

## ***Power Over The Body In a Hybrid Reality: Anthropomorphic Figurines of Bubanj-Salčuța-Krivodol Complex on The Central Balkans***

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### **Abstract**

*This paper reconsiders the problem of fragmentation of Eneolithic figurines of Bubanj-Salčuța-Krivodol complex on the central Balkans as fragmentation of the bodies. Analyses show that particular attention was paid to the head of the figurines. The results show that the figurines were fragmented intentionally, as they show a pattern in fragmentation and manipulation of the body parts, and that the head treatment depends on the visibility of sex. Fragmentation and manipulation are acts of intention coming outside the alternative world of figurines as re-presentations of the body. But, if these intentions come outside the alternative reality, if they come from some kind of original reality, why are they conducted in alternative reality instead? It is suggested that these activities are powerful mechanism of manipulation of bodies through their re-presentations. The meanings and contexts of these activities are also discussed.*

**Key words:** figurines, fragmentation, body, power, magic, reality of the virtual

### **Introduction**

Studying figurines is a never ending story. History of research of this objects is part of very formation of archaeological discipline. Figurines studied in this paper are only studied partially in previous works by framing them in existing narratives without overall examination of their archaeological context, frequency, usage and meaning. This study intends to provide a different way of approaching them than in traditional Balkan archaeology. Here a vast majority of presently known Bubanj-Salčuța-Krivodol figurines in the central Balkans is analyzed and put in relation between themselves and people who used them. Aim of this research is to come closer to the possible meanings of these objects by studying their state, fragmentation, form, appearance, context and possible usage. Through analyses of figurine fragmentation this study intends to show the intentionality of such a practice by studying relation to their body parts, and relation between their body parts.

### **Goddess Meets The Steppes: History of Research**

When we discuss the history of research of anthropomorphic figurines of Bubanj-Hum culture, or more widely speaking Bubanj-Salčuța-Krivodol complex on the territory of

modern Serbia, Macedonia and Albania-considered to be the central Balkans (Figure 1), we have to bear in mind the interpretative legacy from studies of the late Neolithic/early Copper Age Vinča culture. Figurines of Bubanj-Salčuța-Krivodol complex were for vast majority of authors considered as mediums on which the cultural influences of Vinča and Gumelnița culture are reflected (Tasić 1995: 105). Traces of other cultures written on the figurines found in the settlements of Bubanj-Hum culture Garašanin sees in the appearance of figurines with a hole for a head to be inserted. This type of figurines, as well as crusted paint on the interior side of plates with oval rim found on the site of Crnobuki (Macedonia), Garašanin connected to late Neolithic Rakhmani culture in Tessaly. There is no doubt that this culture is contemporary with Vinča-Pločnik phase of Vinča culture and Bubanj-Hum Ia phase of Bubanj-Hum culture. Traces of other cultural groups on Bubanj-Hum material culture Garašanin also connects to Cernavodă culture of Dobruzha and south Bulgaria (Гарашанин 1973: 187). However, the same author saw a strong legacy of late Vinča culture in the artefacts of Bubanj-Hum. Tasić has geographically and typologically distinguished two areas where this figurines appear: one which is consisted of northern sites, territory in which the legacy of Vinča culture is stronger, and the other in southern areas where a particular half-seated posture figurine type was formed. He connects Romanian finds with sites in eastern Serbia (figurine from Herculana), and with Gumelnița culture, especially bone figurines (figurine from Salčuța). Group of figurines in eastern Serbia is formed by finds from Kovilovo, Krivelj, Zlot and Bubanj. On one, completely preserved figurine from Krivelj different styles are merged, one is Vinča culture style and the other is neighbouring Gumelnița style. Decoration of back steatopygic part with a broad spiral is similar to motives on Gumelnița figurines, with a slight difference in technique, because the later were made by painting. Other figurines from eastern Serbia belong to usual figurine types of middle and eastern Balkan cultures, with expressed inguinal lines, steatopygy, and short hands. The southern group of figurines is consisted of finds from Gadimlje, Crnobuki, Bakarno gumno, Šuplevac, Struga, and to them finds from Albania (Maliq, level IIa, and Burimas, level II) should be added. The figurines are traditionally divided in three different types: first type matches finds from southern area (Šuplevac, Maliq), second type matches figurines with a hole for a head to be inserted (Bakarno gumno, Šuplevac, Crnobuki) and the third type is consisted of figurines in seated position with a spiky head without face details-or a spike for a head to be put on (Gadimlje, Crnobuki, Šuplevac, Maliq). In terms of style the last group of figurines is particularly interesting, and for now they are only found in Kosovo, Pelagonia and Albania. In Gadimlje next to Lipljan, during the systematic excavation, Glišić has found five completely preserved figurines of this type on a house floor. They are almost identical to finds from Maliq. Some fragments from Šuplevac could be considered as this type of figurines. Some characteristics of this type are present on figurine from a site near Struga which also belongs to this area. One chance find from Prilep erroneously applied to Porodin culture should also be mentioned. It is one seated female figurine with a head in form of a spike (or a spike for a head to be placed on), primary sexual characteristics and shortened legs. In terms of type it is identical to finds from Gadimlje and Maliq, and similar to finds from Šuplevac so it does not belong to Porodin culture but to southern area of Bubanj-

Salcuța-Krivodol complex (Tasić 1979: 105-106). Typological similarities and differences of figurines of Bubanj-Salcuța-Krivodol complex and late Vinča culture, and Gumelnița culture, gave background to observance of figurine bodies as types. Todorova wrote that artists' attention was occupied by the body, and that face in Eneolithic experience didn't have significant role. Todorova also regards that this refers to dependence of individual to collective, and the collective is acting, producing and distributing goods (Тодорова 1976: 58). This way of observing figurine bodies as types whose faces already in late Neolithic become anonymous (Тодорова 1976: 58), allowed the emergence of traditional interpretation of Bubanj-Salcuța-Krivodol figurines as representations of fertility divinities. The largest influence on interpretations of figurines, given by Balkan archaeologists, had the studies of Marija Gimbutas (Gimbutas 1974; Gimbutas 1991). Mother Goddess is in these interpretations considered as a Neolithic reminiscence, and idea of fertility deity remained very frequent explanation for the meaning of figurines representing female body (Тодорова 1976; Тасић 2004; Колиштркоска Настева 2005). In these interpretations naked body was considered only as a symbol of fertility which is read from the figurines through their steatopygy, breasts, visible genitals and faces without identity. Kolištrkoska Nasteva supposes that woman was intensively adored and modeled in clay in Neolithic and Eneolithic, and in her opinion figurines reflect care for hearth and household, house and family. Women were also in her opinion representing beauty ideals (Коліштркоска Настева 2005: 14). In Gimbutas tradition figurines were interpreted as omnipresent and almighty records of The Goddess which wakes over the bearers of cultures of "Old Europe". Frequent representation of breasts or "pubic triangle", as well as emphasized curves of hips and buttocks in opinion of Tasić show that figurines are representations of some sort of female deity, which, at least in representation style, shows reminiscence of Neolithic Vinča and other contemporary cultures (Тасић 2004: 81). It is easy to notice that these interpretations have little connections to parallel interpretations of arrival of middle Eneolithic cultures, steppe population destroying autochthon population on the central Balkans. At the same time both interpretations come from the same authors in the same studies (Гарашанин 1973; Tasić 1995; Колиштркоска Настева 2005). Then it is also clear that the problem here is not only in dating Eneolithic cultures compared to the earliest material culture of the steppes in the central Balkans. Rather, this problem is clearly interpretative, embedded in paradox of traditional Balkan archaeology. However, we should bear in mind that Gimbutas viewed her Mother Goddess cult as a peaceful, egalitarian, matrilinear and gynecocentric. She connected all female figurines no matter the period and the region with the same fundamental belief in The Goddess, without reference to archaeological context, dating and typology (Gimbutas 1974, 1991). One of the approaches to figurines in Balkan prehistory is concerned with their fragmentation, emphasizing that the process of manufacture of the figurines is in close relation to their later intentional fragmentation (Chapman 2000: 71). Theory of fragmentation in prehistory of southeastern Europe, as it was defined by Chapman, had a strong influence on later interpretations of Krivodol-Gradešnica figurines. Biehl considers figurine fragmentation as destruction, and destruction as well as creation he sees as communicative acts. Figurines are not just broken and left as fragmented whole, they

