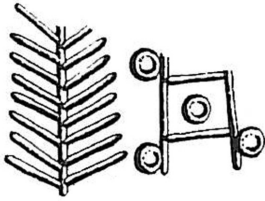


CHAPTER ONE

Movement as a Constant?

Envisioning a Migration-Centered Worldview of Human History



Megan J. Daniels

Abstract *Migration is, paradoxically, one of the great constants throughout human history: our story is one of continuous movement and exchange, despite our attempts to draw neat geographical and conceptual boundaries around particular groups and regions past and present. This emerging axiom has come about via several means: fast developing methodologies such as aDNA and isotope analyses have truly changed the very questions that we can ask about our data. Combined with new sociohistorical models of the ancient world, these integrated approaches push for a migration-centered view of human history, one that sees mobility and migration as fundamental, constant features of human development and adaptation over the long term. This model, while releasing us from past paradigms that used migration almost solely as an explanation for cultural change, presents new challenges to archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, and geneticists, not least those that involve teasing out the entangled causes, processes, and consequences of human movement to build broader theoretical paradigms. This introductory paper will present the objectives of the volume against archaeology's fraught history with migration as an analytical concept as well as our modern entanglements with migration. It lays the groundwork for the subsequent papers in this volume by highlighting the opportunities and challenges of a migration-centered paradigm of human history, and the promises of integrative, interdisciplinary, theoretically informed, and multiscalar research.*

MOVEMENT, THROUGH SPACE AND TIME

The news in those days was full of war and migrants and nativists, and it was full of fracturing too, of regions pulling away from nations, and cities pulling away from hinterlands, and it seemed that as everyone was coming together everyone was also moving apart.

—Mohsin Hamid, *Exit West*

The inspiration for this volume—and the conference from which it stems—comes, in large part, from where we find ourselves today: in a world rocked by global movement and by our whirlwind experiences of these displacements, so poignantly captured by novelist Mohsin Hamid. It is increasingly common to characterize the twenty-first century through its mass movements of people. For instance, the tellingly named textbook by Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*, ascribes its title to the fact that “[m]igration has gained increasing political salience over the past decades” (Castles et al. 2013:5). While the authors acknowledge that human movement is nothing new, they argue that migration has taken on a distinctly novel character with the beginnings of European expansion in the sixteenth century and especially with the mass rural to urban movement in wake of the Industrial Revolution. The *International Organization for Migration’s* (IOM) 2018 World Migration Report now estimates that in 2015 there were 244 million international migrants (3.3% of the world’s population), and the most recent reports lift that number to 272 million for 2019, an increase of 51 million since 2010 according to the *UN International Migrant Stock 2019*. This number is projected to grow in the coming years due to various factors including climate change and conflict (e.g., Laczko and Aghazarm 2009).

Humans today are constantly on the move, and we are just as frequently trying to get our minds around what to do about being on the move, or else how to deal with other humans on the move. Yet, while the idea of migration is often framed as an event or, most recently, a crisis of the modern world, we must understand these moments as surges in a much longer continuum of human movement, one that has its roots in our evolution. The recent migrations of people from the Middle East and North Africa into the Mediterranean and Europe, undoubtedly as a result of dire situations only a decade or so old, have been framed as an event or crisis. Yet if we asked how long populations have dispersed around the Mediterranean, Europe, and the Middle East, pushed by war, scarcity, and disaster, and pulled by promises and possibilities of social and political stability and economic abundance, how far back in time would we have to go? This is not to deny the importance of understanding and addressing particular causes and consequences of migration by labeling it as “natural” (Castaneda 2017); but two points need emphasizing from the start: (1) migration is not something peculiar to our age, and (2) it is more our definitions of and attitudes toward migration that have changed in recent times than migratory behavior itself (see Isayev, this volume and 2017:11–12; also Greenblatt 2010; van Dommelen 2014:480). Furthermore, while global movement might seem a product of our modern era of hyper-connection fueled especially by the wide availability of air travel, technology merely amplifies what humans

have been doing since we first emerged as a species. To quote Russell King (2007:16), “In a sense, humans are born migrants: our evolution is fundamentally linked to the act of migration, to moving from one place to another and adapting to that environment.” In her recent book, *The Next Great Migration* (2020), Sonia Shah takes this claim even farther: migration is not merely a human cultural tendency, but a biological imperative of all life on earth, and, in opposition to modern-day framings of migration as some crisis to be averted, it is *the* key answer to the survival and flourishing of all forms of life.

The earliest phases of migrations include those of extinct members of the genus *Homo* out of Africa after 2.5 million years ago (Hertler et al. 2013), followed by anatomically modern humans between 120,000 and 10,000 years ago, and then the migrations of farmers, herders, and boat builders across the globe from 10,000 years ago onward (Bellwood 2013a; see papers in Bellwood 2013b). Timothy Earle and Clive Gamble, in their chapter on migration in Shryock and Smail’s edited volume *Deep History*, capture the complexity, the interconnectivity, and the cloudiness of this relentless human movement in a single sentence:

Even with the first settlement of regions, new migrations continued often at even greater rates, displacing earlier settlers, forcing removals and relocations, creating regional movements of marriage partners and workers, funnelling vast populations through colonial and postcolonial global economies, and creating diverse, intermingled diasporas. [Shryock and Smail 2011:192]

This explanation, encompassing prehistory to modern-day, captures the blurriness not only of migrations themselves, but also their concomitant causes and effects. The complexities of this process have afforded migration a troubled place in archaeological studies over the course of the twentieth century, from undertheorized “catch-all” explanation for cultural change, to racist narratives of dominance, to a subject largely avoided in archaeology in the second half of the century (Anthony, this volume). Since the 1990s, however, in wake of disciplinary turns within archaeology and history responding to intensifying postcolonial narratives and a growing awareness of modern-day globalization, migration has reemerged as a subject of study for understanding the human past. Revolutionary advances in genetics, isotopes, and data manipulation have further bolstered its significance. Given our current global experiences with human movement—and the troubled responses by individuals and governments to this movement—interdisciplinary and nuanced perspectives of migration and its role in driving human development are now more conceivable—and more necessary—than ever before.

This volume, therefore, seeks to take a sharp lens to various parts of this long history of movement, integrating new models and explanations built using diverse methodologies and case studies into a much longer history—and ultimately a much greater understanding—of human migration. It seeks to capitalize on what Kristian Kristiansen has called the “Third Science Revolution” (2014, with responses; also this volume), which has emerged in response to unparalleled advances in the sciences in areas such as genetics and Big Data, and coincides with current theoretical and methodological reorientations in archaeology (Kristiansen 2014:14). This volume also aims to engage these revolutionary changes in archaeol-

ogy with ongoing shifts in historical models of the ancient world, chiefly paradigms such as connectivity, networks, and globalization, which continue to influence research agendas and offer their own steep challenges in characterization and application. I will elaborate on these developments further below, but in the following section I take a closer look at migration's appearance, disappearance, and subsequent reemergence in archaeology to frame the rest of this volume.

