum and it is now developing a GIS Laboratory. The departments at Nsukka and Zaria were initially units in the Departments of History and as such are based in the Faculty of Arts and they award the Bachelor of Arts and Masters of Arts degrees. These two departments do not possess teaching and research laboratories as found at the Department of Archaeology at Ibadan. It is obvious that the other departments have not got the kind of capacity for archaeological research as available at Ibadan and that may also explain why the department at Nsukka has changed its name to the Department of Archaeology and Tourism and this influenced a similar attempt at the department at Zaria. This is a clear indication of the lack of a vision and understanding of the global trends in the development of archaeological practice and seeking refuge in such a diversified terrain as tourism.

Theories and Methods in Nigerian Archaeology

It is obvious that the early interest in the archaeology of Nigeria was associated with ancient art forms from the country. Frobenius' expedition to Ife in 1910 was mainly to scout for the arts of Ife which he later described as the products of a civilization that was foreign to Africa. The Nok pieces had also been studied for their artistic values and little was done to understand their context. The early archaeologists in West Africa in general had tended to explain their data in terms of western conceived theories of the "three age system," evolution, migration and diffusion,

without paying attention to the specific and distinctive characters and contexts of their data. Archaeologists were always seeking for the origins of any significant cultural development on the African continent from external sources and arrows were drawn from different directions on the map of Africa to indicate the routes for the introduction of cultural developments into Africa. Such phenomena as agricultural beginnings, metal working, and urbanization were judged to have been introduced from external sources onto the continent with only the cultures of the pre-Homo sapiens sapiens being exempted from such external influence. These explanations were based on the “Hamitic Hypothesis” which focused on light-skinned peoples, of ancient Egyptian or Indo-European origin, who spread across Africa in a mission to civilize subject races, who were mentally and physically inferior (see Folorunso 2003 for a discussion on the theory as it concerns West Africa). The deconstruction of a history of Africa based on the wholesale adoption and imposition of western theories on the African data seems to have been the preoccupation of later archaeologists and historians particularly the African scholars. Emphasis had been placed on re-evaluating the data to show their distinctiveness in both character and context and the inappropriateness of the western derived theories for explaining the African past (see particularly Andah 1995).

Afrocentrist scholars had appropriated the ancient Egyptian civilization in an entirely different view developing an explanation that sees ancient Egypt as part and parcel of Black Africa (see Bernal 1985, 1987, 1991, 2003; Diop Cheikh 1981; Obenga 1981). In the deconstruction of the African past, scholars are still stuck with the questions of origin and migration seeking explanations that may disprove earlier interpretations that favoured external influence in cultural developments in Africa. Archaeological sites are being studied in isolation and chronology has become quite important in the interpretation of data as if dates are explanations in themselves. Isolated radiocarbon dates from one region are compared with isolated dates from other regions to make claims of earlier occurrence of iron-working for particular localities (Okafor and Phillips 1992). Local origins are being established for almost everything that occurred in past cultural developments of West Africa with little or no attention paid to explaining the processes that led to such developments. It is probably difficult at this stage to offer explanations in the form of hypotheses and theories because the archaeological data are far in between and research efforts are not coordinated to address specific research questions. Therefore, there are gaps in our knowledge of the archaeology of West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

Current Methods in Nigerian Archaeology

Archaeology in Nigeria employs multiple research methods and the choice of methods depends on a combination of factors that range from the training and the exposure of the individual researcher, the subject under study, and the availability of equipment and facilities required for the various methods. Nigerian archaeologists had been trained under varied archaeological research traditions in countries such as England, France, Germany, Russia, the United States of America and locally in

Nigeria. The training backgrounds of the researchers do play significant role in the choice of methods; however, they all attempt to employ a combination of some limited scientific and humanistic research methods. The department at Ibadan, as a result of its structure and the composition of its staff, carries out and directs interdisciplinary researches in archaeology. This is not to say that all researches are interdisciplinary but to underline the fact that in comparison with other archaeology units in the country, the department in Ibadan has the capacity to and do conduct interdisciplinary researches. The structure of the department within the Faculty of Science permits honours degrees combined with Botany, Geography, Geology and Zoology, while in the Faculty of Arts, archaeology could be combined with Arabic and Islamic Studies, Classics, History, and Religious Studies. The Ibadan school exhibits a very strong ecological and geo-archaeological background to the studies of sites in its research efforts as exemplified by the works in the Benue Valley (Folorunso 1989; Tubosun 1995), at Itaakpa Rockshelter in Kogi State (Oyelaran 1991), on the Badagry Coast (Alabi 1998), the Stone Age site at Ajibode in Ibadan (Bagodo 2004) and on the site of old Oyo (Sowunmi et al. 2004).

The practice of archaeology at Ibadan therefore stands out to be more science based in approach than in other academic centres in Nigeria. Sedimentological and palynological studies are important components of the way the Ibadan school of archaeology approaches the understanding of the past. There is a Palynology Laboratory which was established at the inception of the department and it has a very large collection of West African plants pollen samples mounted on slides (Plates 1–4). There is also a Geo-archaeology Laboratory being developed (Plate 5), while students and staff continue to use facilities in other departments such as Geology, Geography and Agronomy. It is important to note that the laboratory



Plate 1 Fume Chamber in Palynology Laboratory, Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan



Plate 2 A section of Palynology Laboratory, Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan



Plate 3 Microscope Room of Palynology Laboratory, Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan



Plate 4 Pollen slides collection in the Palynology Laboratory, Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan



Plate 5 Geo-archaeology Laboratory, Department of Archaeology, University of Ibadan

analyses are used to elucidate anthropological problems, therefore our staff and students, who have science background, are made to understand the human dimension to their studies. This methodology that applies science constitutes archaeology as a partly scientific discipline that produces informed and sustainable anthropological/historical narratives of the past human culture.

Historical Archaeological Studies

In recent times most of the archaeological researches in the country had been within the confine of historical archaeology. Posnansky and Decorse (1986: 1) rightly observed that with independence in sub-Saharan Africa, “new priorities were established which shifted the emphasis from the Stone Age to the cultural history of the component populations of the new states.” Of course historical archaeology in Africa is understood differently from the western concept of the archaeology of European contact (Deetz 1965: 5), or the archaeology of the modern world (Orser 1996), or “archaeology undertaken in periods or for areas in which the principal source of contextual information is provided by documentary evidence” (Posnansky and Decorse 1986) to include all concepts of historical representations by local people as constituting an important historiography. Decorse (1996: 40) had added oral traditions to documentary records as the ingredients for the definition of historical archaeology, while Schimdt (2006) captured the essence of local representation, social memory, and oral tradition in doing historical archaeology in Africa. In Nigeria, historical archaeology concerns all sites that relate to the period within the collective memory of the local people and the local populations play crucial role in the conception and the prosecution of historical archaeology research projects. Local custodians of tradition had been involved in the identification of archaeological sites and providing insights into the interpretation of structures and material remains.

In some cases, archaeology had corroborated oral historical information and shed more light on historical events (Oguagha and Okpoko 1984), while in other studies oral information provided on historical events relating to archaeological sites are not verifiable through archaeological methods, for instance the traditions concerning population movements into the Jos Plateau (Mangut 2006, 2008). In the latter case oral historical information is usually of no particular help in the interpretation of the archaeological record and ethnography then becomes the alternative means of deriving information on the character and the nature of the groups responsible for the archaeological remains. Ethnoarchaeological methods are therefore incorporated into studies of historical archaeology. Our understanding of historical archaeology is therefore in terms of the study of a period considered historic rather than the instruments of study (documentary or oral records). It is not necessary to force documentary or oral records to fit the archaeological remains as some had attempted in order to qualify their studies as historical archaeology. There are little or no documentary or oral information on sites abandoned in 1948 (Plates 6–8) when the land for the construction of the University of Ibadan campus was acquired, and these sites are being studied today within the context of historical archaeology with the aid of ethnographic data (Andah et al. 1992).



Plate 6 Students on field school on a historic site near Obafemi Awolowo Hall, University of Ibadan campus



Plate 7 Students excavating on the site near Obafemi Awolowo Hall, University of Ibadan campus



Plate 8 Students excavating on a historic site near International School, University of Ibadan campus

In Nigeria, there had been very limited research on European or colonial sites in comparison to other West African countries such as Ghana and Senegal, where European plantation and settlement (forts) sites had been investigated (Bessac and Dfkeyser 1951; Bessac 1952; Lawrence 1963; Wood 1967; Flight 1968; Van Dantzig 1972, 1980; Simmonds 1973; Walker 1975; Posnansky and Van Dantzig 1976; Calvocoressi 1977; DeCorse 1991, 1993, 2001; Bredwa-Mensah and Crossland 1997). It is obvious that the Europeans built more trading posts in Ghana and Senegal as more than 50 posts were built on the Gold Coast (Ghana) alone between 1482 and 1787 (Van Dantzig 1980). Several European sites had been investigated in Nigeria, for example sites at Zungeru, the colonial capital of Northern Nigeria, but the reports had not been properly published. Relics of the Atlantic slave trade on the Badagry coast are being preserved by the NCMM but no historical archaeological investigation had been conducted. European settlement relics have been reported on the Lekki coast (Folorunso and Oseni 1996), but they are yet to be properly excavated.

Archaeological studies on some historical sites raised very serious questions on the understanding of oral traditions as presently narrated. It seems that some scholars would want to accept what is seemingly a myth as historical fact. Such is the claim about the site of (Swem) the original home of the Tiv people in the Benue valley of Nigeria. Archaeology has failed to identify the site of Swem (Folorunso 2007: 15), which the local tradition recognizes as a spiritual place, but some scholars (namely Dzurgba 2007: 25–29) insists that Swem is a physical place located in the Akwaya

sub-division of the southwestern province of Cameroon. His description of the location of Swem sounds very much imaginary and less convincing than the description in the Tiv oral history. Dzurgba's argument is simply based on locating the closest cultural group of the Tiv to its southeast where, as the tradition claims, was their place of origin, and proclaim the whole area as Swem. He provided no description of archaeological relics for his territorial claim as Swem and it is also very doubtful whether he actually visited the area. Dzurgba as a Tiv scholar but not an archaeologist or historian, was merely reinventing the Tiv oral history concerning Swem as he understands it.

Another issue about Tiv's history clarified by archaeology is that of the Tiv migration into the Benue valley, which the tradition claims originated from the hilltop site of Swem located somewhere in the Nigeria/Cameroon border area. The remains of hilltop settlements undeniably occupied by the Tiv were confirmed through the use of ethnoarchaeological methods and localized on the hills dotting the Tiv country of the Benue valley. However, radiocarbon dates had shown that the sites are contemporaneous and existed in the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries (Folorunso 1989; Ogundele 1990; Gundu 1999), and they belonged to the period of the Atlantic slave trade (Folorunso 2005, 2006). Dzurgba (2007: 26) claimed the nineteenth century as the probable date for the Tiv migration into the Benue valley. According to the archaeological examination the migration happened not later than the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries and most likely earlier. It is also obvious that archaeology could not authenticate traditions of the various segments (clans) of the Tiv people claiming particular hilltop settlements as Ndera (2009) had attempted to do in relation to the Shitire segment of the Tiv people. The material culture of the Tiv people appears to be uniform and there is no way of differentiating between the various segments according to their settlement style and cultural materials, therefore the claims by a segment regarding a particular site could not be verified archaeologically.

