Archaeology and Migration: The Journey Towards a Relational World

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Abstract

This paper takes the notion of a "migration-centred worldview" as a starting point to outline (a) how the concept of migration emerged in archaeological discourses over the 18th-20th century, (b) where we find ourselves in this discourse at the start of the 21st century, and (c) how we might course-correct to adopt realistic models of migration in historical and archaeological narratives. I argue that such realistic models of migration require adjusting ongoing assumptions about culture and ethnicity, which include ideas of cultures as "bounded units" on landscapes, and also, on a deeper level, perceptions that culture and mobility can somehow be construed as separate processes. The renewed focus on migration and mobility in archaeology represents an opportunity to integrate these processes into relational models that can account for the entire spectrum of movement and identity creation at local and global scales. A relational model of migration and culture is subsequently explored through several means, including integrating humanistic and scientific worldviews, employing polythetic notions of culture, understanding the scale of ancient migrations, and adopting network-based theories of how connections form and behaviours spread, even in the absence of mass migrations.

Keywords: *migration, mobility, culture, ethnicity, science-based frameworks, humanistic frameworks, relational, networks.*

Introduction

In the 2022 volume that I edited, *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, I argued in my introduction that we are moving towards a "migration-centred worldview of human history." This phrase was not intended to suggest that humans are constantly migrating, but rather to see migration and mobility as fundamental adaptive processes employed by societies at multiple scales throughout human history and (to go truly global) a biological imperative of life on earth.[2] This concept is also meant to move us away from sticky beliefs about bounded "cultures," which were seen to be changed or disrupted by external forces of migration, and to integrate the processes of migration and mobility with the processes of cultural continuity and adaptation. It is this second meaning that I will focus on in this article.

Paradoxically, our understanding of migration, a term that encompasses movement, has been shaped by persistent assumptions regarding the physical and conceptual boundedness of "cultures" on the landscape: migration was an external, usually disruptive force to fixed ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups, and a convenient explanatory device for what appeared to be cultural change in the archaeological and historical records.[3] While archaeological research starting in the 1980s and 1990s called for a more processual understanding of migration[4] as well as more nuanced models of ethnicity and identity,[5] it has become clear that we also need to integrate migration processes and cultural processes. We must see mobility and culture as two sides of the same coin, or perhaps we need to melt the coin and collapse the two altogether: cultures and identities may give the appearance of fixity, but they are the result of constant mobility

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[2] Sonia Shah, *The Next Great Migration: The Beauty and Terror of Life on the Move* (Bloomsbury, 2020).

[3] Graciela S. Cabana, "The Problematic Relationship between Migration and Culture Change," in *Rethinking Anthropological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Graciela S. Cabana and Jeffery J. Clark (University Press of Florida, 2011), 16-28.

[4] David Anthony, "Migration in Archaeology: The Baby and the Bathwater," *American Anthropologist* 92, no. 5 (1990): 895-914.

[5] Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (Routledge, 1997).

and adaptation, and human movement in its many forms is a part of this larger mobile continuum. My aim in this article is to examine some of the deeper socio-historical forces that have persisted in shaping our models of migration and culture. I will then explore what a migration-centred worldview looks like in practice, centred on incorporating more realistic models of migration into polythetic and relational models of culture. This exploration will be more archaeological, but the major trends certainly concern broader historical approaches to human population movement, including those that rely on textual sources.

Emergence and Retreat: Migration and Its Baggage Train 19th-20th Centuries

Migration as a process external to culture and cultural adaptation was a longstanding model that the so-called "New" or "Processual" Anglophone archaeologists of the 1960s-70s attacked in their "retreat from migrationism."[6] These Anglophone archaeologists accused their predecessors of "invasion neurosis:"[7] migration was constantly treated as something external to cultural systems, whose general functioning laws archaeologists of the mid-20th century saw themselves as working to uncover. As an external force to these systems, migration could thus never be a part of these general explanations of culture process.[8]

Where did this notion of migration as a force external to "culture" stem from? Recent critiques of archaeological migration studies have tended to evoke the first half of the 20th century as a cradle for these notions, although in reality they were based in discourses going back to the 18th

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[6] William Y. Adams, Denis P. Van Gerven, and Richard S. Levy, "The Retreat from Migrationism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1987): 483-532; Anthony, "Migration in Archaeology", 896-9; Susanne Hakenbeck, "Migration in Archaeology: Are We Nearly There Yet?" *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 23, no. 2 (2008), 9-26.

[7] Graham Clark, "The Invasion Hypothesis in British Archaeology," *Antiquity* 40, no. 159 (1966), 173.

[8] Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology," *American Antiquity* 28, no. 2 (1962), 218.

and 19th centuries.[9] The early 20th century, however, was a period of intense advancement in the classification of increasing archaeological datasets and the use of artifacts to define fixed cultural groups on the landscape, known as the Culture-History paradigm in archaeology.[10] The work of Gustav Kossinna is noted as an influential and dangerous model that risks creeping back into modern palaeogenomic explanations of population movement.[11] Kossinna built on 19th-century models of culture as a self-contained unit that could be projected into the past through identification with individual artifact types.[12] Cultures through these artifact types could traced spatially across landscapes as cultural groups migrated, what Kossinna called the *Siedlungsarchaeologie* method.[13] Kossinna used this method to trace what he saw as the movement and ultimate domination of a "blonde race" from the north into Europe, overrunning "weaker" races and establishing a vast culture area on the European continent.[14] V. Gordon Childe further developed the ideas of archaeological cultures and how they could be traced via "a complex of regularly associated traits."[15] Culture represented "an approximate adaptation to a specific environment with an ideology more or less

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[9] J. Müller, "Kossinna, Childe and aDNA: Comments on the Construction of Identities," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 21 (2013), 35-37; V. Heyd, "Kossinna's Smile," *Antiquity* 91, no. 354 (2017), 348-59; Martin Furholt, "Massive Migrations? The Impact of Recent aDNA Studies on our View of Third Millennium Europe," *European Journal of Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (2018), 159-91; Stefan Burmeister, "Gustaf Kossinna's Nationalistic Agenda as a Trojan Horse in the Archaeological Concept of Culture," *CAS Working Paper* 14/2 (2023), 48-59. Burmeister recognizes that twentieth-century archaeologists like Gustav Kossinna were drawing from problematic notions of a homogenous nation-state arising in Germany since the late nineteenth century. Blakey (2020) also discusses biodeterminism, noting its rootedness in Enlightenment-era thought.

[10] Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[11] Müller, "Kossinna, Childe and aDNA;" Heyd, "Kossinna's Smile."

[12] For instance, Johan Reinhol Aspelin's and Oscar Montelius' attempts to trace the migrations of the ancestors of the Scandinavian peoples through identification of "culture areas" on the landscape were influential to Kossinna's work. See Evert Baudou, "Kossinna Meets the Nordic Archaeologists," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 13, no. 1 (2005): 121-39, https://doi.org/10.37718/CSA.2005.07.

[13] Gustaf Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen: Zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie* (Curt Kabitzsch, 1911), 3.

[14] Gustaf Kossinna, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* (Germanen Verlag/Berlin Lichterfelde, 1928), 76, 124.

[15] V. Gordon Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* (Clarendon Press, 1929), vi.

adequate thereto."[16] Cultural change was frequently explained through migration of new populations into a defined culture area or else through the diffusion of ideas and technologies into these areas.[17]

Yet these notions had much deeper roots. Some scholars trace these practices to the Enlightenment era, when European scholars sought to categorize humans into biological taxonomies by observable physical and cultural traits, which took on political flavourings as nation-states solidified, claiming both territory and ancient identities as part of their legitimizing projects.[18] My own ongoing research has looked to the 19th century to mine this past for lessons for moving forward, given the similar circumstances to nowadays that 19th-century European scholars faced: rapid advances in the hard sciences that brought about new universalizing evolutionary models of societal development in the humanities and social sciences coupled with deep rippling affects beyond the "ivory tower" at a time when ethnic and cultural boundaries were being scrutinized. The most problematic concepts to emerge from this exciting yet tumultuous era were not models of migration *per se*, but

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[16] V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History* (Penguin Books, 1942), 63. Other archaeologists in this period followed suit with these definitions, e.g.: "Cultures are bound to overlap and blend along more especially along the borders and more especially along lines of ready communication. But notwithstanding this, certain characteristics of achievement or groups of culture traits within each area will be found to separate it from its neighbors and afford effective means of comparison with other culture groups." (W. H. Holmes, "Areas of American Culture Characterization Tentatively Outlined as an Aid in the Study of the Antiquities," *American Anthropologist* 16, no. 3 [1914], 414) Childe, notably, distanced himself from the more problematic premises of Kossinna's work. In particular, he dismissed arguments by Kossinna that archaeological cultures could be coterminous with biological groups, although he still oversimplified the relationship between archaeological traits and social structure (Hans-Peter Wotzka, "Zum traditionellen Kulturbegriff in der prähistorischen Archäologie," *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 39 [1993], 29-30). On the relationships between Culture History and racialism see Johannes Siapkas, "Skulls from the Past: Archaeological Negotiations of Scientific Racism," *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 26, no. 1 (2016) and Christopher Parmenter, "The Twilight of the Gods? Genomic History and the Return of Race in the Study of the Ancient Mediterranean," *History and Theory* 63, no. 1 (2023), 15, n. 82 for more bibliography.