MIGRATION AND ARCHAEOLOGY: A FRAUGHT HISTORY

How and why humans move, and the resultant effects of those movements on sociocultural configurations, are the piloting questions behind historical, archaeological, anthropological, and genetic research into migration. But the place of migration in archaeological research has had a fascinating and, at times, fraught history. Its emergence as a driving factor in the story of human evolution seems to have been motivated by two seemingly simple yet groundbreaking realizations from the Renaissance onward: first, that humans were very diverse across space and time and second, that human history was very long—at least compared to the biblical worldview that held sway over Medieval Europe and persisted well into the nineteenth century. This outlook, emerging from the studies of Archbishop James Ussher and John Lightfoot, encompassed human history in a mere 6,000 years (Ussher 1658; Murray-Wallace 1996), and saw humans originating from the Garden of Eden somewhere in the Middle East (see Delumeau 2000, especially chapter 3). Humans were seen to have changed over time due to the influence of geography and climate on individuals and bodily humors, ideas that came both from Greco-Roman theories (e.g., Aristotle, *Politics* 7.1327b) and Medieval characterizations (Harvey 2016). In the biblical view, however, human diversity was a mark of moral degeneration: humans were said to be “made of one blood” (*Acts* 17:26), and their linguistic and physical variety, along with their dispersion across the globe, found explanation in stories of divine punishment for human transgressions such as the Deluge (*Genesis* 6:5–7) and Tower of Babel (*Genesis* 11:1–9) (cf. Randsborg 2000:212–213).

How this worldview eroded over time is due to compounding causes too numerous and complex to capture accurately in this brief space, but I will mention a few major factors related to the study of migration. The rise of antiquarian tradition and methodology, founded in critical study of history using documentary, topographical, and physical sources, influenced new approaches to the study and interpretation of sacred scriptures, and coincided with a number of religious shifts in northern Europe (Backus 2003). Moreover, the emergence of new types of scientific enquiries in the early seventeenth century, such as evidence-based autopsy and philosophical skepticism, set the stage for novel approaches to history and science that transformed both the antiquarian and biblical traditions (Acciarino 2018:13–14). The Enlightenment turn toward ideals of evolution and progress only furthered this process, although antiquarian approaches continued to spread far and wide, despite experiencing increasing marginalization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Miller and Louis 2012:2, 4–5), and biblical models of history persisted doggedly into the nineteenth century, and still survive today.

The concept of migration as an explanatory device materialized from a number of avenues during this time. Certain antiquarian writers put forth theories about human migration to account for common origins of variegated peoples. The royal historiographer for the Hapsburgs, Wolfgang Lazius, for instance, wrote *De Aliquot Gentium Migrationibus* (1557), which stressed the migration of Germanic tribes (*migratio gentium*, later *Völkerwanderung*) as a way to offer narrative coherence to the history of the diverse subjects of the Hapsburgs (Goffart 1989:122, note 42).¹ This concept of the *Völkerwanderung* would carry particular valence into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the process of German nation building, with the strength and vigor of the Germanic people envisioned as a culmination of previous conquests under the Huns and Vandals in the so-called Migration Period.² The concept of German nationality as based on blood and not residence in a particular territory would continue to influence archaeological thought in the German-speaking world well into the twentieth century (Härke 1997:63; Sherratt 1990).

Undoubtedly, the European experiences in the New World prompted theories and arguments about the origins of the indigenous peoples present throughout the Americas. Many accounts from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries argued for indigenous peoples coming across the Atlantic or Pacific, and biblical views tended to position these peoples as descended from the Canaanites, who had fled from the Hebrews and their Levantine homeland (Trigger 2006:115–116). Yet as early as the late sixteenth century, the recognition of physical similarities between American Indigenous peoples and those from East Asia prompted a Jesuit priest, José de Acosta, to write *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1589). In this work, Acosta argued that the Indigenous peoples of the Americas must have traveled from the Middle East, by way of a land bridge from Siberia. But even de Acosta's account, as prescient as it may have been, nonetheless depicted these peoples as having lost all knowledge of, not only sedentary life, but also of their divine origins, thus remaining in line with dominant biblical narratives of the day. Even so, a realization was slowly but steadily emerging of the diversity of human life that covered the globe, and it set the stage for continuing inquiry into human origins.³

These converging intellectual developments were augmented further by another great discovery—one with roots in the late eighteenth century and that came to fruition in the mid-nineteenth century: that of deep time, a realization that led to the First Science Revolution (Kristiansen 2014:14–15) and the birth of archaeology, anthropology, and paleontology as scientific disciplines. The rise of nationalism and romanticism across Europe in this same period also spurred interests in chronological ordering and stylistic classification of vast collections of artifacts to characterize and celebrate national identities of emerging European nations.⁴ This collection frenzy led to the uncovering of the European Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages and the diversities of human cultural configurations these periods encompassed (Diaz-Andreu 2008:326–327). But alongside these nationalist tendencies there was emerging a realization, starting with James Hutton's *Theory of the Earth* (1788), that the planet and its inhabitants had a history that stretched well beyond the biblical 6,000 years, involving many processes of change and adaptation over this span of time. Hutton's discoveries were furthered by geologists such as Charles Lyell, who popularized the idea of

deep geological time in *Principles of Geology*, thus setting the stage for the elaboration of biological evolution by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. Deep time opened up the door to concepts of evolutionism and diffusionism as the driving factors of human change, particularly for European prehistory (Adams et al. 1978:497). Yet, with the application of Darwinian theory to sociocultural evolution by individuals such as Herbert Spencer, migration also emerged as a viable explanatory device for cultural phenomena in the archaeological record. Both migration and the diffusion had been employed as explanations for culture change by Scandinavian archaeologists like C. J. Thomsen and his successors to articulate the shifts from Stone to Bronze to Iron Ages (Trigger 2006:128–129; Hakenbeck 2008:10). These endeavors were largely fueled by the rise of nationalist identities and nation-states in Europe that emphasized common cultural histories stretching back into prehistoric times, and set the stage for the rise of the culture history approach in archaeology, which would dominate the first half of the twentieth century (Eisenmann et al. 2018:7; see below). The overriding model to arise, however, by the late nineteenth century, was that of unilinear evolutionism, which drew from earlier Enlightenment models of progress and especially social Darwinism. This model propagated the belief that all humans were on a single line of social, cultural, and technological development, with white industrialized European societies at the top, and most other societies more or less falling short of this “ideal.” The resulting syntheses of decades’ worth of archaeological and anthropological studies came in the form of publications such as John Lubbock’s *Prehistoric Times*. These narratives tended to assume Indigenous societies to be static and unable to advance culturally, and any change in the archaeological record was explained via migrations of more “advanced” peoples into a given area.