Archaeological data from historic sites had been used to complement oral historical information on the origin and migration of a section of the Yoruba located in north-central Yorubaland and establishing links with old Oyo (Aleru 1998, 2006). Old Oyo or Oyo Ile is the site of the capital of the Old Oyo Empire which flourished as an urban centre during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A number of archaeological explorations have been conducted there over the last 60 years. Clapperton and the Lander brothers visited Oyo Ile in 1829 and 1832 respectively and gave some description of the town (Clapperton 1829; Lander 1832), however, the date of the desertion of the town is unknown. The political history of Oyo Ile is well known as documented by historians, but archaeological data have provided a better understanding of the antiquity, structure, and cultural development of the town (Soper and Darling 1980; Agbaje-Williams 1983; Sowunmi et al. 2004; Folorunso et al. 2006). Ijaye Orile, another Yoruba historic town of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has also been archaeologically investigated. The Baptist Mission had been established in Ijaye Orile and destroyed in 1862, during the Yoruba civil wars of the nineteenth century (Johnson 1921; Smith 1962). Ijaye presented an interesting unique case study for historical archaeology not because the site falls within the historic period, but because archaeologists have tried to delineate the phases of occupation as related through history (Folorunso and Olayinka 1997). The town was initially an Egba Yoruba settlement

which was taken by Oyo Yoruba war lords in about 1829/1830 with little or no resistance from the inhabitants who simply fled and left their homes to be occupied by the invaders (Johnson 1921: 236). Following political rivalries and disputes within the old Oyo Empire, the Ijaye Orile war lords might have built elaborate earth defensive walls in its long drawn out war against Ibadan. Ijaye was sacked and destroyed in 1862 and was deserted for over 30 years before it was reoccupied (Smith 1962: 347).

Ethnoarchaeological Studies

The excavation of a mound close to the earth defensive wall at Ijaye Orile revealed an alkali making industrial site that had been preserved and sealed with filter pots arranged in a row (Folorunso and Olayinka 1997; Folorunso 2002). The site presents a picture of being hurriedly abandoned and was gradually and systematically buried under the heap of waste from the industrial activities (see Folorunso 2002). The site is identified as belonging to the Egba Yoruba occupation phase while other relics scattered within the present settled areas could be attributed to the Oyo Yoruba occupation phase. Ijaye therefore presented the opportunity of employing ethnoarchaeological methods in the understanding of the industrial sites for which there was no documentary or oral records. Ethnographic data were sought on the alkali production for dye and soap-making, likely industrial activities that took place on the sites as well as contributed to the formation of industrial mound. These finds assisted in the reasoned interpretation of the archaeological data. Researchers dealing with the historic period usually employ ethnographic studies of material culture to explain the archaeological record and this is quite widespread and very useful approach in Nigeria.

For example, ethnoarchaeological methods had been widely used to study the hilltop settlement sites in the Benue valley claimed in oral traditions to be early Tiv settlements. There was the need to establish population and cultural continuity between the past and the present to corroborate the claims of oral traditions. Ethnoarchaeological studies of settlement styles and cultural materials, particularly Tiv pottery, established such continuity, while archaeological data put the Tiv history in the Benue valley in a chronological perspective (Folorunso 1989). On the basis of the demonstrated continuity, the presence of the Tiv in the Benue valley has been dated to the fifteenth century AD, if not earlier. The fifteenth century upwards coincides with the period when empires such as that of the Jukun were raiding slaves in the Benue (Bohanna and Bohanna 1953), activities which necessitated the construction of hilltop settlements for defensive purpose. Thus, ethnoarchaeology has demonstrated the capacity to elucidate oral historical data.

Conclusion: Archaeology and the Nigerian Society

There is not much to say about the profession of archaeology in Nigeria today after roughly about eight decades of its existence since the colonial period. How is archaeology viewed in the Nigerian society? Archaeology is one of the least understood if

not the least understood discipline/profession in Nigeria. There is an obvious misconception about the discipline even in the academia as other academics could not understand the value of the contribution of archaeology to general knowledge, and those who show some understanding are interested in spectacular finds, which are not common because of the nature of archaeological remains in tropical Africa; very few monumental sites, poor preservation of organic and inorganic materials because of acidic soils, and the lack of adequate funds for research. Those who find archaeological data useful are usually interested in sensational information, which they quote out of context to make claims about the “glorious African past.” Out of the over ninety existing universities in Nigeria, there are only three with archaeology departments, but this is not surprising in a country where attempts had been made to scrap the teaching of history in secondary schools and all that matters is science and technology to develop the country. Unfortunately, Nigeria has been producing scientists who would immediately immigrate to countries with more stable economies, where their services would be appreciated and rewarded as oppose to their home country where the few corrupt leaders and their collaborators had seized the apparatus of governance and condemned every other person to eternal poverty with the help of international monetary agencies. A President of Nigeria in the very recent past had queried the essence of certain disciplines and wondered how people would go into universities to study such disciplines. That was also understandable because Nigeria had mostly been led by people of no intellectual background and this had impacted negatively on the development of disciplines like archaeology.

If there is problem in understanding archaeology within the academia and at the governmental level, what should be expected of the public? Ironically, certain parts of the current society understand archaeology better than about ten years ago. With the possibility of viewing foreign television channels such as Discovery, National Geographic, and History and having access to information through the Internet, many Nigerians had come to know more about archaeology. The significant question that preoccupies the minds of many is the opportunities for those who study archaeology in the country. And those are very limited because it is practically only one institution, the NCMM, that could absorb few archaeology graduates and who would end up as bureaucrats rather than scientists, as I had explained earlier in this chapter.

There is mixed understanding of archaeology in the rural areas where most archaeological sites are located. Historic sites, as discussed earlier, solicit a different reaction from local populations compared to prehistoric sites which local populations have no direct links to. In the case of historic sites, local populations are aware of the relevance of the sites to their history and identity and are usually ready to assist in archaeological investigations and sometimes in the preservation of sites, particularly where such sites are considered as sacred. In the Benue valley local chiefs did not allow excavation on a particular site because it was considered sacred while in many other cases sites had been destroyed in the search for farm lands. Some communities in the past had provided financial and logistics assistance to archaeologists investigating sites that would provide them information about their history. Other community leaders with little awareness about the past behaved differently seeing archaeologists mostly as intruders into their communities and some

demanded gratifications before agreeing to support any research activity within their communities. They would not understand why foreigners from Europe would come to wander on their farmlands and in their forests, and they are also suspicious of local researchers as government functionaries, who obtained large sums of money from the government to conduct studies within their communities. Thus, permission to conduct research in certain communities could only be obtained through payments to individuals who are influential in their communities. In some cases archaeological investigations had been forcefully interrupted by local groups under the suspicion that money had been taken by certain persons who did not share them.

There is little concern for prehistoric sites by local populations which may not recognize these sites to be of relevance particularly in areas with immigrant populations who have no historical links to the archaeological sites in their present appearance. Such is the case in the Nok Valley and the Kwatokwashi area in northwestern Nigeria where terracotta figurines are looted indiscriminately from archaeological sites by the local people commissioned by antiquities dealers. Evidence abound that archaeological sites in the areas are destroyed through the search for terracotta figurines by the local looters who operate in organized groups. There is usually an agent who invests some money to hire labourers to dig pits randomly on archaeological sites in search for antiquities. They use heavy tools such as diggers and shovels and in some cases the terracotta figurines get broken from a hit from the heavy tools. They had been taught not to use adhesives on the broken object, but use rubber bands to hold the pieces together. The venture is quite lucrative to the local people who live in remote rural areas of the country where poverty is endemic. A successful dig producing undamaged objects may bring in an income exceeding a 3 month hard work on the farm. It also seems that the local agents work in association with some well-placed government officials who supposed to protect the national heritage, but serve as links between the looters and the dealers. These officials in return would make some extra money to meet up with the social status they had cut for themselves in the society. In the final words, there seems to be very few people, archaeology professionals, who have genuine passion for the past of the country while others are only preoccupied with potential economic gains the archaeological resources might provide. The future of archaeology does not look very promising with some archaeologists leaning towards commercialization of the field by allying archaeology with tourism, while policies regarding heritage management and protection are not being developed.

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Afterword

Before 1990s, East European scholars did not believe that the Westerners really understood or knew East European archaeology deeply enough to write about it eloquently. In return Anglo-American scholars generally believed that most East European archaeologists are not well enough attuned to or interested in how archaeology, its theory and methodology, has been practiced in the West and therefore cannot say anything interesting about it. The result was a constant series of turf wars revolving around who has the “right” to say what and why. This, of course, is hardly what was envisioned when the official barriers to intercultural scholarly intercourse disappeared about two decades or so. A similar problem is noticeable when we look at the leading European and American archaeology in confrontation with other regional archaeologies around the world. Ideally, we would agree that each approach has something to recommend, and an attempt to merge the best of them is the right solution. This may not be easily attainable, however. It would be desirable, though, to agree to disagree, and recognize that while we may not exactly like what our colleagues are doing (or saying), we can respect it. The worst version is constant sniping, which simply makes everyone look foolish.

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Ludomir R. Lozny

Index

A

- Abramowicz, 179, 196, 216
Absolon, K., 226–231
Acosta, J.J., 644
Acta Archaeologica, 360
Adam, R., 372
Aegean archaeology, 54
African archaeology
 Malawi (*see* Malawi)
 Nigeria (*see* Nigeria)
 Pacific Island (*see* Pacific Islands)
 Southern Africa (*see* South Africa)
Aglío, A.M., 539
Aguilú, J.O., 648
Aharoni, Y., 478, 480
Akerly, S., 545
Akoshima, K., 686
Albright, W.F., 476, 482
Alegría, R.E., 646, 653
Aleksandrenkov, E., 659
Aleksova, B., 422
Alfonsín, R., 509–512, 518
Allard, L., 543
Allason, T., 372
Allende, S., 559
Althusser, 25, 213, 218, 501
Alto Magdalena Archaeological Project
 (AMAP)
 agricultural intensification, 622
 community scale project, 621–622
 Formative period, 620
 Parque Tairona, 622
 regional scale projects, 621
 systematic methodology, 622–623
 Tierradentro Archaeological Project, 621
 University of Pittsburgh, 619–620
 Valle de la Plata project, 620
Ambrossetti, J.B., 496
Ameghino, F., 496
Amiran, R., 478
Amsterdamski, 213
Anderson, A., 737
Anderson, B., 613
Anderson, P., 555
Anglo-American model
 communication forms, 322–323
 dendrochronology, 320
 foreign language abstracts, 317
 Hungarian processualism, 319
 IT applications, 320–321
 linguistic definition, 316
 local academic culture, 315–316
 long chronology, 318–319
 Marxist social theory, 318
 permeated texts, 316
 quasi linear trend, 317–318
 social constructivism, 320
Annaler, A., 82
*Answer to the Question: What is
 Enlightenment?*, 126
Antiquization process, 427
Antiquus Austriacus, 351
Antonio, L., 15
Appelgren, H., 144
Appelgren-Kivalo, 144
Archaeologiai Értésítő (AÉ), 275
 analysis variables, 275, 277
 distribution of, 277–278
 foreign language abstracts, 302
 multiauthored articles, 319
Archaeologia Jugoslavica, 447
Archaeological cultures, 36
*Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and
 Herzegovina*, 408
Archaeological Review, 447
Archaeological theory, 34
Archaeology of the USSR project, 248–249
Archeologické Rozhledy, 236–237

