AFTER ACCESSION: EU FUNDING AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE IN BULGARIA

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Elizabeth Ashley Bews

December 2018

© 2018 Elizabeth Ashley Bews

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the relationship between EU funding and heritage practice in member states, taking Bulgaria as a case study. Using ethnographic data gathered in Bulgaria, Berlin, and at the EU headquarters in Brussels, this study examines Bulgarian archaeologists' participation, or lack thereof, in EU-funded heritage projects. Data produced by interviews with Bulgarian archaeologists and EU officials indicate that heritage practitioners in the EU and Bulgaria have divergent understandings of heritage, and this manifests in the way that heritage projects are conceived and executed by each entity. This case study demonstrates that EU heritage priorities and Bulgarian heritage practice diverge to such an extent that Bulgarian archaeologists prefer to rely on meager national funding, rather than engage with EU funding mechanisms. The project ultimately argues that while there is a mutual entanglement between EU and Bulgarian heritage structures, there is also considerable friction in how they interact with each other.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elizabeth Bews graduated from St. Olaf College in 2015 with bachelor's degrees in History, French, and Russian Area Studies. Throughout her undergraduate years she participated in excavations at Antiochia ad Cragum in Gazipasa, Turkey, at Heraclea Sintica in Rupite, Bulgaria and at Parthicopolis in Sandanski, Bulgaria. During this time she focused on how Antiochia ad Cragum's provincial inhabitants articulated their own indigenous religious, civic, and social identities while simultaneously participating in a wider imperial milieu. Upon receipt of her degree from St. Olaf she departed on a Fulbright Research Grant to Bulgaria where she examined the archaeological record of the Middle Strymon River Valley in the context of 19th and 20th century nation-building practices. She has taken part in excavations at a variety of sites in Turkey, Bulgaria, and the United States. Elizabeth's excavation experiences fostered her current research interests, which center on the entanglement of cultures at the fringes of empire, both in antiquity and in modern times.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would first like to express my sincere gratitude to my committee members, Dr. Lori Khatchadourian and Dr. Adam T. Smith. Lori's office provided a welcome refuge from the stresses of graduate school, and an environment where I felt welcome to discuss and develop my often half-formed ideas about this project. Her never-ending patience in reading through and providing constructive comments on my texts were invaluable. I also benefitted enormously from Adam's insightful comments and penetrating questions, which kept my eye on the big picture.

My immense thanks also go to Dr. Emil Nankov, who gave generously of his time and experience throughout my Fulbright term in Bulgaria to discuss the current state of heritage in the country. Without his unique insights into the history and evolution of Bulgarian archaeology, this project would not have come to fruition.

Perhaps no one saw the daily struggles I encountered with this project more than Kirby Schoephoerster. When the need arose, he was able to seamlessly alternate between the roles of partner, problem solver, and fellow academic. I can never thank him enough for his unending patience with the emotional ups and downs of graduate school and his ability to keep the ship afloat when I could not.

Finally, to Mark, Beth, Katie, and DJ Bews: without your support and encouragement throughout the writing process I would have been lost. Thank you for dropping everything to answer my texts and phone calls at all hours of the day and night. Your encouragement of me and support of my passion for archaeology, even when you don't totally understand it, is astounding. You are my pillars without whom I could not stand.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PRELIMINARY SECTIONS

Abstract ii

Biographical Sketch iii

Acknowledgements iv

List of Figures vi

CONTENT SECTIONS

Introduction vii

Previous Research viii

Europeanness and Cultural Diversity in the EU..x

Universality and Representativeness in UNESCO...xi

A Shift in EU Discourse: United in Diversity xiii

Europeanness and Cultural Diversity in the EU xiv

EU Funding for Cultural Heritage xvii

Bulgarian Archaeology and Heritage Practices xx

Cultural Heritage Funding in Bulgaria xxv

Bulgarian Realities xxx

The Disconnect xxxvi

Conclusion xxxvii

Bibliography xxxix

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. European Union Funding Schemes xviii

Figure 2. Total Excavations in Bulgaria 2006-2015 xxix

Figure 3. Regular Excavations in Bulgaria 2007-2015……………..........................xxix

Figure 4. Rescue Excavations in Bulgaria 2007-2015..xxx

Introduction

Recent scholarly conversations have recognized the inherently political nature of funding sources for archaeology. However, these same conversations have neglected to discuss exactly how political agendas connected to financial support impact archaeological research. In Europe, a prominent example of the intersection between politics and financing for archaeology is the European Union; in EU member states, European Union funding is often the principal source of financial support for archaeological and heritage projects. While it is evident that the EU plays an important role in funding member states' heritage projects, the impact of this benefactor-beneficiary relationship on archaeology and heritage practice remains less clear.

This thesis aims to investigate the intersection of funding and heritage practice within one EU member state: Bulgaria. It will also examine how Bulgarian archaeologists' participation (or lack thereof) in EU funding mechanisms has impacted the state's heritage practices. There are a number of reasons why this particular member state stands as an advantageous case study. First, as the poorest member state in the EU, Bulgaria's national funding is insufficient to meet its demand for excavation and research; thus, EU funding plays a crucial role in the initiation and continuation of its heritage-related projects. Second, given the Western Balkan[1] states' EU accession negotiations, Bulgaria's short but turbulent history as an EU member could provide lessons about the challenges their accession might present. Specifically, lessons could include how political tensions between old and new members of the EU manifest in the arena of heritage, given their differing investments in the idea of

[1] Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia.

"Europe." Therefore, adopting this particular case study allows this project to examine how archaeologists interact with the EU as an institution and the resulting impact of that interaction on the practice of archaeology.

Previous Research

Oriane Calligaro examines EU cultural policy and details a shift in EU cultural discourse from the 1970s to the present.[2] She argues that while the EU has primarily used cultural heritage as a legitimizing tool for its promotion of European identity, in the 1990s heritage began to be used to "defend local cultural diversity against the homogenizing effects of European integration."[3] Calligaro explains that the EU has struggled to thread the needle between an increasingly diverse EU and the need for a cohesive European identity, and that heritage has become a critical site where this struggle comes to the fore. Tuuli Lähdesmäki likewise argues that the EU is actively fostering and promoting a common European identity through cultural heritage policy, but focuses on the mechanisms through which the EU is able to achieve such goals. [4] She asserts that the EU takes both a top-down and bottom-up approach to implementation, utilizing EU and local actors.

Alongside such studies of EU discourse and cultural policies is an emerging concern to assess the impact of EU funding for cultural heritage on the practice of archaeology in Europe. Elisabeth Niklasson examines how archaeological projects that are co-funded by the EU help to construct a sense of common European identity.[5] She argues that in receiving funding from the European Union, an organization that

[2] Calligaro 2014.
[3] Calligaro 2014, 64.
[4] Lähdesmaki 2014.
[5] Niklasson 2016.

promotes common cultural heritage and European integration, these projects are "not only doing archaeology but they are also 'doing' Europe."[6] In this way, EU funding for archaeology effectively provides a financial incentive to "nurture and preserve"[7] European culture.

The limitations of EU cultural heritage practices come to the fore when attention turns to the new member states of Eastern Europe. Claske Vos analyzes shortcomings in the implementation of the *Regional Program for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe*.[8] Vos shows how the EU institutions that were administering the program did not provide adequate guidance for program implementation, and European program coordinators did not understand Serbian heritage structure. These issues, in turn, led to conflicts between actors at local, regional, national, and supra-national levels, impeding progress on the program's implementation.

