

MARKO DIZDAR (Ed.), *Iron Age Female Identities in the Southern Carpathian Basin*. Zbornik Instituta za Arheologiju 19. Institut za Arheologiju, Zagreb 2022. 290 pages, 71 b/w and 54 colour figures, maps and tables, paperback, ISBN 978-953-6064-63-2.

The book is the final output of the research project of the Croatian Science Foundation ‘Iron Age Female Identities in the Southern Carpathian Basin’ (‘FEMINE’; IP-06-2016-1749), carried out in the years 2017–2021.¹ [T]he FEMINE project is so far the first large scale international research project on the archaeology of women in Iron Age Europe with [a] focus on the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt *koine* and eastern La Tène culture.² The project focused on the perception of the female body, the visual identity and the role of women in Iron Age society, as well as on how status was reflected in funerary customs and jewellery.³ Regarding the period under study, the identity politics were an important ‘part of the story of the Early Iron Age in the region’, and the changes in social relations that took place during the 1st millennium BC ‘must have affected the relationships between the individual and various scales of the social, and thus probably also the complexities underwriting gender roles and ideologies. The changes suggest that identity (individual and social) became more composite, and during this period differences between people beyond age, sex and kin became much more explicitly articulated within burials than seems to have been the case during the later Bronze Age.’⁴

The volume presents a series of contributions – written by a total of 18 authors from seven countries –, the majority from participants of the project. Most of the sites are situated in the primary territory of interest for the project in the south of the Carpathian Basin.⁵ The book offers an overview of the current state of research on topics relating to women that were studied during the project.⁶ The volume is divided into five thematic segments – ‘Introduction’, ‘Female identity markers and social practice’, ‘Women and craftsmanship’, ‘Women’s role within the regional networks of

interactions’, and ‘Females in ritual and sacred contexts’. The book was edited by Marko Dizdar, whose work focuses on the prehistory of the region under study, as well as on female-related topics. Similarly to the editor, most of the authors involved in the book previously worked on topics relating to (female) identity or (female) gender.⁷

The ‘Introduction’ gives – besides an editorial introduction by Dizdar – an overview of the history of research on the role of women in the Iron Age archaeology in the territory of the Eastern Hallstatt Culture written by Carola Metzner-Nebelsick. She offers an overview of gender archaeology as a specific area of archaeological research since its beginnings in the 1980s. Then she focuses on the gender studies from the German perspective that had their beginnings in the German book by Hermann Müller-Karpe, ‘*Die Frauen des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*’, published in the 1980s, which – despite being provocative – did not reach a wide international audience.⁸ Metzner-Nebelsick also provides an overview of the development of the perception of the role of women in the archaeological literature within the German research environment, where the mainstream of scholarly opinion did not believe that prehistoric women could have had a high social and political status – an attitude that persists to date in some works.⁹ The author stresses that despite the ‘growing sensitivity concerning the correct linguistic terms in describing gender relations [which] also affects our discipline’ and despite the current public discourse, where ‘gender relations are perceived as more complex than some time ago when the female – male dichotomy took centre stage’, ‘in archaeology, the discussion about the interdependencies of social gender and biological sex is still an important issue’.¹⁰ It is also worth mentioning that in Europe gender studies mostly relate to the western Hallstatt and La Tène territories, but are almost absent for the eastern Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, with a few exceptions, e.g. the works by Biba Teržan, Alexandrine Eibner, Carola Metzner-Nebelsick, Louis D. Nebelsick, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury or

1 pp. 6–7.

2 p. 10.

3 p. 6.

4 p. 19.

5 Figure on p. 7. – However, the figure entitled ‘Sites in the southern Carpathian Basin mentioned in proceedings’ does not display all the sites considered in the book (e.g. Lovas, p. 36–42, Doroslovo, p. 33, Aradu Nou, p. 48, and others are missing).

6 p. 7.

7 Previous papers by individual authors related to the topic are mostly cited in the reviewed volume.

8 pp. 8–9.

9 p. 9.

10 p. 10.