- Arevalo, M.G., 648
- Argentina
- Alfonsín's democratic government
 - archaeological research, 510
 - culture-history approach, 511
 - economic independence, 509–510
 - forensic anthropology, 510–511
 - National Institute of Indigenous Affairs, 510
 - processual approach, 511
 - University Reform of 1918, 510
 - anachronistic and racist positions, 500–501
 - archaeology and public, 494–495
 - Cámpora's government, 503–504
 - cultural heritage, 495
 - culture resource management, 495
 - De la Rúa's government, 514–515
 - dialectic materialism, 507
 - Duhalde's government, 515
 - Frondizi's democratic government, 498
 - Illía's democratic government, 501–502
 - Kirchner's government, 515–516, 518
 - liberal-conservative restoration, 498
 - Marxist ideologist, 505–507
 - military dictatorship
 - anthropology, 509
 - process of national reorganization, 508
 - young archaeologists, 509
 - Mission Ivanisevich, 508
 - national socialism, 504
 - National University of La Plata, 498, 499
 - National University of Littoral, 499–500
 - neoliberalism
 - Convertibility Law, 512
 - ethnic reemergence, 513
 - Inakayal's skeleton, restitution of, 513–514
 - indigenous people, 512–513
 - National Constitution, 513
 - post-processual developments, 512
 - Onganía's government, 502–503
 - Patagonia, 500
 - pre 1958 period
 - culture-history approach, 496–497
 - Intihuasi cave, 497–498
 - origin of humankind, 496
 - Peron's government, 497–498
 - Radical party, 496
 - theoretical approach, 498
 - Rio Cuarto Declaration, 516
 - social anthropology, 508
 - Sociedad Argentina de Antropología, 498–499
 - South American archaeological theory, 514, 517
 - structural changes, 493
 - Third National Congress, 504–505
 - University of Buenos Aires, 499
 - University of Córdoba, 500
 - XVI National Congress of Argentinean Archaeology, 517
- Arheoloski vestnik*. *See* Acta Archaeologica
- Arnaiz, P., 558
- Aschero, C., 504
- Asia and Pacific region
- Japan (*see* Japan)
 - Southeast Asia (*see* Southeast Asia)
 - Spanish Caribbean (*see* Spanish Caribbean archaeology)
- Asplund, H., 162
- Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA), 769
- Australia, 34
- Avigad, N., 477, 479
- B**
- Baatz, S., 646
- Babić, B., 422
- Baessler, A., 570
- Bahn, 291, 320, 326
- Baily, J., 527, 530
- Bakić-Hayden, M., 341
- Balewa, A.T., 506
- Balkans. *See* Southeastern Europe
- Baradère, M., 543
- Baramky, D., 481
- Bárceñas, J.G., 558
- Barnes, G.L., 687, 697
- Bartosiewicz, L., 10
- Bar-Yosef, O., 478
- Basler, Đ., 406
- Bate, F., 559, 661
- Bate, L., 507
- Batista, F., 657
- Bayer, J., 358
- Beardsley, R.K., 684
- Bégouen, C., 230
- Benac, A., 405–407
- Benja, S.K., 371
- Berent, M., 260
- Berezkin, 258
- Berseneva, N.A., 254
- Bersu, G., 64, 66
- Berthoud, H., 528–530, 533
- Bieseles, M., 779, 780
- Binford, L., 2, 316, 367, 509
- Bingham, H., 571, 592
- Bird, J.B., 575
- Bitelli, R., 355

- Bleed, P., 673
 Bloch, M., 215
 Boguszewski, A., 214
 Böhmers, 236
 Boiko, 251
 Bökönyi, S., 288, 290, 291, 294, 316
 Bolivarian socialist civilizatory process, 561–562
 Bomansson, A., 143
 Bóna, I., 291, 301, 312
 Bonavia, D., 578
 Bordes, F., 2
 Bórmida, M., 497, 499
 Bosch, J., 661
 Bosnia and Herzegovina
 archaeology and war
 archaeological curriculum, 413
 Commission, 412
 cultural heritage, 412
 Dayton Peace Agreement, 411
 discipline, 410
 genuine disaster, 411
 heritage protection, 413
 recovery process, 412
 Sarajevo *de facto*, 410
 autonomous political entity, 401
 Colonial Enterprise, Austro-Hungarian
 Politics, 402–404
 decline in new state, 405
 geographical location, 400
 historical regions, 400
 proctrate, Austro-Hungarian Empire,
 401–402
 recovery and reconciliation process, 402
 revitalization and growth
 Čović achievements, 407
 archaeological institution, 406
 Benac's domain, 406
 discipline and services, 405
 Illyrian archaeology, 409
 monumental publication, 408
 Neolithic period, 409
 Ottoman period, 409–410
 Prehistory of the Yugoslav Lands, 408
 Sarajevo, 406
 university curriculum, 407
 Boucher De Perthes, M., 226
 Boué, A., 435
 Boye, V., 85
 Braudel, F., 25, 213, 215
 Breuil, A., 25, 230
 Breunig, P., 772
 Broca, P., 229, 283, 284
 Brodar, S., 358
 Bromage, T., 776, 787
 Broodsted, J., 89
 Brookfield, H.C., 746
 Brown, C., 390
 Brüning, H., 570
 Brunšmid, J., 374, 380
 Brunou, S., 150
 1876 Budapest Congress, 284–285
 Bugge, P., 225
 Bujak, F., 215
 Bulkin, V.A., 47
 Bullock, W., 543
 Bunyatyan, E.P., 251
 Burke, P., 541
 Bursche, A., 26, 213
 Buttler, W., 66
- C**
 Cabrera, P.F., 529, 532, 534, 536
 Caesar, A., 471
 Cagle, F.R., 771
 Calderón, F.L., 648
 Cámpora, H., 503
 Capellini, 283
 Capitan, L., 230
 Cardich, A., 578
 Carli, G.R., 352
 Caron, P., 560
 Carson, M.T., 742
 Carter, J., 315
 Casas, L.F., 372
 Castrén, M.A., 142
 Castro, F., 657
 Celts civilization, 261
 Centers for Monument Protection, 185
 Central Commission for the Study and
 Protection of Historic and Art
 Monuments, 354
 Central European tradition, 180
 Cermanović-Kuzmanović, A., 393
 Cerškov, E., 436
 Chang, K.C., 31
 Chanlatte Baik, L.A., 648, 656, 657
 Chapman, J., 274, 291, 319
 Charlemagne, 350
 Chazan, M., 24
 Chiapas, 540, 544, 546
 Childe, E., 300
 Childe, V.G., 287, 291, 297, 318, 390, 396
 Child, V.G., 554, 557, 558
 Chilembwe, J., 795
 China, 31
 Choy, E., 506, 557
 Church, M., 712
 Church of Hungary, 313
 Chydenius, A., 158

- Clapperton, 818
 Clark, D., 771
 Clarke, D., 316, 509
 Clark, G., 138, 151, 651
 Clark, J.D., 786–789, 791, 799
 Cleuziou, S., 275
 Colegio Profesional de Arqueólogos del Perú (COARPE), 589–591
 Collingwood, R.G., 25
 Collis, J.R., 45, 223
 Coll y Toste, C., 644
 Colombian archaeology
 agents and agencies
 centralized government, 614–615
 Departments of Anthropology, 615
 National Ethnological Institute, 613–614
 nationalism, 613
 university programmes, anthropology, 613, 616
 AMAP
 agricultural intensification, 622
 community scale project, 621–622
 Formative period, 620
 Parque Tairona, 622
 regional scale projects, 621
 systematic methodology, 622–623
 Tierradentro Archaeological Project, 621
 University of Pittsburgh, 619–620
 Valle de la Plata project, 620
 Marxist archaeology, 625
 multivocalism, 628–629
 political shifts, 627
 post-modernist approach, 626
 San Jacinto project, 623–625
 South American archaeology, 626–627
 state archaeology, 627–628
 techniques and standardized models
 Calima culture, 617
 Drennan's project, 619
 hunter-gatherers, study of, 618
 Oaxaca project, 619
 paleobotanical analysis, 618–619
 Pro-Calima project, 617
 violence and repression, 625–626
 Conklin, H., 579
 Connah, G., 806
 Contract archaeology
 Peru, 588–589
 Puerto Rica, 654–655
 Cook, J., 732
 Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom), 295
 Coppo, P., 372
Corpus Inscriptionem Latinorum, 351
 Corroy, F., 545, 546
 Cortázar, A., 499
 Čović, B., 405–407
 Croatia
 antiquarian background
 Dalmatian scholars, 371–372
 Fortis documentation, 372–373
 Istria, 372
 Roman antiquities, 371
 traditions, 371
 geography and history, 369–371
 Mediterranean and Continental
 American/British scholars, 382
 Bronze and Iron Ages, 382
 Christian archaeology, 380
 Dalmatian, 380
 dual character, 380
 fast and stable growth, 383
 Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, 382
 private enterprises, 384
 pseudo-archaeology and pseudo-history, 383
 regional ancient history, 380
 Suić and Miočević career, 381
 origins of modern archaeology, 373–375
 after WWII (1945–1991)
 archaeological museums, 375
 Diocletian palace, 376
 employed archaeologists, 376, 378
 national archaeology, 379–380
 Paleolithic and Neolithic period, 379
 professional archaeology, 376, 377
 Roman city, 378
 Stari Grad Plain, 376, 378
 tradition and infrastructure, 375
 Croce, 25, 213
 Csippán, P., 10
 Cuban archaeology
 lack of academic programs, 657–660, 664
 Marxism, 658–659
 revolutionary government, impact of, 657–658
 Soviet influence, 659
 transculturation, 658, 665
 Cueva, A., 559
 Culin, S., 646
 Cultural Heritage Institutions, Malawi
 1957–1983
 Department of Antiquities, 788–789
 Karonga Museum, 789, 790
 Monuments Act, 788
 National Museum of Malawi, 789
 UNESCO, 788

- 1984–2009
 conservation efforts, 795
 groups of monuments, 793
 Mwimbi-2 Stone Age, 794
 Otter Point, 796
 UNDP, 792
 UNESCO, 792, 795
 Cultural Properties Protection Commission, 681
 Cultural Resource Management (CRM), 305, 741
 Cunja, R., 351
 Curtoni, P.R., 13
 Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 237
 Czechoslovakian archaeology
 Academy of Sciences, 237
 classificatory categories, 239
 Graus' article, 238
 historical and cultural interaction, 223
 Latour's actor network analysis, 223
 linguistic training, 232
 networks and communications, 225–226
 Paleolithic period, 224
 post-processual literature, 224
 publications and scholarly exchanges, 225
 quarterly journal, *Archeologické Rozhledy*, 236–237
 recognition and support network, 222
 science and research, 237
 vs. Slovak traditions, 232–233
 Soviet sphere shift, 234
 spectacular findings
 British scientific community, 227–228
 Egyptian tomb, 226–227
 German scholarly community, 228–229, 231
 mammoth bone accumulations, 231
 Moravia, 227
 School of Anthropology, 229–230
 Vistonice excavation, 230
 theoretical silence, 234–235
 Third Reich institutions of the, 235–236
 farming and commerce, 83
 provincial museums, 84
 1875–1900
 contradictory aspects, 86
 doctors and veterinarians, role of, 85
 political conflicts, 85
 provincial museums, 85
 robbing excavations, 86
 school teachers, role of, 86
 1900–1930
 culture-historical museum, 87
 folk culture, 87, 88
 1930–1960, 89–90
 1960–1975, 90–91
 archaeological development in, 79, 80
 cultural heritage and nationalism
 cultural politics, 102
 destructive nationalism, 102
 heritage management, 103, 104
 ethical and political dimensions, 104–105
 regional and local museums, 94–96
 Danneil, F., 66
 D'Antoni, H., 505
 Darwin, C., 280, 769
 Dashkovsky, P.K., 254
 Daston, 231
 Dead Sea Scrolls, 475
 de Blij, 24
 de Booy, T., 646
 de Boyrie Moya, E., 646
 de Compañón y Bufanda, B.J.M., 568
 Decorse, C.R., 816
 de Diez Canseco, M.R., 577
 Dežman, K., 353
 de Hostos, A., 646, 658, 665
 de Hostos, E.M., 645
 de Jesús, G.M., 645
 de la Peña, S., 559
 De la Rúa, F., 514, 515
 de la Torre, C., 644
 Delger, F., 392
 de Lorenzi, M., 505, 506
 De los Reyes, P., 116
 del Río, A., 526, 528, 531, 534, 536, 537, 539
 de Palenque, S.D., 527, 530
 Deppe, F., 543
 de Recasens, J., 613, 614
 Derevyanko, A.P., 248
 Derrida, 213
 Derrida, J., 123, 125, 126
Det forntida Östersverige och svenskdomen, 151–152
Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft (DFG), 771
Deutschen Palestina-Vereins, 476