Studies to date are shedding light on how EU cultural policies and funding mechanisms are working to advance the EU's institutional goal of a united Europe. Less clear at present, however, is how the EU attends to cultural diversity within the context of its overall mission, as well as the diversity of priorities and approaches vis-à-vis the study and preservation of the past. In the next section, I chart shifts in EU discourse and policy with respect to the theme of diversity and how the tension between unity and diversity manifests in EU funding mechanisms, before turning to the Bulgarian case study.

---

[6] Niklasson 2016, 323.
[7] Niklasson 2016, 18.
[8] Vos 2011.

Europeanness and Cultural Diversity in the EU

The link between European identity and cultural heritage traces its roots to 1954, when the Council of Europe established the *European Cultural Convention*, which stressed that the nine[9] signing member countries of the EU should educate their citizens about the "civilization, which is common to them all."[10] The importance of commonness was extended to "objects of European cultural value" as "integral parts of the common cultural heritage of Europe."[11] This connection between common heritage and European identity continued to strengthen in December 1973 with the publication of the *Declaration on European Identity*, also known as the *Declaration of Copenhagen*. In this document, the first criterion for defining European identity is identified as "reviewing the common heritage, interests and special obligations of the Nine, as well as the degree of unity so far achieved within the Community."[12]

In May 1974, the European Parliament (EP) adopted the first community resolution concerning cultural heritage: the *Resolution on Measures to Protect the European Cultural Heritage*. The resolution dealt with the vulnerable state of cultural heritage in Europe and suggested that "an inventory of European cultural heritage should be created and educational measures should be taken in order to disseminate this information."[13] In the early 1980s, the European Commission's attempts to substantiate a "European" identity intensified. The Commission staged various cultural events intended to further involve European audiences in building a

[9] Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.
[10] Council of Europe 1954.
[11] Niklasson 2016, 78.
[12] "Declaration on European Identity," 1973.
[13] Niklasson 2016, 73.

community founded on a common "European" heritage.[14] These efforts continued into the 1990s, when the EU established various cultural programs for its member states, including Kaleidoscope, Ariadne, and Raphael, which supported projects in the cultural sector and contributed to the mutual knowledge of European culture.

Soon after their introduction, however, scholars harshly criticized these programs for representing only high culture and thus reinforcing an elitist approach to European heritage.[15] Critics argued that the EU was harnessing the power of cultural heritage to construct a European super-state, a practice reminiscent of those nation-building practices that emerged in the nineteenth century.[16] In many ways, these critiques followed on similar reassessments at the time of hegemonic cultural heritage practice within UNESCO,[17] and thus speak to a broader shift in the landscape of global heritage discourse and practice in the 1990s.

Universality and Representativeness in UNESCO

UNESCO's own struggles with Eurocentrism and hegemony in heritage practice began in the 1980s, shortly before those of the EU. During this period, concerns arose regarding the World Heritage List's failure to represent the diversity of human cultural heritage, or what UNESCO calls "representivity." Until this point "universality," which generally refers to the idea that sites can be of such value that they are universally valuable to people around the world, had reigned in UNESCO policy; UNESCO employs universality to describe heritage sites in much the same

[14] During 2010, 10.
[15] Schlesinger 1994; Shore 2006; During 2010, 11; Calligaro 2014, 68.
[16] Shore 2006, 11.
[17] Labadi 2013; Smith 2006.

way that the EU uses the concept of Europeanness in its discourse. At the 1980 World Heritage Convention meeting, experts took the decision to revise the Convention's six cultural heritage criteria for outstanding universal value to make the List more "representative."[18] However, the revisions were largely ineffective, because UNESCO experts, who were mostly European, still favored a model for cultural heritage that was based on analytical categories "derived from European art and architectural traditions, primarily emphasizing aesthetic and historic values in identifying heritage."[19]

Throughout the 1980s the World Heritage Committee "increasingly discussed the need and means by which to achieve a World Heritage List that would contain sites of truly outstanding universal value *and* equitably represent the world's diversity of cultural heritage."[20] In 1988 the Global Study was established to investigate gaps in the World Heritage List and promote its representativeness,[21] but its program, with an emphasis on traditional categories of classical art history, historical, and aesthetic civilizations, came under scrutiny in the early 1990s. The imbalance in the types of properties inscribed on the List was underlined in a study conducted by ICOMOS that showed 40 percent of its sites were located in Europe.[22] In response, "experts noted that the World Heritage List projected a very narrow concept of cultural heritage that excluded many types of heritage sites and living cultures, particularly those from non-European and non-monumental cultures."[23]

[18] Labadi 2013, 33.
[19] Gfeller 2015, 370; ICOMOS 1984.
[20] Labadi 2013, 38-39.
[21] Gfeller 2015, 371; UNESCO 1988.
[22] Cleere 2011, 3.
[23] UNESCO 1994; Labadi 2013, 45.

To correct these imbalances, the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List (from now on the Global Strategy) replaced the Global Study.[24] Unfortunately, multiple reports since the Global Strategy's implementation have noted that it has not had the desired effect.[25] Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated in the next section, the EU followed closely on the heels of UNESCO's discursive shift from "universality" to "representativeness." Additionally, both of these changes emerged in response to similar critiques of hegemonic and Eurocentric values within transnational cultural organizations.

A Shift in EU Discourse: United in Diversity

In response to the critiques of its heritage politics, the European Union made a concerted effort in the 1990s to emphasize the importance of cultural diversity within member states. The EU introduced a number of institutional changes regarding culture: the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU* in 2000, the *Declaration Supporting a European Charter of Culture* in 2005, and finally, in what is the most salient of institutional changes for this study, the first EU motto "United in Diversity" in 2000. The *Charter of Fundamental Rights* encouraged a plurality of cultures within the Union, stating that, "The Union shall respect cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity."[26] Similarly, the *Declaration Supporting a European Charter of Culture* proclaimed that, "acceptance of the Constitutional Treaty for Europe involves the adoption of cultural diversity as a spearhead of the EU."[27] According to the EU, the motto "United in Diversity" signifies how "Europeans have come together, in the form

[24] Gfeller 2015, 372.
[25] See, for example: Frey, Pamini, and Steiner 2011; Henley, 2001; Strasser, 2002.
[26] Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union 2012.
[27] During 2012, 12.

of the EU, to work for peace and prosperity, while at the same time being enriched by the continent's many different cultures, traditions and languages."[28] This formulation reveals how EU policymakers have attempted to resolve the tension at the heart of the EU project between, on the one hand, a founding logic premised on cohesion and the prospect of integration to overcome the forms of diversity that incited intense nationalism and the Second World War and, on the other hand, a persistent reality of diversity that has only increased with the incorporation of the new member states of eastern Europe.

The EU threads this needle between cohesion and heterogeneity by designating politics (peace) and economics (prosperity) as the domains where unity matters, while rendering culture as the arena of diversity. According to the EU charters mentioned above, heritage practice, including its support of archaeological research, should be a domain in which a diversity of traditions and approaches are supported. But is this truly how EU officials approach cultural heritage in day-to-day governance? A unique opportunity to evaluate EU heritage priorities arose when the European Union organized the first European Cultural Heritage Summit in summer 2018.