Clara Schaller.¹¹ Metzner-Nebelsick also points out another remarkable aspect of female studies in archaeology: the topic of mobility, encompassing ‘long-distance intermediate contacts [...] or direct connectivity’ as reflected in burial practices and material culture, which it has been possible to identify using modern scientific methods such as strontium stable isotope analysis.¹² In addition to other topics, she also brings into focus the current critical attitude towards the understanding of the term ‘foreign woman’ describing exogamy or the enslavement of women, ‘even though this may reflect reality in the past’.¹³

The second article in the introduction was written by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, who offers a very inspiring set of thoughts on the definition, understanding and perception of prehistoric (female) identities. She shows – using as examples particular finds, sites and previous key works (e.g. by Bettina Arnold, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Ruth Tringham) or mentioning the papers from the volume that is the subject of this review – how complex the definition of gender (and identity) is and how many questions we have to answer before we are able to (re)construct the term and the past reality beyond it without projecting our current concepts onto the past.¹⁴ Through the examples given, she demonstrates the difference between the empirical and the inferential approach to the investigation of gender in prehistory. Among others, she refers to the rich female grave of Vix that she uses (similarly to Metzner-Nebelsick in the article cited above)¹⁵ as ‘a striking example of the long lasting epistemic resistance to the idea of powerful women in the Iron Age, and the tendency for simplistic notions of power to dominate our interpretative discourse’.¹⁶

The second chapter of the book is devoted to ‘Female identity markers and social practice’. The first paper of this segment by Petra Rajić Šikanjić and Daria Ložnjak Dizdar deals with the confrontation between biological and archaeological data gathering and comparison in an effort to define the identity of the deceased in the cemeteries in the Danube region in northern Croatia – Batina and Sotin. In addition to their own results, the article also offers a brief theoretical introduction dealing with the contrast between the archaeological analysis of material from the burial contexts and the biological (anthropological) data analysis, which do not always lead to the same interpretation and as such, contradict

the ‘earlier assumptions that grave finds could be divided into male and female categories [that] did not take into account the potential complexity of gender identities in life and death’.¹⁷ Particularly noteworthy is the theory about the difference in use of a seemingly sex-dependent element of attire – bronze ringlets – within the contemporary communities in one region when comparing the cemeteries in Batina, Sotin and Doroslovo that is presented. The ringlets are less numerous in Batina than in Sotin and Doroslovo, and at the same time, the ringlets in Batina were found in the graves of adult men and women, while in Sotin they were found in female and child graves.¹⁸ On the other hand, the conclusions about the females buried in Grave 69 in Sotin and Grave 27 in Batina with ‘exceptional skills and probably having exceptional roles’¹⁹ should be considered carefully as the indicators for such a statement – simple objects of daily use such as whetstones and small iron knives, interpreted in the graves as not typical female markers, could have been the part of the personal belongings of any individual in the community or – as is even admitted by the authors themselves²⁰ – could have been a funerary gift from another member of the community.²¹

The bioarchaeological approach in research into female identities in prehistory is presented in the paper by Mario Novak, based on the example of anthropological analyses of three female burials from the Iron Age cemetery in Lovas. All three individuals died at a relatively high age (when compared with other contemporary cemeteries with available data from the region), which, together with their rich grave equipment, led to the assumption that the three deceased women had “elevated” social status in the community’, albeit this did not shield them from severe periods of physiological stress during their lifetime.²² The skeletons were sampled for aDNA as well as for carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analyses, the results of which (with the exception of the results of the isotope analyses for the female burial no. 3, and for the male burial no. 2) are not yet available.²³ Interestingly, the values of carbon and nitrogen isotopes from these two skeletons indicate (even though the sample number is too low to enable general conclusions) that there were no differences in the diet based on the sex.²⁴ It may be

¹¹ pp. 10–12.

¹² p. 12.

¹³ p. 12.

¹⁴ p. 16.

¹⁵ p. 9.

¹⁶ p. 18.

¹⁷ pp. 27–28.

¹⁸ p. 33.

¹⁹ pp. 30–33 and Fig. 1.

²⁰ p. 30.

²¹ Cf. also p. 183 in the reviewed volume.