The racist underpinnings of this scholarship in various parts of the world adopted migrationist explanations to account for what were seen to be cultural “peculiarities” in the archaeological landscape. European archaeologists and colonizers in Africa tended to regard its peoples as “a living museum of the human past” (Trigger 2006:196). Any mark of cultural sophistication, such as Great Zimbabwe or Namibian rock art, was explained via prehistoric European and Near Eastern colonization into the area, which reinforced the idea of European migrants as superior carriers of culture and civilization into a region (Fagan 1981; Härke 1997:64–65, 1998:22; Chirikure 2020:8–11). The same sentiments were applied in North America, for instance to the “Mound Builder” culture (Adams et al. 1978:497–498; Fagan 1981:43–44). In fact, migrationist explanations in this period, as they were applied to the emerging fields of prehistoric archaeology, comparative linguistics, and comparative racial studies, fell largely in line with both evolutionary and biblical models of change, lending biblical models in particular “a broadened scope and a new guise of empirical respectability” (Adams et al. 1978:484). In reality, however, little attempt was made to infer human behavior from artifacts and their respective contexts, or offer any real demonstration of how specific artifacts related to specific stages of cultural and technological advancement (Trigger 2006:209).

As mentioned above, there was also emerging in this period a growing tendency to equate specific classes of artifacts with cultural groups, a tendency that emerged from grow-

ing nationalist identities coupled with broader interests in cultural diffusion in the social sciences, and that aided archaeologists in explaining variation in time and space across Europe (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952; Eisenman et al. 2018:6). These new orientations resulted in a type of historical particularism known as the culture history paradigm in archaeology, which took precedence in the first half of the twentieth century, although unilinear evolutionary schemes still persisted in archaeological accounts that increasingly attempted to map out zones of archaeological “cultures” across continents (e.g., Holmes 1914). Culture history, which still pervades archaeological thought today (see below), equates groupings of material remains with actual cultural and ethnic groups. Vere Gordon Childe characterized these associations in *The Danube in Prehistory*: “We find certain types of remains—pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms—constantly recurring together. Such a complex of regularly associated traits we shall term a ‘cultural group’ or just a ‘culture’” (1929:vi). Yet, like unilinear evolutionism, culture history still utilized migration to explain changes observed in an assemblage of artifacts, particularly changes that appeared to be sudden (Adams et al. 1978:483, 498–499). The grand syntheses produced, from Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) to Childe (1892–1957), argued that cultural and technological developments moved via diffusion and migration from the Near East into Europe, a model that came to be known as *ex oriente lux* (“light from the east”).⁵ Like earlier racist ideas about human development, this paradigm, which tended to view certain areas and groups as founts of innovation, fueled belief in European superiority in wake of the colonization of Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas (Blaut 1987:30). In Childe’s view especially, with his clear equation of archaeological cultures with ethnic groups (1925 and especially 1929:vi–viii; see Meheux 2017), Europeans were seen to have adopted technological ideas from the East only to adapt them into heightened innovative forms (1925:xiii), a sentiment shared with the earlier accounts of Montelius. Other European archaeologists, particularly from the German-speaking regions, were determined to see the *lux* as coming from Europe itself, and so promulgated the notion of Aryan peoples descending from the north as culture carriers into the rest of Europe, rooting the genetic basis of culture in blood and not territory (Kossinna 1911; Schuchhardt 1919; see Trigger 2006:228–229; Härke 1997:63–64). The use of archaeology to bolster claims to cultural superiority was brought to extremes under the Nazi use of Gustaf Kossinna’s *Siedlungsarchäologie* (Kossinna 1911), a paradigm that also influenced Childe’s concept of archaeological cultures, although Childe later moved away from Kossinna’s “Nordic myth.”⁶

World War II brought several changes to Anglophone and broader European archaeological thought. The Second Science Revolution in the 1950s and ’60s largely retreated from culture history approaches and their stress on diffusion and migration, at least for British and American archaeology. The post–World War II revolutions in scientific dating and the rise of the New Archaeology, or processualism, in the Anglophone world resulted, over the 1950s, ’60s, and ’70s, in turns to more internal processes of adaptation to generate universal laws concerning the operation of human societies (e.g., Renfrew 1972). The higher chronologies of European prehistory afforded by new scientific dating in the 1950s and ’60s, and the general amassment of archaeological data, allowed more room to argue for

slower processes of internal evolution (Hakenbeck 2008:14). Migration, often simplistically modeled as quick, sweeping waves (or invasions) of peoples into a given territory, could be not so much refuted as ignored as a historical explanation that did nothing to explain adaptive or evolutionary processes (Clark 1966:173; Cabana 2011:20; Härke 1997; Anthony, this volume). Culture history's tendency to present archaeological cultures as monolithic, bounded, and univariate was criticized as descriptive and simplistic (Binford 1965; Rowe 1966).⁷ Furthermore, the rise of cultural ecology was seen as the most secure model for explaining development and change through a cultural system's (multilinear) evolutionary adaptations to environments (Steward 1955).⁸ Processualism's influence continues to be pervasive, especially in the wariness toward assuming large movements of people, which has persisted into the 1990s and 2000s, even as migration has come back into focus (Härke 1997:62).

Conversely, in Central Europe, archaeology turned to more antiquarian tendencies of collecting and classifying material remains. In the German-speaking world in particular, archaeology's post-World War II retreat from political and nationalist discourses tended to sustain abstract and undertheorized equations of artifact assemblages with ethnicity, but from a more neutral sense than earlier hyper-nationalist perspectives (Rieckhoff 2007:9; Burmeister 2013; Hofmann and Stockhammer 2017:6–7; Eisenmann et al. 2018:7). In German-speaking archaeology, therefore, migration continued to be invoked uncritically as an explanation for culture change into the 1990s, when new conversations surrounding acculturation emerged.⁹ Indeed, even despite the continuing impact of processualism and the countermovement, post-processualism, on the Anglophone world, culture history remains pervasive into the twenty-first century in archaeological thought and continues to influence scientific and interpretative frameworks, as will be discussed below.