Europeanness and Cultural Diversity in the EU

The European Cultural Heritage Summit was held from 18-24 June 2018 in Berlin, Germany and included various events led by policy makers, academics, and heritage professionals centering on the summit's title "Sharing Heritage, Sharing Values." The goal of the summit was to foster discussion about the current state of cultural heritage in Europe as well as to inspire the adoption and implementation of

[28] "The EU Motto" n.d.

the new European Agenda for Cultural Heritage. What became obvious was that diversity, while clearly a key factor in EU discourse, was almost entirely ignored at the summit.

Not a single event at the summit or in the sessions I attended included "diversity" in its title. For example in the sessions "ONE Heritage – Heritage and Society in the Euro-Mediterranean Community" and "The Heritage of Humanity: Common Ways into the Future" the notion of diversity was overwhelmed by a prevailing focus on European integration. In an era when the EU is politically divided, despite the conceit of the institution's motto, it appears that officials are turning to a policy of promoting what I will call "homogenous cultural Europeanness" in order to maintain a sense of belonging, cohesion, and peace for its inhabitants. Indeed, speeches at the summit often framed homogenous cultural Europeanness as a symbol of a united Europe, looking to overcome its current crises, including terrorism, the rise of nationalism, and the influx of immigrants to Europe. Roland Bernecker, Secretary General of the German Commission for UNESCO, was most explicit about this goal in his speech at the summit: "we can strengthen the peace process through common cultural heritage and that is the goal of the European Year of Cultural Heritage."

In order to better understand the conspicuous disregard for diversity at the summit I conducted three days of interviews with EU officials in Brussels. I asked several officials in the Directorate-General for Education and Culture about their priorities for cultural heritage in Europe as compared to what was outlined at the Berlin summit. One interviewee told me:

"You are right, I was at the same summit and at the high level policy debate

there was not much discussion about cultural diversity. Indeed, the focus of the European Year of Cultural Heritage is sharing. At the same time, shared heritage can only materialize in a diversity context. So diversity is a key concept, whatever we do."

This was typical of the conversations I had in Brussels; when asked directly about their slogan "United in Diversity," interviewees told me in vague terms about the importance of diversity for their work. What dominated the conversation, however, was their interest in promoting the ill-defined "European" character of sites and how that aspect of the agenda was accomplished. Diversity was quickly abandoned in each conversation despite the fact that EU discourse frames the cultural realm as the sphere where diversity should be celebrated and supported.

At the same time, when we did discuss diversity, interviewees somewhat paradoxically emphasized that focusing on the united "European" character of sites does not diminish the importance of diversity, but rather elevates sites to the European level of discourse. One EU official went on to explain that in the European Year of Cultural Heritage, "there are plenty of local initiatives, which upon deeper reflection are very European because they connect to a broader spectrum." The logic behind this statement suggests that in every heritage site, no matter its location within the EU, it is possible to find inherent "European" characteristics. Those "European" features can then be used to make connections with other heritage sites across Europe, emphasizing the commonalities of "European" history that exist within and between member states. A second EU official echoed this statement, saying that heritage is "a matter of bringing local sites into the European narrative but without imposing the European

narrative. It's already there, it's just a matter of bringing it up to the European level." Both statements clearly betray the continuation of a hegemonic discourse within the EU; by "bringing up" or "connecting" these diverse sites to a European narrative, the EU is deliberately enveloping all diversity within a European discourse.

In the immediate post-Cold War era, the EU attempted to accommodate critiques of its heritage politics by introducing a number of institutional changes aimed at increasing diversity representation in its cultural policy. In spite of this shift, EU officials continue to prioritize homogenous cultural Europeanness as a means to overcome Europe's divisive political climate, revealing discrepancies between ideology and practice. But how do such institutional inconsistencies at the level of ideology and discourse play out in the pragmatics of EU funding for cultural heritage? How is EU funding structured, and what impact does this have on archaeological funding at the national level? It is to these questions that I now turn.

EU Funding for Cultural Heritage

The EU currently provides three types of financing to member states: joint management of financing through the five European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF), direct funding awarded through grants, and indirect funding that is managed by intermediaries. The EU has many programs that provide funding for cultural heritage, each with its own goals, eligibility requirements, and budget (figure 1).

Fund Name	Description	Budget	Who Can Apply?
European Structural and Investment Funds (2014-2020)	Includes: ERDF, EAFRD, EMFF, ESF	Total budget: €325 billion (€3 billion for culture-related projects).	See Below for Individual Funds
European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)	Aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion in the EU by correcting imbalances between its regions.	Total budget: €183.3 billion (€4.770 billion for cultural heritage).	Public bodies, some private sector organizations (especially small businesses), universities, associations, NGOs, and voluntary organizations.
Interregional (Interreg) Program	An initiative funded by the ERDF, supports cross-border cooperation programs, transnational cooperation programs, and interregional programs.	Total budget: €10.1 billion	Same as ERDF
URBACT	An initiative funded by the ERDF that helps cities to develop new and sustainable pragmatic solutions. It also funds innovative ideas in heritage protection.	Total budget: €96.3 million co-financed by ERDF (77.1%), national contributions (5.7%), and local contributions (17.2%).	Same as ERDF
European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)	Provides support for studies and investments associated with the maintenance, restoration and upgrading of the cultural and natural heritage of villages, rural landscapes and high nature value sites.	Total budget: €101.2 billion	Local and regional authorities, administrations, states, agencies, chambers, SMEs, universities, and non-profit organizations.
European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF)	Supports community-led local development projects that promote cultural heritage – including maritime cultural heritage – in fisheries areas	Total budget: €5.7 billion (€647 million for cultural heritage)	A public or semi-public organization, NGOs, an association, universities, and research institutes, small, micro and medium-sized businesses, and scientific organizations working in the maritime sectors.
European Social Fund (ESF)	Focuses on improving employment and education opportunities across the EU. It also aims to improve the situation of the most vulnerable people at risk of poverty. The heritage sector can indirectly address the aims of this fund.	Total budget: €80 billion	Same as ERDF
Horizon 2020	Encompasses activities and opportunities linked with information & communications technologies for cultural heritage.	Total Budget: €80 billion	A collaboration of at least 3 organizations from different member states. It is possible to submit a proposal as an individual researcher, team or organization.
European Research Council	A flagship component of Horizon 2020 that aims to fund research and substantially strengthen and shape the European research system.	Total budget: €13.1 billion	ERC grants are awarded through open competition to projects headed by emerging and established researchers.
Creative Europe Program	Supports cross-border projects in all fields of culture. In addition to grant-aiding individual projects, it also supports special actions.	Total budget: €1.46 billion (€422 million for the culture sub-programme)	Same as Horizon 2020 but also includes non-EU countries.

Figure 1

These funding mechanisms can be divided into two broad groups: regional programs (e.g. Interreg) and cultural programs (e.g. Creative Europe). The cultural programs make the most explicit effort to mention diversity, even as an emphasis on unity frequently dominates. For example, one of the flagship initiatives of the Creative Europe program is the European Capitals of Culture (from now on: ECOC). Its description acknowledges that projects must address "the diversity of cultures in Europe," but the overall vision must be European and the "European dimension must therefore be reflected in the cultural and artistic content as well as in the objectives set for the ECOC project and the corresponding indicators."[29]

The regional programs, on the other hand, almost never mention diversity, but frequently include Europeanness as a part of each initiative's mission. The Interreg initiative "Interregional Cooperation in Support of Cultural Heritage Routes," for instance, mandates that cultural roots be "organized around themes for which the historical, artistic or social interest is patently European, either by virtue of geography or because of its range and significance."[30] No mention of diversity appears in the initiative's description. Close examination shows that EU funding opportunities do not allow for diversity to a greater degree than the ideology expressed at the Berlin summit nor in the Brussels interviews I conducted. With a firm understanding of how the EU's Europeanizing ideology came to be and how EU funding is structured, I now turn to the Bulgarian case study to analyze the impact of both EU funding and ideology on how heritage is practiced in member states.