were not deposited as a whole, but their fragments were devided. Not only have the parts been devided, but also the fragments gain new meanings: they could no longer be parts of the same object. Biehl considers this as a intentional symbolical act, known, understandable and practised on large teritory of southeastern Europe transmited from generation to generation (Biehl 2006: 201-202). Chapman has interpreted figurine fragmentation as widely distributed and frequent social practice, a rutine part of every day life in which the sacred and profane elements are present in different relation. Enchainment is one of such practices through which the living and their ancestors are brought to conection by material means-signs of value which became figurine fragments (Chapman 2000: 75). When ancestors are in question an interesting phenomenon, occured by the end of Vinča culture, should be mentioned. Typical Vinča plastic is now recognised only by representations of figures in cross form and some incised details.

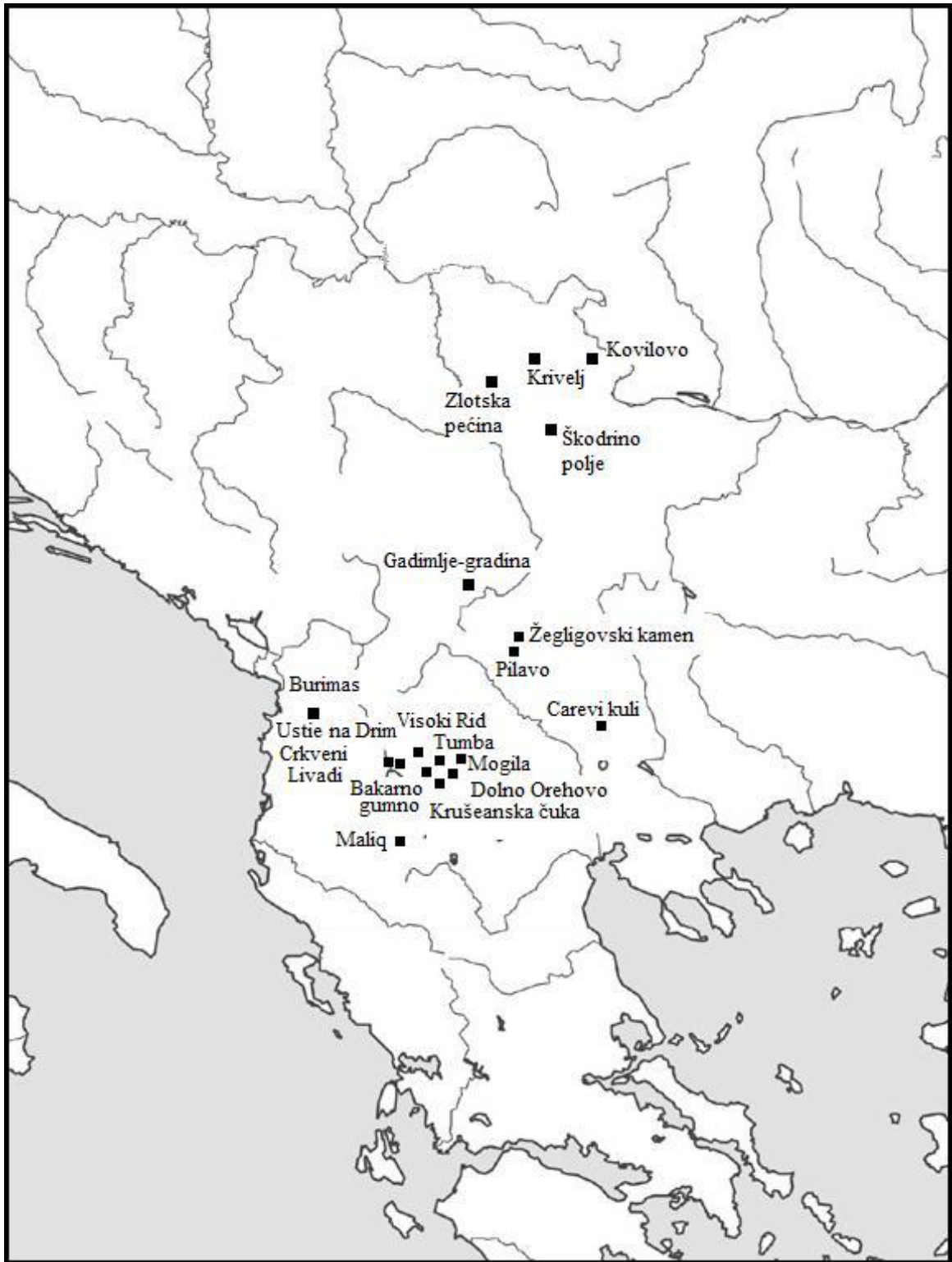


Figure 1. Bujanj-Salcuța-Krivodol settlement sites where figurines discussed in this work were found.