With the countermovement known as post-processualism beginning in the 1980s and its focus on individual agency and subjective experience, migration was slow to reemerge within archaeological agendas (van Dommelen 2014:479). A number of studies before and during this period, however, focused on articulating the spread of farming (Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 1971, 1973—see Anthony, this volume) and the links between farming and the movement of Indo-European speakers (Renfrew 1987, 1989, 1992) kept migration in the picture.¹⁰ These large studies also began to incorporate genetics data into their models, although there were significant drawbacks in early attempts to properly extract and authenticate aDNA from human remains (e.g., Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 1984; Renfrew 1992; Boyle and Renfrew 2001; see Eisenmann et al. 2018:2). The diversity of interpretative viewpoints in post-processual archaeology, which stressed multivocality and multiple levels of explanation (Hodder 1987), widened the scope for migration to reemerge (Cabana 2011:11)—this time as a subject of study in its own right. Kristian Kristiansen (1989, 1998) and David Anthony (1990) called for a return to migration as a systematic and predictable component of human behavior (Anthony 1990:908), which could be studied within broader social structures and historical and evolutionary contexts (Kristiansen 1989:212; Anthony 1997). Migration thus rematerialized within scholarly agendas over the 1990s (e.g., Champion 1990; Anthony 1992; Cameron 1995; Chapman and Hamerow

1997; Bellwood and Renfrew 2002; Kristiansen and Larson 2005). While the conversation has often focused on the use of explicit methods to identify migrations in the archaeological record (Burmeister 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010, 2011; van Dommelen 2014:479), the rise of multiple types of stable isotope analysis, new data analysis techniques, and, most recently whole genome sequencing (Anthony and Brown 2017; Kristiansen et al. 2017), have expanded our methodologies enormously. As Kristiansen argues (this volume), science revolutions have turned relative knowledge into absolute knowledge, freeing up archaeology to ask new questions about data. As such, the role of social identity in archaeological migration studies (see Cabana 2011:22–23 and Camaño, Porter, this volume) and the positioning of migration as a part of much broader and long-term social and evolutionary processes is coming more into focus. I will return to these advances at the end of this chapter. In the next section, I consider new models of Mediterranean history, and how they might integrate with and strengthen the archaeological study of migration.

MIGRATION AND MEDITERRANEAN CONNECTIVITY

In the 1980s, scholars such as Colin Renfrew (1980), Stephen Dyson (1981), and Anthony Snodgrass (1985) articulated the disparities between Classical Archaeology and New Archaeology (processualism)—a disparity Renfrew termed the “Great Divide” (Renfrew 1980). I will not belabor this point, but suffice to say, as the New Archaeology emerged in the 1960s, so did the disciplinary divides between what came to be known as anthropological archaeology, usually housed under anthropology in university departments, and classical archaeology, traditionally the domain of departments of classics, and closely associated with art history and the study of the Greek and Latin texts. Yet, as the New Archaeology was in full swing in the 1970s, a new paradigm was evolving within classics, often attributed to the great economic historian Moses Finley, who wrote his groundbreaking work *The Ancient Economy* in 1973. Finley, very much influenced by Max Weber and Karl Polanyi, stressed, in this work, the “cellular self-sufficiency” of the Greco-Roman worlds (Hopkins 1983:xi); in other words, he painted a picture of a world that saw little interregional movement or trade, where each farm, town, and region was largely self-sufficient and produced everything that it needed. Although Finley was certainly not solely responsible for this, his work served to further isolate the Greeks and Romans from their neighbors to the north, south, east, and west, drawing sharp, defined boundaries around particular cultural groups. This approach was reminiscent of the tradition of culture history, demonstrating the persistence of this paradigm across many sects of archaeology.

The “Great Divide” of course was not as clean-cut as the metaphor suggests: both anthropological archaeology and classical archaeology were and continue to be vastly diverse fields; nor can we assume a simple elision between “classical” and “Mediterranean” archaeologies when this diversity is taken into account. The recent shifts within classics and Mediterranean archaeology and history, indeed, have much to offer when it comes to building innovative theoretical paradigms of migration and mobility. Since the 1990s in particular, new models of Mediterranean history have taken form, signified in Nicholas Purcell and

Peregrine Horden's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000). These approaches stressed the cultural fluidity and rampant economic, social, and ecological interconnectivity of humans across the Mediterranean basin. *The Corrupting Sea* defied fixed boundaries, chronological and cultural barriers, and any conception of human groups as cellular, self-sufficient entities with their own destinies. Although it drew from the much earlier work of Fernand Braudel (1949), Horden and Purcell's work was nothing short of a paradigm shift in classics, one that opened the door to new interests in human mobility and migration in the Mediterranean world. This paradigm has of course seen its share of second-wave criticisms, particularly those that critique the paradoxically "static" and "timeless" nature of this interconnectivity (Morris 2003; Broodbank 2013; Concannon and Mazurek 2016:8–9; Manning 2018:87–88), which in some instances continued to be plagued by simplistic and unidirectional movements of people and innovations (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010:3; De Angelis 2016, this volume). Most of all, these critiques call for more precise analytical categories and clearer understandings of the processes that produce, sustain, and alter these mobilities and interconnections, as well as the role of institutions, states, and economies in these processes.

The early twenty-first century has indeed seen new techniques emerge within this paradigm, in particular the ever-intensifying interest in network approaches for conceptualizing and modeling human connectivity (Malkin 2011; Knappett 2011, 2013; Tartaron 2013; Collar 2013; Brughmans et al. 2016; Leidwanger and Knappett 2018; Greene and Leidwanger, this volume). These approaches have helped to move us past earlier critiques of interconnectivity's "static" and "timeless" nature and envision more dynamic, multidirectional processes of interaction, which shaped the growth and trajectories of societies (Greene and Leidwanger 2019). Along with the interest in networks and the movement of innovations they allow through human actors (Collar 2013), a renewed focus on objects has emerged. In particular, scholars have stressed the agency of objects in structuring human interaction over long distances into "affiliation networks" and "communities of practice" (e.g., Lave and Wenger 1991; Gamble 1998; Knappett 2011; although see caveats in Kristiansen, this volume). Material culture is no longer solely used to identify human movement (e.g., van Dommelen and Knapp 2010), but to articulate the social processes and—increasingly—the social experiences behind that movement (Camaño, this volume). Within these shifts, other concepts and characterizations are being reconfigured, in particular modern ideas of ancient "colonization," which in earlier decades tended to sustain simplistic models of cultural transfer and contact (De Angelis 2020; Kotsonas and Mokrišová 2019; Wallace 2018).¹¹ Mediterranean historians and archaeologists are thus moving toward more sophisticated and integrative ways of accounting for both structure and agency within the paradigm of interconnectivity, which mirrors reorientations in the discipline of archaeology more broadly (discussed below).

I will not go so far as to say that the study of migration and mobility can heroically bridge any remaining "Great Divide," but I will highlight the similar turning points in both anthropological and classical archaeology toward migration and mobility—namely, the period of the 1990s. I will also relate these developments to forces that stretch well beyond these two disciplines, namely, globalization, which has heavily influenced scholarly

agendas in the study of the past (Morris 2003; Hodos 2014, 2017). And, in a related sense, we might look back on the 1990s as a time of critical self-reflection of both disciplines and their colonial underpinnings as the interest in postcolonial studies intensified (Knapp and van Dommelen 2010:1; van Dommelen 2012:402–403), interests that were in many ways responding to the often-insidious effects of globalization (During 2000). The colonial substructures of the discipline have come into clearer focus in the twenty-first century as researchers grapple with the continuing use of the past to both bolster and challenge modern ideological stances, including in the arenas of migration and immigration (Padilla Peralta 2015a, 2015b, 2017). The renewed interests in migration and mobility also bring new light to peoples previously marginalized in scholarship (e.g., Kennedy 2014; Cameron, this volume). The reemergence of migration studies, once the explanatory device used by the researcher to deny certain groups any notion of agency or evolution, thus offers ways to move beyond static and one-sided ideas of cultural transmission and dominance, given the proper use of reflexive, ethical, and data-driven models.