[17] Alice A. Storey and Terry L. Jones, "Diffusionism in Archaeological Theory: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," in *Polynesians in America: Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World*, ed. Terry L. Jones, Alice A. Storey, Elizabeth A. Matisoo-Smith, and José Miguel Ramírez-Aliaga (Altamira Press, 2011), 7-24.

[18] Richard McMahon, "Resurrecting raciology? Genetic ethnology and pre-1945 anthropological race classification," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 83 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.shpsc.2019.101242; Angela Saini, *Superior: The Return of Race Science* (Beacon Press, 2019), 9-11.

persistent assumptions about cultural, ethnic, and racial unity generated by transregional networks of European scholars.[19] By the end of this century, migration was employed by archaeologists as an external stimulus to explain cultural change, in some cases via population replacement. These models were backed up by appeal to physical data, including archaeological objects, linguistics, ethnographic observations, and physical anthropology (particularly craniology), lending them an "objective" scientific veneer.[20]

These assumptions naturally had varied ancestries, not all of which can be covered here. Such ancestries included deeper regional and cultural metaphors regarding a defined group's development over time, along with earlier developments of racial taxonomies in the 18th century.[21] Certainly, some of the early attempts to arrange archaeological collections chronologically and geographically by Danish archaeologists like C. J. Thomsen and J. J. Worsaae worked to define cultural groups through artifact types, and to trace their advancement through time, attributing technological change to the in-migration of new peoples.[22] These historical pursuits were tied to the definition of emerging ethno-nationalistic identities amongst European nations and the use of archaeological objects and skeletal remains to trace these identities into the deep past to augment public nationalistic pride.[23] These techniques of

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[19] Richard McMahon, "Transnational Network, Transnational Narratives: Scientific Race Classifications and National Identities," in *National Races: Transnational Power Struggles in the Sciences and Politics*, ed. Richard McMahon (University of Nebraska Press, 2019), 31-68.

[20] Adams et al. "The Retreat from Migrationism," 484.

[21] Andrew Sherratt, "Childe: Paradigms and Patterns in Prehistory," *Australian Archaeology* 30 (1990), 3-5; Stefan Burmeister, "Archaeological Research on Migration as a Multidisciplinary Challenge," *Medieval Worlds* 4 (2016), 48-50; Heinrich Härke, "Archaeologists and Migrations: A Problem of Attitude?" *Current Anthropology* 39.1 (1998), 19-45. For instance, historians going back to the sixteenth century stressed the migration of Germanic tribes (*migratio gentium*, later the *Völkerwanderung*) as a way to define the variegated groups of Germanic-speaking peoples.

[22] Jens J. A. Worsaae, *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, trans. William J. Thoms (John Henry Parker, 1849), 24. See Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, "The Language of Objects: Christian Jürgensen Thomsen's Science of the Past," *Isis* 103, no. 1 (2012), 39-40.

[23] Worsaae, *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, 1; Kristian Kristiansen, "A Social History of Danish Archaeology (Reprint with New Epilogue)," in *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past*, ed. Ludomir R.

employing objects and crania to trace developments through time, particularly Worsaae's, came to infiltrate Anglophone scholarship in the middle decades of the 19th century, where it became the basis for a racial sequence of prehistory.[24]

Alongside the use of archaeology to elaborate ethno-nationalism through material and skeletal remains emerged the increasing interest, particularly within learned societies, in Indigenous peoples around the globe in the wake of European expansions, thus birthing the fields of ethnology and anthropology.[25] These interests spurred ethnographic studies heavily influenced by evolutionary schemes of human history that intensified in wake of the First Science Revolution in the 1850s and 60s.[26] Scientific advancements such as the demonstration of deep earth time by geologists like Charles Lyell coupled with models of biological evolution by Charles Darwin translated into ideas of social evolution through the "scientific" study of eugenics, craniometry, and racial demography, drawing also from earlier Enlightenment ideals of social progress.[27] In this same era discoveries of Palaeolithic artifacts associated with extinct animals demonstrated humans as belonging to this deep time scale. The

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Lozny (Springer 2011), 81-82; Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology. Nationalism, Colonialism and the Past* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 326.

[24] Michael A. Morse, "Craniology and the Adoption of the Three-Age System in Britain," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65 (1999), 1-16.

[25] Adam Kuper, "Civilization, Culture, and Race: Anthropology in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Modern European Thought, Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. W. Breckman and P. E. Gordon (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 398-421. For instance, the Société ethnologique de Paris was founded in 1839 and the Ethnological Society of London in 1843. The Royal Geographical Institute was founded in 1830, and came to include ethnological reports in its outputs (Kuper, "Civilization, Culture, and Race," 399-400).

[26] Kristian Kristiansen, "Towards a new paradigm? The third science revolution and its possible consequences in archaeology," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (2014): 11-34; Kristian Kristiansen, "Toward a new prehistory: re-theorizing genes, culture, and migratory expansions," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 31-53.

[27] Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 145-46. Social Darwinism models were bolstered by comparative racial studies through methods like craniometry, or phrenology, to distinguish "races" by their intellectual capacity, in particular the works of Samuel George Morton and Josiah C. Nott and George Gliddon. These early "race scientists" were influenced not only by craniometry but by the racial demography of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. As Bruce Trigger notes, de Gobineau was a prominent but not the only source of racist ideas in this period. Other writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who distinguished between inferior and superior "races" included Edward Long, Charles White, and the ethnologist Gustav Klemm (Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 168-69).

year 1859 remarkably, saw not only the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* but also the discovery by John Evans and Joseph Prestwich of Palaeolithic stone tools associated with the bones of extinct creatures in deep geological layers. These discoveries led to the popularizing of the deep antiquity of humans over the course of the next few years alongside the creation of new societies, including the *Société d'ethnographie de Paris* and the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*.[28] The tendency to incorporate archaeology into anthropology and ethnology was also strong in German academic circles, emphasized by the physical anthropologist Rudolf Virchow.[29]

Under such models, often termed Unilinear or Unilineal Evolutionism, fixing populations at different points along a single line of social progress meant that "primitive" modern peoples could be paralleled with Palaeolithic peoples through archaeology, a comparative project that came to fruition in the second half of the 19th century through the synthesizing works of John Lubbock and Lewis Henry Morgan.[30] Lubbock's work explicitly synthesized Palaeolithic archaeology with ethnographic studies of Indigenous peoples around the world to present a study of the prehistoric past, while Morgan elaborated the development of ancient peoples through a unilinear model of savagery to barbarism to civilization. Within both works, we see migration as an explanation for the people of the globe and as an explanation for the "primitiveness" of Indigenous groups. For instance, both emphasized migration occurring from an "original center."[31] Morgan asserted that the peoples of Polynesia

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[28] Clive Gamble, *Making Deep History: Zeal, Perseverance, and the Time Revolution of 1859* (Oxford University Press, 2021); Kuper, "Civilization, Culture, and Race," 400.

[29] Ulrich Veit, "Toward a Historical Sociology of German Archaeology," in *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past*, ed. Ludomir R. Lozny (Springer, 2011), 53-77.

[30] C. J. Thomsen, however, also touched on these comparisons in earlier decades, suggesting that Stone Age Scandinavians were comparable to modern Indigenous peoples (Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, "Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788-1865): Comparing Prehistoric Antiquities," *History of Humanities* 4, no. 2 [2019] 255).

[31] Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (MacMillan & Company, 1877); John Lubbock, Pre-historic times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages (Williams and Norgate, 1865). These similar statements reflect a model known as monogenism, which argues for a single origin of humans, in opposition to polygenism, which argued for multiple origins. Polygenism became more dominant as the century progressed (Diaz-

and Australia were prime case studies to understand "savage society," as they had migrated too far from the center of progress: "Cut off thus early, and losing all further connection with the central stream of human progress, they commenced their career upon a new continent with the humble mental and moral endowments of savages."[32]

The equation of ethnographic and archaeological data was largely impressionistic in these accounts, and precluded the creation of methodologies to infer human behaviour from artifacts,[33] including migration, which seemed to be used as a catch-all tool to explain the peopling of the globe and the non-advancement of certain groups.[34] Towards the end of the century, there was some discussion as to how to discern migration behaviourally in the archaeological record. Thomas Wilson, writing in the journal *Science* in 1899, anticipates later concepts of archaeological cultures as developed by Kossinna and Childe when he stated,

> "A single specimen, or a few specimens having only an insignificant or uncertain similarity, might be of no avail in establishing the proposition of migration or communication of peoples between the countries, while, as the resemblances increased, and an increase in the intricacies of manufacture, in the difficulties of performance, in the skill required to make or operate the tool or machine, would very materially increase the

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Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 347-48), although the popularization of evolution and natural selection by Darwin allowed monogenists a convincing scientific explanation of perceived biological and intellectual inequalities (Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 170). Monogenist evolutionary ideas can be witnessed in earlier publications such as James Cowles Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (1813).