[29] European Capitals of Culture 2020 to 2033: A Guide for Cities Preparing to Bid, n.d.
[30] "Interregional Cooperation in Support of Cultural Heritage Routes" 2017.

Bulgarian Archaeology and Heritage Practices

In order to understand how Bulgarian archaeologists interpret and respond to EU institutional processes and official narratives, it is first necessary to examine how the archaeological discipline evolved in Bulgaria and how heritage practices developed during this process. Bulgarian archaeology finds its roots in the period before the official creation of the Bulgarian state (from *de facto* in 1878 to *de jure* in 1908). Foreigners played a leading role in its formation; Albert Dumont, a prominent French scholar organized the first archaeological expedition on Bulgarian territory in 1868.[31] In 1876, Czech historian Konstantin Jirecek published his seminal, *History of the Bulgarians*, a historiographical exploration of Bulgaria from the medieval state's formation to the Ottoman conquest.[32] Two years later, in 1878, Russian Byzantinist Fyodor Uspensky and the Czech brothers Hermengild and Karel Skorpil led extensive expeditions and several excavations in Bulgarian territory.[33] The scholar recognized for truly popularizing Bulgaria's cultural heritage is Austrian geographer, ethnographer, and archaeologist Felix Kanitz, whose richly illustrated 1882 publication *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan* made the country's archaeological remains accessible to European audiences. Jirecek, Kanitz, Dumont, and the Skorpil brothers were only the first in a long line of foreign scholars who would come to work

[31] Dumont founded both the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* and the École Française de Rome. He focused his research on the region of Thrace, and his posthumous 1892 work, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie,* is recognized as a pioneering study in Thracian history, culture, and archaeology.
[32] Alexandrov 2017, 77.
[33] The Skorpil brothers were Czechs working in Bulgaria at the end of the nineteenth century, collecting archaeological information from various regions in the newly-established country and publishing their results in a considerable number of books. Curta 2013, 378-381; Alexandrov 2017, 77.

in Bulgaria.[34]

While the trend of foreign involvement continued until the beginning of World War II,[35] it was at the turn of the century that the Bulgarian state began to intervene in the study of cultural heritage and took measures to protect heritage as national patrimony, rather than as a good for transnational consumption. In 1892, the government issued cultural directives "with the aim of preventing the destruction and export of cultural and historical goods."[36] This was quickly followed by the implementation of provisional rules for scientific and literary institutions, which regulated how scholars should locate and protect sources of Bulgarian history. Archaeology as a field of study was formalized with the creation of Sofia University in 1888, the National Museum in 1892,[37] and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN) in 1911. In that same year the state passed the Antiquities Act, which "laid down clear and systematic measures for protection and named the institutions that were to be responsible for implementing them."[38]

The establishment of BAN and the Antiquities Act marked a turning point in Bulgarian archaeology from the relatively unregulated, largely foreign-run study and dissemination of archaeological scholarship, to a highly controlled, state-organized

[34] As Douglass Bailey states: Many of the early archaeologists working in Bulgaria had received their training in Austria or France. Raphael Popov and Gavril Katsarov were both trained abroad. Bogdan Filov was German educated. Indeed, one could argue that the very origins of Bulgarian archaeology…was heavily influenced by western and central European traditions and individuals." Bailey 1998, 102.

[35] Most remarkable during this time "is the work of the American, James Gaul, who travelled widely in the country before World War II. Also of note, the work of British archaeologist, Dorothy Garrod, who carried out work on the Paleolithic site Bacho Kiro in 1938." Bailey 1998, 102.

[36] Alexandrov 2017, 81.

[37] The Department of Valuables - part of the library established in 1878-1879 was then reformed into a National Museum in 1892, which subsequently became the Bulgarian Institute of Archaeology in 1921 - the first academic institute in Bulgaria. It is now referred to as the NAIM-BAS (National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences).

[38] Alexandrov 2017, 81.

program of analysis and promotion. At this stage, the government began to harness the power of an archaeological narrative to legitimize the political regimes of the 20th century. In the early days of the Bulgarian state, officials worked to create a myth of national origin, which centered on material remains recovered from within the state's borders.[39] The need for a unifying force for the nation, combined with recently established academic institutions, meant that archaeological scholarship from 1878 to the end of WWI centered primarily on the study and promotion of a Bulgarian heritage. An integral part of this promotion was a search for Bulgaria's ethnicity (*narodnost*), and heritage was conceived largely in terms of ethnic genealogy.

During this period, scholarship focused on the Slavs, whose medieval empires centuries earlier had thrived on Bulgarian territory. As the discipline professionalized in the early 20th century, scholars refined their definition of the peoples who inhabited Bulgarian lands during the first (681-1018 CE) and second (1185-1396 CE) Bulgarian kingdoms, and added the proto-Bulgarians to the list of Bulgarian ancestral groups, which at that time only included the Slavs.[40] The focus on Bulgarian ethnogenesis only intensified, and by the end of World War I state officials established a policy of "Bulgarianization" for the nation's lands. The Greek-Bulgarian population exchanges[41] of 1919-1925, which included the exodus of almost all of Bulgaria's Greek citizens, provided an ideal environment in which to emphasize Bulgarian ancestry and cultural influence through cultural heritage. During the inter-war period,

[39] Kohl 1995, 228.
[40] As a population with Asiatic roots who migrated to the Balkans in the 7th century AD, the Proto-Bulgarians are considered genetically and linguistically different from the Slavs, and are credited with founding the first medieval Bulgarian state.
[41] The population exchanges were based on provisions outlined in the *Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities* that Bulgaria and Greece signed in 1919. The convention targeted nearly 350,000 individuals in both countries. For more information see: Dragostinova 2011.

pamphlets were widely distributed emphasizing the Thracian roots of traditionally Greek towns on the Black Sea coast, such as Sozopol and Nessebar.[42]

It was also during the inter-war period that the genetic link between modern Bulgarians and yet a third ancestral group, the Thracians,[43] began to capture popular imagination. Scholars asserted that the inhabitants of lands within Bulgaria's modern territories "were actually descendants of Hellenized Thracians and Slavs/Bulgarians," and thus Thracian sites were excavated and promoted as an ethno-national heritage of modern Bulgarians.[44] The exodus of Greeks from Bulgarian lands, the "Bulgarianization" of the Black Sea Coast, and the emphasis on an ancestral link to the Thracians coincided with the discovery of the first Thracian "treasures" (Valchitran, Arabadjiyska Mogila etc.) in Bulgaria during the 1920s.[45] The formalization of Bulgarian archaeology continued with the foundation of the Archaeological Institute in 1921, and until World War II the National Archaeological Museum and the Archaeological Institute were responsible for all archaeological excavations in the country with the assistance of regional museums.[46]

The onset of WWII and its immediate aftermath saw the Communist Party monopolize archaeological scholarship in order to legitimize its totalitarian regime. This process included the consolidation of the National Museum and the

---

[42] Marinov 2013, 86.
[43] The Thracians were a group of Indo-European tribes that inhabited Eastern and Southeastern Europe between the 10th century BCE and the 1st century CE. Very little information about Thracian culture survives, with the Thracian language almost entirely lost. Marinov 2013, 10-12.
[44] Marinov 2013, 86.
[45] In 1924 two brothers working on their vineyard near the village of Valchitran discovered the Valchitran treasure (Вълчитрънско златно съкровище); dated to 1300 BCE the hoard consists of 13 vessels with a total weight in gold of 12.5kg. Between 1929 and 1931 archaeologists excavated 50 tumuli from the extensive burial site near the village of Duvanlii. During these excavations a rich burial from the Arabadjiyska Mogila (Арабаджийска Могила) was discovered; dating to the 5th century BCE the gold grave goods included a pectoral, a ring, a necklace, and 8 earrings.
[46] Velkov 1993, 125.