Almost realistic way of representing human figure was replaced by stylised representations with slackly modeled heads. Canon of pentagonal faces was abandoned, and the face becomes triangular and modeled in form of a beak. Lower body part is

anthropomorphic and some times details can be found on it which show the sex of the figurine. As a rule, figurines from this period, the end of Vinča culture, are entirely slackly modeled and without details. Sometimes eyes are showed on faces. Details, if they are present at all, are done by incisions. Because of the slackly and faceless head modeling, individual characteristics or group identity are showed with dress ornaments. In the final phase of Vinča culture figurines are smaller and slackly modeled then before (Тасић 2008: 151). Late Vinča figurines observed in this way are very close to forms of early Bubanj-Hum culture, and disappearance of individual characteristics on faces, starting already in late Vinča, together with gradual loss of dress representations in Bubanj-Hum, leads to an interpretation which changes attention from an individual to some other concept. That is why when we are discussing Bubanj-Hum figurines (together with figurines from Macedonia and Albania) we can not read them as individuals in Bailey's term (Bailey 1994). It is very important to stress that figurines of Bubanj-Salcuța-Krivodol complex on central Balkans are never found in graves. Moreover, except the Salcuța culture burial in Đerdap, no other burials are known from this period on territory where these figurines are found. Using Neolithic Balkans as an example, Bailey shows that there is a different meaning of figurines which can be more important for understanding social reality of life. This different meaning is on a deeper level and has nothing to do with intention of a person who modeled, decorated and baked the figurine. It has nothing to do with ceremonies/dances/prayers in which they were used. Also it has nothing to do with wherever figurine was found in a pit, building, oven, grave or drawer of an antiquarian. This other meaning is the position of figurine as unintentional, but powerful, body manifestation in Neolithic communities (Bailey 2005: 198-199). However, types and state of middle Eneolithic figurines analyzed in this work show that intentionality is the key for relation to this body re-presentations. Moreover if figurines are powerful body manifestations we should bear in mind that the only way they can be part of power relations is through performative practices. Indeed objects are part of performative acts, and if we are to read material culture (Hodder 1987; Tilley 1989, 1999, 2002) then we should also consider its performative power. That is why we should not so easily escape from trying to struggle with "shallow" meanings, because it is exactly their "shallowness" which makes them powerful.

### **Troubles With Fragmented Bodies: Goal and Research Problems**

In the following text question of fragmentation will be put away from fragmentation as a mechanism for establishing social contracts or rituals for evocation of fertility through the deposition of the fragments, to fragmentation of the figurines as fragmentation of body re-presentations. One of the primary reason for such a decision is the fact that in middle Eneolithic we are faced with a limited number of body re-presentations, both human and animal. That is why there are really no grounds to force the enchainment theory into their possible meanings. The goal of this study is to reconsider the existence of regularity of figurine fragmentation as body fragmentation, in other words to reconsider the existence of regularity in fragmentation in terms of intentional breakage or special treatment of certain body parts. The existing idea already present in archaeological literature states that Neolithic and Eneolithic figurines were fragmented

intentionally (Chapman 2000; Fowler 2004, 2008) and some studies showed that there is a connection between fragmentation and visibility of sex of the figurine (Biehl 2006). The aim of this study is to reconsider the theory of intentional fragmentation and visibility of sex on middle Copper Age Bubanj-Salcuta-Krivodol figurines from settlements sites in Serbia, Macedonia and Albania. Also, the attention was paid to the connection of fragmentation, attitude or treatment of certain body parts and visibility of sex.

### **Passion for The Real: Materials and Methods**

This research was conducted on fiftythree published finds (whole and fragmented) of middle Copper Age Bubanj-Salcuta-Krivodol figurines. The sample is formed by figurines from different settlement sites in Serbia, Macedonia and Albania: Čoku lu Balaš (Krivelj), Kovilovo, Zlotska pećina, Škodrinu polje (Knjaževac), Gadimlje-gradina (Lipljan), Mogila (Senukos-Prilepsko), Crkveni Livadi (Struga), Dolno Orehovo (Šuplevac-Bitolsko), Ustie na Drim (Struga), Carevi kuli (Strumica), Tumba (Crnobuki-Bitolsko), Tumba (Crnobuki-Prilepsko), Pilavo (Burilčevo-Kočansko), Bakarno gumno (Cepigovo-Prilepsko), Visok Rid (Bukri-Bitolsko), Žegligovski kamen (Mlado Nagoričane-Kumanovsko), Krušeanska Čuka (Vrbjani-Prilepsko), Burimas, Maliq (Figure 1). It is very important to state that on territory covered by this study there are no figurines found in burial context. All the figurines were found within settlements in different contexts (houses, pits, outside houses). They are from 2,6cm to about 15cm high. Never the less they are analyzed here in the same way, because there is an important notion that their size fits human hand easily, compared to some late Neolithic Vinča figurines. Every find in the sample was analysed in next categories: fragmentation (whole and fragmented), sex (female and unknown), head (modeled/part of the body, missing/fragmented, hole for the head to be inserted, conical/spike for the head to be put on), hands (not fragmented, fragmented), legs (not fragmented, fragmented). Observation of fragmentation was conducted to calculate the appearance of whole and fragmented figurines. As for the category "sex", two forms are present, female sex (Table I: b, d, m, n), which was determined by the presence of primary female sexual characteristics (interpreted as pubic triangle and breasts), and unknown sex (Table I: c, f, h), which was determined by the absence of male and female primary sexual characteristics. In head observation, four distinct forms or treatments were determined, which were already mentioned, and those are: modeled-part of the body (Table I: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j), fragmented (Table II: g, h, i), whole for the insertion of the head-head to be inserted (Table I: k, l, m, n) and conical head-cone for the head to be put on (Table I: c, f, g, h). Before the results of this analyses are presented it is necessary to state why exactly these categories were chosen and analyzed, and what are the theoretical and practical backgrounds of these categories. There is a trend in applying statistics in social sciences to produce the effect of the real. Through the results it is expected that the interpretation also then must be objective and real. "Realness" is not exactly a category in which one competes; it is a standard that is used to judge any given performance within the established categories. And yet what determines the effect of realness is the ability to compel belief, to produce the naturalized effect (Butler 1993: 129). As it is stressed by

many authors now, sex is not "natural" (Butler 1993, 1999, Alberti 2005; Meskell 2003; Perry, Joyce 2001), because "there is no nature, only the effects of it, naturalization and denaturalization" (Derrida 1991: 216). However, when studying prehistoric figurines traditional construct of sex/gender division should be used only as model of analysing. In this work what is termed "female" is what is visible as "female" on figurines, but on the other side, some figurines can not be sexed so easily, and that is why term "unknown" is introduced. What is necessary is to see if these terms are in fact regulatory ideals and are there any exceptions? It is expected that in this way traditional division between sex and gender can be overcome by searching for a regulatory ideal and the way it is structured. From that point we can see that if there is a structured difference between body re-presentations or not? Even if such a difference exists, that of course doesn't mean that we are dealing with sex/gender regulatory ideal, but it certainly means that we are dealing with a structure. It is because we are now arguing the same cases for sex as gender and that both are constructed and neither are intransient. Perhaps we can argue the sex:gender scenario in our culture, yet can we legitimately project this model transhistorically (Meskell 2003: 143)? So if we are able to find a structure in which we think we know one side, in this case "female" figurines, then we can suppose that the other side is signified as different. In such a binary opposition one known side signifies the other as different, although the difference may not be seen in terms of visible genitals. Such order of things allow us to look for a mechanism which is keeping this structure stable (if it is stable at all), and to find a mechanism which makes this structure unstable and questioned. In Judith Butler's words: "This is not to say that the materiality of bodies is simply and only a linguistic effect which is reducible to a set of signifiers. Such a distinction overlooks the materiality of the signifier itself. Such an account also fails to understand materiality as that which is bound up with signification from the start; to think through the indissolubility of materiality and signification is no easy matter" (Butler 1993: 30). Other categories used in analyses conducted in this work are not so problematic, at least not on first glance. Different head treatments are recorded and they are divided in formal categories, but what is still not sure is if we are dealing with a spiky head or a spike for a head to be put on in one of the head treatment categories. In terms of form and appearance it could be both. Figurines without any head, but a hole on the place of the neck, certainly had a replaceable head or more precisely body part. In his study of fragmentation of Krivodol-Gradešnica figurines Biehl singles out potential and non-potential breakage points (Figure 2) intending to show that figurines were manufactured in a way that they could more easily be fragmented later on. He concludes that female figurines were fragmented more frequently than male figurines, and that they were fragmented on points where genitals are (Biehl 2006). However, vertical breakage and some other ways of fragmentation could also be result of an accidental break during the baking, and not only way of manufacture for easy fragmentation. That is why in this study regularities in fragmentation will be observed in relation to body parts. However, physical partition of the body or fragmentation of objects is not needed to distribute parts of the person throughout the world or for parts of the world to influence the person. However, fractal thinking is likely to result in physical manifestation of the same relations through