A MIGRATION-CENTERED WORLDVIEW: CAVEATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

If the earlier scientific revolutions of the mid-twentieth century strained the interest in large-scale human movements, the current scientific revolutions—in aDNA, isotope, and data analysis—are doing the opposite. Since the 1990s we have been moving, more and more, to a migration-centered worldview of human history, a view that sees mobility and migration as fundamental, constant features of human development and adaptation over the long term. This model, while releasing us from past paradigms that used migration almost solely as an explanation for culture change, presents new challenges to archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, and geneticists, not least those that involve teasing out, magnifying, and modeling the entangled causes, processes, and consequences of human movement and developing new interdisciplinary frameworks to characterize the realities of migration and mobility.

Culture history, and the use of archaeological cultures as a heuristic device for characterizing past societies in general, still looms large, for instance (Roberts and Vander Linden 2011:2; Furholt 2018:160; Crellin and Harris 2020:38; Cameron, this volume). The culture history paradigm and its influence over archaeological understandings of migrations has been a persistent and pervasive shaper of emerging discourses (Hakenbeck 2008:13). Many recent approaches to migration still fall into the trap of equating ethnicity with languages and material culture and reducing complex migration processes to “arrows on maps” (Hakenbeck 2008:16). The culture history approach thus persists in simplistically characterizing migrations as mass movements of people that replace the host population in a given territory, defined and proven through changes in material culture (e.g., Brace et al. 2018—see Crellin and Harris 2020:39–40 and Anthony, this volume). Cabana (2011:23) emphasizes the continuing knotty issue of equating migrations with cultural change: “A presumed tie between migration and culture change is usually the default starting point for archaeological migration studies. . . . We assume to know the nature of the relationships

among migration, material remains, and the archaeological record. In reality, however, we do not know that any of these relationships exist” (also Harper, this volume).

aDNA, especially whole genome sequencing, has certainly revealed important correctives to previous assumptions (e.g., Allentoft et al. 2015; Haak et al. 2015; Mathieson et al. 2015; see also Vander Linden 2016; Krause and Haak 2017; Furholt 2018, with responses; Gokcumen 2018). Has genome sequencing, however, “surpassed the toolkit of archaeology” (Reich 2018:xx) in terms of what it reveals about cultural and social change in the deep past? Omer Gokcumen (this volume; Taskent and Gokcumen 2017) offers the insightful reminder that, as with the relationships between human groups and material culture, there are no clear “across-the-board” correlations between genetics and cultures, whether we define cultures through human groups or assemblages of artifacts. Or, as Marc Vander Linden (2018:187, this volume) sums up, “The difficulty lies when one attempts to translate biological relatedness in social terms, materialized by archaeological artefacts.” Genomic studies indeed have been criticized for lacking archaeological rigor, for assuming an equation between biological groups, material culture, and complex identities, and, consequently, for treating migrations in the same, simplistic manner as the culture history paradigm. Furholt (2018:165) has noted the continued treatment of human movement in genomic studies as univariate, bounded phenomena, “reduced to a binary choice between migration and diffusion,” and thus our ignorance of the wide range of mobilities, social processes, and other contributing factors subsumed under the concepts of migration and diffusion continues (see Leppard, this volume). The identification of genetic changes in the archaeological record has also been catapulted into catch-all explanations for intricate social and technological changes such as the spread of farming, such that Crellin and Harris have recently asserted that aDNA papers in archaeology “presage a return to older forms of thinking,” namely, culture history (2020:41). Furthermore, the politicizing of aDNA in recent months and years (Gannon 2019; Hakenbeck 2019; Frieman and Hofmann 2019) has demonstrated that scientific methods are no safer than older culture-historical techniques when it comes to appropriation and misrepresentation of ancient data via modern ideologies of ethnicity and identity (Furholt 2018:171). The consensus from scholars working with diverse geographical regions and populations is uniform. We need to apply social theory and proper archaeological and anthropological agendas to understand the myriad complex social and cultural processes behind migration and avoid positivistic and oversimplified interpretations of our data (Müller 2013; Hofmann 2015; Burmeister 2017; Furholt 2018, 2019; Anthony, Barnard, De Angelis, Camaño, Cameron, Gokcumen, Kristiansen, Vander Linden, Yasur-Landau, this volume).

Yet, as Eisenmann et al. have noted, the mass accrual of new genetic data “has not been matched by the development of a theoretical framework for the discussion of ancient DNA results” (2018:1)—in other words, method is outstripping theory. Crellin and Harris (2020) suggest one of the main sources of tension is the binaries drawn between nature (DNA) and culture (material remains) and the supposed need to map one cleanly onto the other, especially by testing archaeological models against seemingly solid, unambiguous, and verifiable genetic evidence. In reality, such binaries between nature and culture do not

exist either now or in the past, just as one human group or identity cannot be cleanly separated from another; nor can scientific approaches remain tidily detached from interpretative ones (McCoskey 2018). Crellin and Harris call for relational, multiscalar, and posthumanist approaches that can grasp the messiness and complexities of information about the past from interdisciplinary perspectives. This relational importance is key, and if we are to better conceptualize and model human movements, we cannot divorce these from things and environments. Hans Barnard (this volume), quotes Woolford and Dunn (2014:125), who state: “The boundaries between bodies, tools, and the environment are fluid and dependent upon relationships more than materials.” The challenge of integrating new techniques and evidence into archaeological work is coming into clearer focus, and indeed requires the redrafting of paradigms that stretch far beyond the discipline of archaeology. The characterization of migration must be understood as part of an endlessly intricate web of relations between human, things, identities, and environments: aDNA is but one of many tools to grasp these complexities.

Zubrow et al. (this volume) suggest that we are working on the “transition line between processual and post-processual archaeology.” Yet, this transition line must bring us back not to old frameworks but toward paradigms that more accurately characterize the reality of human movement, entangled as it is within broader social processes (Yasur-Landau, this volume). In Kristiansen’s words (this volume), “The third science revolution allows the reintroduction of a new interdisciplinary social, science-based theory of history and human behavior based on the material conditions of life.” Given the criticisms of “first-wave” interpretations of genomic data discussed above, Kristiansen’s argument positions us to build frameworks that incorporate micro- and macrodynamics of the organizing forces of society understood through material culture and language. We are now better able to study and conceptualize human movement as a fundamental part of these social strategies and institutional structures, not some outside force or event (Anthony, this volume). In sum, culture history’s tendencies to incorporate migrations into historical models and processualism’s reasons for excluding them are both no longer valid.