[32] Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 464. As Trigger (*A History of Archaeological Thought*, 209) notes, the belief that modern Tasmanian and Australian Aboriginal peoples led lifeways similar to those in the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic persisted until the early twentieth century.

[33] Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 209.

[34] For monogenists who saw humanity as developing from a single origin (a group which included Lubbock and Morgan), one way to explain differences and lower levels of "civilization" among human groups was via the concept of degeneration due to migration away from the original centre, as demonstrated by Morgan's quote above.

testimony in favor of migration, and add weight to the evidence."[35]

Migration was thus presented as a visible intrusion of new material culture or behaviour into a defined cultural territory, and was employed to explain cultural change or advancement within these defined boundaries. Wilson, interestingly, stressed shared cultural traits between human groups as proving migration, implicitly rebutting evolutionary models that interpreted similarity of culture between two groups as marking their close relative place along the evolutionary path: "The two things, similarity of race and of culture, stand on the same foundation. This foundation is migration, communication, contact."[36]

This short survey is meant to emphasize how the latter half of the 19th century saw the combination of ethnology, archaeology, and physical anthropology into an evolutionary and positivistic ordering of European and, indeed, global history that employed migration as an explanation for cultural advancement (or non-advancement) of historical populations. Alongside these explanations came the development of a concept of bounded ethno-national groups that could be traced deep into the past through archaeology. The stress on ethnonationalism and its archaeological origins allowed for the definition of superior and inferior groups amongst modern populations along a unilinear evolutionary scheme, and the roles of Palaeolithic archaeology, comparative racial studies, and evolutionary biology, as well as linguistics, gave these pursuits a respectable scientific guise.[37] Around the same time that archaeologists started thinking about material culture as signaling migration, fictitious migrant groups were being invented using

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[35] Thomas Wilson, "The History of the Beginnings of the Science of Pre-Historic Anthropology," *Science* 10, no. 253 (1899), 646.

[36] Wilson, "The History of the Beginnings," 647. That being said, Wilson still ascribed to the unilinear evolutionary schemes of Morgan, musing on whether "the man of the Neolithic period was still in the savage stage of culture or had advanced to the barbaric," 643.

[37] Adams et al., "The Retreat from Migrationism," 484.

archaeological "evidence" to explain what were seen as "cultural advancements" on Indigenous landscapes as the product of more advanced migrants, fixing Indigenous populations as evolutionarily inferior. These endeavors, while masquerading as scholarly studies, were frequently done under the auspices of colonial and imperial interests.[38] Such politicized scholarly tendencies, in turn, justified the nationalistic projects of various European nations, which included fostering a sense of ethnic unity, denigrating colonial subjects, and justifying territorial expansion.[39]

Archaeologists and anthropologists in the 20th century, particularly those coming from the traditions of German ethnology such as Franz Boas, moved away from these 19th-century evolutionary models into more particularizing historical explanations rooted in local landscapes. Yet many retained these ideas of bounded cultures that advanced through the diffusion of ideas external to the culture area, or else through in-migrations of new ethnocultural groups.[40] Archaeologists in this era, while focusing on the classification of cultural groups using diffusion and migration as explanatory devices for culture change, never fully discarded the evolutionist and racial ideas of the late 19th century, a dangerous mixture that reached its zenith in Kossinna's research. In the words of

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[38] Some significant examples include the invention of the "Mound-Builders culture" to explain the numerous monumental earthworks around the eastern United States. For instance, J. P. Shreve in an 1891 article wrote "On entering the arena of American archaeology, I desire at once to throw down the gauntlet to those who ascribe the rude and wild condition of the 'Indian' to that remarkable people whom we call the Mound-builders," 5. Another egregious invention of migrants can be found in archaeological explanations of Great Zimbabwe, which asserted it to be the work of Arab, Phoenician, or Indian migrants, a pursuit that intensified with Cecil Rhodes' annexation of this region as Southern Rhodesia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Shadreck Chirikure, *Great Zimbabwe: Reclaiming a "Confiscated" Past* [Routledge, 2021], 7; P. S. Garlake, "Prehistory and Ideology in Zimbabwe," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 52, no. 3 [1982], 1; see also Scott T. Carroll, "Solomonic Legend: The Muslims and the Great Zimbabwe," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, no. 2 [1988], 233-47).

[39] Anthony W. Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 198-99; McMahon, "Transnational Network, Transnational Narratives."

[40] Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 218-19; "Civilization, Culture, and Race", 418-21.

Diaz-Andreu, "Cultural history did not oppose evolutionism; it accepted its tenets and moved beyond them."[41]

Crossing New Borders: Migration and Culture in the 21st Century

With the 19th and early 20th centuries, we see a pattern emerge, outlined by Kristian Kristiansen (Figure 1),[42] of immense scientific advancements that provide new universal and evolutionary orderings of human history backed up by positivistic appeals to "objective" science (Unilinear Evolutionism), what some may, in a more negative sense, call scientism or even scientific imperialism.[43] In the case of the First and Second Science Revolutions, there was also a reaction to these movements towards more particularizing histories focused on normative and localized models of culture, but this first reaction in the early 20th century failed to undo the most egregious tenets of Unilinear Evolutionism. In the middle of the 20th century, the Second Science Revolution was marked by the advent of scientific dating following WWII and the chronological reordering of the human past. It heralded new evolutionary schemata based on deference to hypothetico-deductive approaches and the stress on culture as a functioning system, borrowing tenets from the functionalism of early 20th-century British anthropologists.[44] While there is no scope in this paper to discuss this particular era, the New Archaeologists' turn back to science-driven, universal, and neo-evolutionary models of culture happened at the very moment when "race" as a biological concept was scrubbed from much of academic and political usage following the atrocities of WWII. The jettisoning of race, however, did not happen

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[41] Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 369.

[42] Kristiansen, "Toward a New Prehistory," 43, Fig. 2.4.

[43] Maarten Boudry and Massimo Pigliucci, eds., *Science Unlimited? The Challenges of Scientism* (University of Chicago Press, 2020); Uskali Mäki, Adrian Walsh, and Manuela Fernández Pinto, eds., *Scientific Imperialism Exploring the Boundaries of Interdisciplinarity* (Routledge, 2018).

[44] Timothy K. Earle and Robert W. Preucel, "Processual Archaeology and the Radical Critique [and Comments and Reply]," *Current Anthropology* 28, no. 4 (1987), 503.

without contest. Social and epistemic injustices lingered, often in more insidious ways, including the positioning of anti-racist attitudes in ways that reinforced white supremacy.[45]
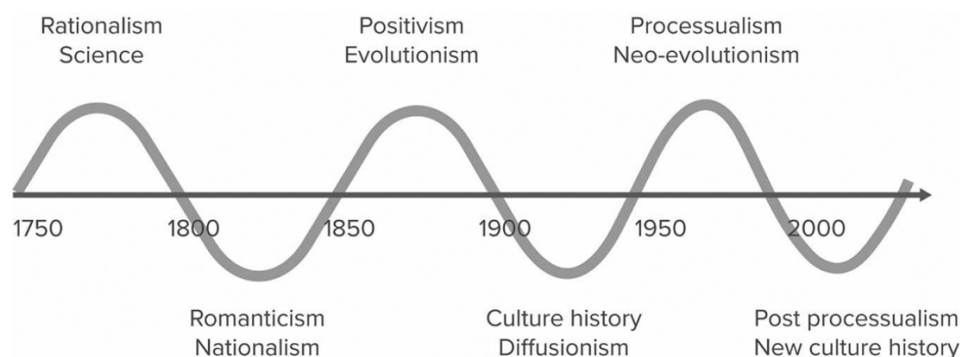

FIGURE 2.4. Cyclical swings of discourse between humanistic- and science-based interpretations of the world.

Figure 1. Timeline by Kristian Kristansen showing cyclical swings of discourse from universalizing science-based (above the line) to particularizing humanistic (below the line) interpretations, along with their general nomenclature.

The current Third Science Revolution, however, marked by advances in genomics, isotopes, and computer processing, brings us to a world more like the 19th century: race has indeed re-emerged out in the open at a time when new techniques like genomic sequencing are further entrenching notions of static cultures and "racial" superiority regarding past and present populations. These models are built under the guise of "objective" science, seemingly unadulterated by ideology, segregation, and racism. Furthermore, such ideas have emerged in popular dialogues as well as academic ones.[46] Most noted has been David Reich's and colleagues'

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[45] Michael L. Blakey, "On the biodeterministic imagination," *Archaeological Dialogues* 27 (2020), 3; Saini, *Superior*.