D

Danish archaeology, 234

1805–1850, 92

absolutism, 81

prehistoric monuments, 81

rationalism, 82

romanticism, 81, 82

social and political movements, 83

1850–1875

bourgeoisie, 84

decentralization process, 84

Dever, A., 15
 Dever, W.G., 482, 483
 Díaz, J., 505
 Díaz, P.P., 505
 Dickens, P.J., 779
 Dickinson, W.R., 737
 Dilles, C., 392
 Dimitrijević, S., 382
 Dixey, F., 787
 Dollfus, O., 577
 Dolničar, J.G., 352
 Domínguez, L.S., 648, 657
 Dominican Republic (DR)
 lack of academic programs, 662, 664
 LASA, 661–662
 Museo del Hombre Dominicano, 661
 Taino Revival movement, 662
 Dothan, M., 478
 Dothan, T., 478
 Dreijer, M., 152
 Drennan, R. D., 615, 619–622
 Drennan's project, 619
 Duerst, U., 316
 Dumezil, 25, 213
 Dumont, A., 429
 Dupaix, M., 539, 544
 Dupaix, W., 543
 Dutch, globalization, 33, 34
 Dyggve, D.-E., 383
 Dzurgba, A., 817, 818

E

Early Slavic pottery, 358
 Eastern European archaeology, 212–214
 Eckhard, W., 570
Ecole Biblique et Archeologique Franciase, 476
 Edelfelt, A., 150
 Edward, W., 678, 683
 Egger, R., 392
 Eggers, H.-J., 67
 Ehrich, R.W., 418
 Eisenstadt, S.N., 260
 Ekhammar, H., 151
 Ekman, Y., 119
 Eliade, 213
 Elide, 25
 Empiricist tradition, 320
 Eneas Sjöstrand, C., 141
 Engel, F.A., 575, 578
 Engels, F., 288, 318, 325, 557
 Erichsen, C., 779
 Esguerra, J.C., 526, 529, 547
 Espinoza, G., 558

Etayo, D.T., 648
 Ethnoarchaeology, 55
 Ethnogenesis of Slavs, 181
 Europaeus, A., 149
 Europe
 Czechoslovakian (*see* Czechoslovakian
 archaeology)
 Danish (*see* Danish archaeology)
 Finnish archaeology (*see* Finnish
 archaeology)
 German (*see* German)
 globalization (*see* Globalization)
 Hungarian (*see* Hungarian archaeology)
 Polish archaeology (*see* Polish
 archaeology)
 Russian (Soviet) archaeology (*see* Russian
 (Soviet) archaeology)
 Southeastern Europe (*see* Southeastern
 Europe)
 Swedish archaeology and heritage
 management (*see* Sweden)
 Evans, A., 390, 429
 Evans, C., 169
 Exopolitarian political system, 261

F

Fagg, B., 805
 Falconer, 226
 Fawcett, C.P., 683
 Febvre, L., 215
 Fedorov-Davydov, G.A., 251
 Ferrer, M.R., 644, 648
 Ferrero, G., 392
 Feszty, A., 306, 310
 Fewkes, J.W., 646
 Fewster, D., 138, 163
 Feyerband, 25, 213
 Filip, J., 339, 340
 Finkelstein, E., 480, 482
 Finnish Antiquarian Society, 143
 Finnish archaeology
 Appelgren
 ethnicity, 145
 Finland's ancient hillforts, 144
 archaeological scholarship, 142
 Äyräpää's career, 150–151
 definition of, 137
 Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland, Hackman,
 146
 Ekhammar's argument, 151–152
 geographical entrenchment, 138
 internationalism, 139
 legislation development, 138

- national and international aspects, 163–169
 nationalism, 8, 138
 Nordman's research, 150
 origin of, 138–139
 Pälsi's excavations, 149
 postwar developments, 152–157
 Rinne's excavations, 149–150
 Russo-Swedish war, 142
 Schvindt's excavations, 145–146
 socioeconomic structure
 administration, role of, 158
 cataloguing ancient monuments, 158
 democratization education, 160
 Fennomania, 158–159
 jobs availability, archaeologists, 161
 professionalization, 158
 social differentiation, 160
 value, concept of, 160
 Tallgren
 archaeological culture, 148
 Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nordund Ostrussland 1, 147
 Oman itsensä kanssa painiskeleva muinaistiede, 148
 17th century-Johan Reinhold Aspelin
 ancient monuments, 140
 archaeological excavations, 143
 Asplin, history of, 144
 culture and identity, 142
 European politics, 140
 Finno-Ugric languages, 142
 Porthan, history of, 140–141
 prehistoric tools, 142
 Visions of Past Glory, Fewster, 147
 Finno-Ugric etymology, 282, 284
 Firth, R., 733
 Flannery, K.V., 509, 619, 624
 Flores, A., 558
 Fock, G.J., 770
 Folorunso, C.A., 19
 Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) of Macedonia
 autonomous administrative unit, 415
 demographic changes, 414
 establishment of national archaeology
 developmental blows
 and quantity, 423, 424
 developmental process, 420
 economic and political conditions, 426
 Garasanin excavations, 421
 institutions, 419
 international projects, 424
 Koco's major scientific efforts, 421–422
 Medieval, 422
 Neolithic period, 426
 production of publications, 423
 regional and local museums, 420
 Skopje, 424, 425
 Slavic archaeology, 425–426
 Heraclea Lyncestis, 418
 interpretative models, 419
 landlocked country, 414
 Macedonian question, 427
 morphological condition, 414
 nation-making process, 415, 416
 Ottoman Empire, 415
 Stobi site, 417–418
 Vardar Macedonia, 416–417
 Vulić research, 418
 western travelers publication, 417
 Fornaris y Luque, J., 645
 Fortis, A., 372
 Foucault, M., 126, 213
 France, globalization, 34
 Franks, 283
 Freud, 500
 Freund, 236
 Friedman, 218
 Fritot, R.H., 646
 Frobenius, L., 805, 814
 Frondizi, A., 498, 500, 501
 Fujimori, A., 594
 Fujimoto, T., 696
 Funari, P.P.A., 625
 Furtwängler, A., 389

G
 Gabino La Rosa, 648, 657
 Gabrovec, S., 360, 363, 366
 Galindo, J., 543–546
 Galison, 231
 Gándara, M., 559
 Garašanin, D., 391, 432, 436
 Garašanin, M., 391, 393, 396, 397, 421, 432, 436
 Garbulsky, E., 505
 Garcia, A., 594
 García, J.G., 644
 Garstang, J., 472
 Gauls civilization. *See* Celts civilization
 Gavela, B., 393
 Gavrilyuk, N.A., 252
 Gegeo, D.W., 732, 743
 Gellner, E., 259
 Gening, V.F., 251
 German archaeology, 6–7

- Germany
- academic archaeology, structure of
 - aegean and classical archaeology, 54
 - ethnoarchaeology, 55
 - experimentation process, 56
 - historical and medieval archaeology, 55
 - scientific methods, 56
 - future proposals, 72
 - globalization, 30
 - prehistoric archaeology
 - after 1945, 65–66
 - archaeological landscape, 70
 - cognitive identity, 58–59
 - commercial products, 71
 - consolidation and new perspectives, 63
 - historical identity, 60–61
 - historical perspectives, 66–67
 - museums and exhibitions, 70
 - predominately national science, 63–65
 - professional archaeology, 69
 - public archaeologists, 69, 70
 - romantic nationalism, 61, 62
 - social identity, 59–60
 - tradition and innovation, 67–69
 - theoretical orientation, 56–57
- Giddens, A., 611
- Gifford, E.W., 733
- Gimbutas, M., 138, 424
- Glišić, J., 436
- Globalization
- archaeological countries
 - Arabia, 32
 - Australia, 34
 - China, 31
 - Dutch, 33, 34
 - France, 34
 - India and Israel, 33
 - Japan, 32, 33
 - Mexico, 31, 32
 - Poland, 36
 - Scandinavia, 34
 - Soviet, 33
 - archaeological data, 30
 - archaeological traditions, 30
 - cultural heritage, 23
 - geoculture
 - advance technology, 40, 41
 - cultural homogenization, 40
 - multilateralism, 42
 - world-economy, 37
 - world-system approach, 37, 38
 - German-devised culture-history, 30
 - intellectual tradition, 25–27
 - less oppressive regimes, 31
 - political stress, 29–30
 - socioeconomic constraints, 27–29
 - theoretical schools, 24
- Glock, A., 481
- Glover, I., 3
- Glumac, D., 393
- Glyn, 31
- Gnecco, C., 626, 628
- Godelier, 218
- Golden ore
 - Corroy's letter, 545
 - Lord Kingsborough's volume, 543
 - "Mexican antiquities," 545
 - Mexican mining shares, 542
 - popularization, 543
 - Tower of Palenque, 543, 544
- Goldsworthy, V., 341
- Gollán, J.P., 508, 511
- González, A.R., 497, 498, 500, 501, 503, 505, 508, 511
- González, L., 558
- Goodwin, J., 805
- Gordijew, P., 45
- Gorjanović-Kramberger, D., 374, 375
- Gottwald, 237
- Goulash communism
 - Brezhnev doctrine, 289–290
 - diachronic microregional survey, 292–293
 - History of Transylvania, 292
 - Hungarian ethnogenesis, 290
 - monograph publication, 291
 - Prague Spring, 289
 - protohistoric archaeology, 291–292
 - western research, 290–291
- Gowland, W., 676, 677
- Graebner, F., 67
- Grafenauer, B., 397
- Grakov, B.N., 250
- Gramsci, 25, 213
- Graus, F., 237, 238
- Grbić, M., 421
- Greek *poleis*, 258–259
- Greenfeld, L., 139
- Greis, G.P., 355
- Gretzer, W., 570
- Grewal, 24
- Gryaznov, M.P., 250, 251
- Grynaeus, A., 319
- Guarch Delmonte, J.M., 648
- Guenard, J.L.M., 644
- Guido, J.M., 501
- Gummel, H., 61
- Gûor, P., 515

Guridi, J.A., 645
 Guston, D.H., 24

H

Habermas, 25, 213
 Habu, J., 683, 685
 Hackman, A., 146, 147, 153, 159, 160, 166
 Haithabu, 64, 66, 70
 Hakuseki, A., 674
 Hale, H., 732
 Halinen, P., 161
 Hammond, A., 341
Handbook for Contract Archaeology, 127
 Hanihara, K., 696
 Haraway, D., 130
 Harding, A., 443
 Harrington, M.R., 646
 Hartmann, P., 534
 Haúofa, E., 734, 742
 Hayashi, K., 685
 Hayden, R.M., 341
 Hegardt, J., 7
 Hegel, 25, 213
 Heidegger, M., 130
 Heinrich, J., 533
 Held, D., 24
 Heredia, O., 505, 507, 508
 Hermannsdenkmal, 62
 Herod, 469, 471
 Herrera de Turbay, L.F., 618
 Herrera, L., 612
 Heurtley, W.A., 419
 Hewkes, J.V., 418
 Higuera, A., 588
 Hildebrand, B.E., 113, 283
 Hildebrand, H., 113
 History of Transylvania, 292
 Hodder, I., 3, 213, 217, 218, 273, 300, 314, 325
 Hoernes, M., 403
 Hoffiler, V., 357, 374, 380
 Hoffman, M.A., 676
 Holtorf, C., 71
 Hominid Corridor Research Project (HCRP), 787
 Hooks, B., 120
 Hortobágy National Park, 310
 Hoyle, R.L., 573, 574
 Huehuetlapallan/American Babylon
 antiquarianism, 541, 542
 “Antiquities of Mexico,” 541
 Aztecs origin, 537
 Berthoud’s publication, 533–534

Chinese manuscripts, 540
 German translation, 534, 537
 historical and antiquarian research, 541–542
 Humboldt’s opinion, 534–535
 Lord Kingsborough’s volume, 539–540
 Minutolis’ essay, 538
 Minutolis’ suggestion, 538
 Moreau, 537–538
 new documentation, 539–540
 Society demand, 539
 Tower of Huehuetlapallan, 534, 535
 Tower of Palenque, 534, 536
 Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS)
 Archaeological Institute (AI)/HAS tasks
 diachronic microregional survey, 292
 tasks of, 294
 autonomous, 288
 “History of Transylvania” publication, 292
 Soviet style network, 293
 Hungarian archaeology
 AE
 analysis variables, 275, 277
 distribution of, 277–278
 Anglo-American model
 communication forms, 322–323
 dendrochronology, 320
 foreign language abstracts, 317
 Hungarian processualism, 319
 IT applications, 320–321
 linguistic definition, 316
 local academic culture, 315–316
 long chronology, 318–319
 Marxist social theory, 318
 permeated texts, 316
 quasi linear trend, 317–318
 social constructivism, 320
 centralized political control, 279
 culture-history approach, 279
 early decades
 Austro-Hungarian compromise, 280–282
 1876 Budapest Congress, 284–285
 equestrian burials, 280
 Father of Hungarian Archaeology, 280–281
 Finno-Ugric etymology, 282, 284
 Habsburg Empire, 280
 International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, 282–283
 Jesuit University, 280
 Ugric-Turkic war, 283–284
 external colonial influences
 historical reasoning and material studies, 301