bodies, objects, and architecture equally and there should be a sense of shared form or essence or patterning to each (Fowler 2008: 51).

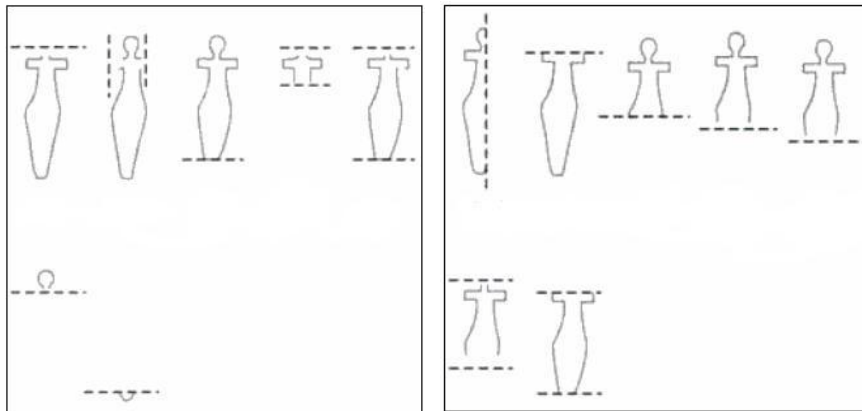


Figure 2. Potential (left) and non-potential (right) breakage points on Krivodol-Gradešnica figurines (Biehl 2006: 206)

### All In The Head: Results

Analyzed sample of middle Eneolithic Bubanj-Salcuța-Krivodol figurines on territory of modern Serbia, Macedonia and Albania (what was termed central Balkans) shows greater number of fragmented figurines than whole figurines (Figure 3). Initial presupposition was that figurines were not fragmented intentionally, that we are dealing with accidentally broken objects. Chi square test showed that fragmentation is not occurring randomly and that the fragmentation distribution has statistical significance of 0,05 (Pearson's Chi Square coefficient=11,792, degrees of freedom=1, asymptotic probability (2-sided)=0,001).

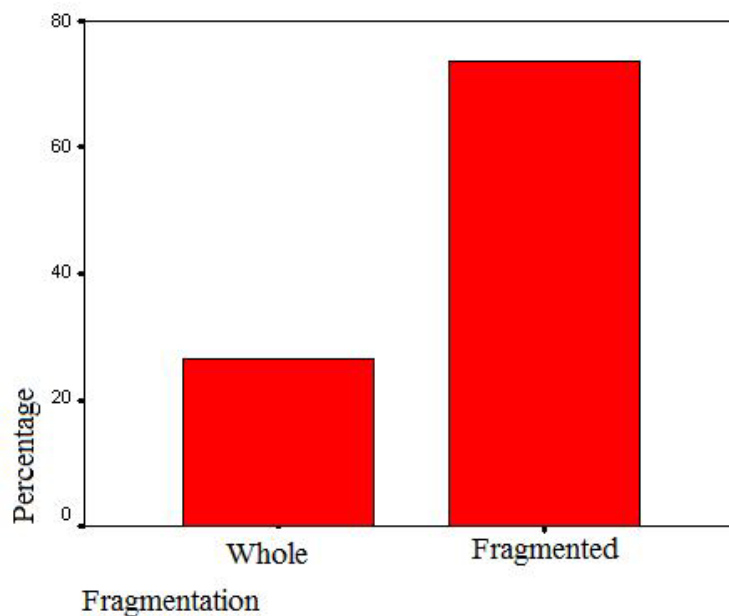
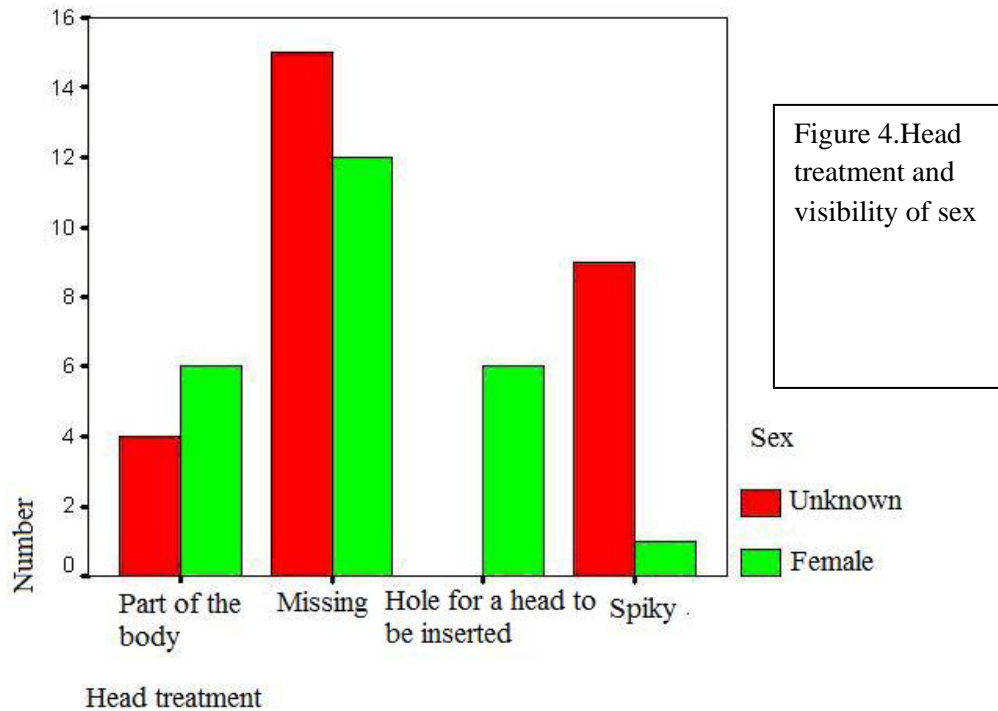


Figure 3.  
Occurrence of  
whole and  
fragmented  
figurines



Analysis of contingency table showed that head treatment depends of visibility of sex (Figure 4), categories female and unknown, and this occurrence has statistical significance of 0,005 showed by Chi square test (Pearson's Chi Square coefficient=13,005, degrees of freedom=3, asymptotic probability (2-sided)=0,005). Figurines with heads joint to their bodies (without spiky neck/head), modeled, not fragmented are in slightly larger number of female sex. Slight difference in sex visibility compared to treatment of the head can also be noticed in group of figurines whose head have been fragmented. However, in group of figurines with a hole for head to be inserted it is significant that they are all female, and in the case of figurines with spiky necks-or spikes for a head, all except one are of unknown sex. These results certainly show that categories of female and unknown sex had been influential on the head treatment. Or maybe even opposite, different head treatments were signifiers?