[46] Susanne Hakenbeck, "Genetics, archaeology and the far right: an unholy Trinity," *World Archaeology* 51 (2019), 517-27; Catherine J. Frieman and Daniela Hofmann, "Present pasts in the archaeology of genetics, identity, and migration in Europe: a critical essay," *World Archaeology* 51 (2019), 528-45; Blakey, "On the biodeterministic imagination," 11.

retriggering of the debate regarding genetic differences between populations—or, to use Reich's words, "racial constructs"—and their social and biological implications.[47] As Christopher Parmenter notes, "Genomic history did not emerge in just any time; it emerged in our time, the same 2010s when the Far Right was ascendant, and the essentialist lexicon infiltrated discourses of culture, identity, and race across the political spectrum."[48]

Archaeologists, however, have developed much more nuanced ideas of culture and ethnicity since the Second Science Revolution. The universalism and evolutionism of Processual Archaeology inevitably gave way to another humanistic backlash in the 1970s-90s, namely post-modernism and post-colonialism. Archaeologists and historians of these eras again moved away from universalizing models to more contextualized understandings of identities, agencies, and culture, an era known as Postprocessalism. These movements involved several reactionary stances against Processualism, including the rejection of positivism and the embrace of practice-based contextual approaches that incorporated materialist and idealist explanations, seeing material culture as constituted in the social and symbolic contexts of the societies that created them.[49] They also stressed the agency of the individual within

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[47] David Reich, "How Genetics Is Changing Our Understanding of 'Race,'" *New York Times*, March 23, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/23/opinion/sunday/genetics-race.html. In his 2018 monograph, Reich even seems to suggest that genetics could replace the old pseudo-science of craniometry to identify human population clusters (*Who We Are and How We God Here: Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past* [Oxford University Press, 2018], 83). The critiques of Reich's work in particular have been numerous (e.g., Blakey, "On the biodeterministic imagination"; Parmenter, "Twilight of the Gods"), and include an open letter from 67 social scientists in 2018 (https://tinyurl.com/db687twe). Reich defended his position in the *New York Times* by claiming he was trying to get ahead of more nefarious uses of genomics and acknowledge actual variation across human populations that could have real-world consequences, for instance, via propensities for disease, but he also raises more uncomfortable suggestions from genetic research such as linking genes with cognitive performance.

[48] Parmenter, "Twilight of the Gods," 21; also Martin Furholt, "De-contaminating the aDNA-Archaeology Dialogue on Mobility and Migration: Discussing the Culture-Historical Legacy," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2019), 53-68; Hakenbeck, "Genetics, archaeology, and the far right"; Frieman and Hofmann, "Present pasts in the archaeology of genetics, identity, and migration in Europe"; Blakey, "On the biodeterministic imagination."

[49] Ian Hodder, *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 152.

larger social systems, drawing from influential social theorists.[50] It was in this era that we see the seeds of more nuanced models of culture, ethnicity, and identity take shape, and which can and should be integrated into modern accounts of ancient mobilities.

Concurrently, the 1980s and 90s also heralded a return to interests in migration and related phenomena like connectivity and culture contact by archaeologists. Such interests materialized in projects synthesizing archaeology, linguistics, and early genetics research,[51] the popularity of and reactions to World Systems Theory and World Systems Analysis,[52] and new interests in globalization past and present.[53] In a more explicit attempt to reintegrate migration into archaeological explanations, David Anthony argued that archaeologists needed to turn to the general processes and structures of human movement, uncovering the social and spatial logics behind migrations.[54] This article, along with work by other archaeologists like Kristian Kristensen marked a turn towards more explicit discussions of migration in the archaeological record.[55] With the advent of isotope analysis and whole genome sequencing of ancient DNA in the 21st century combined with processing power of computers, the interests in documenting population movements in the past have intensified exponentially and have produced some stunning results. But

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[50] E.g., Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge University Press, 1977); Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (University of California Press, 1979). See Matthew Johnson*, Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd Edition (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 105-11 for an overview of Postprocessual Archaeology. See also Kristian Kristiansen, *Archaeology and the Genetic Revolution in Prehistory* (Cambridge 2022) on a history of this thought in relation to aDNA, culture, and migration.

[51] Albert J. Ammerman and Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *The Neolithic Transition and the Genetics of Populations in Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1984); Colin Renfrew and Katie Boyle, eds., *Archaeogenetics: DNA and the Population Prehistory of Europe* (McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2000).

[52] Gil Stein, "From passive periphery to active agents: Emerging perspectives in the archaeology interregional interaction," *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 3 (2002), 903-16.

[53] Ian Morris, "Mediterraneanization," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (2003), 30-55.

[54] Anthony, "Migration in Archaeology." These processes included identifying the background conditions of migrations, the mechanisms of migration streams and the structures behind short- and long-distance migration, and the overall frequencies and demographics of migrations.

[55] Kristian Kristiansen, "Prehistoric Migrations: The Case of the Single Grave and Corded Ware Cultures," *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 8 (1989), 211-25.

have we moved on from the past problems that the Processual Archaeologists retreated from in their analyses of cultural systems? Have we done enough to reintegrate the processes of migration with cultural continuity and adaptation, building on the new models developed during the second half of the 20th century?

Along with the Postprocessual Archaeologists, researchers from different fields have pushed in the last few decades for more mobile understandings of cultures, mitigating assumptions of territorial, cultural, and temporal fixity.[56] Yet the rush of palaeogenomic data was applied somewhat crudely when reconstructing past population movements, replicating older ideas of bounded cultures that could be traced through material remains and, increasingly, genetics.[57] As discussed above, archaeologists have long recognized that shared material culture traits cannot automatically be associated with a single ethno-cultural group, and moreover that similar material patterning in the archaeological record could be the result of a multiplicity of different social practices. Thirty years prior, the late Colin Renfrew addressed the first meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists on this topic, noting that "Archaeological 'cultures' should

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[56]Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm," *Environment and Planning* 38, no. 2 (2006), 207-26; Stephen Greenblatt, ed. *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Tim Cresswell and Peter Merriman, eds. *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects* (Routledge, 2011). See further discussion and bibliography in Daniela Hofmann, Catherine J. Frieman, Martin Furholt, Stefan Burmeister, and Niels Nørkjær Johannsen, *Negotiating Migration: The Archaeology and Politics of Mobility* (Bloomsbury, 2024), 19-20. Earlier important works that complicated the notions of ethnicity, identity, and cultural traits included Frederick Barth's 1969 monograph, *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*, which demonstrated the creation and maintenance of ethnic identities as a constant relational and dynamic process of boundary-making and reproduction in active social contexts. Barth demonstrated that ethnic groups were not defined by sets of internal homogenous cultural traits, and his work has been highly influential in archaeological research (e.g., Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*).

[57] Hofmann et al., *Negotiating Migration*; Furholt, "Massive Migrations?"; Furholt, "De-contaminating the aDNA–Archaeology Dialogue on Mobility and Migration"; Martin Furholt, "Biodeterminism and pseudo-objectivity as obstacles for the emerging field of archaeogenetics," *Archaeological Dialogues* 27 (2020), 23-25; Stefanie Eisenmann et al., "Reconciling material cultures in archaeology with genetic data: The nomenclature of clusters emerging from archaeogenomic analysis," *Nature: Scientific Reports* 8, no. 13003 (2018), DOI:10.1038/s41598-018-31123-z.; Omer Gokcumen, "The Conceptual Impacts of Genomics to the Archaeology of Movement," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 79-92.

no longer be equated with 'peoples' in the sense of well-defined ethnic units."[58] But further on, he lamented:

> "It is difficult to underestimate the extent to which the broad beliefs of earlier decades about the European past—the myths of archaeology if you like—continue to dominate our thinking. . . It has proved remarkably difficult to root them out—perhaps mainly because they provide the framework by which most of us learned much of what we know about the prehistory of Europe."[59]

Indeed, these complexities have not been recognized in the early years of the Third Science Revolution, and in some cases the "myths of archaeology" seem to have become further entrenched.[60] Furthermore, some have even suggested that concepts like "ethnicity" and "culture," popularized in the 1980s merely represented convenient relabellings of "race" in the post-war world.[61]

Additionally, these tendencies have become bound up with deeper social and political processes in the modern world. These include continual ideas of migrations as disruptive, pitting dominant and weaker "cultures"

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[58] Colin Renfrew, "The Identity of Europe in Prehistoric Archaeology," *Journal of European Archaeology* 2 (1994), 161. Other important critiques of archaeological "cultures" as ethnic units from this period include Wotzka, "Zum traditionellen Kulturbegriff in der prähistorischen Archäologie" and Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity.* For even earlier critiques, see J. Lüning, "Zum Kulturbegriff im Neolithikum," *Praehistorische Zeitschrift.* 47 (1972), 145-73.