Archaeological Institute, which was renamed the Archaeological Institute and Museum.[47] Funding arrangements for archaeology were also reorganized during this period; the state confiscated the Archaeological Institute's endowments, and the Ministry of Culture began distributing funds for the Institute's excavations to local administrative authorities.[48] Throughout the 1950s, the state began to loosen the reins, so-to-speak, on archaeological scholarship, and by the late 1950s, scholarship evolved to such an extent that archaeologists produced rigorous academic studies with only lip service introductions to appease the ruling order.[49]

In the 1960s the state renewed the search to identify Bulgarians' true ethnicity (*narodnost*), especially one that would emphasize Bulgaria's ancient roots and cultural singularity.[50] This entailed a return to the developing field of Thracology. In just a few short years, support for Thracology in Bulgaria exploded to the point that in 1967, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the party declared that in Bulgarians' veins "ran Thracian blood."[51] The end of the 1960s brought more legislative changes to the discipline, and in 1969 the "Law on Museums and Cultural Heritage," which again defines cultural heritage in terms of national patrimony, mandated that the Archaeological Institute be primarily responsible for all excavations in the country. Conservation of standing archaeological remains, on the other hand, was the responsibility of the National Institute of Cultural Monuments, attached to the Ministry of Culture.[52] Also notable during the late 1960s and early 1970s was the

[47] Velkov 1993, 125.
[48] Velkov 1993, 125.
[49] Todorova 1992, 1107.
[50] Nikolova and Gergova 2017, 181.
[51] Marinov 2013, 91.
[52] Velkov 1993, 126.

introduction of joint excavations not only with other Warsaw Pact states, but also with Western European and Japanese teams. The liberalization of scholarship during this period continued to gain traction after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, and the fall of communism in Bulgaria released scholarship from the constraints of the socialist regime's ideological needs. Nevertheless, little in the discipline has changed since 1989.

Cultural Heritage Funding in Bulgaria

Today the distribution of limited excavation funding continues to follow pre-1989 traditions, with the majority of state funding allocated to sensational archaeology, like Thracian settlements, that will attract public and media attention (e.g. the golden treasures from the Valley of the Thracian Kings, the reported bones of John the Baptist on Sveti Ivan Island, and the "Vampire of Sozopol").[53] The focus on the sensational has severely affected the distribution of funds for other kinds of excavations in Bulgaria; only a few sites, the ones that produce the most desirable artifacts, thus displaying the glory of ancient Bulgaria (e.g. Perperikon, Kazanlak, and Sozopol), are given an enormous share of the nation's excavation budget. For example, in 2015 Perperikon received BGN 220,000 (128,250 USD) out of a national excavation budget of approximately BGN 500,000 (291,500 USD).[54] As anthropologists Nikolova and Gergova point out in their history of Bulgarian archaeology, if re-allocated, this same amount of money could finance "adequate archaeological investigations of at least three times more sites of no less

[53] Valley of the Thracian Kings: Griffiths 2013; John the Baptist: Greene 2015; Vampire of Sozopol: "'Vampire' Skeletons Found in Bulgaria near Black Sea" 2012.
[54] "Bulgarian Archaeologists to Work on Uncovering Acropolis of Perperikon" 2015.

importance."[55]

Turning to funding structures in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture divides archaeological excavations into two broad groups: "regular" (planned) excavations and "rescue" (unplanned) excavations required in the course of infrastructure projects (e.g. roads, highways, gas pipelines). [56] The majority of EU financing for excavation in Bulgaria comes in the form of the EU structural funds to support the latter category. These infrastructure programs are co-financed, meaning that up to 70% of funding will come from the EU (and can support both excavation as well as preservation and tourism development costs) and the remaining 30% will come from either the Bulgarian municipalities or the Bulgarian Ministry of Regional Development. Bulgarian law obliges the Ministry of Regional Development to finance archaeological research before construction work begins. If pre-construction surveys indicate a need for rescue excavations, the Ministry of Regional Development through the Road Infrastructure Agency funds a portion of the costs of these activities.[57] Bulgarian municipalities, however, often struggle to provide their share of this co-financing, sometimes taking out loans to cover the cost.[58] Nevertheless, the use of structural funds has proved beneficial for Bulgarian archaeology since accession. Because of the increase in infrastructure projects, the state is investing more in both rescue and planned excavations.

---

[55] Nikolova and Gergova 2017, 190.
[56] For information on non-EU co-funded rescue excavations see: Nikolova and Gergova 2017, 7.
[57] An example of an EU-funded infrastructure project in Bulgaria that supports rescue excavation is the Struma highway construction project, which has already funded the excavation of more than 10 archaeological sites.
[58] Because municipalities often run a deficit in these projects, the state is beginning to question whether it should participate in such projects.

Official statistics for EU structural funding awarded to Bulgaria for cultural heritage since accession are unfortunately unavailable. However, a presentation[59] on development-led archaeology given by Lyudmil Vagalinski, director of NAIM-BAN, provides general information about financing for archaeological excavations since 2006. While the EU is not included as a specific financing category, most of the funding for excavations specified under "foreign" is considered to be EU funds.[60] Since pre-2006 information is not available (salient because EU pre-accession funding for Bulgaria was already available for excavations in 2006), it is impossible to analyze changes between pre- and post-accession excavation funding. Nevertheless, by analyzing the charts from Vagalinski's presentation it is possible to extract some preliminary conclusions about the impact of EU funding on archaeological work in Bulgaria.

As shown in figure 2, from 2006 to 2007 (Bulgaria's first year as an EU member) there was a 26% increase in total excavations in the country. This clearly reflects the influx of EU funding that occurred once Bulgaria shifted from a pre-accession member to a fully-fledged member of the Union. In 2008 and 2009, the number of excavations in the country remained steady and similar to immediate post-accession levels, before steeply declining in 2010. The 2010 decline is consistent with the Great Recession that hit the country in mid-2009; the years following the recession reflect a slowly recovering economy with little excess funding.[61] For rescue excavations (figure 4), joint "state and foreign" funding (i.e., joint funding between

[59] Vagalinski 2018.
[60] This fact was established in personal correspondence with Dr. Vagalinski in late 2018.
[61] Maasdam 2010.

the state and the EU) provides less funding than the state itself. This is most likely a reflection of the fact that the state has to provide for the cost of first-line development excavations, and only if the project meets its deadlines will the EU reimburse the state.