### **Magic Matters: Discussion and Conclusion**

Chapman proposed that "refusals" are no more dead than recently deceased, but that like ancestors into whom the newly dead are transformed, deposited objects continue to have certain significance for the living. In this way objects created in domestic context do not lose their domestic meaning and significance so easily, even in "death" (Chapman 2000: 5). As physical materials, artefacts provide an authentic link to the past and as such they can be repeatedly experienced. Exactly through this reexperiencing that the world of the past, the world of other is brought into contact with the present (Jones 2007: 3). When fragmentation is in question that means that deposited, saved figurine fragments, represent a connection through which a person can experience an event from the past. However through the fragments an experience of certain performative action is enabled (fragmentation of figurine and manipulation of its body parts), also the

memory of a performative action. All of the studied figurines were found in different parts of the settlements, never in graves, they continued to live even after they were broken. The very performances of certain activity which was conducted on figurines is related to body remembrance, because bodies remember the performance in which they took part, but also the objects on which the performances were conducted remember the performances and the bodies which performed. This is how bodies are produced. Generally speaking, a performative functions to produce that which it declares. As a discursive practice (performative "acts" must be *repeated* to become efficacious), performatives constitute a locus of *discursive production*. No "act" apart from a regularized and sanctioned practice can wield the power to produce that which it declares. Performative act apart from a reiterated and, hence, sanctioned set of conventions can appear only as a vain effort to produce effects that it cannot possibly produce (Butler 1993: 107). Bodily memory constitutes the ground for individuals to perceive themselves as discrete and continuous entities; it is the continual performance of habitual body memory that provides a sense of constancy. Body memory is orienting because this is one of the ways we gain a sense of our own bodies and their position in relation to the world around us (Jones 2007: 11). In such way fragmentation of figurines and manipulation of certain body parts, especially the head treatment which is in connection to visibility of sex, can be considered as mechanism for establishing certain social, also cosmological structures through repeating this practice and quotation of the same. As it is already said that the head treatment is in connection to visibility of sex (female and unknown), it should be barred in mind that sex, gender, and other means by which we categorize people are interpolated. In some cultural contexts particular aspects of bodies gain more significance than others. Sex—male and female—may not always be considered a natural means of categorizing bodies, nor may genitals always be thought of as central to a body's identity (Alberti 2005: 108). However in interpreting figurine fragmentation and head treatment emerges a question. Which body aspects are stable? Are we speaking about performative actions conducted on body re-presentations of certain sex/gender? As Judith Butler writes: "The category of *sex* is, from the start, normative; it is what Foucault has called a *regulatory ideal*. In this sense, then, *sex* not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce—demarcate, circulate, differentiate—the bodies it controls" (Butler 1993: 1). In this sense manipulation of body re-presentation parts can be viewed as a way for bodies to be demarcated, circulated, and differentiated; to be controlled. However, is this referred only to figurines as body re-presentations or also to bodies which stand behind fragmentation and manipulation? Answer for this question is not in "or-or" logic, but in reading material culture as framing and communicative medium involved in social practice. People do not create material culture as much as they are created by it (Tilley 1989: 189). Figurines viewed this way, can be read as remnants of performative actions which intend to establish certain power relations, but also to construct identities. Heads are inserted into figurines of "female" sex, material of which the rest of the body is made of is long lasting compared to heads for which we only have a puzzling hole. Does this mean that head and the rest of the body then do not form

a hole, a construct? The most valid answer would be that the construct we are talking about is unsteady, variable and unstable, certainly because of the head which inserted in, and it can be inserted, taken out, rotated, and changed by another head. The fractal body is open to transformation – for instance, by removing and replacing its parts, by altering the ratio of substances within it, by pursuing one relationship over another, and by changing its form. To focus on fractal relations is not to remove the distinctiveness of different contexts, but to recognize a recurring technique in how relationships between body and world are understood (Fowler 2008: 49). Here a figurine from Tumba, Crnobuki-Bitolsko in Macedonia (Table I: g) should be mentioned. This figurine is particularly interesting because it is put in a "structural limbo" by having what is considered to be female primary sexual characteristics, but also having a spiky head. Figurine from Tumba is refuting the structure shown in the results, but is it really? It shows that there is an argument in considering head as a point of reference to body identity for these body re-presentations. This figurine also shows that it is possible to alter the view of a sexed/gendered body, but never the less, it is also part of the structure because it is limited to performative signifiers of "head treatment", "female" and "unknown". Figurine can be off course signified multiple times, but it can never escape the already set display of performative signifiers. Performativity is neither free play nor theatrical self-presentation; nor can it be simply equated with performance. Moreover, constraint is not necessarily that which sets a limit to performativity; constraint is, rather, that which impels and sustains performativity (Butler 1993: 95). This way by manipulating the head, whole body is being manipulated, because by manipulating the head body can be constructed and deconstructed. Power over the body re-presentation is maintained through the power over the head, and as Bailey writes, figurines are links to alternative realities (Bailey 2005: 145-146). Accessing an alternative reality through figurines in this case allows manipulation of their bodies in a way that no other bodies can be manipulated. Body parts can have the ability to harm or heal, overflowed with power which exceeds the power of their bodies. Realms of magic, sorcery and healing are testifying that the bodies are often targets of aggression, fragmentation and post-exploitation (Sharp 2000: 294). Here we can say that changes in alternative reality intend to materialize in original reality. However, every change in alternative reality of body re-presentations is an expression of intentionality, wish and hope for a change of existing structures. As it was already showed and discussed fragmentation and manipulation are intentional practices. They express intentions which come into being by manipulating in alternative reality, but as intentions come not from alternative but from original reality, their border becomes blurred. It is hard then to demarcate alternative world of clay bodies and original world of the human bodies, because they are not in opposition, rather they are mutually signified, and that is the only way the both can exist. People make figurines and they are also created by them in the process of making, using, and breaking them. This then means that there is no clear difference between figurines as body re-presentations and the human bodies themselves, between original and alternative, between original and a "copy". Figurine as a body is actually a re-presentation of idea of the body, or more precisely of what the body should be so that it can be fragmented and manipulated. Fragmentation of certain body parts points that