- Hungarian archaeology (*cont.*)
- Indo-European origins, 299
 - Kossina's approach, 300
 - Marxist-Leninist theory, 300
 - pan-Slavic surge, 301–302
 - Third Jewish Law, 300
- globalized free market
- “archaeologist” legal definition, 304
 - CRM, 305
 - economy funding, 302
 - employment forms, 304
 - gender archaeology, 305–307
 - motorway rescue excavations, 303
 - preventive excavations, 302–303
 - test trenching, 303
- Goulash communism
- Brezhnev doctrine, 289–290
 - diachronic microregional survey, 292–293
 - History of Transylvania, 292
 - Hungarian ethnogenesis, 290
 - monograph publication, 291
 - Prague Spring, 289
 - protohistoric archaeology, 291–292
 - western research, 290–291
- ideological issues
- bourgeois discipline, 308
 - Imre Nagy exhumation, 308
 - renewed national enthusiasm, 309
- populist archaeology
- academic work, 312
 - Church of Hungary, 313
 - dual conquest, 311
 - Hungarian conquest, 309–310
 - nationalistic ideology, 313–314
 - Pandora's box, 311–312
 - panoramic painting, 310
 - physical anthropology, 314
 - prehistoric park, 310–311
 - public libraries, 312–313
 - Sumerian descent, 313
- research subdivisions, 279
- socialism
- autonomous HAS, 288
 - educational reform, 288
 - field surveys and sampling, 289
 - Soviet model, 287–288
- status quo
- aerial photography, 294–295
 - AI/HAS tasks, 294
 - Archaeological Topography, 294
 - CoCom, 295
 - Field Service for Cultural Heritage, 296
 - medieval manor house excavations, 297
 - Museum Law, 295
 - Soviet style HAS network, 293
- SWOT aspects, 273–274
- topographic regions, 276
- traditional Hungarian model, 298–299
- between world wars
- Körös culture, 287
 - laws and roles of a typological sequence, 286
 - putative national ancestors, 286–287
 - Treaty of Trianon, 285
 - uniformitarianism, 287
- Hunter-gatherer societies, 259
- Hurt, W.R., 618
- Husseini, 481
- Hutchinson, T.J., 568
- Hyde, C., 390, 394
- I**
- Iishima, I., 677
- Ikawa-Smith, F., 32, 33
- Illia, A., 501
- Illig, H., 313
- Imbelloni, J., 496, 497, 503
- Imbert, R., 644
- Immonen, V., 7
- India, globalization, 33
- Inductive reasoning, 290
- International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, 645
- International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, 282–283
- Irby, I.P., 435
- Irwin, G., 737
- Isaac, G., 791
- Islamic period
- Crusader period, 470
 - Early Arab period, 470
 - Mamluk period, 470–471
 - Ottoman period, 471
- Israel and Palestine
- archaeological timeline, 463, 464
 - Byzantine period, 470
 - Chalcolithic period, 467
 - Early Bronze Age, 467
 - Early Iron Age, 468
 - Early Roman Period, 469
 - Hellenistic period, 469
 - Herodion site, 480
 - independence, 1967 war, 478–479
 - Islamic period
 - Crusader period, 470
 - Early Arab period, 470

- Mamluk period, 470–471
 - Ottoman period, 471
 - Jewish kingdoms, 481
 - Jewish quarter, 479
 - Late Bronze Age, 468
 - Later Roman Period, 469–470
 - Mandate years, 476–477
 - Mazar's work and excavations, 479
 - method and theory
 - American scholars, 482
 - biblical archaeology, 482, 483
 - Glueck's survey, 482
 - Kenyon's work, 482
 - local character, 481
 - Syro-Palestinian, 483
 - Middle Bronze Age, 467–468
 - Neolithic period, 466–467
 - Paleolithic period, 464–465
 - Persian period, 468–469
 - premandate, 475–476
 - principal sites
 - Ashkelon, 472
 - Caesaria Maritima, 471
 - Dor, 472
 - Gezer, 472
 - Jericho, 474
 - Masada, 473
 - Qumran, 475
 - Rehov, 474
 - Tel Dan, 473
 - Tel Hazor, 473
 - Tel Megiddo, 473–474
 - Shiloh's excavations, 480
 - West Bank, 480, 481
- J**
- Jacana project, 655
 - Jackson, J.B.C., 745
 - Jacob-Friesen, K.-H., 67
 - Jahnkuhn, H., 147
 - Janik, L., 197
 - Jankuhn, H., 64, 67
 - Japan
 - globalization, 32, 33
 - Meiji restoration
 - cultural heritage, preservation of, 677–678
 - Euro-American archaeology, 676–677
 - humanities, 679–681
 - prehistoric research, 678–679
 - Tokugawa Era
 - almost archaeology, 673
 - antiquarianism, 676
 - Imperial burial grounds, 675
 - Kokugaku* school, 674
 - Neo-Confucianism, 674
 - periodization of, 675
 - scientific archaeology, 674
 - twenty-first century
 - early palaeolithic scandal, 694
 - globalized world, 695–697
 - public archaeology, privatization of, 694–695
 - World War II, end of
 - archaeological community, organization of, 688–693
 - history of Japan, rewriting, 681–684
 - international community, reopening, 684–686
 - public archaeology, expansion of, 687–688
 - Jesuit University, 280
 - Jiménez, E., 644
 - Johnson, G.R., 574
 - Jones, I., 372
 - Jordanova, L., 168
 - Jós, B., 313
 - Joseph, F., 355
 - Jovanović, B., 436
 - Joyce, R., 627, 628
 - Juarros y Montúfar, D., 527, 529
 - Jukić, I.F., 403
 - Juopperi, T., 161
 - Juwayeyi, Y.M., 18
- K**
- Kafka, F., 228
 - Kaiser Wilhelm II, 355
 - Kalinga, O.J.M., 783
 - Kallay, B., 403
 - Kallen, A., 7
 - Kamali, M., 116, 129
 - Kanitz, F., 387
 - Karsten, T.E., 151
 - Kastelic, J., 360, 362, 421
 - Katančič, M.P., 373
 - Katel, M., 393
 - Kaulicke, P., 589, 592
 - Kázmér, M., 319
 - Keally, C.T., 685
 - Keisuke, I., 676
 - Kelner, S., 479
 - Kennett, D., 737
 - Kerényi, K., 392
 - Khazanov, A.M., 252, 257
 - Kidder, J.E., 684

- King, E., 539, 540
 Kingsborough, V., 544
 King, T.F., 747
 Kirchner, N., 515, 516, 518
 Kirch, P.V., 733, 740, 745
 Kiselev, S.V., 250
 Kissinger, H., 559
 Kiszely, I., 312, 314
 Kivikosk, E., 153
 Klejn, L.S., 10, 24, 243, 245
 Klemenc, J., 361, 362
 Kmita, J., 25, 200, 213
 Kobayashi, Y., 683
 Kobylinski, Z., 200, 201
 Koco, D., 421, 422
 Koike, H., 679
 Kolakowski, 25, 213
 Kollmann, J., 308
 Kopernicky, 283
 Korn, 770
 Körös culture, 287
 Korotayev, A.V., 258, 259
 Korošec, J., 360–362, 396, 405, 421
 Koryakova, L.N., 257
 Kosinna, 235
 Kosok, P., 575
 Kossina, G., 6
 Kossina syndrome, 181
 Kossinna, G., 60, 63, 64, 67, 147
 Kovačević, J., 393, 397
 Kozłowski, J.K., 659
 Kradin, N.N., 10, 243, 254
 Krapovickas, 502
 Krapovickas, P., 505
 Kraus, B.S., 684
 Kretschmer, P., 392
 Kristiansen, K., 7, 46
 Kroeber, A.L., 571, 575, 576
 Kršnjavi, I., 373
 Kruschek, M.H., 622
 Krzywicki, L., 213, 217
 Kühn, H., 147, 213
 Kumpéi, G., 674–675
- L**
 Lafón, C.R., 499, 500, 504, 506, 508
 Lahtov, V., 421, 422
 Lambrecht, 311
 Lander, J., 818
 Langebaeck, C.H., 613, 621
 Lanning, E., 575
 Lanusse, 502
 László, G., 287, 290, 311, 320
 Laszlovszky, 279
 Lathrap, D.W., 582
 Latin American social archaeology
 colonizedneo-colonized people, rebellion
 of, 555
 dialectic materialism, 556
 historical materialism, 556
 La Arqueología como Ciencia Social, 557
 Marxism, 554–555
 objective, 563
 Old Formations and Venezuelan Modes of
 Production, 557
 positivist archaeology, 555
 post-modern philosophical discourse, 555
 pre-capitalist modes of production, 556
 revolutionary process
 Bolivia and Ecuador, 561–562
 bourgeois, 562–563
 Venezuela, 561, 562
 theoretical discussion groups
 Isla de Vieques, 560
 Oaxtepec group, 558–559
 regional studies group, 560
 research projects, 560–561
 Teotihuacan meeting, 558
 Latin American social archaeology (LASA),
 14, 661–662
 Latour's actor network analysis, 223
 Lavallée, D., 623
 Lavento, 167
 Leakey, M., 786
 Lech, 211
 Lenssen-Erz, T., 772
 Leroi-Gourhan, 25
 Le Roy, J.D., 372
 Levingston, 502
 Levi-Strauss, 25, 213
 Liberation process, 428
 Lindenschmidt, L., 61
 Linhart, A.T., 352, 353
 Ljubić, S., 373
 Llenas, A., 644
 Local archaeology
 Argentina, 13
 Caribbean archaeology, 15–16
 Colombia, 15
 Czechoslovakia, 9–10
 Finland, 8
 geographical areas, 5
 Germany, 6–7
 goals and scope
 appropriate theory, 1
 Europe, 2
 personal observations, 2

- published works, 3
 - theoretical schools, 1–2
 - Hungary, 10–11
 - Israel, 12–13
 - Japan, 16–17
 - Latin American social archaeology, 14
 - Palenque, 14
 - Palestinian Authority, 12–13
 - Peru, 14–15
 - Poland, 8–9
 - Russia, 10
 - South Africa
 - Malawi, 19 (*see also* Malawi)
 - Namibia, 18
 - Nigeria, 19
 - Southeast Asia, 17
 - Southeastern Europe, 12 (*see also* Southeastern Europe)
 - structure and method
 - comparative method, 4
 - field, 5
 - historical aspect, 4
 - knowledge, 5
 - theory and methodology, 4
 - Sweden, 7–8
 - world-system model, 5–6
 - Ložar, R., 358, 359
 - López, A., 558
 - Lopez, C., 623
 - Lorandi, A.M., 502, 505
 - Lorenzo, J.L., 31, 504, 568, 625
 - Lothrop, S.K., 572
 - Louis, 786
 - Loven, S., 646
 - Lowenthal, D., 617
 - Lozny, L.R., 5, 315
 - Lucić, I., 371
 - Lumbreras, L.G., 557–559, 580, 583–586, 625, 661
- M**
- Machida, H., 678
 - MacKenzie, G.M., 435
 - Mac Quay, 528, 530
 - Madrazo, G., 502
 - Madsen, T., 234
 - Maggiolo, M.V., 559, 648
 - Mahr, A., 147
 - Makhoul, 481
 - Malawi
 - archaeologists and museum curators, 790–791
 - colonial period, 784
 - Cultural Heritage Institutions
 - conservation efforts, 795
 - Department of Antiquities, 788–789
 - groups of monuments, 793
 - Karonga Museum, 789, 790
 - Mankhamba Iron Age, 793
 - Monuments Act, 788
 - Mwimbi-2 Stone Age, 794
 - National Museum of Malawi, 789
 - Otter Point, 796
 - UNDP, 792
 - UNESCO, 788, 792
 - Government Civil Service, 797–799
 - HCRP, 787
 - hominid research, 786
 - Homo sapiens rhodesiensis*, 785
 - indigenous people, 785
 - Lower Pleistocene deposits, 787
 - oral traditions, 784
 - Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 786
 - Taung Child, 785–786
 - Malina, J., 2
 - Malinowski, B., 733
 - Mandić, M., 405
 - Mankhamba Iron Age, 793
 - Mante, G., 235, 236
 - Marchesetti, C., 355, 356
 - Marciniak, A., 8, 196, 202
 - Marek, J., 285
 - María, G.T., 648
 - Mariátegui, J.C., 573
 - Marić, R., 392
 - Marič, Z., 405, 406
 - Marr, N., 147
 - Martin, 770
 - Marulić, M., 371
 - Marwan, A.-M., 470
 - Marxist-Leninist theory, 300
 - Marxist paradigm, Polish
 - Abramowicz explanation, 216
 - historical materialism, 216
 - Szacki view, 217
 - Tabaczynski demonstration, 215–216
 - Marxist social theory, 318
 - Marx, K., 25, 213, 325, 500, 557
 - Masry, A.H., 32
 - Masson, V.M., 249, 250
 - Matos, E., 625
 - Matveeva, N.P., 253, 254
 - Mauch, C., 785
 - Mazar, A., 478
 - Mazar, E., 480
 - McCullough, D., 655
 - Medvedev, A.P., 253