In contrast to rescue excavations, funding for planned, research-driven excavation comes primarily from the Ministry of Culture's budget, and is administered through municipalities and local museums. Archaeologists must first submit applications for excavation to the Ministry. If granted, the Ministry of Culture awards the funds to the municipalities, who then allocate the funds to regional museums, and the museums pay the archaeologists for their work. The museums in Bulgaria are funded through two sources: the state provides salaries and monthly remuneration of museum specialists (who often conduct the excavations) and the municipality finances overall activities of the museum (including excavation costs). Figure 3 shows that for regular excavations the "state" and "municipality" fund the largest portions of excavations. It appears, then, that while Bulgaria and the EU co-finance a significant number of rescue excavations, the state is the primary mechanism through which excavations, both regular and rescue, are funded.

And yet, the Ministry's budget is insufficient to meet the country's research capacity, according to all the archaeologists with whom I spoke.[62] State excavation funding remains insufficient to meet demand. To what extent, then, do Bulgarian archaeologists look to EU funding sources to help bridge the gap between research

[62] The Bulgarian Cabinet also occasionally allocates substantial sums of money for certain archaeological projects at its discretion, although there are no clear-cut criteria for what projects receive this funding. Private foundations, NGOs, and Norway Grants/EEA grants also contribute funding. Lastly, Bulgarian municipalities have recently started funding excavation and restoration to increase cultural tourism in their districts.

needs and limited state resources? What role do EU direct funding mechanisms such as Interreg, the European Research Council, and Creative Europe play in supporting Bulgarian archaeology today?

Figure 2

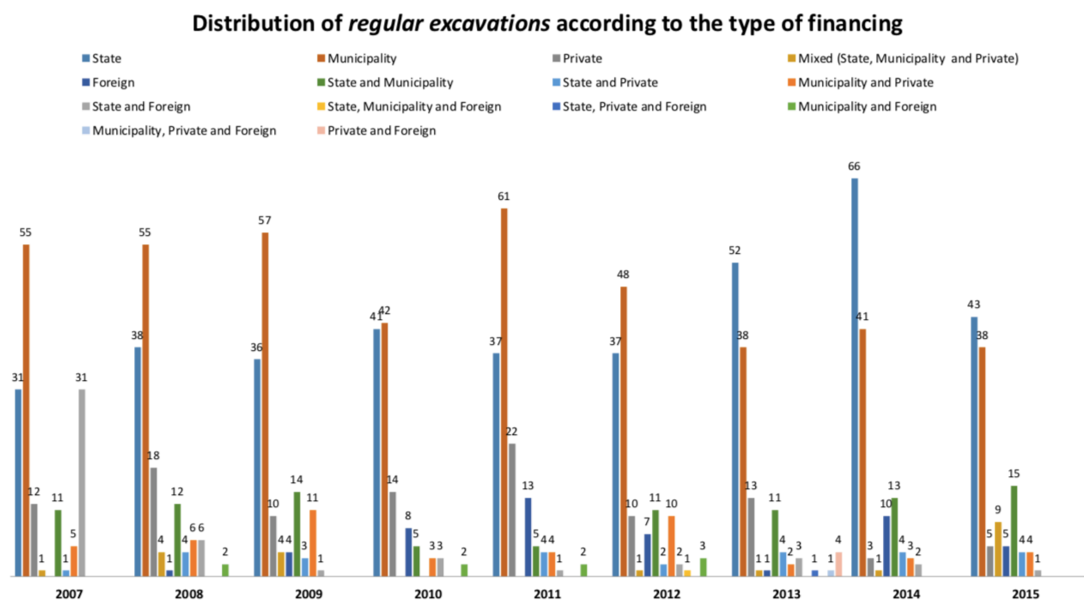

Figure 3

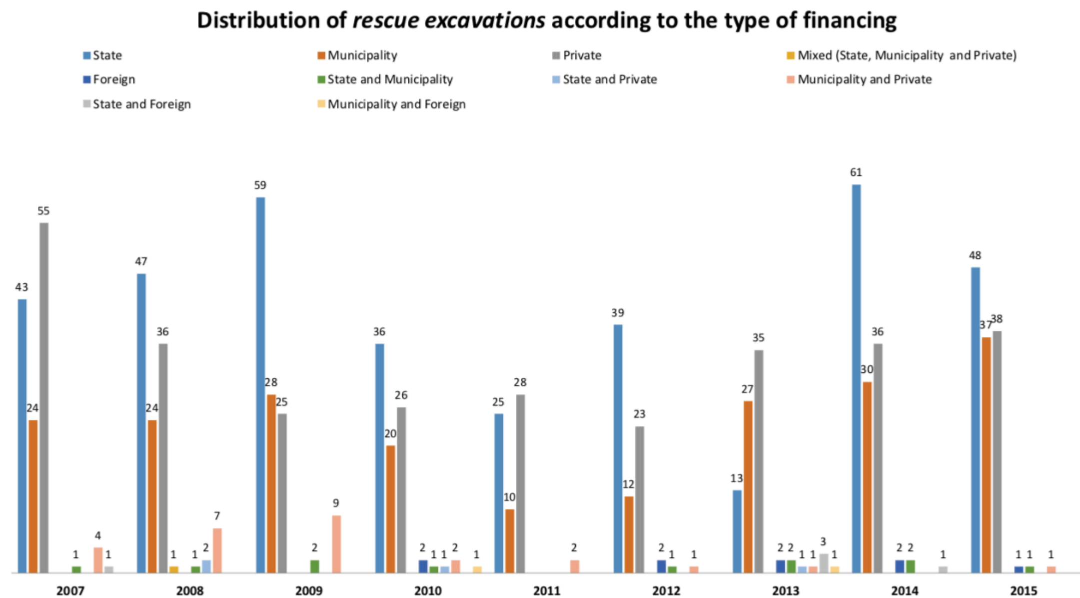

Figure 4

Bulgarian Realities

Interviews conducted with Bulgarian archaeologists as part of this research sought to understand how archaeologists relate their work to the funding schemes and priorities of national and EU organizations. To this end, I conducted semi-structured interviews with nine archaeologists from a range of institutions. The archaeologists' specializations ran the gamut from prehistory to the medieval period, and their experience with EU-funded projects was equally varied. These conversations made it clear that there were significant barriers to cooperation between the EU and Bulgaria. Bulgarian archaeologists were not engaging with the EU's dominant narrative of common Europeanness because, in Bulgaria, archaeology developed as national patrimony rather than as a good for transnational consumption, and that tradition remains firmly in place. More importantly, however, Bulgarian archaeologists were

not engaging with the EU at all. Bulgarian archaeologists unanimously reported that they do not apply for EU funding for various reasons, almost all of which are related to EU institutional processes.

The first factor contributing to a dearth of Bulgarian participation in EU funding schemes, and by far the most common response to my questions from the archaeologists I interviewed, was that they were not aware of any EU funding available for excavation, such as the European Research Council or Creative Europe. Almost every archaeologist I spoke with stated that he or she had no idea where to locate information about EU funding opportunities or even the application process. In fact, the overwhelming consensus among all my informants was that there is a general failure in Bulgaria to disseminate information about EU funding opportunities and application processes.

Most observed that the only avenue through which to obtain information of this nature was through the EU. However, navigating the various EU websites, portals, and databases is often intimidating and can itself be a deterrent to interacting with the EU as an institution. An informant who frequently works on EU-funded rescue excavations expressed that many of her colleagues "feel that most EU grant websites are structured in a somewhat confusing way and use too much 'modern humanities' jargon." She was the only interviewee who mentioned that there were informational events about EU funding organized a few times a year, but reiterated what others told me: "they do not reach the potential applicants."