those body parts are in some way special, that they possess the power, so the power is possessed also by the one who can manipulate with them. Figurines as re-presentations allow a person to enter another world, to manipulate, to change. Manipulation of the body and its parts is a part of performative power statement, and that is why a change of re-presentation is a change of reality. Then again fragmentation of material figurine body is a fragmentation of re-presentation, and here an idea or concept can not be divided from corporeal human body so easily. Manipulation of figurine body parts is then manipulation of a person, whose identity is between the body of a manipulator and the body of figurine. Every action intending to change reality in this way can seem like a magical practice, and figurines can not be read as individuals, but it is through the relation to figurines that human and ceramic bodies can be viewed as individuals (see Fowler 2004, 2008). Bodies and body re-presentations have power over each other, like mirror images. The question is, are those then "magic mirrors"? Answering this question is not an easy task especially if we bear in mind that there is a trend in interpreting figural body re-presentation in Neolithic and Copper Age as magic objects, but without any serious arguments and theoretical discussion. Instead figurines are in some ways queered, and everything strange and unusual in archaeological record is interpreted as magic. Nakamura argues that conventional interpretations in archaeology – still oriented toward explanation and meaning – fail to get at the most compelling aspects of ancient magic, exactly that which makes it *magical*. For her magic surely presents something beyond the reach of representational or functional interpretations and thus demands a different perspective. Magic has become something more suitable for explaining than for being explained (Nakamura 2005: 21). Although we still need to develop a theoretically well based archaeology of magic I will try to provide an alternative way of explaining this social phenomena. After the discussion about figurine bodies and corporeal human bodies maybe it is attractive to interpret fragmentation and manipulation of figurine parts as some kind of homoeopathic or sympathetic magic, or maybe both. This connection was already discussed by Fowler when writing that the idea of a fractal body and person can be applied more broadly, and encapsulates relationships considered by earlier anthropologists (Fowler 2008: 49). Frazer distinguished between two basic types of magic, which he nonetheless knew overlapped in practice: *homoeopathic magic* or *magical thought*, based on the principle of similarity or resemblance, and *sympathetic* or *contagious magic*, based on the principle of continuity or affinity or transfer. For Frazer the two types of logical interrelation (similarity and affinity-continuity) characterize thought in general, but are erroneously applied in magic. In his view primitives confuse the name with the object, since they think that the name is a vital element of humans, of beings and of objects (Frazer 1922). This colonial explanation for the magical practice is still forming a base in analysing it, although we moved away from Frazer's evolutionary ideas of applying magic/religion/science to particular "phases" of human history. It is time now to explain magical practice without evolutionary notions of it and stop explaining magical practice as logical interrelation erroneously applied. This is important because it is still not clear how to explain magical thought and distinguish it from other kinds of thought (maybe just one more modern preoccupation misleading us in reading the past). The problem

emerges when materiality goes in the story because words and things are connected as shown by structuralist and poststructuralists. This interrelation, which is based on analogy, is called *symbolism* and we know by now that analogical thinking (metaphors and metonymies) is not only arbitrary and conventional, but also rational and significant, being a bearer of significance (Hodder 1987; Tilley 1989, 1999, 2002). What is required is an evocation of magic that aims directly at the caesura between meaning and matter and delves into the shadowy processes of materializing experience, belief, and value (Nakamura 2005: 21). Back to figurines, as I discussed, there is a big difficulty in drawing a line between them and the human bodies which is shown by practise on them. If we draw a line between them we are creating two different realities, one original/real and the other which is alternative/imagined, so it is maybe too easy and too attractive to interpret them as homoeopathic magic. But a problem emerges here in, because if the line is drawn there is no more connection between them allowing such an interpretation. The practice of intentional fragmentation and manipulation is reminding us that there is a connection between figurines and human bodies; moreover the practice is connecting them. The practice is actually connecting people and artefacts in mutual signification and the area of that signification is between the two realities. That area or dimension of signification is actually consisted of both, the real and the imaginary, because that is the only way signification can work on both, the figurines and the human bodies. In this way the practice of intentional fragmentation and manipulation is merging the two realities into a hybrid reality, or the reality of the virtual. Here I would like to engage into theorising the meaning of the intentional fragmentation and manipulations of the figurines following the works of Slavoj Žižek (Žižek 1997, 2002, 2004). Eliade writes that in Polynesia ritual recitation of the cosmogonic myth implies reactualization of the primordial event, and that it follows that he for whom it is recited is magically projected in *illo tempore*, into the beginning of the world: he becomes contemporary with the cosmogony. What is involved is, in short, a return to the original time, the therapeutic purpose of which is to begin life again, a symbolic rebirth (Eliade 1968: 82). To "traverse the fantasy" therefore, paradoxically, means *fully identifying oneself with the fantasy* - namely, with the fantasy which structures the excess that resists our immersion in daily reality (Žižek 2002: 17). Virtual reality undermines the difference between "true" reality and semblance (Žižek 1997: 133). So this means that reactualization of the primordial event is "citing" previous performance in a repeating pattern. Then the only way practitioner can become contemporary with the cosmogony is by creating a hybrid reality in which different objects, materials, bodies, times and spaces can be mutually signified. Practise of citing and repeating a performance is what makes the reality of the virtual. If cosmology is a process whereby, events, objects and practices are brought into a compositional unity, are conceived and patterned as existing together, and are in mutual relation, then magical practices constitute methacosmologies (Kapferer 2003: 20). That is how original primordial event can never be repeated, but can be repeatedly quoted, existing only in traces. Performing a primordial cosmological event means creating a hybrid connection, a virtual reality. Virtual Reality simply generalizes procedure of offering, a product deprived of its substance: it provides reality itself deprived of its substance, of the hard resistant kernel of the Real -