We are also no longer simply looking at cultural (or genetic) change, but also continuity, as advocated by Cabana (2011) and earlier post-processual models (e.g., Hodder 1987). Continuity in particular encompasses the broader environmental, social, and cultural dynamics that direct the trajectories of human development and change over the long term:

The problem here has been the failure to identify continuity with change as social-symbolic processes. . . . An alternative approach is to examine the ways in which similarity and difference, continuity and change, are constructed through material culture, and to interpret the way in which these constructions play a role in the dialectical relationship between structure and event. [Hodder 1987:8]

Paradoxically, continuity does not entail predictive evolutionary models à la processualism that erase human agency. Instead, continuity requires us to incorporate both structure and agency into our analyses of human movement, subsumed under models such as complexity

theory, which can combine unpredictable (individual and group) variability with enduring constraints, or “attractors,” such as cultural and ethnic affiliation, that direct societies’ adaptations over the long term (Bintliff 2006:187). Evolutionary models, just as they were a part of the First and Second Science Revolutions, also have their role to play this time around (see Kristiansen, this volume, Figure 2.1). When used properly they can, in John Bintliff’s words (2006:187), “nullify the supposed incompatibility of processual and post-processual approaches to the human past,” and allow us to characterize the complex social processes that direct and result from human movement, from the individual to society. Migration is a part of human adaptive strategies (Leppard 2014; Weninger and Harper 2015) yet can be a catalyst for new sociocultural formulations and even higher cognitive complexity (Barnard, this volume). As these new scientific techniques free up archaeologists to ask new and better questions about their data, the evolutionary role of migration in social complexity will certainly come more into focus (see Vander Linden et al., this volume).

THE SCOPE OF THE VOLUME

The papers in the first section of this volume, “New Data and New Narratives,” synthesize scientific, social scientific, and humanistic data and evaluate the new models of historical and social development that we need to consider in light of new evidence. As is clear from this section, all of these papers focus on European prehistory, and in particular the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age groups from the Pontic steppes, the Yamnaya people, which were shown through recent genetic studies (Haack et al. 2015; Allentoft et al. 2015) to have migrated into northern Europe. These 2015 studies using whole genome sequencing from these regions were revolutionary in their findings, yet also subject to “first wave” criticisms, as noted above (e.g., Furholt 2018; Crellin and Harris 2020), and the chapters that deal with these phenomena answer to these criticisms in different ways. Both Kristian Kristiansen and David Anthony, who were a part of the research teams that analyzed the genomes that demonstrated the Yamnaya steppe origin for much of the European Corded Ware culture, reveal the complex social processes involved in these movements. While earlier reactions to these findings justifiably included concern and caution toward being overly simplistic and positivistic with this new genomic data (e.g., Furholt 2018), Kristiansen and Anthony demonstrate how genomic, isotopic, and archaeological evidence can be synthesized to tease out the multiple processes that arise out of and drive human movement. Anthony frames his paper largely around countering the continuing ideas of migrations as singular events or invasions (a characterizing stemming largely from the work of Gimbutas), while Kristiansen builds on these findings to suggest new theoretical models of migratory expansions applied to European and Mediterranean prehistory as a whole. Omer Gokcumen’s paper in this same section helpfully introduces the tools of genomics to archaeologists and historians, highlighting its impact on research into human origins and providing further caveats on how we correlate genetic signatures with concepts such as nationality, culture, and ancestry. Gokcumen emphasizes especially that genetic research, rather than providing clean defin-

itive answers, often demonstrates that our original questions and assumptions—e.g., the “spread” of farming—were too simplistic.

The next section, “Migrations: Visible and Invisible” analyzes ancient migration studies from a different angle, that of the individuals and groups that we miss if we continue to employ inadequate narratives, methodologies, and interpretations. Franco De Angelis’s paper in this section cautions that we risk perpetuating one-dimensional narratives of movement and transfer if we do not take data-driven interdisciplinary approaches that assess not only the processes but also the outcomes of ancient migrations and the role of host populations. De Angelis investigates the polarizing historical narratives and methodologies that have been applied to the sociocultural developments of the pre-Roman western Mediterranean. These narratives largely mirror the earlier culture history-versus-processualism standoff, with one side arguing for cultural stimuli from outsiders, the other arguing for local, internal processes of development. De Angelis argues for deeper nuancing of our narratives driven by emerging data to capture the role of migration in cultural transfer and change. Catherine Cameron’s chapter, “Captives: The Invisible Migrant,” challenges our generalizing view of population movement as an intentional process linked to economic concerns through ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts of captives, particularly their roles in cultural networks. Forced migration is garnering more attention in archaeological studies (Cameron 2016; Hamilakis 2017; Driessen 2018), and Cameron reveals a remarkable variety of social processes and strategies in the forced movement of peoples across different societies, and importantly their influences and roles within those societies, all of which further textures our archaeological interpretations and nuances new data emerging from isotope and genetic studies. Ultimately, Cameron’s work moves us past migrations as faceless “events” and into the lived experiences of captives and their influences on past societies.

The next chapter, by Elena Isayev, asks the important question: “At what point does one’s presence as an outsider become visible?” Using a number of case studies from the Roman-period Mediterranean, Isayev demonstrates the significant gaps in our knowledge of the shape and scale of movement when we rely on traditional methods for studying migration (e.g., inscriptions and material culture), arguing that social factors such as status played a key role in the (in)visibility of migration. Both Cameron and Isayev emphasize the undeniable importance that aDNA and isotope analyses will have on our interpretations of the processes of migration as they are employed with increasing frequency (see Killgrove and Montgomery 2016). Likewise, the final chapter in this section, by Assaf Yasur-Landau, comprehensively assesses the scientific revolution’s impact on the archaeology of the Levant. Taking a harbor scene from a New Kingdom Egyptian tomb as his point of departure in signaling previously ignored manners and scales of human movement, Yasur-Landau’s chapter calls for a “unified model of interaction” that incorporates the whole range of mobility “events” within a “wider interaction continuum,” allowing for more inclusive models of human movement.