- Meggers, B., 560
- Meiji restoration
- cultural heritage, preservation of
 - ancient tombs, 677
 - artefact-oriented approach, 678
 - Imperial museum, 677
 - Euro-American archaeology
 - dolmens, 677
 - ethnic identities, 676
 - Jomon, 677
 - prehistoric remains, 676
 - humanities
 - prehistoric and proto-historic sites, 679
 - settlement archaeology, 681
 - socio-political climate, 680
 - stratigraphy and methodology, 680
 - Tsuron Kokogaku*, 679
 - prehistoric research, 678, 679
- Meinander, 154
- Menem, C., 511
- Menghin, O., 11, 67, 497, 499, 501
- Mérai, D., 10
- Meriño, A., 644
- Merleau-Ponty, M., 130
- Mesoamerican civilizations, 537, 545
- Metcalfe, M., 786
- Metraux, A., 496
- Mexico, globalization, 31, 32
- Meyer, J.W., 37, 39, 42
- Meyers, J.L., 389–390
- Milisauskas, S., 234, 279, 293, 304, 307
- Milleker, F., 388
- Milne, J., 676
- Milojčić, V., 66, 382
- Miošević, D.R., 380, 381
- Miranda, M., 498, 499
- Misawa, A., 681
- Moberg, C.-A., 34
- Moctezuma, E.M., 558
- Mommsen, T., 60, 429
- Montané, J., 558, 625
- Montané, L., 644
- Montelius, O., 113, 148
- Monuments and Relics Act, 798
- Moravia, 226–227
- Moreau, C., 537
- Morgan, L.H., 318, 557
- Morris, C., 579
- Morse, E.S., 676–678
- Moseley, M.E., 575, 576, 578
- Moshin, V., 392
- Moure, R.D., 648
- Movius, H., 709
- Moya, F.P., 646
- Müller, S., 85, 86, 148
- Munich Agreement, 235
- Muñoz, J.B., 528
- Munro, R., 429
- Murra, J., 504, 506
- Murra, J.V., 578, 579
- Murray, K., 805
- Museum Law, 295
- Museums Association of Namibia (MAN), 775
- Musicki, L., 387
- Muslimized Croats, 409–410
- Muslimized Serbs, 409–410
- N**
- Namibia
- stone tools, 770
 - White Lady, Brandberg
 - archaeological discoveries, 773
 - plant remains, preservation of, 772
 - professional excavations, 771
 - rock paintings, 772
 - tourist attraction, 773
- Nápoles Fajardo, J.C., 645
- Nassar, 481
- National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM), 807–809
- National Council of Scientific and Technical Investigations (CONICET)
- Alfonsín's democratic government, 510
 - scholarships and tenured research position, 516
- National Ethnological Institute, 613–614
- National Heritage Board, 127
- NCMM. *See* National Commission for Museums and Monuments
- Ndera, J.D., 818
- Near East archaeology, 55, 291
- Near Oceania, 734–736
- Neo-Taino movement, 662, 663
- Nestupny, 233, 234
- Netzer, E., 480
- Neusykhin, A.I. 257
- Nielsen, M., 150
- Nigeria
- Antiquities Bill, 806
 - archaeological practice, 806–807
 - Benue valley, 820
 - ethnoarchaeological studies, 818–819
 - historical studies
 - Baptist Mission, 818
 - oral traditions, 816
 - Oyo Ile, 818
 - Tiv's migration, 817–818

- Kainji Dam, 806
 Nigerian universities, 811–814
 scientific excavations, 805
 structure
 destruction of archaeological sites, 809
 field schools, 809
 NCMM, 807–808
 tourism, 808–809
 theories and methods
 cultural developments, 815
 Geo-archaeology Laboratory, 816
 “Hamitic Hypothesis,” 814
 Ibadan school, 815
 isolation and chronology, 815
 Palynology Laboratory, 816
 western theories, 814
 Nilsson, M., 392
 Nilsson, S., 110–113, 118, 123, 132
 Nixon, R., 559
 Nordman, C.A., 143, 149–151
 Norinaga, M., 674
 Normative paradigm, 648
 Novakovic, P., 12
 Novakovi, P., 339–450
 Nowak, 25, 213
 Núñez, L., 504, 506, 558
 Nyerup, P., 80
- O**
- Oaxaca project, 619
 Oehlschläger, A., 81
 Okita, M., 697
 Oldtid, D., 92
 Oliver, J.R., 648
 Ongania, J.C., 501, 502
 Orbini, M., 372
 Orfelin, Z., 387
 Orquera, 506
 Orrman, E., 152
 Ortiz, F., 658, 660, 665
 Osgood, C., 646, 649
 Ostrogorski, G., 392
 Otto, K.-H., 65
- P**
- Pacific Islands
 academic antecedents
 cultural evolution, 734
 ethnographic data, 732
 financial resources, 735
 Lapita, 734
 Micronesia, 734
 orthographies, 732
 Polynesians, 732
 pottery styles, 733
 radiocarbon dating, 733
 archaeological heritage management
 collaborative work, 742
 CRM, 741
 cultural maintenance, 742
 historic preservation legislation, 741
 intellectual property rights, 743
 local preservation initiatives, 742
 oral traditions, 743
 Western preservation, 742
 biological communities, 744
 environmental research, 746
 global-change/sustainability
 archaeology, 743
 insular communities, 731
 local communities, 747
 long-term planning, 744
 marine and terrestrial ecosystems, 744
 material culture and skills, 746
 overfishing, 745
 pre-contact history, 731
 theoretical and methodological concerns
 Eastern Polynesia, settlement of,
 737–738
 historical ecology, 739–740
 laboratories, 738–739
 Lapita culture, 735–737
 traditional ecological knowledge, 745
 Palavecino, E., 499
 Palenque ruins
 American antiquity, 525
 golden ore
 Corroy’s letter, 545
 Lord Kingsborough’s volume, 543
 “Mexican antiquities,” 545
 Mexican mining shares, 542
 popularization, 543
 Tower of Palenque, 543, 544
 Huehuetlapallan/American Babylon
 antiquarianism, 541, 542
 “Antiquities of Mexico,” 541
 Aztecs origin, 537
 Berthoud’s publication, 533–534
 Chinese manuscripts, 540
 German translation, 534, 537
 historical and antiquarian research,
 541–542
 Humboldt’s opinion, 534–535
 Lord Kingsborough’s volume, 539–540
 Minutolis’ essay, 538
 Minutoli’s suggestion, 538

- Palenque ruins (*cont.*)
 Moreau, 537–538
 new documentation, 539–540
 Society demand, 539
 Tower of Huehuetlapallan, 534, 535
 Tower of Palenque, 534, 536
 London itineraries, manuscript, 525–526
 nameless city
 Berthoud's work, 529–530
 Cabrera's ideas, 532
 fragments, 528
 Guatemala, 527
 Hieroglyphs and Historiography, 533
 Holland House, 531
 London journals, 531–532
 London translation, Juarros' book,
 527–528
 remote witnessing, 530
 Spanish America, 527
 Spanish colonial archives, 529
 "tertulias," 529
 Palestinian archaeology, 12–13
 Palladio, A., 372
 Pálsí, S., 149
 Pantić, J., 388
 Parker-Pearson, M., 256, 597
 Parsons, J.R., 619
 Pastoral nomads, 261–262
 Patsch, C., 392
 Patterson, T.C., 3, 575
 Pavlenko, Yu.V., 257
 Paz, V., 717
 Pazyryk culture, 254
 Peace Preservation Act, 683
 Peasant societies, 260
 Penck, A., 405
 People's Republic of Poland, 182
 Pérez, J.J., 645
 Perón, J., 497, 503, 508
 Perrot, 478
 Peruvian and Central Andean archaeology
 aerial survey and photographic documenta-
 tion, 574–575
 amateur and nascent archaeologists, 570–571
 bioarchaeology, 597
 COARPE, 589–591
 Colonial documents, 568
 conservation archaeology, 593
 contract archaeology projects, 588–589
 Cuzco, 579–580
 data hoarding and publication, 595
 dissemination of information, 596
 ethnohistorical study, 577–579
 foreign projects, 591–592
 funding structure, 581, 582, 594–595
 German antiquarian and archaeological
 scholarship, 570
 gravelot analysis, 571
 improvement of analysis, 596
 Inka sites, 571–572
 insularity, 596
 Lumbreras' evolutionary approach
 chronological scheme, 584–585
 classificatory criteria, 586–587
 Marxian archaeology, 583–584
 programmatic proposal, 585
 Theory of Observation, 585–586
 marine resources, 576
 Marxian social archaeology, 583
 National Institute of Culture (INC),
 590–591
 north coast archaeology, 573–574
 paleoenvironmental reconstruction,
 577–578
 pan-Peruvian stylistic chronology, 569
 Peruvian–Peruvianist relationship,
 591–592
 political violence era, 587
 postpolitical violence era, 587–588
 preceramic archaeology, 575
 pre-Inka culture, 568
 pre-Inkaic innovations and institutions,
 580–581
 private sector management, 594
 Register of Professional Archaeologists,
 589–590
 settlement pattern survey, 576–577
 single-site and regional approach, 597
 site museums, 594
 stylistic-iconographic analysis, 571
 tourism, 593–594
 Uhle's chronology, 569–570
 verticality model, 579–580
 Virú Valley Project, 575
 Petersen, F.B., 558, 559
 Petrie, F., 12, 148
 Petrie's work, 475–476
 Petrie, W.M.F., 475
 Petru, P., 363
 Piccard, C., 392
 Piggott, S., 320
 Pigorini, 283
 Pimentel, J., 530
 Pineda, F., 573, 576
 Piranesi, G., 372
 Poey, A., 644
 Polanco, H.D., 559
 Poland, globalization, 36