[59] Renfrew, "The Identity of Europe in Prehistoric Archaeology," 164-65.

[60] Martin Furholt, "Upending a 'Totality': Re-evaluating Corded Ware Variability in Late Neolithic Europe," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 80 (2014), 67-86; Furholt, "Massive Migrations?"; Furholt, "De-contaminating the aDNA–Archaeology Dialogue on Mobility and Migration." For instance, the assertion of "massive migrations" of Yamnaya populations from Ukraine at the end of the fourth millennium BCE into continental Europe (e.g., W. Haak et al., "Massive Migration from the Steppe was a Source for Indo-European Languages in Europe," *Nature* 522, no. 7555 (2015), 207-11. DOI:10.1038/nature14317), who were genetically linked to the later producers of the Corded Ware pottery, has been highlighted as problematic in terms of equating biological signatures with archaeological populations, as well as portraying migrations as mass population replacement events. The apparent time-lag between genetic samples of Yamnaya individuals and individuals associated with Corded Ware is around 700 years, suggesting a much longer processes of admixture and movement (Furholt, "Massive Migrations?" 165). Some of the original researchers in these studies have attempted more nuanced models in intervening years (e.g., David Anthony, "Migration, Ancient DNA, and Bronze Age Pastoralists from the Eurasian Steppes," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels [SUNY Press, 2022], 55-77).

[61] Denise McCoskey, "By Any Other Name? Ethnicity and the Study of Ancient Identity," *Classical Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (2003): 104-06; Parmenter, "Twilight of the Gods," 4; Saini, *Superior.*

against one another, influenced through the focus on the "violent, totalizing, and extractive" migrations of early modern European expansions and modern portrayal of migration "crises" in the news media as analogies for past migrations.[62] Or, as a popular New York Times article stated in response to the new palaeogenomics research, "Now it seemed as though culture was less about the invention and spread of new ideas and more about the mass movements of particular peoples—and the resulting integration, outcompetition or extermination of the communities they overran."[63] These views ascribe to right-wing agendas that essentialize biological, racial, and gender categories in past and present populations and entrench human history in the "clash of cultures" paradigm.[64] The 19th century's "survival of the fittest" evolutionist paradigm and its melding with the 20th century's Culture History model is back, this time with a 21st-century political agenda. Below, I explore some ways forward as archaeologists and historians rethink the study of ancient migration and mobility in the wake of these issues.

Working Out the Path Forward: A Migration-Centred Worldview

Rethinking Scientism

This first point is somewhat tangential to this article, which concerns the problematic separation and reification of both migration and culture in archaeological and historical interpretations, yet the intrusion of paleogenomic research has resulted in further entrenchment of some of these problematic views discussed above. Thus, it is worth thinking about how more level and integrated playing fields amongst different

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[62] Hofman et al., *Negotiating Migration*, 12; Hakenbeck, "Genetics, archaeology and the far right," 520.

[63] Gideon Lewis-Kraus, "Is Ancient DNA Research Revealing New Truths — or Falling Into Old Traps?" *New York Times,* January 17, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/17/magazine/ancient-dna-paleogenomics.html.

[64] Furholt, "Biodeterminism and pseudo-objectivity," 25. E.g., see the wording in Reich, *Who We Are*, 25 on how early Homo Sapiens "outcompeted or exterminated other humans."

disciplines may open the doors to a migration-centered worldview, one that does not myopically focus solely on questions of mass movement or population replacement, as has been dictated by recent paleogenomics research, but is more willing to integrate new knowledge about population movements with interdisciplinary understandings of human behaviors and identities through the material record.

Indeed, one of the main assertions pushed by archaeologists in response to recent palaeogenomic interpretations of ancient migrations is to move away from scientism and not let genetics researchers determine the processes of archaeological and historical research, from the research questions to the methodologies to the interpretation. Geneticists like David Reich have optimistically proclaimed that aDNA research has surpassed the "traditional toolkit" of archaeology,[65] whilst failing to realize that this "traditional toolkit" includes decades worth of rethinking the nuances of culture, identity, and ethnicity and their complex correlates in material culture. This toolkit has drawn from many other disciplines across the humanities, social sciences, and hard sciences, and has gone through many iterations of what Chapman and Wylie call "uptake, disillusionment, and then painstaking refinement."[66]

With the extension to genetics, this engagement with this battle-hardened archaeological knowledge means admitting a complex and not clear-cut relationship between biology and the human populations we define in the archaeological record, with all their intricacies of existing through time as dynamic social groups. Chapman and Wylie argue that regardless of how sophisticated techniques drawn from external fields may be, they can rarely in and of themselves establish evidential claims without triangulation with archaeological and these other external

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[65] Reich, *Who We Are*, xxii.

[66] Robert Chapman and Alison Wylie, *Evidential Reasoning in Archaeology* (Bloomsbury, 2016), 144. For further discussion of scientific revolutions in the form of prologue, breakthrough, adjustment, and implementation, see Kristiansen, *Archaeology and the Genetic Revolution*, 4-9.

resources.[67] The authors examine in their book the place of radiocarbon dating, which originally (during the Second Science Revolution) was expected to "establish unimpeachable scientific pedigree" but went through its cycle of "enthusiastic uptake, disillusionment and then painstaking refinement—a life history of technical imports to archaeology—that has been repeated many times over."[68]

These authors emphasize the need for a "trading zone" of research for archaeology's interdisciplinary research agendas, a concept that stresses mutual collaboration across disciplines and engagement with diverse practitioners, techniques, and perspectives. In trading zones "interactional and/ or meta-expertise is necessary to meet the challenges of avoiding 'illusions of robustness'. . . and of productively engaging discordant lines of evidence, rather than resorting to disciplinary hierarchies that privilege one as trumping the others."[69] Stephen M. Downes takes this concept of the trading zone to rethink the aDNA revolution in archaeology, noting that genetics researchers indeed rely on archaeological methods and interpretations to extract genomic information from the data. He also raises the salient point that the questions genetics researchers are interested in, such as human genetic variation through movement and admixture over the long term, are a part but not the totality of archaeological questions of these same populations, which include questions of social structure, customs, identities, health, and much more.[70] That being said, Stefan Burmeister raises the salient point that both the radiocarbon and aDNA revolutions should nonetheless compel archaeologists to rethink our (sometimes wrongful) assumptions about cultural and historical processes and engage in more open-minded

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[67] Chapman and Wylie, *Evidential Reasoning*, 9.

[68] Chapman and Wylie, *Evidential Reasoning*, 144.

[69] Chapman and Wylie, *Evidential Reasoning*, 193. Chapman and Wylie adopt this concept from Peter Galison: "its boundaries permeable and its practitioners conversant enough in the languages and practices of dozens of other fields to bring radically diverse resources to bear on archaeological problems," 11.

[70] Stephen M. Downes, "The Role of Ancient DNA Research in Archaeology," *Topoi* 40 (2021), 292.

debate and reflection of these discourses across the cultural and social sciences.[71]

Polythetic Views of Culture

Envisioning historical and archaeological disciplines as an open, dynamic trading zones with permeable boundaries, conversant with a variety of languages and practices from diverse fields, with no one dominant over the rest or else completely owned by any one field, is a nice metaphor for a more polythetic view of "cultures" and their correlates like ethnicity and identity. As discussed above, palaeogenomic studies have tended to replicate the assumption that archaeological "cultures" can be read from material remains, and have equated these cultures in recent years with genetic signatures. Martin Furholt stresses that such tendencies reproduce a monothetic notion of culture, borrowed from influential archaeologist David Clarke, who recognized the unrealistic assumption that a shaded area on a map representing a "cultural group" should consistently correlate with 100% of cultural traits in this area (what Clarke called the "cultural brick theory").[72] Clarke recognized that ethnologists tried to remedy this problematic model in the early 20th century by introducing what he termed the "radial contour theory", essentially diffusion of cultural traits from a core cultural area, but this model was also unsatisfactory, causing archaeologists to tacitly fall back on the "cultural brick theory".[73] Clarke instead introduced a polythetic notion of culture recognized by the co-occurrence of certain traits that may also nonetheless appear among other groups, but do not neatly define some

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[71] Burmeister, "Archaeological Research on Migration," 52. See further reflections in Stefan Burmeister, "The archaeology of migration: what can and should it accomplish?" in *Migration and Integration from Prehistory to the Middle Ages,* ed. Harald Meller, Falko Daim, Johannes Krause, and Roberto Risch (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt-Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, 2017), 57068.

[72] Furholt, "De-contaminating the aDNA–Archaeology Dialogue on Mobility and Migration"; David Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology* (Methuen, 1968), 263

[73] Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology*, 263-5.

original core cultural area or group.[74] Artifact distributions extend across landscapes in irregular "lobes", only rarely coinciding with the geographical limits of a cultural group. Furholt applies this approach fruitfully to the Yamnaya migrations into Europe in the early 3rd millennium BCE, but notes that we must further nuance this polythetic model by recognizing that, even within a shared set of transregional cultural traits, social meanings are not bounded to these and can vary widely across time and space: "social meanings are not intrinsic to the shape or appearance of a thing, but rather are determined by the social practices in which they are integrated."[75] This proposition is very much in line with the Postprocessual emphasis on practice-based approaches.