just as decaffeinated coffee smells and tastes like real coffee without being real coffee; Virtual Reality is experienced as reality without being so. What happens at the end of this process of virtualization, however, is that we begin to experience "real reality" itself as a virtual entity (Žižek 2002: 11). Hybrid reality or a reality of the virtual is a methacosmology in terms that it is a method of patterning and bringing together acts, events or practices that may normally be expected to exist in different and separate cosmological frames. In this term what I call hybrid reality is nothing more than a reality of performativity, neither free play nor theatrical self-presentation. Methacosmology is also one that bridges or crosses different registers of meaning and practice (their hybridising energy) and frequently is a dynamic of negation (Kapferer 2003: 20-21). In virtual reality people can really do things, act them out, without really doing them, and thus avoid the anxiety connected with the real activity (Žižek 1997: 138). Still, the problem is in the performance itself. The results of the analyses conducted in this work show that fragmentation and manipulation of figurines are intentional acts, performative actions, but the question is who is taking part in it? At least we can say that one practitioner is enough for the action. Figurines were fragmented and manipulated on different sites of Bubanj-Salcuta-Krivodol complex, always in settlements, mainly in houses. This means that the practice was not a local performance, bordered by a one house or a settlement. Instead performativity of these actions is stronger because it was widespread, so even if we argue that only one actor was enough (to secretly perform), we can not deny that other people were familiar with it. In this way performance of fragmentation and manipulation of figurines constructed their bodies, their lives, their identities. The other problem is the question is this performance real? Quotation of the archaeological record is not enough here as an argument, because for the scholars whether or not something is a real action depends out of the intention. I would like to avoid this direction in studies because for a human being, is "reality" not ONTOLOGICALLY defined through the minimum of RESISTANCE – real is that which resists, that which is not totally malleable to the caprices of our imagination (Žižek 2004: 51)? This is how an action on the figurines, fragmentation of them or the manipulation of their body parts can be understood as doing things to the bodies, performing actions without doing them in reality. Real bodies resist, figurines not, their heads can be removed and put back again, they are virtual when they are whole, they are evolved in performativity when they are being manipulated. Here emerges the answer of the fragmentation question. Why are acts done in alternative reality on alternative bodies if they don't intend to result in original reality and original bodies? By this I am not referring to idea that breaking a head of the figurine means breaking a head of person. That kind of answer as I stated before would be too simple. Here the difference between the corporeality of the human body and materiality of the figurines becomes blurred in mutual signification. Hybrid reality or the reality of the virtual allows corporeality of the bodies to act in the same way the materiality of the figurines act. So the figurines become not only material but also corporeal. This doesn't mean that materiality/corporeality of the figurines is stable, nor does it mean that corporeality of the human bodies always act the same way as materiality of figurines does. It is the practice on them that makes these bodies unstable,

both human and clay. Magical practice is a major site of invention and its method of invention is to attack the very ways in which human beings are seen or conceived to construct their realities (Kapferer 2003: 21). Everything discussed here is in the performance, because by doing something on a body which is not resisting means that it is not reality entering an image, it is the image which enters and shatters reality, symbolic coordinates which determine what we experience as reality (Žižek 2002: 16). Much sorcery and magic are hybrid forms par excellence. They work at the boundaries and margins, either they force together things which are normally held apart or they brake apart that which is normally whole (Kapferer 2003: 22). They are like performative acts, in other words, with the power to produce or materialize subjectivating effects (Butler 1993: 106). Magic has the capacity to work with the very potencies of difference, differentiation, division, opposition, contradiction and transgression. It gathers the force of such potencies, harnessing them to the purpose of destruction or the conjunction (Kapferer 2003: 14). Performative acts are forms of authoritative speech: most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in the uttering, also perform a certain action and exercise a binding power (Butler 1993: 225). We cannot abstract bodies from the rest of the material world. The body is both a material thing and a conceptual media (Fowler 2008: 56). Figurines were made of clay, pots were made of clay, and houses were made of clay and in this way figurines as body re-presentations show a close relation between flesh, land, objects and houses.

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### **Summary**

Bubanj-Salčuța-Krivodol figurines on the central Balkans have been often interpreted as reminiscence of Neolithic fertility goddess, and figurines are read as female no matter the fact that there is also an almost equal number of figurines without the signifiers often considered exclusive for females (pubic triangle and breasts). This study shows that we can not consider all figurines to be of female sex, because there are also figurines without sex at all, or without what we consider "sex". No matter the meaning of these categories the analyses show that they are important for the different treatment of the heads. The figurines with a hole for a "head to be inserted" are all female (pubic triangle and breasts), and the figurines with conical head, or what is considered to be maybe a stand for a "head to be placed on", are all except one without primary sexual characteristics. It is evident that there is a difference in meaning, and that the head is



crucial for manipulation of the body. In this way, as it is written in some earlier work on figurines, they can be considered to be re-presentations of the body in alternative reality. The fact that this study shows is that the figurines were deliberately fragmented and that there was a peculiar manipulation of their body parts, especially their heads. This means that if fragmentation and manipulation are actions performed on figurines, then these fragmentations and manipulations come from the people who made them, used them, looked them, etc. Fragmentation and manipulation are acts of intention coming outside the alternative world of figurines as re-presentations of the body. But, if these intentions come outside the alternative reality, if they come from some kind of original reality, why are they conducted in alternative reality instead? This means that there is no clear distinction between the figurines as re-presentations of the body, and the bodies themselves, between the alternative and the original, the original and the "copy". If there is no clear distinction between the bodies that perform actions, and the bodies on which these actions are performed, we can talk about dividuals rather than individuals. The bodies have the power over the re-presentations, but these re-presentations also have the power over the bodies, like mirror images. Are we then talking about "magic mirrors"?