²² pp. 39–40.

²³ pp. 37, 40.

²⁴ p. 40.

useful to remind ourselves here that the study on the carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analyses conducted on the samples from the La Tène period cemetery in Dubník in southwestern Slovakia show a different picture. There, the investigated male individuals had different isotope values from the female ones, which was interpreted as evidence for high protein nutrition of the men in comparison to that of the women in the local population.²⁵ The authors of the contribution on this Slovakian site also provide references to other similar studies with similar results.²⁶

The article by Aurel Rustoiu deals with different forms of female mobility and related identity on the basis of selected items of material culture (tubular anklets, amphora-shaped glass beads, silver bracelets/torques, bronze brooches with a zoomorphic ring-shaped foot) from cemeteries such as those in Timișoara, Aradu Nou, Velika, Belgrade, and others. The author connects the presence of territorially characteristic items in distant regions with the movement/mobility of women as a part of wider group mobility or exogamy along the traditional communication routes.²⁷ The thesis presented that during the ‘Celtic’ expansion only small groups migrated from one area to another can also be supported by, among others, a pilot study on the strontium isotope analyses of skeletons of selected individuals from the La Tène cemetery in Dubník in southwestern Slovakia.²⁸ From the terminology suggested by Rustoiu for the division of two major groups of external contacts of a particular community I would prefer the terms ‘material’ and ‘immaterial’, which capture the phenomena described better than the terms ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’.²⁹ So called ‘invisible products’, such as technologies, ceremonies, etc., can be archaeologically visible (but they remain immaterial) as, by the way, is also illustrated in the text by Rustoiu in the example of the La Tène grave from Telești in Oltenia and of grave no. 3 from Remetea Mare in the Romanian Banat. There, the ‘archaeologically visible’ ‘funerary rites and rituals indicate that these women must have been accompanied by a retinue consisting of compatriots, who performed the mortuary ceremonies according to the prescriptions from their old homeland’.³⁰

In their article, Marko Dizdar and Domagoj Dujmić present the identity markers – costume accessories of the Scordiscan women from the Middle La Tène period

cemeteries in Osijek-Zelena polje. Using the example of the bronze astragal belts of the Osijek type, iron chain belts of Mokronog type, bronze belt with rod-shaped segments, bronze fibulae with two knobs on the bow, bronze relief-decorated bracelets of Osijek type and other artefacts, they demonstrate that local products, on the one hand, and the artefacts with supraregional distribution, on the other, form the ‘various combinations of women’s costume and jewellery [that] indicate the creation of a distinctive [sic] visual code with clear symbolic meaning’.³¹ Similar combinations of local and supraregional elements are also known from the other ‘edge[s] of the La Tène world’.³²

The paper by Peter C. Ramsel focuses on the multiple female identities as recognized in the cemeteries in northeastern Austria, also referring to related examples from other Middle Danubian burial sites. The author compares the costume accessories and grave goods from female graves and/or female attributes from male and child graves with the age, profession, mobility, and status of the selected deceased. He recognizes the specific attributes of grave inventories connected with named categories.³³ He also turns the reader’s attention to the exceptional contexts of female attributes, such as male graves containing female-related items.³⁴

The chapter ‘Women and craftsmanship’ presents three different types of papers on different kinds of and approaches to the study of female markers. Marko Dizdar and Mathias Mehofer put forward the archaeometric study of female costume markers – astragal belts of almost all of their known types from the Late Hallstatt and La Tène periods in the region of eastern Slavonia and western Sarmia.³⁵ Based on 31 samples selected for the XRF analyses conducted on samples of metal taken from the belts at the Curt-Engelhorn-Zentrum Archäometrie in Mannheim, they demonstrate that the typo-chronological changes in the belts were followed by change in their material composition, i.e. ‘that the lead concentration significantly increased during the Middle and Late La Tène, probably to make it easier to cast such a complex belt shape and to improve the casting qualities of bronze’.³⁶ Corresponding results of analyses of various Middle and Late La Tène objects from central Europe indicate the same production technologies in the wider La Tène world – the striving within individual communities to acquire popular items of women’s clothing/female attire

25 BUJNA, DRTIKOLOVÁ KAUPOVÁ, HAJNALOVÁ 2019, 27.

26 BUJNA, DRTIKOLOVÁ KAUPOVÁ, HAJNALOVÁ 2019, 27.

27 pp. 47–59.