The postmodern and postcolonial influences on archaeology from the 1980s onwards indeed produced more contextualized, dynamic views of material culture, along with a focus on the subjectivity of experience and meaning encoded in these remains. Postcolonial perspectives also problematized the colonizer-colonized dichotomy, which again pitted dominant against non-dominant "cultures." New models arose to encapsulate the new phenomena that emerged from these exchanges, grounded in concepts like hybridity and the "Third Space," syncretism, and the "Middle Ground."[76] Yet, as many have noted, these notions can unintentionally reproduce categories that rely implicitly on assumptions of cultural purity: if cultures can be hybrid, for instance, this implies that there were originally two or more "pure" cultures that could then mix.[77] Many refinements have been put forth in intervening years, most recently globalization, which stresses ongoing processes of interaction and becoming as groups exchange, adapt, and appropriate cultural elements in the wake of the deterritorializing and shrinkage of time and

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[74] Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology*, 265-6.

[75] Furholt, "De-contaminating the aDNA-Archaeology Dialogue on Mobility and Migration," 62.

[76] E.g., Homi Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994).

[77] Milinda Hoo, "Ai Khanum in the Face of Eurasian Globalisation: A Trans-Local Approach to a Contested Site in Hellenistic Bactria," *Ancient West & East* 17 (2018), 172-73.

space.[78] With globalization, Clarke's polythetic view of culture can be applied and further developed, as these cultural elements circulate between regions and peoples without conforming to cultural, ethnic, or even spatial boundaries. They undergo continual processes of adaptation, enacting a range of cultural meanings as they are employed in specific socio-historical contexts. Yet even Clarke's concept of polythetic culture has its limits under globalization and diaspora models, as it remained a spatial phenomenon, determined by spatial components in a given landscape.[79] Translocal or migratory elements transcend the limits of a static landscape: they are in perpetual motion but constitute in part the elements that build and sustain identities that seem "strangely enduring,"[80] and which people, either from emic or etic perspectives, might view as signalling a static identity or "culture," when in reality, they are anything but.

In my own research, the so-called "Orientalizing" period has been a good staging ground for rethinking monothetic notions of culture. This period covers roughly the 8th and 7th centuries in the Greek world, and in traditional terms described a time when Greek art and literature displayed many cultural elements associated with neighbouring groups to the east and southeast (Egypt, the Levant, Cyprus, Anatolia, Mesopotamia).[81] This term is still widely used, although with increasing sensitivity.[82] As Arrington notes, "Orientalizing" and the assumptions behind it do not just describe an artistic style, but a process by which Greek-speaking peoples

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[78] Hoo, "Ai Khanum"; Tamar Hodos, *The Archaeology of the Mediterranean Iron Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2020); Justin Jennings, *Globalizations in the Ancient World* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[79] Stefan Burmeister, "Migration Studies and Highland Mobility," in *Appropriating Height: Movement and Mobility in Highland Landscapes of Southwest Asia*, ed. Sepideh Maziar and Barbara Helwing (Sidestone Press, 2024), 48.

[80] Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility.*

[81] Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder (Harvard University Press, 1992); Corinna Riva and Nicholas C. Vella (eds.), *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Equinox, 2006); Ann C. Gunter, "Orientalism and Orientalization in the Iron Age Mediterranean," In *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, ed. B. A. Brown and M. H. Feldman (De Gruyter, 2014), 79-108; Nathan T. Arrington, "The Persistence of Orientalising," *Ancient West & East* (2022), 37-59.

[82] Arrington, "The Persistence of Orientalising," 37-39; Carolina López-Ruiz, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* (Harvard University Press, 2021).

"Orientalized" through their various art forms as well as cultural practices associated with these forms.[83] Like the concept of hybridity, this period-cum-style paints the "East" as a cultural monolith and "Greeks" as another monolith, one influencing the other in a specific time frame. As with much of archaeology in the 19th and 20th centuries, scholars wanted "lines that were sharp in terms of geography and chronology."[84] The Orientalizing phenomenon in scholarship also almost entirely focuses on the elites as representing these cultural monoliths and driving these cultural changes.

There are many suggestions for overcoming this tendency to reify groups into static and stereotyped categories, including focusing on the processes of production and interaction, and to see meanings and identities as actively constructed, not just in the form of the object but also in the social practices that animated their meanings in specific socio-historical contexts.[85] The tenets of globalization again can bridge the active intertwinement of local uses and meanings with translocal productions, movements, and interactions. Other ways to animate these meanings without producing static and stereotyped conceptions lie in relational ontologies applied to the processes of archaeological interpretation, including network theories and other ontologies such as posthumanist and process-oriented approaches to material culture, although a fuller discussion of these theories is beyond the scope of this article.[86]

Migration can be woven into these approaches as an active factor shaping these dynamic and relational worlds, rather than a singular, totalizing event. My research into this "Orientalizing" period has focused on the

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[83] Arrington, "The Persistence of Orientalising," 40.

[84] Arrington, "The Persistence of Orientalising," 50.

[85] Arrington, "The Persistence of Orientalising"; Furholt, "De-contaminating the aDNA-Archaeology Dialogue on Mobility and Migration," 62, as stated above.

[86] Astrid Van Oyen, "Historicising Material Agency: from Relations to Relational Constellations," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23, no. 1 (2016), 354–78; Rachel J. Crellin and Oliver J. T. Harris, "Beyond binaries. Interrogating ancient DNA," *Archaeological Dialogues* 27 (2020), 27-56; Sara Ann Knutson, "Itinerant Assemblages and Material Networks: the Application of Assemblage Theory to Networks in Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 28, no. 3 (2021), 793–822.

spread of iconographies and their global and local meanings in the eastern Mediterranean, which can be attributed in part to the many forms of mobility that characterized this region in this period. One case involves the imagery of the "nude standing female", primarily small figurines in terracotta and luxury materials (ivory, bone, silver, bronze) displaying a standing, frontal nude female with the arms taking a variety of gestures (Figure 2). This imagery had a very long and widespread history of use, going back to 3rd-millennium Mesopotamia. While making brief appearances in the repertoire of mainland Greek sites by the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1100 BCE), its use vastly increases around the Greek world in the 8th and 7th centuries, primarily in sanctuaries as well as graves.[87] Previous scholarship viewed this imagery in Aegean regions as an exotic import, a result of a brief period of courtship by Greeks with their eastern neighbours in this Orientalizing period.[88] I have attempted to evaluate the deeper Bronze Age ideologies of divine rulership between western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean that were animated in imagery like the nude standing female, which expressed intimacy with divine power. I also consider the subsequent ideological transformations in the Iron Age Greek world (ca. 1100-500 BCE) which underscored this imagery's popularity by the 8th and 7th centuries in religious and funerary contexts.[89]

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[87] Megan Daniels, "'Orientalising' networks and the nude standing female: Synchronic and diachronic dimensions of ideology transfer," in *Networks and the Spread of Ideas in the Past: Strong Ties, Innovation and Knowledge Exchange*, ed. Anna Collar (Routledge, 2022), 31-78; Stephanie Böhm, *Die "nackte Göttin": Zur Ikonographie und Deutung unbekleideter weiblicher Figuren in der frühgriechischen Kunst* (Philipp von Zabern, 1990).

[88] Nanno Marinatos, The Goddess and the Warrior: The Naked Goddess and the Mistress of Animals in Early Greek Religion (Routledge, 2000), 27.

[89] Daniels, "'Orientalising' networks."

Figure 2. Terracotta figurine from Praisos, Crete, 7th century BCE in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (53.5.23) (© Met Museum, Public Domain)

Many of these contexts could indeed be associated with mobilities of non-Greeks who brought this imagery into Greek-speaking regions. The island of Crete is a dynamic case: much of this imagery emerges in the 10th/9th century as small handmade figurines of possible nude females, which are replaced in the 8th century by a small number of nude female figurines in higher-value material, resembling products produced in the Levant. Crete has been the subject of scholarly debate for the possibility of foreign Levantine and Cypriot craftspeople residing in small communities in the

9th-7th centuries, particularly in the central part of the island.[90] Yet despite the nude female imagery's modest appearance in luxury materials on Crete in the 8th century, by the 7th century it tended to occur far from the regions where possible foreign communities have been identified, primarily as modest mouldmade terracotta figurines in extra-urban sanctuaries, suggesting a re-embedding of a translocal imagery into local landscapes. Pre-7th century specimens tended to be made in higher-value materials and were found closer to centres in central Crete with high numbers of imports, suggesting they could indeed have been imports themselves, possibly brought with mobile craftspeople. But its employment by the 7th century suggests a diachronic process of incorporating this imagery into local meanings and practices, animated by deeper historical precedents and contemporary globalizing processes, part of which saw newcomers, new materials, new objects, and new imageries arriving on the island and incorporated into Cretan practices.