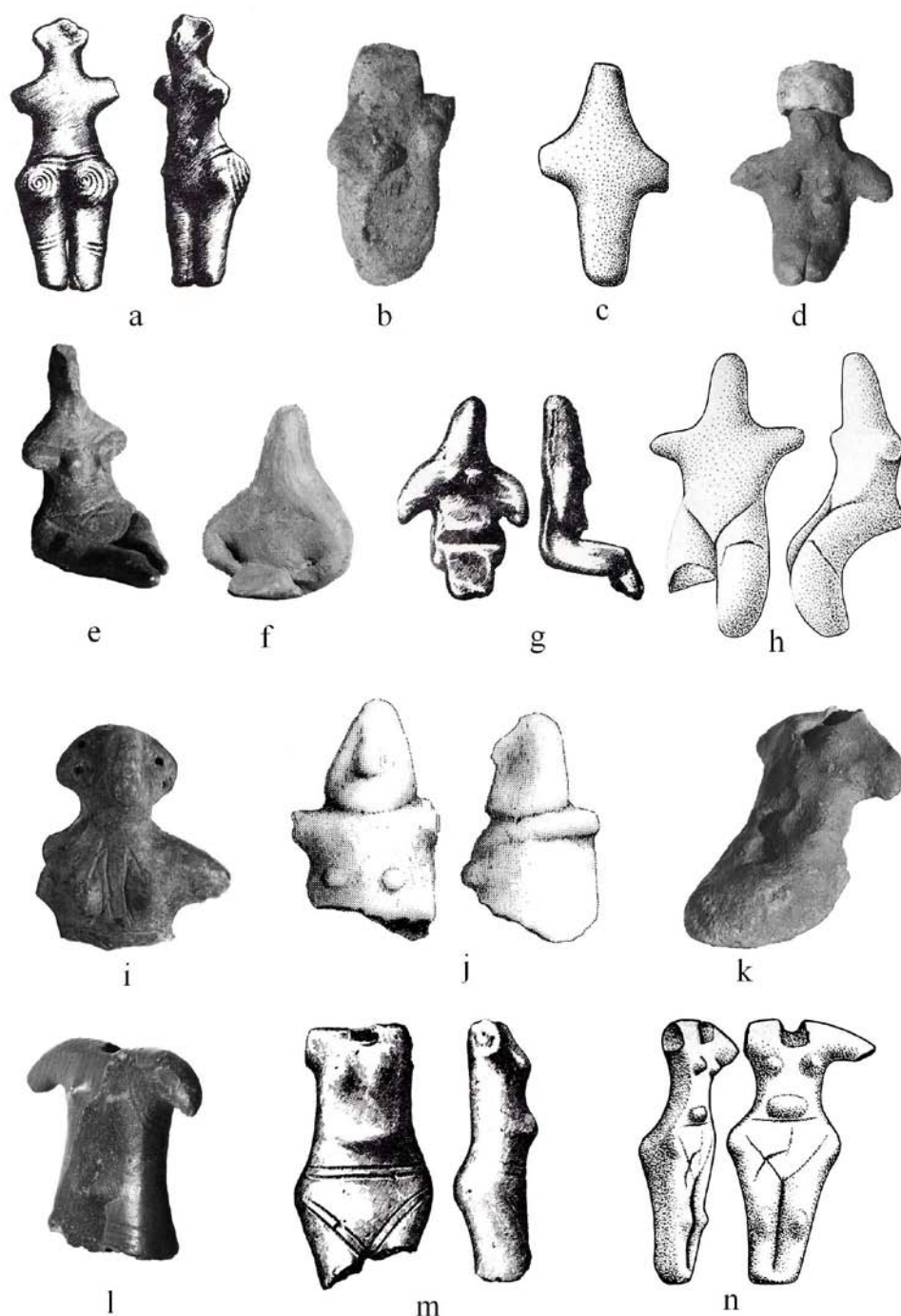


Table I. a) Čoku lu Balaš-Krivelj (Tasić 1995: Plate XII, 1), b) Crkveni Livadi-Struga (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 47), c) Maliq (Korkuti 1995: Tafel 94, 9), d) Dolno Oreovo, Šuplevac-Bitolsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 79), e) Tumba, Crnobuki-Prilepsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 78), f) Tumba, Crnobuki-Bitolsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 75), g) Tumba, Crnobuki-Bitolsko (Tasić 1995: Plate XII, 6), h) Maliq (Korkuti 1995: Tafel 94, 2), i) Pilavo, Buričevo-Kočansko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 81), j) Škodrinu polje (Лазих, Сладић 1997: 214), k) Tumba, Crnobuki-Prilepsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 94), l) Dolno Oreovo, Šuplevac-Bitolsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 53), m) Dolno Oreovo, Šuplevac-Bitolsko (Tasić 1995: Plate XII, 2), n) Maliq (Korkuti 1995: Tafel 94, 1)

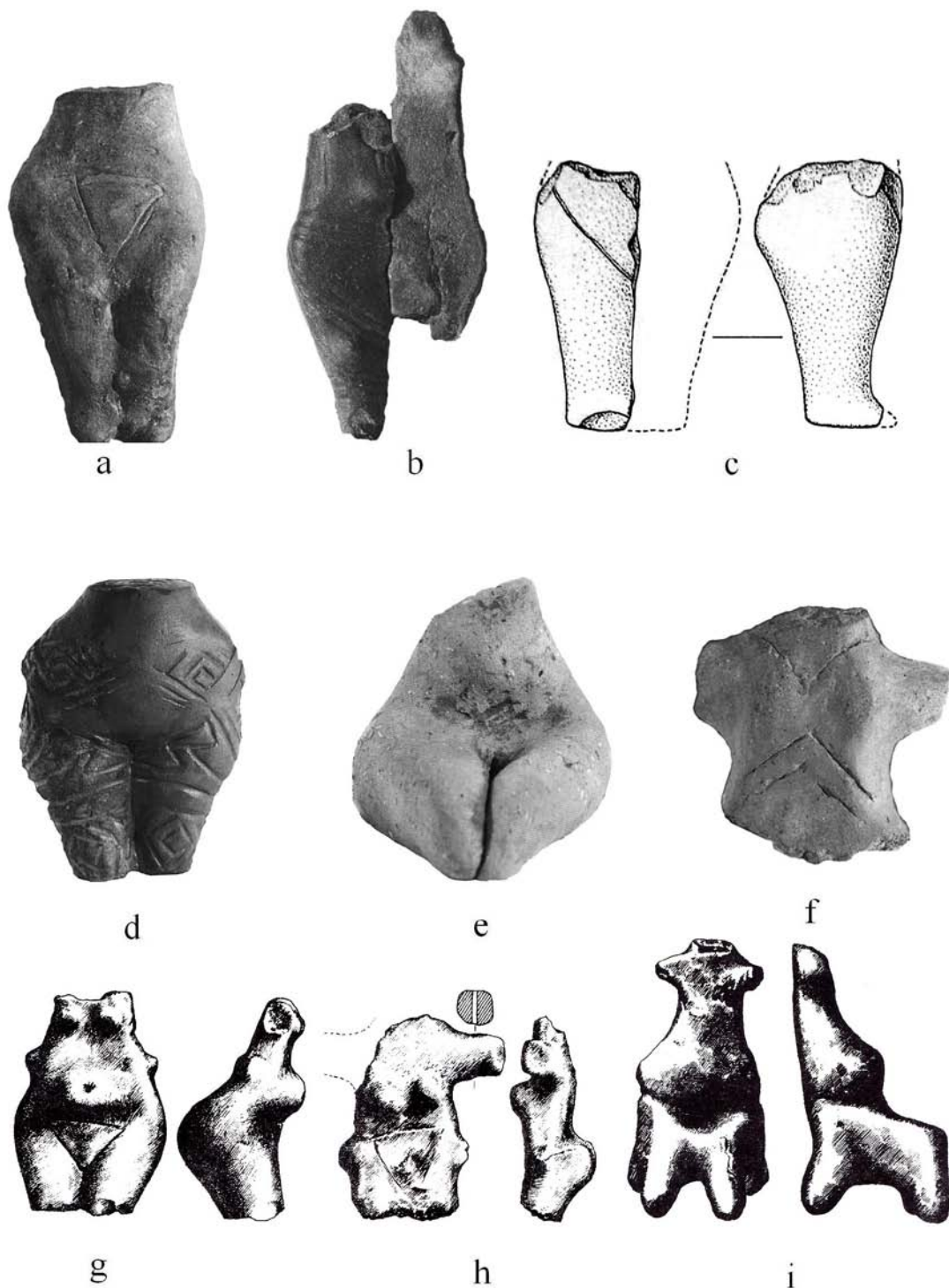


Table II. a) Vakarno Gumno, Čerigovo-Prilepsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 104), b) Dolno Oreovo, Šuplevac-Bitolsko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 111), c) Burimas (Korkuti 1995: Tafel 82, 1), d) Pilavo, Burilčevo-Kočansko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 105), e) Carevi Kuli, Strumica (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 73), f) Pilavo, Burilčevo-Kočansko (Колиштркоска Настева 2005: 87), g) Kovilovo (Tasić 1995: Plate XII, 4), h) Zlotska pećina (Tasić 1995: Plate XII, 8), i) Dolno Oreovo, Šuplevac-Bitolsko (Tasić 1995: Plate XII, 3)

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