The section entitled “Computational Models of Migration” presents several new statistical and mathematical methods of identifying and characterizing migrations. The first

chapter in this section, by Marc Vander Linden et al., presents an agent-based model to predict the effects of migrating populations on cultural diversity through a series of simulations. The authors test the predictions of their simulations through analysis of archaeological and zooarchaeological data from the western Balkans and Adriatic basin. Their model is not only widely applicable to a number of archaeological scenarios (and thus testable), but, importantly, demonstrates a method of characterizing the complex interrelationships between migration and cultural variability, revealing the multiphase characteristics of both of these phenomena. Thomas K. Harper's paper, "The Settlement Record, Paleodemography, and Evidence for Migrations in Eneolithic Ukraine," introduces a mathematical model using paleodemographic data to chart the maximum possible limits of population growth in a given region to identify a means of pinpointing when migrations likely have or have not occurred. Harper's model is a good example of a method that looks beyond changes in cultural (or genetic) components to characterize the shape of migrations in prehistory. The final chapter, by Zubrow, Diachenko, and Leavitt, presents a simulation model based on neo-Malthusian population dynamics to predict migrations. This model takes into account not only top-down population-level dynamics, but also builds in human cognition (through perception of resource availability at both the origin and targeted area of migration). The models introduced in this section of the volume are applicable to a wide variety of case studies, and aid us in characterizing migration as a social and cognitive process and not simply as an external, unpredictable event.

The volume's next section, "Sociohistorical Models of Migration," elaborates on human-generated socioeconomic structures and identities that both constrain and enable human migration. The first paper in this section, by Aurora Camaño, combines the theoretical and methodological orientations within social anthropology with studies of the physical and cultural landscapes of migrants in Armenian Cilicia. Camaño calls for a social archaeology of forced migration, "which ultimately seeks to reconstruct past migrant narratives and the often-overlooked societal impacts of mass displacement and resettlement." Anne Porter's chapter also considers the practice of identity in structuring human movements in the late Chalcolithic/Bronze Age Near East. Using several case studies including the Uruk expansion, Porter argues that specific aspects of identity could be reified and expressed materially to overcome the social fragmentation brought about by mobility, thus demonstrating the dynamic ways in which groups used material culture to reproduce social bonds over long distances. Finally, Elizabeth Greene and Justin Leidwanger's chapter broadens the discussion to examine how geographies of routine, small-scale mobility operated diachronically among various types of settlement on a single peninsula. Their paper is an important example of how recent interests in networks—in particular their ability to demonstrate how constant, local mobilities configured broader social, economic, and political development—will necessarily shape conversations moving forward. The chapters in this section show a fascinating dialectic between human perception and action (reflecting the computational models described above), yet also weave in larger social structures and environmental constraints that shaped human movement and the social experiences of movement.

The final section is entitled "Migration and Complexity," and looks forward (as it looks back in time) to the future of migration studies. "Assessing the Possibility of Trans-Maritime

Mobility in Archaic Hominins” by Thomas Leppard, interestingly, focuses on non-*Homo Sapiens* movements across waters in both the eastern Mediterranean and regions around Southeast Asia. Tackling the question of whether over-water mobility in archaic *Homo* indeed signified “complex, strategic, technologically advanced plans for maritime mobility,” Leppard synthesizes and nuances interpretations of a number of data sets to argue that hominin mobility might have taken many forms quite distinct from the behavioral complexity we tend to associate with *Homo Sapiens*, which calls us to rethink assumptions between movement and complexity. Hans Barnard, in his chapter, “*Homo mobilis*: Interactions, Consciousness, and the Anthropocene,” examines how the study of human sentience, evolving from sensory input and associated motor responses, can help analogize the complex cognitive and physical abilities that migration induces in individuals and groups. Arguing for a need to synthesize new scientific data in broader interpretative structures, Barnard takes the nature of sentience as his framework for interpreting the outcomes of human movements across the globe, which amounted to “rapid and fundamental developments in human material and immaterial culture, their mental and physical abilities, as well as the world around them.” Barnard’s chapter presses us to recognize the evolution of human complexity as not located solely in neurological developments, but in individual and group movements that feed back into consciousness and intelligence, emphasizing migration’s fundamental role in human adaptation through time.

There are other aspects not captured in this introduction, which the volume either explicitly or implicitly addresses. Many papers explicitly utilize isotope data, yet no paper focuses solely on this topic (see Knudson 2011; Killgrove and Montgomery 2016). Isotopes, before whole genome sequencing became more accessible, were already demonstrating the amount of mobility in early European populations, and continue to contribute remarkably fine-tuned analyses of individual and group movements (e.g., Frei et al. 2017). The concept of “mobility” over “migration” is another issue. Under older conceptualizations, migration might be considered a large-scale “event,” while mobility might signify a more generalized “background noise” of everyday movement, or at the very least, denote the latent possibilities of movement. Often, mobility might be applied to certain types of populations (e.g., pastoralists) to distinguish them from sedentary ones, although this distinction has been problematized in recent years (Potts 2014; Porter 2016; see also Wendrich and Barnard 2008). Hakenbeck proposes adopting mobility over migration as a more encompassing, “bottom-up” concept that can subsume migration alongside other forms of movement (2008:19); this configuration may also work well within the paradigm of Mediterranean interconnectivity (see Kotsonas and Mokrišová 2019:218–219). Several papers in this volume stress this background “noise” of mobility as a constant backdrop to human societies (Greene and Leidwanger, this volume), sometimes termed “micro-mobility” (Porter, this volume), and underscoring a much broader interaction “continuum” of movement, from the micro to the macro scales (Yasur-Landau, this volume). Greene and Leidwanger consider whether we can even separate out migration “events” from the backdrop of routine movements, and pose the question of whether migrations themselves should actually be considered as “large-scale extensions of micro-mobilities.” Unceasing mobility is thus coming into focus as the hidden hallmark of all human cultures (Greenblatt 2009). Given the

various scales and periods encompassed in this volume, no strict separation of migration and mobility is offered—the focus is on, rather, the proper interdisciplinary and interpretative frameworks that can move us toward more balanced treatment of human movement as a fundamental component of our development—physical, cultural, and otherwise.

Finally, the term *modeling* in the volume title deserves some comment. The current science revolution incorporates not only advances in genetics and isotopes but also in data manipulation, and these methodological leaps are certainly reflected in the computational models section of this volume, which brings various forms of archaeological data into new means of hypothesis testing on migrations. Yet “modeling” insinuates much more than incorporating computational techniques, extending to sociohistorical understandings of how humans move and interact, to the human migrants that we have missed with older models, and finally to our very ontological understandings of human-thing-environment relations (Crellin and Harris 2020). To this end, the sections in this volume on inclusive histories, sociohistorical models, and migration and complexity all push us to conceive of more encompassing research agendas to characterize and understand movement. Migration might be conceived of as physical movements of humans from one place to another, but on a deeper level it should press us to recognize movement and mobility as basic organizing forces of human and all earthly reality, as hidden as it often seems within that reality (or denied by certain members of that reality). As Stephen Greenblatt puts it (2009:250), “Indeed one of the characteristic powers of a culture is its ability to hide the mobility that is its enabling condition.” If new scientific techniques and historical models can accomplish anything in regard to ancient migration studies it should be to undermine any residual notions of purity and boundedness that society attempts to perpetuate, and to build migratory processes into the very biological and cultural scaffolding that comprises human societies (Shah 2020). This is not to do away with large-scale narratives or discussions of identity, which are ongoing cultural forces with very real consequences, but rather to base those narratives and identities on candid recognitions of flux, heterogeneity, and complexity.¹² This candid recognition must be at the heart of modeling migration and mobility and of cultivating a migration-centered worldview of the human past and present.