Getting Real about Ancient Mobility and Migration

The concept of "culture" has long been problematized in the field of archaeology, and the points made above are well-trodden ones. Nonetheless, it is worth constantly reminding ourselves, even as we construct categories such as "Levantine art" or "Greek identity," how fragile, fluid, and contingent these groupings really are (and were). As we rethink migration and mobility, we should constantly be reflecting on how our studies of these past realities should be refuting persistent ideas of static, bounded cultures rather than reinforcing them.

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[90] J. N. Coldstream, "Cypriaca and Cretocypriaka from the North Cemetery of Knossos," *Report of the Department of Antiquities*, Cyprus (1984), 122-37; Gail L. Hoffman, *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete* (University of Michigan Press, 1997); Antonios Kotsonas, "Foreign Identity and Ceramic Production in Early Iron Age Crete," in *Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di trasformazione a Creta fra* Dark Age *e Arcaismo*, ed. Giovanni Rizza (Università di Catania, 2011), 133-55.

Unlike the rethinking of culture, however, this next point brings us into territory that has not seen enough emphasis, at least in Mediterranean archaeology, and that is the need to be realistic about the scales of past migrations. A turning point in Mediterranean archaeology emerged over the 1990s and into the 2000s that saw a shift towards mobility and connectivity paradigms to characterize the ancient and Medieval pasts of this region. Horden and Purcell's 2000 monograph, *The Corrupting Sea*, was one turning post for these revisionary histories. Cyprian Broodbank's 2013 *The Making of the Middle Sea* extended this reality into the pre-1st millennium BCE. *The Corrupting Sea*, taking its inspiration from Fernand Braudel, painted a grand picture of the Mediterranean as a series of fragmented micro-regions whose historical engine was powered by unavoidable interaction between these regions. It saw many early critiques,[91] yet discussions over the problems generated by vague and timeless concepts like connectivity persist. Michael Dietler recently summarized the connectivity paradigm as "a form of reductionism that diverts attention away from active processes and agents of interaction toward a vague, reified, transhistorically homogenized, flattened, and passive state or quality of 'being connected.'"[92]

This vague sense of "being connected" obviously elides complex processes of mobility and a wide variety of interactions by diverse agents into a seamless whole. What are some ways out of the connectivity conundrum? One insight I offer here is to focus a sharper lens on the extent to which migration affected communities—in other words, how many people in ancient Mediterranean communities were, on average, from somewhere else? Horden and Purcell paint the following picture:

> "To the overall picture that would consequently emerge one final touch can again be anticipated from a later discussion. . . : the

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[91] E.g., Morris, "Mediterraneanization."

[92] Michael Dietler, "Six Provocations in Search of a Pretext," in *The Connected Iron Age: Interregional Networks in the Eastern Mediterranean, 900-600 BCE*, ed. Jonathan M. Hall and James Osborne (The University of Chicago Press, 2022), 237.

mobility of Mediterranean populations. That people may have arrived at a given settlement after travelling some considerable distance should be reckoned no less a feature of its ecology than the concentration or dispersal of its food sources. . . Yet settlements lose people to far-flung locations as well; those locations too should be included on the map, which would represent a short period only, such could be the rapidity of Mediterranean settlements' demographic 'turnover'. . ."[93]

But are we really dealing with "rapid demographic turnover" on a regular basis in these communities? A recent synthesizing study suggests otherwise. Leppard et al. present "the first meta-analysis of the burgeoning radiogenic isotope datasets now available from the Mediterranean."[94] Like Dietler, these authors view models of Mediterranean connectivity as imprecise and turn to strontium isotope studies to measure mobility on more concrete terms. By gathering published data (up to 2019) from Mediterranean sites between ca. 7500 BCE and 700 CE, they calculate the overall rates of local vs. non-local inhabitants of these sites. Their results are telling: nonlocal individuals were present in quite low numbers of samples at various sites, particularly after the Neolithic period, with the mean non-local rate under 10%.[24] Even sites from time periods characterized by high mobility and/or rampant cultural change did not show higher values (e.g., Middle-Late Minoan Crete or Tel Dothan in Israel in the Late Bronze-Iron Age), thus raising the continuing specter of the disconnect between material change and actual migration. Their overall conclusion is as follows:

"These results do not necessarily challenge the model of an intrinsically interconnected Mediterranean, but they certainly

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[93] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), 120-21.

[94] Thomas P. Leppard, Carmen Esposito, and Massimiliano Esposito, "The Bioarchaeology of Migration in the Ancient Mediterranean: Meta-Analysis of Radiogenic (87Sr/86Sr) Isotope Ratios," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 33, no. 2 (2020), 211.

> complicate it... We speculate that the connected Mediterranean was a reality, but one largely limited to those with unusual social and economic wherewithal. For the average Mediterranean villager, long-distance or frequent mobility, and certainly migration, were exceptional."[95]

No doubt such a study is very coarse and based on the availability of selective data from sample areas across an enormous time scale. The crudeness of this data can also be detected in the fact that isotopes only measure the first generation of migrants, and do not consider subsequent generations of those potentially living in a diaspora community (i.e., as their isotopes would be considered to be "local").[96] This is a nice illustration of the need to integrate science-based frameworks with humanistic ones. But it does ring as a type of canary in a coal mine situation, and compels us to be precise on what we mean by connectivity: what were we expecting to find? Were we assuming average rates of migration to be something like 30%? 50%? Even in the modern-day USA, the percentage of the foreign-born population is 13.9%.[97] This study does not account for migration within the USA, an immense land mass, however. Taking a Mediterranean country, in this case, Greece, 7.3% of the population was foreign-born as of January 2023, and Italy was at 12.7%, although this number rose to 32.5% in Malta and an extraordinary 55.6% in Luxembourg.[98] The rhetoric in news stories of migrants' movements into both Mediterranean countries and the USA can make these numbers seem vaguely inflated, and anti-immigrant sentiments incorporate language that paints migrants as disruptive and even dangerous to local

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[95] Leppard et al. "The Bioarchaeology of Migration in the Ancient Mediterranean," 231.

[96] I thank Stefan Burmeister for bringing up this point.

[97] Shabnam Shenasi Azari, Virginia Jenkins, Joyce Hahn, and Lauren Medina, "The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2022," *US Census Bureau* (April 2024) https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/2024/demo/acsbr-019.pdf.

[98] "Foreign-born people and their descendants - main characteristics," *Eurostat,* July 18, 2024, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Foreign-born_people_and_their_descendants_-_main_characteristics. These numbers refer to people specifically born outside of the country of residence, not those born within the country to migrant parents.

ways of life. Yet amidst all this rhetoric, even in the modern world, sizeable portions of populations remain in their regions of birth: a Pew Social & Demographic Trends survey from 2008 found that 40% of Americans never left the place they were born.[99]

This is not to say large migrations never happened in the ancient world. Many may now escape our eyes. Elena Isayev underscores these discrepancies in her 2022 chapter for *Homo Migrans*, citing the massacre in 88 BCE of Romans and Italians living in Asia Minor under Mithridates VI king of Pontus. Some ancient authors put the death toll at 80,000,[100] yet their physical presence in this region is limited to a few inscriptions that mention individuals of Italian origin in this period. Isayev notes that there is no reason to see this number as the result of a single migration: it more likely pointed to individuals and families who lived in the various cities in the Pontic region, and who had arrived for a number of opportunities, particularly commercial ones.[101] Other invisible migrants include captives, primarily women and children, who could be moved significant distances and who often made up a large proportion of the societies that they joined.[102] Finally, there are many more iterations now lost to us of small-scale mobility and other movements that leave few traces. Assaf Yasur-Landau refers to a harbor scene painting from the Tomb of Kenamun (TT162), a mayor of Thebes, possibly showing his mayoral duties that included inspecting Levantine ships arriving in the port of Thebes. The tomb painting provides an array of mobilities and interactions: foreign families, tribute-bearers, and small- and large-scale bulk trade, all

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[99] D'Vera Cohn and Rich Morin, "Who Moves? Who Stays Put? Where's Home?" *Pew Research Center,* December 17, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2008/12/17/who-moves-who-stays-put-wheres-home/.

[100] Elena Isayev, "The In/Visibility of Migration," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 150 and n. 15 for references.

[101] Isayev, "The In/Visibility of Migration," 139.