28 BUJNA et al. 2020, 227–244.

29 p. 46 and Tab. 2.

30 p. 54.

31 pp. 62–81.

32 See e.g. BENEDIKOVÁ, PIETA 2020, 399, 401, with references.

33 pp. 86–96.

34 pp. 93–96.

35 pp. 104–105 and Map 1.

36 p. 115.

is related to the transfer of technological knowledge from generation to generation and between (even remote) regions through cultural contacts and also through the possible mobility of craftsmen.³⁷

The article by Julia Katarina Fileš Kramberger focuses on one of the typical female domains in the sphere of crafts – namely on the production of textiles. She shows the changes in the tool spectrum as well as of weaving and patterning techniques over time – from the Late Bronze Age till the La Tène period.³⁸

Dubravka Balen-Letunić presents the rare finds of bronze dies from Sisak for the production of tin protective amulets in the shape of human genitals.³⁹

The fourth chapter of the book is focused on ‘Women’s role within the regional networks of interactions’. Aleksandar Kapuran deals with the role of women within the regional networks of interaction on the basis of the case study of the cemetery Vajuga-Pesak, which, with 22 excavated inhumation graves, is the best-known necropolis of the Kalakača and Basarabi horizons of the Serbian Iron Age 1.⁴⁰ He presents the female grave units, their burial ritual and finds in the context of other Iron Age graveyards in Serbia,⁴¹ though without comparison with the (at least basic) characteristics of their male counterparts, which might be useful for identifying typical attributes of males and females in the past society as reflected in the archaeological record.

A very fine and complex approach is represented by the paper by Bence Soós. He deals with the ‘new’ female identity in the cultural environment of the Late Hallstatt period, i.e. the period following the changes in the mid-6th century BC, in south/southeast Transdanubia, which became one cultural province with the eastern Slavonia and Sarmia region during the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th century BC.⁴² The author provides a concise overview of the historical, cultural and chronological context of the situation in the given time and region (and beyond), summing up the key publications on the subject.⁴³ Although he primarily focuses on female identities approached through the most conspicuous women’s burials from the cemeteries available in southern Transdanubia,

he also compares them to male and child graves.⁴⁴ For his research he is working with the cemeteries in Szentlőrinc (with the highest number of excavated and anthropologically determined graves), Beremend, Alsónyék, Százard, Tolna, and Paks.⁴⁵ With regard to Arnold’s concept, he tries to present – based on the categories of her analytical scales/levels of gender-related distinctions and on the examples from named cemeteries from southeast Transdanubia – the picture regarding the female identities in the region.⁴⁶ He takes into account the position of the necropolises in the landscape, the position of female (but also of male and child) graves within the cemeteries, the burial ritual, as well as the types and position of the grave goods in the graves.⁴⁷ He points out the illustrative grave units⁴⁸ to support his ideas about the contact networks of the southeast Transdanubian communities of the late 6th and 5th centuries BC with their southern neighbours (they were part of the South Pannonian Late Hallstatt group, and also re-established contacts with the Dolenjska region), about the new local elites, losing the significance of the warrior elites of previous stages of the Hallstatt period, as well as about the ‘different identities transmitted by the costumes’ through the ‘visually dominant parts of female [...] attire’.⁴⁹ His paper brings together archaeological, anthropological, ethnographic and sociological approaches, including references to the necessary basic literature. On the question of specific male and female markers in women’s graves (such as small iron knives, bronze astragal belts, fibulae, necklaces, glass and amber beads, spindle whorls, etc.),⁵⁰ his article also finds conceptual counterparts (with both positive and negative connotations) in other papers in the volume.⁵¹

The paper by Marko Dizdar, Marija Ljuština and Asja Tonc deals with the complex analysis of female-specific costume items, namely knobbed rings and arm-rings

37 p. 115.