When I pressed interviewees further about what they *did* know about EU funding for archaeology, almost all interviewees admitted that while they were not

aware of any direct funds *solely* devoted to excavation, they knew that EU funding schemes existed for combined excavation, restoration, and "socialization." Socialization is a broad term, used most commonly by EU officials and Bulgarian archaeologists to describe the development and promotion of an archaeological site for heritage tourism. My interviewees went on to explain that they believed archaeologists should be responsible exclusively for excavation, while restoration and socialization should be left to other professionals. This division of labor in Bulgaria has legislative roots that date to the 1960s, as outlined earlier in this paper. The decision to designate excavation and conservation as the responsibilities of two different institutes during this period set the country's heritage structure apart from much of the EU. That is, the emphasis that the EU places on combined excavation and conservation projects is not compatible with how the discipline of archaeology has come to be defined and practiced in Bulgaria. Thus, Bulgarian archaeologists simply choose not to apply for these EU funds. This is the second factor contributing to the dearth of Bulgarian applications for EU funding: deeply entrenched structural differences in Bulgarian heritage practice that do not allow for a holistic approach to heritage research, preservation, and promotion.

Throughout my interviews in Bulgaria, there was a conscious distinction made between excavation, on the one hand, and conservation and socialization on the other. Archaeologists see excavation as "pure" archaeology, as one informant put it, while socialization and restoration are a sort of heritage "other" that should not be combined with excavation. It is worth noting that the separation of excavation and socialization is a well-established division of labor in much of the world, and it was not until the

early 2000s that socialization began to become a part of the research model. The result is that Bulgarian archaeologists almost always disregard calls for applications for grants that combine excavation, restoration, and socialization, as it is not a project devoted to “pure” archaeology and the requirements fall outside of their training and expertise. One informant explained to me that many archaeologists in Bulgaria are “put off by grants that do not provide money for just an excavation, but also entail restoration and socialization. These are areas in which an archaeologist does not feel too confident or interested.” Another interviewee stated his opinion quite bluntly:

> “It is not the job of local archaeologists to take care of local heritage. We are neither restorators nor police. So what we need are two different things, an archaeologist and a socializer. The one is the guy who knows how to socialize a site…the other thing is to excavate and to offer a narrative. I don’t think we should expect from one person both things.”

Notwithstanding their unfamiliarity with the combined excavation and socialization expected by the EU, most Bulgarian archaeologists I spoke with had no objection to developing sites for heritage tourism. In fact, many expressed a desire to have the sites where they work restored and promoted following completion of excavations; interviewees often told me about the site they were excavating and its unique location for tourism, including all of the amenities nearby that could contribute to a profitable tourist attraction. One informant shared his hopes for the site he is currently excavating: “We are finishing the excavation in a very nice, small fortified settlement at the foot of Pirin Mountain at Bansko sea resort. It is on the shore of one river, there is parking, and there is a road, so it’s a fantastic place to be socialized.”

This kind of statement was typical among my interviewees, and again reinforced the idea that archaeologists welcome the idea of socialization as long as it is not their responsibility to execute and does not interfere with their excavations. Nevertheless, each time an archaeologist told me about his or her desire for a site developed for tourism, a statement about the project's impossibility quickly followed; in almost every case the reason given was the required collaboration with the local municipality to receive EU funding and complete the project. Objection to the collaboration required for EU funded projects is the third factor impacting Bulgarian archaeologists' participation in EU-funded programs.

The case of the site near the town of Bansko in Southwestern Bulgaria is an excellent example of archaeologists' concerns about the collaboration required to secure EU funding. In this case the informant continued:

> "The socialization of this place can only be done by funds which go to the municipalities. I cannot be the PI [principal investigator] because I am not a member of the municipality. And then this means that you have to find a very good partner in the municipality who is going to be involved and active, and this is where the archaeologist loses access. Because usually it's difficult to find these people and it becomes very complicated."

Not only is it difficult to find individuals within the municipality to work with, but also the municipality often has different priorities for a site than an archaeologist or heritage manager would. Because municipalities have to provide money for a portion of the total budget for these EU projects, they are primarily focused on recovering their investment through tourism. Frequently this means restoring sites as quickly as

possible, using inexpensive materials (most commonly cement), and as one interviewee explained, in a way that displays Bulgaria's past (the material remains of the Thracians, Khans, and Tsars) so as to make the site attractive and understandable to a Bulgarian audience: "that is why they want to construct fortification walls, to show fortresses, castles and everything."

Multiple interviewees explained their frustrations with municipality collaboration and how this affects the future of archaeological sites in Bulgaria. One informant summarized quite succinctly what other interviewees expressed about socialization:

> "I would love to create an archaeological site for tourists in my prehistoric excavation, but I have to invest so much time. I have to spend two years there to flirt with the municipality and the result will just be cement, and I will not control what will happen."

The sentiment expressed above, that archaeologists lose control over the fate of the site and its state of preservation when collaboration begins with the municipality, was echoed by the archaeologist in the Bansko case: "municipalities want to show pasts. And this is the point where a thinking archaeologist and the mayor usually break their relationships, because you want to show a site in a kind of delicate way - not to put cement."

The most important statement about municipality collaboration was made by an archaeologist who once applied unsuccessfully for an EU-funded grant:

> "This [friction between the municipality and archaeologists] is why I prefer to leave this site in the way I found it; I found it covered by earth and I will leave

it covered by earth. That is why instead of investing two years in doing something and I don't know what will happen, I will start the next excavation."

Clearly, the way that collaboration is conceived and executed in Bulgaria is vastly different from the vision that the EU has for collaboration within the Union. This perhaps best demonstrates the issue at the heart of EU-Bulgarian heritage relations: the disconnect between EU priorities and Bulgarian practice.

The Disconnect

An exhaustive list and analysis of the discrepancies between EU heritage priorities and Bulgarian heritage practice could fill the pages of another thesis. However, the principal impediment to EU-Bulgarian cooperation that this research identifies is the divergent understandings of heritage. EU heritage initiatives emphasize cooperation and public engagement with all EU citizens, while Bulgarian heritage practice, on the other hand, is nationally facing and does not actively work to engage the public. That is, the EU understands heritage in Europe as belonging to all EU citizens regardless of their member state, whereas Bulgaria views heritage almost exclusively as national patrimony and thus does not work to engage with the wider European community.

This divergence in understandings of, and approaches to, heritage clearly manifests in the very different ways that Bulgaria and the EU develop heritage sites. In order to actively engage the European community, the EU structures heritage projects to combine excavation, conservation, and socialization, with the goal that citizens from all member states can learn about their shared cultural heritage. As mentioned previously, if Bulgarian projects are developed for heritage tourism, which occurs

much less frequently than in the EU case, it is done in a way that displays Bulgaria's past so as to make the site attractive and understandable to a Bulgarian audience rather than a pan-European one. This approach to heritage finds its origins in the development of the nation's archaeological discipline.

The archaeological discipline in Bulgaria developed with a direct legislative and intellectual agenda for heritage. However, the various directives and laws produced by the state in the 19th and 20th centuries to protect cultural heritage largely focused on cultural heritage as national patrimony, rather than as a good for global consumption. There is little to no infrastructure in Bulgaria for heritage development and public outreach in heritage projects. EU heritage structures have no analog in the Bulgarian system, meaning EU projects demand that Bulgarian heritage professionals work in a way that they have not been trained for, and that is not a part of the national research model. Thus, divergent understandings of heritage are what present the most profound impediment to EU-Bulgarian cooperation in heritage projects.

