

CROSSING THE CARIBBEAN SEA AND TRACKING INTELLECTUAL HISTORY: A DISCUSSION

Peter E. Siegel
Department of Anthropology
Montclair State University
Montclair, NJ 07043
USA
siegelp@mail.montclair.edu

Introduction

In this forward-looking compilation, Hofman and Bright assembled a group of archaeologists to take a fresh look at the regional context of Caribbean pre-Columbian archaeology. And Caribbean has been defined in a broad geographic sense for the discussion. I will address what I see to be some of the major points in these papers, including history of ideas, geographic scales of analysis, and modes of interaction.

History of Ideas, Chronology, and Reporting the Facts

I think we can and should finally dispense with one of the cherished starting points for some discussions in Caribbean archaeology: that is the lengthy preamble bashing Rouse and ideas of large monolithic migrations of unitary cultures riding the big arrows of directionality out of South America. Rouse is dead, ideas have changed, we have moved on, get over it.

In recent years, Bill Keegan has spent a fair amount of time in creating a cartoon figure out of Rouse, all the while saying that he “always had the greatest respect for Ben Rouse as a scholar and a person” (Keegan, this volume). Keegan got one thing right: in Rouse’s mind it was important to nail down time-space systematics before “higher-order categories of econ-

omy, society, and polity” could be addressed (Keegan, this volume). One thing I emphasize to my students is that if you cannot say when something happened then it is tough to say anything believable about what happened in the past, without taking a “bungee jump into the Land of Fantasy” (Flannery and Marcus 1993:261). To this end, some archaeologists laudably have been emphasizing the importance of broad suites of radiocarbon dates in refining our chronologies (Fitzpatrick 2006; Hofman and Hoogland 2010). Those archaeologists who are dismissive of Rouse’s work confuse time-space systematics with underlying social processes. One reviewer of my paper observed that “as many scholars are noting, the cultural historical framework developed by Rouse still persists ... [thus] mask[ing] the complexity behind migrations in the Caribbean.” First, Rouse did not develop a monolithic or static cultural-historical framework. He did develop multiple frameworks, as appropriate, for different portions of the Caribbean. And as new data became available he revised frameworks accordingly. Second, I do not understand how time-space systematics “mask complexity behind migrations.” I have addressed complexity in pre-Columbian Caribbean migrations (I am now finding the term “colonization” to be more satisfactory) and, more generally, un-

derlying social and political processes quite readily within a cultural-historical framework (Siegel 1999, 2010). In fact, it would be meaningless to do so otherwise. We may quibble over dates, timing of things, whether people in the Archaic made pottery or not, and so on; that is fine. But as David Anthony (1990) suggested we risk throwing the baby out with the bathwater by taking overly reactionary perspectives.

Most of the papers in this volume stress the importance of mobility, exchange, and interaction between groups at dramatically different geographic scales. I will address scales of analysis later in my discussion. First, I want to discuss some of the debates in migrations, origins, and modes of dispersal that continue to consume attention and how these issues might relate to interaction and exchange.

Keegan suggests that Rouse's contention that ancestors of the Taínos can be traced to lowland South America and the Orinoco Valley was disputed by Lathrap (1970) and Ford (1969). Let's look more closely at these works, especially Lathrap's Figure 5c and accompanying text: "Others moved up the Negro and ... [then] along the Casiquiare Canal and down the Orinoco ... ultimately out into the Antilles, where they became the Taino" (Lathrap 1970:75). More recently, Michael Heckenberger concurred with Lathrap's general distributional pattern in his discussion of the Arawakan diaspora: "early pioneer groups moved rapidly throughout floodplain areas of the Negro and Orinoco (by c. 1000-500 BC) and, from there, up and down the Amazon, into the Caribbean and Guiana coast, and along several major southern tributaries of the Amazon" (Heckenberger 2002:106-107, Map 4.2). What is remarkable is that when Lathrap wrote his book in the 1960s he speculated that the dispersal of Early Ceramic Age folks (proto-Arawakans) into the Antilles occurred around 500 BC.

Based on four decades of field work that is the date we are now talking about.

In the context of pre-industrial small-scale horticultural societies, I think we should dispense with views of large-scale monolithic migrations. In doing so, we are more likely to address underlying processes or historical circumstances of island colonization. Keegan seems to promote models of distinct "migratory waves" of cultures: Archaic waves of migration, Early Ceramic Age wave, Late Ceramic Age wave, Ostionan wave, Meillacan wave, etc. (see also Keegan 1995). This perspective may not be surprising, especially for the Early Ceramic Age Saladoid cultures, for which there is remarkable consistency in artifact assemblages, cosmology, and social organization from Venezuela through Puerto Rico (Rouse 1992; Siegel 1989; Wilson 1997, 2007a). However, there is great diversity in the island ecologies, ranging from desert to low-coral to high-volcanic tropical-island settings. This diversity is crucial to address in the context of understanding colonizing strategies, variability in human-land relations, and interregional connections (Boomert 2001; Hofman et al. 2007; Hofman and Hoogland 2010).