38 pp. 118–146.

39 pp. 148–155.

40 pp. 158–162 and Figs. 1–2.

41 pp. 162–169 and Figs. 4–8.

42 pp. 172–175, 191, 193.

43 pp. 174–175, 177.

44 pp. 176–180 and Figs. 3–5.

45 pp. 172–174 and Fig. 1. – However, in the case of Fig. 1 the key to the sites and size of the symbols used in the map are missing – information that can be retrieved on p. 174, but it would be more reader-friendly if the text were appended to the figure.

46 p. 177.

47 pp. 177–189 and Figs. 3–11.

48 Szentlőrinc, presence/absence data of the grave goods of available graves, Beremend, graves nos. 1 and 2, Alsónyék, graves nos. 2, 8, and 15, Tolna, grave no. 58, graves of South Pannonian Late Hallstatt group containing astragal belts – pp. 182–189 and Figs. 7–11, Tab. 1.

49 pp. 189–193. – Cf. also pp. 19, 252.

50 pp. 182–189 and Figs. 7–11.

51 E.g. in papers by C. Metzner-Nebelsick, P. Rajić Šikanjić and D. Ložnjak Dizdar, A. Rustoiu, M. Dizdar and D. Dujmić, P. C. Rams, J. K. Kramberger Fileš, A. Barbir.

of different types from the territory of Scordisci in the southeastern Carpathian Basin during the Late La Tène period. The authors follow the typology of Maciej Debiec and Maciej Karwowski for the smaller knobbed rings (diameter under 50 mm) from the territory of Boii and also add a classification of the knobbed arm-rings from the studied region.⁵² Moreover they also deal with specific types of knobbed rings from the territory of interest – knobbed rings of the Szárazd-Regöly type, knobbed rings with zoomorphic representations, knobbed rings with a cross motif, and triple knobbed rings.⁵³ The circumstances of the finding of the rings in the territory in question are usually unknown, making the finds from Grave 1 in Sotin of particular importance.⁵⁴ The authors show that the numerous finds of these ornaments confirm the contacts of the Scordisci territory with central Europe and with Transylvania during the La Tène period.⁵⁵ Additionally, the evidence on their dating in the whole territory of distribution in Europe to the Middle and Late La Tène period is given,⁵⁶ as well as the definition of the ways they were used as symbolic, protective or ‘just’ decorative items. The authors also stress that such objects most likely had multiple meanings: ‘What may have served for one purpose in a certain situation may have served another purpose in another situation’.⁵⁷

The last paper from this thematic segment is presented by Asja Tonc, who studies another female-specific costume item – the boat-shaped fibulae of Middle La Tène scheme from the Iapodian territory. She focuses primarily on the fibulae with a hollow bow which were present in the region during the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC. In this context, she also mentions the variants with a massive boat-shaped bow. She provides an overview of the published works on this artefact,⁵⁸ as well as the expert typo-chronological analyses of both hollow and massive boat-shaped fibulae with regard to their find contexts, and determines their chronological position within the Late La Tène period.⁵⁹ She uses this type of jewellery to demonstrate their role ‘expressing the autochthonous identity among members of the community situated on the edges of the La Tène cultural area, as well as a potential sign of a privileged social

position of the individual’.⁶⁰ She considers the female identities reflected in the graves containing the boat-shaped fibulae in the Iapodian territory in comparison with ‘less visible male burials’, which are a characteristic element for the Iapodian Early Iron Age society.⁶¹ Moreover, she puts forward a hypothesis about the elevated status of the deceased buried with the boat-shaped fibulae with hollow bow regarding the general appearance of the inventories of their graves.⁶²