- Polish archaeology
 Bronze Age, 205
 characteristics, 180
 culture-history approach, 181
 Eastern European archaeology, 212–214
 ethnogenesis of Slavs, 181
 globalization and democratization, 191–192
 Iron Age, 206
 Kossina syndrome, 181
 La Tene and Roman Period, 207
 Marxist paradigm
 Abramowicz explanation, 216
 historical materialism, 216
 Szacki view, 217
 Tabaczynski demonstration, 215–216
 material culture approach, 214–215
 Mediterranean region, 210
 Middle Ages, 208
 modern times, 209
 Neolithic period, 204
 People's Republic of Poland, 182
 political history
 after social revolution, 202
 formative period 1945–1956, 198–199
 golden years 1970–1989/1990, 200–201
 graduates by specialization, 197–198
 search for identity 1956–1970, 199–200
 social laboratory, 196–197
 in post-1989 period (*see* Post-1989 period)
 post-WWII, 9
 research funding, 211–212
 Soviet political and economic
 domination, 181
 status quo, 1994, 211
 Stone Age, 203
 Politis, G., 13, 625
 Polosmak, N.V., 254
 Pontoppidan, O., 97
 Popper, 213
 Porthan, H.G., 140
 Posnansky, M., 816
 Post-1989 period
 academic archaeology
 Anglo-Saxon perspective, 187
 English language use, 183–184
 German legacy, 188
 globalization, 187
 origin of Slavs, 188
 state sponsorship, 183
 university departments, 183
 Vilfredo Pareto trap, 187
 heritage and public outreach
 Centers for Monument Protection, 185
 commercialization, 191
 Protection of Monuments and the
 Stewardship of Monuments Act, 189
 rescue archaeology, 189–190
 rescue excavations, 184–185
 Targowisko site, 185
 1996 Valetta Convention, 184
 vocational skill development, 191
 Zagórze site, 186
 Prague Spring, 289
 Praschniker, C., 430
 Preceramic archaeology, 575
 Pred, A., 118, 120
Pre-feudal society, 257
 Premerstein, A., 355
 Pre-pottery Neolithic A (PPNA), 466
 Pre-pottery Neolithic B (PPNB), 466
 Prestwich, J., 226
 Pribojevi, V., 371–372
 Pro-Calima project, 617
 Protection of Monuments and the Stewardship
 of Monuments Act, 189
 Province of Chiapas, 527, 528
 Pseudoarchaeology, 648
 Puerto Rican archaeology
 archaeological parks, 653–654
 conservation laws, 654–655
 consulting archaeology, 655–656
 contract archaeology, 654–655
 Jacana project, 655
 lack of academic programs, 656, 664
 La Hueca culture, 656–657
 national identity, 653
 Río Tanamá project, 655
 Rouse's model, 656–657
 Pulszky, F., 282, 284
 Pumpelly, R., 316
- Q**
 Quevedo, S.L., 496
- R**
 Radical modernization process, 403
 Ramos, R.R., 648
 Ranere, A., 623
 Rangeley, W.H.J., 783
 Register of Professional Archaeologists
 (RPA), 589–590
 Regueiro, V.N., 502, 505, 507, 508, 510
 Reichel-Dolmatoff, G., 614, 615
 Reiche, M., 575
 Reinach, S., 230
 Reinecke, P., 66

- Reinerth, H., 64
 Reiss, W., 568, 570
 Remote Oceania, 735, 736, 739
 Renfrew, C., 31, 56, 291, 320, 326
Revue Anthropologique, 230
 Rey, E., 658
 Richard, 786
 Richter, J., 772
 Rimoli, R., 648
 Ringold, D., 29
 Rinkeby Horse, 119
 Rinne, J., 150
 Rio Cuarto Declaration, 516
 Río Tanamá project, 655
 Rivet, P., 613, 614
 Robinson, K.R., 786, 796
 Rojas, R.V., 648
 Roman *polis*, 260
 Rómer, F., 280–282
 Rorty, R., 27
 Rosas, C.M., 515
 Rostovceff, M., 392
 Rouse, I.B., 646, 647, 649–652, 654, 656, 657, 662, 665
 Rovinski, P.A., 429
 Rowe, J.H., 571, 578, 579, 584
Rrafshi i Dukagjinit, 434
Rrafshi i Kosovës, 434
 Rudenko, S.I., 250
 Rudwick, M.J.S., 541
 Runeberg, J.L., 150
 Russian (Soviet) archaeology
 complexity and state origin
 agrarian epoch, 259
 Celts civilization, 261
 Greek *poleis*, 258–259
 hunter-gatherer societies, 259
 military democracy, 256–257
 pastoral nomads, 261–262
 peasant societies, 260
 pre-feudal society, 257
 Roman *polis*, 260
 Sintashta and Arkaim proto-urban cultures, 257
 unilinear evolutionism, 258
 vozdestvo, 257
 history and structure
 academic degrees, 245
 aphorism of Artsikhovskiy, 245
 Archaeology of the USSR project, 248–249
 Communist Party, 244–245
 congresses of the archaeologists, 248
 cultural heritage protection centers, 246
 far east Paleolithic sites, 249
 “gray” literature, 247
 infrastructural investments, 248
 institution structure, 246
 number of archaeologists, 245–246
 origin of archaeology, 244
 predatory excavations, 247–248
 scientific communication network, 247
 Iron Curtain, 243
 social archaeology and rank inequality
 crisis in history, 252
 descriptive archaeology, 251
 Don River basin, 253
 Economy and social structure of ancient societies, 249–250
 mortuary rites examination, 252
 Pazyryk culture, 254
 postprocessual critics, 255–256
 processual studies, 250
 Sargat culture, 253–254
 Savromats interpretation, 253
 Scythian nomadic empire, 251–252
 slave-holding mode, 250
 social rank reconstruction, 255
 Xiongnu culture, 254–255
 Rutar, S., 355
 Rutkowski, J., 215
 Rybakov, B., 249
- S**
 Said, E., 341
 Sala, A., 507
 Šafarik, P.J., 387
 Sánchez, C.A., 622
 Sandelowsky, B., 18
 San Jacinto project, 623–625
 Sanoja, M., 14, 506, 558, 562, 625, 661
 Santoninus, P., 351
 Sargat culture, 253–254
 Saria, B., 357, 359
 Sartre, 25, 213
 Sasaki, C., 677
 Sasaki, K., 683, 986
 Sasel, J., 364
 Sasson, T., 479
 Sato, H., 692
 Saville, A., 687
 Savromats interpretation, 253
 Scandinavia, 34
 Schaedel, R.P., 575
 Scherz, E.R., 770, 771
 Scherzer, C., 526
 Schiffer, 509

- Schild, R., 202, 211
- Schimdt, P.R., 816
- Schlanger, N., 230
- Schliemann, H., 66, 568
- Schmidt, P.R., 3
- Schmidt, S., 779
- Schmidt, W., 67
- Schmid, W., 354
- Schnapp, A., 347
- Schober, A., 430
- Schomburg, 644
- Schönleben, J.L., 352
- Schottelius, J., 614
- Schrenk, F., 776, 787
- Schuchhardt, C., 66
- Schvindt, P.T., 145
- Scythian nomadic empire, 251–252
- Secord, J., 541
- Seikitei, K., 675
- Serbia
- agrarian economy, 391
 - Archaeological Collection, 394
 - archaeological map, 391
 - centralization, 394
 - dark 1990s
 - Belgrade, paramount archaeological center, 399
 - intensive communication, 399
 - Neolithic and Roman provincial archaeology, 399–400
 - new capitalism, 400
 - processual vs. postprocessual approach, 398
 - Escaping Vasić's Shadow, 396–398
 - geography and history, 384–385
 - heritage protection service, 392–393
 - Institute of archaeology, 391–392
 - Institute of Balkan Studies, 392
 - Lepenski vir site, 395
 - modern archaeology and institutionalization
 - Žujović, Jovan, 388
 - Roman archaeology, 389
 - three-age system, 388
 - Vasić history, 389–391
 - Vulić research, 389
 - Ottoman legacy
 - antiquarian tradition, 386
 - Belgrade, 386
 - core area, 386
 - foreign travelers, 387
 - Gora monasteries, 387
 - Kanitz career, 387
 - Milleker excavations, 388
 - Safarik history, 387–388
 - 4 territories, 386
 - Serbian–French cooperation, 395–396
 - teaching, 393
- Sergejevski, D., 405
- Service, E.R., 665
- Shaw, T., 806
- Shiloh, Y., 480
- Shimada, I., 14, 578
- Shimada, M., 578
- Shinakov, E.A., 257
- Shoocongdej, R., 17
- Shtaerman, E.M., 260
- Siauve, E.M., 353
- Siiriäinen, A., 154
- Siklódi, C., 279
- Silverman, H., 593
- Simonsen, V., 98
- Sintashta and Arkaim proto-urban cultures, 257
- Skalnik, P., 256
- Skazov, I., 392
- Slapšak, B., 351, 353
- Slovak archaeology, 233–234
- Slovenia
- Alpine landscapes, 350
 - antiquarians and Landeskunde
 - activity vs. Italy and Austria activity, 352
 - centers, 351
 - Linhart's achievement, 353
 - national rebirth context, 352
 - Tyffernus manuscript collections, 351
 - Austro-Hungarian Empire
 - archaeological development, 356
 - chronological epoch, 354
 - Dezman, Karel, 353–354
 - La Tène Period, 353–354
 - Marchesetti's excavations, 355–356
 - provincial conservators, 354–355
 - provincial museums and heritage protection service, 353
 - Styria, 356
 - systematic development, 353
 - central and eastern territories, 350
 - geographic location, 350
 - German political and
 - cultural dominance, 351
 - modernization, 367–369
 - National School of Archaeology
 - Archaeological Map of Slovenia, 362
 - Central European cultural history approach, 363
 - communist regime, 359
 - data publication, 362
 - foreign partners, 366

Slovenia (*cont.*)

- formative period, 360
- full curriculum with 3 professors, 360
- Germanic character, 359
- journal establishment, 360
- Korošec's history, 360–361
- Merhart's School, 366
- Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, 364
- new institutions establishment, 359
- postwar revitalization, 361
- research achievements, 362
- Roman archaeology, 364
- short crisis, 362
- Slavic and Early Medieval period, 365
- specialization process, 360
- Srečko Brodar's career, 364–365
- traditions and practices, 363
- Yugoslavia kingdom
 - Brodar's research, 358
 - Ložar research, 358–359
 - national cultural and scientific institutions, 357
 - Potočka Zijalka's cave, 358
- Small, D.B., 12
- Smirnov, K.F., 250
- Smith, F.I., 16
- Solovyev, A., 392
- Sommer, J.G., 534, 536
- Sotomayor, D.L., 648
- South Africa
 - archaeology, 780–781
 - Coloureds, 769, 770
 - education, 777–778
 - languages, linguistics, and oral history, 778–780
 - museums
 - adult community, 774
 - archaeological sites, 776
 - mobile museum service, 775
 - private museums, 775
 - Rehoboth, 774
 - research and heritage conservation, 774
 - Twyfelfontein, 777
- Namibia
 - archaeological discoveries, 773
 - early stone age tools, 773
 - plant remains, preservation of, 772
 - professional excavations, 771
 - rock paintings, 772
 - tourist attraction, 773
 - political guidelines, archaeologists, 768
 - radiocarbon dating method, 769
- South African Archaeological Society (SAAS), 769

South America and Caribbean region

- Academic Archaeology, Colombia (*see* Colombian archaeology)
- Argentina (*see* Argentina)
- Israel and Palestine (*see* Israel and Palestine)
- Palenque (*see* Palenque ruins)
- Peruvian and Central Andean (*see* Peruvian and Central Andean archaeology)
- social archaeology (*see* Latin American social archaeology)
- Southeast Asia
 - advanced methodologies, 719
 - Anglo-American models, 721
 - archaeology, uses of
 - economic asset, 718
 - nation's pride, 717
 - politics, 717–718
 - colonial era-WW II (ca. 1800–1945)
 - cultural history, 709
 - Indochina, geological service of, 708
 - Indonesia, history
 - and archaeology of, 707
 - prehistoric archaeology, 708
 - cultural developments, 705
 - local archaeologists, 720
 - post colonial studies, 722
 - post-WWII-to 1960
 - archaeological materials, 710
 - chopper-chopping tool tradition, 709
 - cultural chronology, 709, 710
 - hand-axe tradition, 709
 - lithic classification and typology, 710
 - prehistoric archaeology, 706
 - research methodology, 715–716
 - research traditions
 - American archaeology, 711
 - anthropological approach, 715
 - Cambodia, prehistoric
 - research in, 712
 - economic development
 - and nationalism, 715
 - FAD budget, 713
 - foreign aid, 713
 - French tradition, 712
 - Hanoi, Institute of Archaeology, 712
 - Malaysian archaeology, 713
 - prehistoric and underwater
 - archaeology, 714
 - rescue archaeology, 713
 - Thailand, 713
 - training, 711
 - scientific inquiry, 721