[102] Catherine Cameron, "Captives: The Invisible Migrant," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 111-31; Catherine Cameron, *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World* (University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

belonging to what Yasur-Landau calls a larger "interaction continuum," only pieces of which emerge in the archaeological and textual records.[103]

Perhaps some of these issues—over-inflating the migration of some peoples and missing the wide range of mobilities of others—has to do with the largely Helleno- and Romanocentric foci of past scholarship, that weighted analyses on Greeks and Romans settling abroad and cast more of a blind eye on the large populations of Indigenous peoples already present, or who were themselves engaged in migratory processes. *The Corrupting Sea* indeed has been faulted for its over-emphasis on Greco-Roman settlements, technologies, objects, and peoples, as have other historical models.[104] We thus need to correct assumptions about the hyper-mobilities of some peoples and shine more of the spotlight on the peoples and mobilities that we have missed, partly due to the realities of the material and textual records and partly due to the interpretive choices we make, "at the trowel's edge."[105] One method to accomplish these more holistic and balanced approaches is to employ multiple temporal and spatial scales and axes of analyses into single studies.[106] This methodology has borne fruit in a recent comparative synthesis of Neolithic migrations by Hofmann et al., which re-orients the focus from palaeogenomic concerns with population admixture and replacement to the social embeddedness of migrations ranging from large- to small-scale.[107]

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[103] Assaf Yasur-Landau, "A Harbor Scene: Reassessing Mobility in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean Following the Archaeological Science Revolution," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 147-61.

[104] Dietler, "Six Provocations," 247-48; Franco De Angelis, "New Data and Old Narratives: Migrants and the Conjoining of the Cultures and Economies of the pre-Roman Western Mediterranean" in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 95-109.

[105] Ian Hodder, ed. *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük* (McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2000).

[106] Dietler, "Six Provocations," 235-36; Ann Porter, "Macro- and Micro-Mobilities and the Creation of Identity in the Ancient Near East," in *Homo Migrans: Modeling Mobility and Migration in Human History*, ed. M. J. Daniels (SUNY Press, 2022), 249-67.

[107] Hofmann et al., *Negotiating Migrations.*

The Power of Small Ties

While the previous section suggested that the migratory component of Mediterranean communities might have been vastly lower than anticipated under more encompassing connectivity models, these findings do not mean that mobility did not matter, or that it did not have deep effects on communities and regions. One connection that came to mind from reading Leppard et al.'s study is concepts developed by sociologists who study social networks, namely the phenomena of weak and strong ties. The concept of weak ties was elaborated by Mark Granovetter as a method to link small-scale interactions to large-scale changes.[108] Weak ties represent looser social connections, or bridges, between clusters of individuals with strong ties to one another, a tie being measured by "the amount of time, emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services that characterize the tie."[109] Granovetter suggests that weak ties are one of the prime modes of spreading information, in some cases even more efficiently than strong ties. Information that remains within a tight cluster of closely associated individuals would tend to pass primarily between these individuals; weak ties are what allow information to spread between clusters of strongly tied individuals.

Granovetter used several case studies to demonstrate how the mobility of individuals from an original cluster to one or more clusters (e.g. from one employment network to another) could form elaborate bridges of weak ties between them, allowing information and ideas to diffuse easily through these different networks, thus lending them "a sense of community."[110] The point of this reference is to think about how Mediterranean communities with a mean average of 10% of non-local inhabitants (if the radiogenic isotopic studies above provide an accurate

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[108] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973), 1360-80.
[109] Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1361.
[110] Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1373.

sample) might have had enough sustained weak ties to external groups to form elaborate bridges for various types of information and ideas to spread. With this model, we might begin to envision how even low levels of migration could draw groups into a larger globalization process, or interaction continuum (to use Yasur-Landau's term), where individuals and communities are engaged in constant "growth and development within a continuous field of relationships."[111] Such a case might be made for the study of Iron Age Crete and its religious imagery, discussed above, where the appearance of migrant individuals or even communities in a few places around the island played a part in Crete's cultural transformation processes in this period. Recent sociological studies have further elaborated on how more complex contagions (i.e. behaviours, norms, beliefs, etc.) spread within different network structures.[112] No doubt these models are also vital for thinking through what often appear to be striking levels of coherence in, for instance, syncretic religious beliefs and rituals from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, even alongside a multitude of variations on a common theme.[23] And, once again, network models are strongest and most realistic when they are based on the integration of scientific/computational thinking with humanistic frameworks.

Conclusion: Migration as Part of a Relational World

> "What we need, instead, is a quite different way of thinking about organisms and their environments. I call this 'relational thinking'. It means treating the organism not as a discrete, pre-specified entity but as a particular locus of growth and development within

[111] Timothy Ingold, "Beyond biology and culture. The meaning of evolution in a relational world," *Social Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (2004), 219. doi:10.1017/S0964028204000291.

[112] Damon Centola and Michael Macy, "Complex Contagions and the Weakness of Long Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 113, no. 3 (2007), 702-34; Damon Centola, *How Behavior Spreads: The Science of Complex Contagions* (Princeton University Press, 2018).

> a continuous field of relationships. It is a field that unfolds in the life activities of organisms and that is enfolded in their specific morphologies, powers of movement and capacities of awareness and response."[113]

It is noteworthy that Tim Ingold rooted this enlightening statement in an essay that began with the same turning points I examined at the start of this paper, namely the scientific revolutions of 19th-century Europe that led to the elaboration of evolutionism and models of the organism—both individual and community—as a discrete and bounded entity, arranged along a single line of advancement. These developments were not isolated in academic circles but were heavily intertwined with deeper social and political leanings, based on the wedding of pseudo-scientific models of racialism and social Darwinism with ideas of ethno-nationalistic groups that took their rightful place in a narrative of totalizing and extractive expansions across the globe. Various aspects of this narrative emerge in archaeological explanations even before Darwin (e.g., C. J. Thomsen's writings), but they come to a more dangerous fruition by the end of the century, when migration was clearly being employed as a device to explain evolutionary advances or non-advances among ancient ethno-cultural groups. In the 21st century, racialism and assumptions about bounded groups and mass population replacement have returned under the respectable guise of palaeogenomic research, but archaeologists are also better equipped and informed after decades of debate about concepts such as culture, ethnicity, mobility, and other issues to build more realistic and responsible accounts of migration.

Ingold's emphasis on "relational thinking" at the start of this century is heartening, as many fields have embraced ontological models along these lines. While proper relational models provide their own challenges, it is encouraging to see the strength of these approaches emerging even as more problematic concepts of culture and migration return to the scene,

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[113] Timothy Ingold, "Beyond biology and culture," 219.

and "race science" is ever threatening to reestablish itself. While this essay began at the other end of the spectrum, by highlighting how our understanding of migration has been shaped by persistent models of bounded and static cultures, and while social and political contexts of scholarship bear some striking similarities to the 19th century when these concepts crystallized, we have also come a long way. Indeed, a "migration-centered worldview" stands on the shoulders of decades of scholarship. This worldview includes developing more level playing fields between humanities, social sciences, and hard sciences; encouraging self-reflexivity on the cultural categories we develop; adopting more realistic and balanced models of migration; and envisioning how migration can be studied as a social process folded into a much larger relational cultural continuum, where communities are constantly shaped by their relational ties, even without the occurrence of "mass migrations."

The final point to make concerns the realness of identity, even in interconnected worlds of constant flux. It is certainly easy when mired in concepts like "relational," "mobility," "migration," etc., particularly in the spirit of deconstructing ideas of static and bounded cultures, to forget how identities and other boundaries can be perceived as very real, constant, and concrete to their owners: "Perceived categorical boundaries have real motivational and structuring effects within networks of interacting people" and are essential to understanding human choices and behaviours even in dense networks of relations.[114] It is vital to keep this point in mind not just for the sake of striving for academic holisticness but also from the point of epistemic justice. Certainly, it can be easy to swing the pendulum too far in the other direction, stressing concepts like creolization, hybridity, and syncretism, asserting that migration and mobility are natural components of all human societies and experiences, and forgetting again that some migrations have, indeed, been "totalizing and extractive" and that recognition of individual and

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[114] Dietler, "Six Provocations," 246; Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto.*

group identities are essential for justice, reparations, and rebuilding, as much as they also inform us about human behaviours.

The metaphor of Theseus' Ship, recounted by Plutarch in his work, *Life of Theseus* (23.1), elegantly captures the bewildering coexistence of flux and fixity: how things endure when they constantly change. In Plutarch's account, the Athenians preserved the wooden ship of their hero and founder Theseus as a memorial. The planks of wood periodically rotted and had to be replaced over time, such that the ship became a debate among the philosophers, one side contending that the ship was the original ship, and the other contending that it was not. My take on this tale is that this was indeed still "Theseus' Ship," but things *only* endure if they are constantly changing, responding and adapting to the dynamic world around them.[115] This ship was a very real entity for the Athenians, but its apparent fixity belied decades and even centuries of change and adaptation. This is an apt metaphor for thinking through the next wave of research into ancient migration and mobility and for balancing the pendulum as best we can.

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[115] Laurent Olivier, *The Dark Abyss of Time: Archaeology and Memory*, trans. Arthur Greenspan (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011).