The last segment of the book is devoted to ‘Females in ritual and sacred contexts’. This aspect is illustrated by two different types of material culture and the related different methodologies. The paper by Antonela Barbir presents the archaeozoological approach to the animal remains from the female burials from two cemeteries, Batina and Sotin in eastern Croatia, comparing the results of the author’s own analyses with previously published results from the cemetery in Doroslovo.⁶³ The author presents the taxonomic distribution of animal remains from three female graves in Batina and from three female graves in Sotin, showing the presence of common domestic taxa (cattle, sheep/goat, pig) in both with a scarce presence of wild species represented in Batina by fish, birds and roe deer.⁶⁴ It is a pity that the reader does not get a complete image of the total number of female graves with animal remains in them from both cemeteries; neither the reasons behind the selection of three analysed graves from each necropolis are given, nor is there any information about the methods used for retrieval of the animal bones from the graves – were they hand-retrieved, wet-sieved, dry-sieved, floated? The results are then compared with Doroslovo cemetery where, however, the finds from 33 graves were presented but no information was given regarding the biological sex of the human individual they belong with,⁶⁵ which is again confusing for the reader, especially in the light of the information given further in the article,⁶⁶ where male and double graves with animal remains are also mentioned, along with two animal burials of cattle and horse.⁶⁷ The author gives some insights about the roles of animal remains (and animal bones that are the remains of those) of different types in graves concerning their possible functions as food offerings, remains

52 pp. 201–214.

53 pp. 214–222.

54 pp. 199, 222–223, 228.

55 pp. 222–228.

56 p. 225.

57 pp. 225, 228.

58 pp. 232–237.

59 pp. 237–249.

60 p. 232.

61 p. 252.

62 pp. 251–252.

63 pp. 260–269.

64 pp. 262–263 and Tab. 1.

65 pp. 263–264 and Tab. 2.

66 p. 268.

67 p. 264.

of funerary feasts and sacrifices, and as components of dress or other equipment.⁶⁸ A study from the other part of the Hallstatt world, namely from the site Devín-Záhřady in Slovakia, belonging to the Kalenderberg group, with fine methodology and wide interpretation possibilities can be mentioned here for further information.⁶⁹

An art historian and classic archaeological approach is presented by Louis D. Nebelsick in his article about the Hallstatt period elite women as displayed on situla from Pieve d'Alpago. He demonstrates the ideological – iconographic and mythological – links between the narrative scene on this artefact and the scenes on other objects (Daunian Stela, Sala Consiliana clay rattle, Kypselos chest) in the region 'from Elis to the Alps'.⁷⁰ The author employs his profound expert knowledge to illustrate, with the help of comparative iconographic analysis, the interconnections around the coasts of the Adriatic during the 6th century BC, 'interweaving the identities of female elites' and 'underpinning their ancestral legitimacy'.⁷¹

The graphics of the volume are satisfactory, even though there are recognizable differences in the quality of (especially adopted) illustrations in individual contributions. Nevertheless, the majority of the pictures are easily readable. A few illustrations in the book have descriptive texts that are too brief to be comprehensively understood or the full legends are missing.⁷² Technical and formal insufficiencies are not very frequent (misplacement of the quotation marks or dashes in a few places; misspelling of the local names, such as Mannerdorf instead of Mannersdorf⁷³ or Valjuga instead of Vajuga;⁷⁴ incorrect references to figures;⁷⁵ and similar mistakes of minor importance).

To sum up the key points appearing in the reviewed book, they can be grouped into several categories. The majority of articles in some way address the concept of gender as an important part of the human – in this case female – identity, acknowledging the complexity of this construct.⁷⁶

Mobility as part of the (female) identity is also discussed on the basis of bioarchaeological (aDNA, stable isotope analyses) or archaeological (material culture, rituals, etc.) data.⁷⁷ From this perspective, the costume and dress items (known and analysed predominantly from the cemeteries) played a key role in transmitting information about the identity of their owners to other communities in closer or further proximity.⁷⁸ As the most striking example (addressed in several papers) used for this kind of conclusion, the bronze astragal belts can be mentioned.⁷⁹ The authors dealing with the topic of the items of dress and costume discuss the varying social or cultural identities of the items' owners and the different meanings of these artefacts with regard to their sex/age on the basis of recognition of local and foreign elements, as well as of elements belonging to specific age, professional or social groups.⁸⁰ A wide range of aspects and possibilities regarding how to approach the study of the female identity is presented in the context of craftsmanship and different types of products.⁸¹ The relationship between the female identity and the sacred sphere and ritual is also hypothesized.⁸²