- typological studies
 - and cultural history, 720
 - western archaeologists, 705, 720
- Southeastern Africa, 18
- Southeastern Europe, 340–342
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - archaeology and war, 410–413
 - autonomous political entity, 401
 - Colonial Enterprise, Austro-Hungarian Politics, 402–404
 - decline in new state, 405
 - geographical location, 400
 - historical regions, 400
 - procterate, Austro-Hungarian Empire, 401–402
 - recovery and reconciliation process, 402
 - revitalization and growth, 405–410
 - Byzantines, 342
 - colonial model, 342
 - Croatia
 - after WWII (1945–1991), 375–380
 - Antiquarian Background, 371–373
 - geography and history, 369–371
 - Mediterranean and Continental, 380–384
 - origins of modern archaeology, 373–375
 - domestication and appropriation, 342
 - Filip's *Handbuch*, 340
 - Genre d'vie* approach, 347
 - geographical location, 344
 - Greek and Roman, 347
 - Hochwissenschaften*, 346
 - infrastructural development, 348
 - Kosovo
 - Albanian institutions, 438
 - archaeological map, 438–439
 - epigraphic evidence, 436
 - geography and history, 433–435
 - Illyrian origin, 439–440
 - museum foundation, 436
 - province, 437–438
 - urbanization and industrialization, 435
 - Landeskunde*, 346, 347
 - (FYR) Macedonia
 - autonomous administrative unit, 415
 - demographic changes, 414
 - establishment of national archaeology, 419–427
 - Heraclea Lyncestis, 418
 - interpretative models, 419
 - landlocked country, 414
 - Macedonian question, 427
 - morphological condition, 414
 - nation-making process, 415, 416
 - Ottoman Empire, 415
 - Stobi site, 417–418
 - Vardar Macedonia, 416–417
 - Vulić research, 418
 - western travelers publication, 417
- Montenegro
 - antiquities, 429
 - continental regions, 433
 - Crvena Stijena site, 431–432
 - geography and history, 427, 428
 - national museum, 430
 - Roman Doclea, 429–430
 - sovereign political entity, 346
 - symbolic date, 429
 - Titograd, 431
- nation-making processes, 345
- paradoxical feature, 344
- political/economic power, remote peripheries, 343
- political history and ethnic diversity, 345–346
- political map changes, 345
- prehistoric and classical archaeology, 346–347
- public heritage service, 349
- regional and local developments, 340
- Renaissance Slavic culture, 342–343
- Scandinavian antiquaries, 343
- Scandinavian/Iberian archaeology, 344
- Serbia
 - dark 1990s, 398–400
 - Escaping Vasić's Shadow, 396–398
 - geography and history, 384–385
 - modern archaeology
 - and institutionalization, 388–391
 - Ottoman legacy, 386–388
 - 1945–Present, Modern Archaeology, 391–396
- Slovenia
 - Antiquarians and *Landeskunde*, 351–353
 - Austro-Hungarian Empire, 353–356
 - geography and history, 350–351
 - modernization, 367–369
 - National School of Archaeology, 359–366
 - Yugoslavia kingdom, 357–359
- Venice ruling of Dalmatia, 342
- Yugoslav archaeology
 - Archaeological Society, 446–447
 - brotherhood and unity, 441–442
 - cessation, 448

- Southeastern Europe (cont.)
 congresses, 447
 emancipation and industrial modernization, 440–441
 features, 440
 institutional cooperation, 448
 journals, 447
 Marxism, 442–443
 public service, heritage protection, 445
 Soviet, 443–444
- Southern Cone, 13, 625
- Spanish Caribbean archaeology
 amateurism, 644–646
 avocational individuals and organizations, 644–646
 chiefdom, 665
 Cuba
 lack of academic programs, 658, 664
 Marxism, 658–659
 revolutionary government, impact of, 657–658
 Soviet influence, 659
 transculturation, 658, 665
 Dominican Republic, 660–662
 foreign archaeologists, 646–648
 native archaeologists, 648
 professionalism, 646
 pseudoarchaeology, 648
 Puerto Rico
 archaeological parks, 653–654
 conservations laws, 654–655
 consulting archaeology, 655–656
 Contract archaeology, 654–655
 Jacana project, 655
 lack of academic programs, 656, 664
 La Hueca culture, 656–657
 national identity, 653
 Río Tanamá project, 655
 Rouse's model, 656–657
 Rouse's paradigms
 adoption and resiliency, 651–652
 classification systems, 647, 650
 normativism, 650–651
 Porto Rico Survey Project, 647
 positivism, 651
 style, subseries and series, 652
- Spitsyn, A., 148
 Spon, J., 372
 Spriggs, M., 737, 742
 Squier, E.G., 568
 Srećković, D., 393, 398, 436
 Srečko, B., 364
 Stahl, A., 644
 Stalin, 237
 Stare, F., 362, 382
 Stark, M., 712
 Stephan, 481
 Steward, J., 498, 575, 576, 665
 Sticotti, P., 430
 Strauss, L., 501
 St. Stephen, 285, 308
 Stuart, J., 372
 Stübel, A., 568, 570
 Sugihara, S., 684
 Suhr, G., 274
 Suić, M., 381
 Sukeinik, E.L., 477
 Sundwall, J., 151
 Sustainable archaeology
 in academic discipline, 44
 conservatism and innovation, 43
 decommmodification, 46
 socioeconomic transformation, 44
 Suzuki, H., 684
 Suzuki, K., 679
 Sweden
 archaeology, student of, 120–123
 civil/government agencies, 113
 heritage images and metaphors, 118
 Kulturminneslagen
 contract archaeology, 128
 documentation
 and conservation, 124
 national concern, 124
 longing and nostalgia, 115, 117
 modern industrial society, 114
 national heritage management and archaeology, 131
 prehistory conceptualization, 112
 public and private discussions, 116
 Rinkeby Horse, 119, 120
 safeguarding and preserve, 113, 125
 scientific approach, 112
 search for antiquities, 111
 social development and education, 112
 Swedish bureaucratic system, 113
 three stage system, 110–111
 universities, 113, 114
 Swedish archaeology, 7–8
 Syme, R., 392
 Szacki, J., 217
- T**
 Taavitsainen, J.-P., 7, 164
 Tabaczynski, S., 25, 199, 201, 213, 214, 216, 217
 Tabío, E., 646, 658
Tabula Peutingeriana, 353

Tallgren, A.M., 137
 Tamaro, B.F., 355
 Tarragó, M., 500, 505, 506, 508
 Tasić, N., 436
 Tatsuo, K., 685, 692
 Taylor, T., 26
 Teikan, 674
 Tello, J.C., 572
 Terada, K., 678
 Terray, 218
 Theoretical schools, 1–2
 Theresa, E.M., 280
 Third Jewish Law, 300
 Thompson, D., 579
 Thomsen, C.J., 66, 97, 110
 Tierradentro Archaeological
 Project (TAP), 621
 Tischler, O., 354
 Tishkin, A.A., 254
 Todorova, M., 341
 Todorović, J., 436
 Toetemeyer, J., 774
 Toledo, A., 594
 Tomaskova, S., 9
 Tommasini, G.F., 372
 Tom, Z.R., 580
 Topelius, Z., 142
 Topolski, 25, 213
 Torma, Z., 285
 Török, A., 284
 Tóth, S.L., 279
 Trianon Treaty, 285, 299
 Trigger, B.G., 3, 24, 30–33, 41, 50,
 137, 238, 239, 651
 Tripartitum, 298
 Troll, C., 577
 Truhelka, Č., 436
 Trujillo, R.L., 661
 Tsuboi, S., 678
 Tudman, F., 383
 Tyffernus, A., 351
 Tyffernus, A., 351
 Tylor, 213

U

Ucko, P., 626
 Ugric-Turkic war, 283–284
 Uhle, M., 568–571, 573
 Ulloa Hung, J., 648
 Unilinear evolutionism, 258
 United Nations Development Program
 (UNDP), 792
 Uribe, C.A., 619

V

Válcarcel, L., 573
 1996 Valetta Convention, 184
 Valle de la Plata project, 620
 Valtrovi, M., 389
 Valvasor, J.V., 352
 Van Damme, P., 772
 van der Hammen, T., 618
 van der Zypen, E., 570
 van Reybrouck, D., 223
 van Stein Callenfels, P.V., 708
 Vargas-Arenas, I., 562
 Vargas, I., 506, 625, 661
 Vasicek, Z., 3
 Vasilyev, L., 257
 Vasić, M., 389, 390, 392–394
 Vega, B., 648
 Vergerio, P.P., 351
 Verón, E., 501
 Vértes, L., 295, 311
 Videla, J., 508
 Vignati, M., 500, 501
 Vilfredo Pareto trap, 187
 Vilkuna, J., 163
 Vincent, L.-H., 475
 Vinski, Z., 382
 Virchow, R., 6
 Virchow, R.C., 60, 63, 282, 283, 299, 309
 Virú Valley Project, 575
 Vistonice excavation, 230
 Vodnik, V., 353
 Vogelsang, R., 772
 von Däniken, E., 312
 von Domaszewski, A., 436
 von Hahn, J.G., 341
 von Humboldt, A., 530–533
 von Merhart, G., 64, 396, 450
 von Minutoli, F.M., 534, 537, 538
 von Oppenheim, M., 148
 von Premerstein, A., 436
 von Siebold, F., 676
 von Tschudi, J., 571
 von Windischgrätz, G.E.A., 355
 Von Wissmann, H., 789
Vozdestvo, 257
 Vrančić, F., 372
 Vuksan, D., 430
 Vulić, N., 389, 392, 419, 436

W

Wahle, E., 67
 Wailing Wall, 469
 Wajima, S., 680, 681, 683, 686, 687

- Wallerstein, I., 30, 35, 37–39, 41
 Warren, C., 479
 Watanabe, N., 679
 Watanabe, Y., 680
 Waterbolk, 33
 Watson-Gegeo, K.A., 743
 Weber, 25, 213
 Weissgerber, K., 313
 Wendt, E., 771, 772
 Wheeler, G., 372
 Wierde, F., 66
 Willette, F., 806
 Willey, G.R., 576, 665
 Winsborough, B., 578
 Wittgenstein, 25, 213
 Wolf, E., 25
 Woodburn, J.C., 259
 Wood, R., 786
 World-system analysis (WSA), 37, 38
 World War II
 archaeological community, organization of
 antiquarianism, 692
 emergency excavation
 expenditures, 689
 excavations, notices of, 689
 field archaeologists, 691
 post-excavation preservation and
 presentation, 692
 pre-construction investigations, 688
 prefectural-and municipal-level
 organizations, 690
 storage and display facilities, 691
 Yoshinogari site, 693
 history of Japan, rewriting
 chronology and typology, 684
 settlement systems, 683
 stratigraphy and typological compari-
 sons, 683
 Toro site, 681
 wooden implements, 682
 international community, reopening
 anthropological research, 684
 early post-war contacts, 684
 Jomon sites, 685
 natural science, 686
 overseas expeditions, 686
 Palaeolithic site, 685
 processual/analytical
 archaeologists, 686
 public archaeology, expansion of
 Maizo Bunkazai, 687
 permit system, 688
 preservation movement, 687
 salvage excavations, 688
 Worm, O., 97
 Worsaae, J.J.A., 97, 283
 Wright, H., 619

X
 Xenocratic political system, 261
 Xiongnu culture, 254–255

Y
 Yamanouchi, S., 680, 684
 Yawata, I., 684
 Yokoyama, K., 683, 691

Z
 Zarankin, A., 625
 Zawadzka, 197
 Zelinsky, T., 392
 Zelle, E., 770
 Znaniecki, F., 213
 Zotz, L., 236
 Zubieta, L.F., 793
 Žujović, J., 388
 Zvelebil, M., 138