Conclusion

This thesis began with an analysis of EU cultural policies and how those policies interact with EU funding mechanisms to promote the ideology of a united Europe. With the knowledge that a Europeanizing discourse exists within EU cultural policy a new question emerged: how does the EU address issues of diversity in its cultural policy and how does this rhetoric impact heritage practice in member states through funding? Because official narratives often do not accurately reflect the situation 'on the ground' in member states, I turned to ethnography as an alternative means by which to understand the impact of these policies. Throughout this paper I

have demonstrated that EU heritage priorities and Bulgarian heritage practice diverge to such an extent that Bulgarian archaeologists prefer to rely on meager national funding, rather than engage with EU funding mechanisms.

Solutions to the problems presented in this paper are far from straightforward, and it is clear that more fieldwork will be required in order to understand the scope of such issues and possible avenues for their resolution. Further ethnographic work is needed to better expose the relationship between official EU narratives, funding, and archaeological practice. This fieldwork is especially necessary given the fact that in the post-Brexit era, there is great concern regarding the financial ramifications of Brexit for heritage in general, but there is a conspicuous lack of research regarding exactly how funding influences research agendas in EU member states. This means that not only is the current relationship between funding and research priorities unclear, but as funding sources change with Brexit it will be increasingly difficult to gauge the impact of new funding schemes on heritage practice. Thus, more research is needed in order to contribute to an ongoing conversation about archaeology in the EU during a crucial period of restructuring within the Union.

Bibliography

Alexandrov, Alexandar. 2017. "Revolution and Transition: Cultural Policy in Bulgaria 1989-2012." *Miscellanea Bulgarica* 24.

Bailey, Douglass. 1998. "Bulgarian Archaeology: Ideology, Sociopolitics, and the Exotic." In *Archaeology Under Fire. Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, 87–110. New York: Routledge.

"Bulgarian Archaeologists to Work on Uncovering Acropolis of Perperikon." 2015. News Article. Novinite.Com. May 23, 2015. ttps://www.novinite.com/articles/168751/Bulgarian+Archaeologists+to+Work+on+Uncovering+Acropolis+of+Perperikon.

Calligaro, Oriane. 2014. "From European Cultural Heritage to Cultural Diversity?" *Politique Européenne* 3 (45): 60–85.

"Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union." 2012. European Union. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT.

Cleere, Henry. 2011. "The 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention: A Success or Failure?" *Heritage and Society* 4 (2): 173–85.

Council of Europe. 1954. "European Cultural Convention."

Curta, Florin. 2013. "With Brotherly Love: The Czech Beginnings of Medieval Archaeology in Bulgaria and Ukraine." In *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Patrick J. Geary and Gábor Klaniczay. National Cultivation of Culture, volume 6. Leiden : Boston: Brill.

"Declaration on European Identity." 1973. *Bulletin of the European Communities*, no. 12 (December): 118–22.

Dragostinova, Theodora. 2011. "An Exercise in Population Management, 1919-1925." In *Between Two Motherlands: Nationality and Emigration among the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900-1949*, 117–56. Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press.

During, Roel. 2010. "Cultural Heritage Discourses and Europeanisation: Discursive Embedding of Cultural Heritage in Europe of the Regions." PhD Dissertation. Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences, Wageningen University.

"European Capitals of Culture 2020 to 2033: A Guide for Cities Preparing to Bid." n.d. European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/capitals-culture-candidates-guide_en.pdf.

Frey, B.S., P. Pamini, and L. Steiner. 2011. "What Determines the World Heritage List? An Econometric Analysis." *Working Paper Series*.

Gfeller, Aurélie. 2015. "Anthropologizing and Indigenizing Heritage: The Origins of the UNESCO Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15 (3): 366–86.

Greene, Richard. 2015. "Bulgarian Bones Could Be John the Baptist's, Scientists Say." News Article. CNN. March 8, 2015. https://www.cnn.com/2015/02/20/living/jesus-john-baptist-bones/index.html.

Griffiths, Sarah. 2013. "Mystery of the 2,500-Year-Old Horse Remains Found in Bulgaria That Suggest the Creatures Were Buried Standing Up." News Article. DailyMail.Com. September 26, 2013. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-

2433197/Mystery-2-500-year-old-horse-remains-Bulgaria-suggest-creatures-buried-standing-up.html.
Henley, J. 2001. *Fighting for the Mighty Monuments*. Guardian Unlimited.
ICOMOS. 1984. "Expert meeting on World Heritage Cultural Criteria." unpublished. Box Réunion critères 1984. ICOMOS Archives.
"Interregional Cooperation in Support of Cultural Heritage Routes." 2017. European Union. Interreg Europe. February 27, 2017. https://www.interregeurope.eu/policylearning/news/657/interregional-cooperation-in-support-of-cultural-heritage-routes/.
Kohl, Philip L., and Clare Fawcett, eds. 1995. *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Labadi, Sophia. 2013. *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage and Outstanding Universal Value*. Archaeology in Societies. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.
Lähdesmäki, Tuuli. 2014. "The EU's Explicit and Implicit Heritage Politics." *European Societies* 16 (3): 401–21.
Marinov, Tchavdar. 2013. "Ancient Thrace in the Modern Imagination: Ideological Aspects of the Construction of Thracian Studies in Southeast Europe (Romania, Greece, Bulgaria)." In *Entangled Histories of the Balkans Volume Three: Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*, edited by Roumen Daskalov and Alexander Vezenkov, 10–117. Boston: Brill.
Niklasson, Elizabeth. 2016. "Funding Matters: Archaeology and the Political Economy of the Past in the EU." *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 66: 323.
Nikolova, L., and D. Gergova. 2017. "Contemporary Bulgarian Archaeology as a Social Practice in the Later Twentieth to Early Twenty-First Century." In *Archaeology of the Communist Era: A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, 177–94. Cham: Springer.
Reintje Maasdam. 2010. "Country Report Bulgaria." Utrecht: Rabobank. https://economics.rabobank.com/contentassets/73107557215047cbb304652c941fe718/bulgaria-201002.pdf.
Schlesinger, Philip. 1994. "Europe's Contradictory Communicative Space." *Daedalus* 123 (2).
Shore, Cris. 2006. "'In Uno Plures' (?) EU Cultural Policy and the Governance of Europe." *Cultural Analysis* 5: 7–26.
Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. New York and London: Routledge.
Strasser, P. 2002. "'Putting Reform Into Action' — Thirty Years of the World Heritage Convention: How to Reform a Convention without Changing Its Regulations." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 11: 215–66.
"The EU Motto." n.d. European Union. https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_en.
Todorova, Maria. 1992. "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Bulgaria." *The American Historical Review* 97 (4): 1105–17.
UNESCO. 1988. "Report of the Working Group Established by the Committee at Its Eleventh Session."
———. 1994. "Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' and Thematic Studies for a Representative World Heritage List (20–22 June 1994)—World Heritage

Committee— Eighteenth Session.” WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). http://whc.unesco.org/archive/global94.htm.
Vagalinski, Lydumil. 2018. “Development-Led Archaeology in Bulgaria during the Last Decade.” In *EAC 2018 Symposium in Sofia*. Sofia, Bulgaria. https://www.europae-archaeologiae-consilium.org/presentations-eac-symposium-2018.
“‘Vampire’ Skeletons Found in Bulgaria near Black Sea.” 2012. News Article. BBC News. June 6, 2012. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18334106.
Velkov, V. 1993. “Archaeology in Bulgaria.” *Antiquity* 67 (254).