Before finishing, it should be emphasized that the terms 'identity' and 'gender' cannot be freely interchanged. The 'gender' is a part of the general 'identity' – as recently defined by Ramsl.⁸³

To conclude, I would like to point out that the reviewed volume brings together methodologically and thematically well-established and inspiring studies connected with female-related research and presents a variety of approaches to the subject of female identity. It cites rich literature that embraces basic and synthetic works but also case studies focusing on the particular topics within the field of 'female research'. In concordance with the theoretical background of the project reflected in the papers in the

68 pp. 264–267.

69 BIELICHOVÁ et al. 2020, 149–176.

70 pp. 270–288.

71 p. 284.

72 E.g. text to Fig. 8 on p. 170, text to Fig. 7 on p. 210, text to Fig. 1 on p. 261, text of the legend to Fig. 7 on p. 169, text of the legend to Fig. 1 on p. 173; with the original numbering still visible in places in Figs. 1–2 on pp. 160–161.

73 E.g. p. 94 and Fig. 6.

74 E.g. Fig. 8 on p. 170.

75 E.g. p. 162, reference to Fig. 1.

76 In papers by C. Metzner-Nebelsick (pp. 8–12), M. L. Stig Sørensen (pp. 16–23), P. Rajič Šikanjić and D. Ložnjak Dizdar (pp. 27–28) and A. Barbir (p. 267).

77 In papers by C. Metzner-Nebelsick (p. 12), M. Novak (pp. 36–42), A. Rustoiu (pp. 44–61), M. Dizdar and M. Mehofer (p. 115), A. Kapuran (pp. 168–169), B. Soós (pp. 191–193) and A. Tonc (pp. 249–252).

78 In papers by M. Dizdar and D. Dujmić (p. 81), B. Soós (pp. 190–193) and A. Tonc (pp. 232–256).

79 They were discussed in the papers by M. Dizdar and D. Dujmić (pp. 62–84), M. Dizdar and M. Mehofer (pp. 102–117) and B. Soós (pp. 172–196).

80 In papers by M. Dizdar and D. Dujmić (pp. 62–84), P. C. Ramsl (pp. 86–98), B. Soós (pp. 177–193) and A. Tonc (pp. 249–252).

81 In papers by M. Dizdar and M. Mehofer (pp. 102–117), J. K. Fileš Kramberger (pp. 118–146) and D. Balent-Letunić (pp. 148–155).

82 In papers by A. Rustoiu (pp. 44–61), J. K. Fileš Kramberger (p. 129), A. Barbir (pp. 260–269) and L. D. Nebelsick (pp. 270–288).

83 RAMSL 2020, 11–14. – See more on the topic of identity in BISTÁKOVÁ, BŘEZINOVÁ, RAMSL 2020. – Cf. also the paper by M. L. Stig Sørensen in the reviewed volume.

volume, the book clearly demonstrates how important the multi-proxy approach is when studying such a complex construct as the ‘identity’. As stated by Stig Sørensen in one of the introductory papers, transparent investigation of such topics ‘certainly depends on openness towards shedding the layers of assumptions that tend to make the past appear predictable rather than allowing its differences to come through’.⁸⁴ And what I personally appreciate and see as necessary to mention at the end of this review are the concepts promulgated by Cynthia Enloe and Margaret Conkey – both cited in Stig Sørensen’s article – promoting ‘curiosity’ and ‘surprise’ and emphasizing ‘the importance of the questions asked rather than the answers given. Complementary to “curiosity” is the notion of “surprise”, which has the effect of destabilizing and throwing into confusion that which we take for granted and think we know, leading us towards critical exploration and rethinking. This is a core challenge for [not only – reviewer’s remark] gender archaeology’.⁸⁵

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Lucia Benediková
 Archeologický ústav SAV, v. v. i.
 Akademická 2
 949 21 Nitra
 Slovak Republic
 lucia.benedikova@gmail.com
 orcid.org/0000-0001-9393-2293

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