“NO VESTIGE OF A BEGINNING, NO PROSPECT OF AN END”

It seems apt to end by quoting the concluding words of chapter 1 of *Theory of the Earth* by James Hutton, a work that set in motion the First Science Revolution.¹³ Our history begins with movement, and, despite the steep changes our planet faces in the coming decades, human movement will remain a constant. What will not remain constant are our illusions of cultural and ethnic boundedness and uniformity: these will shift, for better or for worse. Renowned anthropologist Michael Herzfeld (2007), for instance, has written on the idea of a European cultural identity that threatens to become ever more divisive, parochial, and implosive as long as it attempts to carve out a purist cultural agenda against the inevitable waves of transformation that are continually emerging. He has also suggested that, within this crisis of identity, anthropology can self-reflexively rise as a counterweight to these damaging notions or it can

remain invisible in these debates (Herzfeld 2016; 2018). I would extend this responsibility to archaeologists as well, as other have done. Martin Furholt, for instance, cautions against the blurring of genetic descent and cultural identity (2018:171): “By integrating such residues of Kossinna-like ethno-essentialism and biologism, whether intentional or not, into models of population history that are combined with cutting-edge scientific methods, we run into the danger of providing supposedly scientific support for political forces who build their demagogies on exactly those assumptions about the nature of societies, ethnic identities, and biologic relatedness.” Furholt’s warnings hearken ominously back to characterizations of nineteenth-century migrationist arguments that lent the entanglement of unilinear evolutionism and biblical models of society “a broadened scope and a new guise of empirical respectability” (see also Hakenbeck 2019; Crellin and Harris 2020). The emergence of new methodologies and paradigms has indeed been nothing short of disruptive for archaeology; likewise, migration itself works as a disruptive force to our ideas of clear-cut borders, well-defined identities, and static ways of being (Tsuda and Baker 2015; Lightfoot 2015). Yet such disruptions contain opportunities for truer, more reflexive, and realist models of the human past and present. Above, all, they undermine narratives of exclusion, and illuminate a very basic truth of human existence: that we evolve not as neatly defined groups, but through constant movement and adaptation to new environments, whether physical or cultural.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the *Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology* for generously hosting the eleventh annual international visiting scholars conference on the topic of this volume, and especially Peter Biehl and Stephen L. Dyson for their mentorship and guidance. I would also like to thank the graduate student volunteers at the 2018 conference and of course all of the contributors to this volume for their tireless efforts in bringing it to fruition. Strong thanks go to the three anonymous volume reviewers for their helpful critiques and suggestions. Finally, I thank Jonathan Monk for his support throughout this process.

NOTES

1. See also Anniius of Viterbo’s spurious *Antiquitates Variae* (1498), which positioned biblical and Near Eastern peoples as colonizers of Italy, specifically the Etruscans (Stephens 2013). I thank Damiano Acciarino for drawing my attention to these antiquarian sources.
2. For instance, as witness in Friedrich Schiller’s *Allgemeine Sammlung historischer Memoires*, XXIX. See Burmeister 2016:48–49 and note 32.
3. The “origins” of various indigenous groups would continue to be a concern for non-Indigenous researchers for centuries: S. Percy Smith, for instance, argued in the early twentieth century from oral accounts that the Maori peoples of New Zealand migrated across the Pacific from India. Following their migration to New Zealand, Smith portrayed their culture as having essentially remained static for centuries (Trigger 2006:193–194), an assertion reminiscent of broader European colonialist mentalities toward Indigenous peoples around the world.

4. E.g., Warsae and Thomsen in Denmark (see Randsborg 2000).
5. On the distinctions between diffusion and migration, see Adams, Van Gerven, and Levy 1978:484–486 (also Hakenbeck 2008:11).
6. In addition to rejecting Kossinna’s model as a “Nordic myth,” Childe would come, in the Fourth Edition of *The Dawn of European Civilization*, to abandon certain assumptions about migration’s role in technological change in favor of Soviet ideas of internal development, although he never completely relinquished diffusionism (Meheux 2017:98).
7. Although in certain functionalist interpretations diffusionism was still allowed for, albeit with certain limitations, and it could not compete with the comprehensive explanatory power of cultural materialism and systems theory (Haas 1977).
8. See also Härke (1997; 1998:23–24) and Kristiansen (1989) on the “immobilist” views of mid-twentieth-century Soviet and British archaeology. Note also that Processualists such as Lewis Binford built human mobility into their evolutionary models, particularly as part of the adaptive tactics of hunter-gatherers (e.g., Binford 1980; 2001; also Kelly 1983). I thank Christopher Troskosky for drawing my attention to this point.
9. See Härke 1997, who traces the historical and political reasons for the persistence of migration as an explanation for culture change in twentieth-century German-speaking archaeology. Härke contrasts Germany’s history of displacement, immigration, and constantly changing borders with Britain’s island status and increasing turn toward immobilism and acculturation (the “elite dominance model”) as explanations for culture change. Cf. Burmeister 2013:230: “Der Grund hierfür ist weniger in der Migrationserfahrung der nationalen Gesellschaften zu suchen . . . als in den interpretationsleitenden Forschungsparadigmen der jeweiligen Archäologien.”
10. See also Bellwood 1984–1985 and 1991 for the south Pacific. See discussion in Hakenbeck 2008:15–16.
11. See De Angelis 2020 on the application of migration, mobility, and diaspora studies to the ancient Mediterranean world, particularly in French-speaking scholarship.
12. These models relate to assemblage thinking (Jervis 2018), outlined in relation to aDNA studies by Crellin and Harris (2020), yet derive from the philosophical school known as Process Philosophy. This school, dating back to the sixth-century BCE philosopher Heraclitus and championed in the twentieth century most explicitly by the mathematician and philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, sees reality in a perpetual and dynamic state of becoming.
13. This work was originally published in 1788 in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. An expanded version, in two volumes, later appeared in 1795.

REFERENCES CITED

- Acciarino, D. 2018 Nature of Renaissance Antiquarianism: History, Methodology, Definition. *Acta Antiqua* 57(4):1–18. DOI:10.1556/068.2017.57.4.9.
- Adams, W. Y., D. P. Van Gerven, and R. S. Levy 1978 The Retreat from Migrationism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7:483–532.
- Allentoft, M. E., M. Sikora, K.-G. Sjögren, S. Rasmussen, M. Rasmussen, J. Stenderup, P. B. Damgaard, H. Schroeder, T. Ahlström, L. Vinner, A.-S. Malaspinas, A. Margaryan, T.