In terms of underlying processes, especially in pre-industrial settings, I think it makes more sense to view migration (or colonization) as a series of non-mutually exclusive "pulses" or small-scale excursions rather than as distinct population waves riding on the backs of big directional arrows. That is, I would expect that in the band and tribal-based social context of the Archaic and Saladoid settling of the Caribbean, exploratory forays by small groups of people into the islands were made as an additive process of "landscape learning" (Rockman 2003). As camps and settlements were established by these pioneers or scouts, lines of communication

were maintained with homeland communities. In the Caribbean, lines of communication between pioneering settlements and homeland communities may have been reinforced through the exchange networks recently addressed by Hofman and her colleagues (Hofman et al. 2007).

In embracing the short chronology for Ceramic Age cultures in lowland South America, Keegan accepts the late selectively reported radiocarbon dates associated with some archaeological deposits (Barse 2009). Uncritically accepting the Meggers-Evans-Barse-Sonoja-Vargas “green hell” scenario of the Amazon Basin, allows him to then conclude that the dispersal of ceramic-age people into the Antilles was really not from the Orinoco but in fact from the “Isthmo-Colombian region of South and Central America” (Keegan, this volume). I encourage Bill to look at Anna Roosevelt’s publications on this issue (Roosevelt 1980:193-196, Table 15, 1995, 1997:73-95). There are too many intact archaeological deposits in the Orinoco Valley containing assemblages of pre-500 BC Saladoid artifacts to so readily find alternative sources of island colonization.

In another critique, Rodríguez Ramos observed that in Rouse’s 1953 invention of the Caribbean culture area, Rouse “debunked” the Circum-Caribbean model proposed by Steward with his “fixation on the Orinocan corridor as the exclusive ancestral homeland of Antillean indigenous societies” (Rodríguez Ramos, this volume). Let’s take a look at the questionable nearly six-decade-old article of Rouse’s:

“Whether these [Early Ceramic Age] people originated in Amazonia and moved from there into the upper Orinoco via the Río Negro and the Casiquiara Canal, or else originated in the Montaña and migrated down the Río Meta from Colombia to the Middle

Orinoco ... remains to be determined, as does the route of their penetration into western Venezuela... It is not unlikely that each of these [Tropical Forest] groups drew inspiration from the center of Circum-Caribbean development adjacent to it, in Colombia and Meso-America respectively. They may also have indirectly influenced each other, via the intervening Tropical Forest tribes... The extent to which they obtained their Circum-Caribbean traits as the result of independent evolution, parallel diffusion from the distinct centers to their west, and mutual influence, is a matter for future research to decide.” [Rouse 1953:196]

This does not sound like the closed-minded, “oid” consumed, and unwilling-to-consider-alternative-ideas person that Keegan and now Rodríguez Ramos continue to portray. I do agree with Bill when he states that there are problems when archaeologists “uncritically appl[y] his [Rouse’s] approach (often without understanding it) to produce simple-minded classifications of Caribbean prehistory” (Keegan, this volume). However, if archaeologists working in the Caribbean uncritically follow what Keegan implies is a rigid mechanical structure fabricated by Rouse then that should not be Rouse’s problem. Rouse in fact was eternally open to changes in the time-space diagrams or charts and would be the first to condemn the slavish following of a scheme in light of new data. Within his primary area of interest – culture history – Rouse allowed for, indeed demanded, flexibility.

Overly general models, like cartoons, tend to mask the complexity of debates and ignore the nature of the database available at the time. What I do find useful to explore are the relationships between colonization processes or events and ensuing net-

works of interaction and exchange. And, as Richard Blanton (1994:786) emphasized “the goal of an interregional interactive approach is to understand how interregional processes shape sociocultural form and how they bring about change.” The remainder of my discussion will address what I see to be important lines of research currently followed by investigators in this large Caribbean region.

Geography, Scale, and Interaction

The spirit of the volume – the interconnections within and between islands of the Caribbean and with terra firma – was anticipated 60 years ago in Volume 4 of the Handbook of South American Indians. In the first sentences of the Preface, Julian Steward observed that “*it has always been supposed that the cultures of the Antilles and northern Venezuela should be classed with those of the Tropical Forests. Northern Colombia and Central America have been puzzling, however, for, though archeology reveals the presence in these areas of many elements of Mexican and Andean civilizations, the modern tribes are definitely Tropical Forest in character*” (Steward 1948:xv). Referring to Kirchoff’s work, Steward went on to say that “*the peoples around the Caribbean Sea ... [their] general pattern and content ... were strikingly similar in most of the Circum-Caribbean area*” (Steward 1948:xv). Based on these observations, Steward justified grouping the ethnographic and archaeological cultures of Central America, northern Colombia and Venezuela, and the Antilles into a single volume of the Handbook. Sixty years later, Rodríguez Ramos (this volume) is in agreement when he “*propose[s] that we broaden the analytical scope of what we archaeologically conceive as the ‘Caribbean’ by incorporating other continental areas facing such sea.*” Sixty years later we are re-

visiting and sharpening our focus on potential systematic interrelations between these areas. Do not get me wrong: I am not saying that anybody here is subscribing to 60-year-old ideas about culture areas as described in the Handbooks (or, are we?). In the history of ideas and cycles of popularity, I think we can and should acknowledge intellectual roots.

Sam Wilson’s (1993) concept of the ‘cultural mosaic’ captures much of what we have been talking about and building on in recent years regarding small and large-scale movements of people, interactions between groups, and what may have been a continuous (at least in archaeological time) process of formation and dissolution of distinct ethnic groups. However it is that we define and identify ethnicity in the archaeological record is another matter, one that Curet, Torres-Etayo, and Crock asked us to address in their Society for American Archaeology annual meeting session on the Taínos (Curet et al. 2008).

In this context of the mosaic, Hofman, Bright, and Rodríguez Ramos focus explicitly on the exchange of materials as a mechanism to transmit information and share thoughts about the numinous that reside in the non-material realm of ideas and as they put it ‘cosmovision.’ Their overview relates to discussions in the archaeology of style (see Conkey and Hastorf 1990; Hegmon 1992). For Polly Wiessner (1990:107) “*style is a form of non-verbal communication through doing something in a certain way that communicates information about relative identity.*” And for Ian Hodder (1990:45) “*style is ‘a way of doing,’ where ‘doing’ includes the activities of thinking, feeling, being*”.

One thing that many of us are appreciating now is that cultures or communities of this Caribbean region were probably not immutable static entities (see also Siegel, in press a). We view the concept of

'community' not as a bounded, self-contained entity but rather as a mosaic of interacting and continually evolving social and ethnic formations. Snapshots of the mosaic at different points in time provide a framework for investigating changes in community structure and organization and evolving social formations. This diachronic and diachromatic perspective facilitates an examination of the larger regional context that undoubtedly figured strongly in the changing complexion of the community. In- and out-migration and ethnic mingling is a prevailing theme in Caribbean history, whether we are talking 6000 BC or today. Mobility and inter- and intra-group relations constitute an important framework or context for any aspect of social, political, economic, and cosmological organization in the Caribbean, at geographic scales ranging from the local landscape to the larger region to the archipelago; surrounding mainlands; and in the postcolonial era, the world.

On scales relevant for the pre-Columbian Caribbean we may think of globalization as an operative process (Cobb 2005). Charles Cobb observed that "*it can be difficult for the archaeologist to assess migration in a way that is comparable to historical cases, [yet] there is abundant evidence to suggest that significant population movement and the creation of place were part of everyday life, rather than unusual or periodic occurrences in the life of stable communities...* [P]roduction of place involved a tension between the construction of the local and the global analogous to that of the modern era" (Cobb 2005:565, emphasis added). Defining what is "local" vs. "global" at specific times in the pre-Columbian past is one of our challenges in current Caribbean archaeology.

In talking about "*inter-societal engagements [between] ... communities with different levels of socio-political complexity,*"

Hofman, Bright, and Rodríguez Ramos (this volume) get to the heart of on-the-ground (or water!) social reality at any given moment in the Caribbean past. And by gazing at each other from across this Caribbean pond, archaeologists in this volume and perhaps Indians from bygone times consider what each have to offer. As groups came into contact with each other and engaged in exchanges of materials, ideas, and people, new social formations frequently resulted. We see this historically and ethnographically worldwide and there is no reason to expect otherwise in the Caribbean region.

There are some aspects of the traditional Lathrap/Rouse model of the Neolithic or Saladoid world that in my mind are intact; that is, these people came out of the Orinoco. As discussed earlier, too many continuities in archaeological assemblages from Puerto Rico to Venezuela exist for the Orinoco connection to be overturned. Although I do find intriguing recent studies suggesting linkages of materials and ideas between the Antilles and Central America. I am thinking of George Harlow and colleagues elemental analysis of jadeite axes from Antigua that potentially have been traced to a source in Guatemala (Harlow et al. 2006). Based on their review of jadeite jade sources in the Greater Antilles, however, García-Casco et al. (2009:14) concluded that "*if Dominican and Cuban jadeite are demonstrated to be similar to Antillean pre-Columbian jade artifacts, a local (Caribbean) rather than an exotic (Guatemalan) source is more probable, and the statement of existence of extended trade between Mesoamerica and the Antilles ... based on jade artifacts should be questioned*" (Figure 1).

Wilson (2007b) presented a provocative case for connections between the Greater Antilles and Costa Rica based on similarities in structural organization of stone-lined

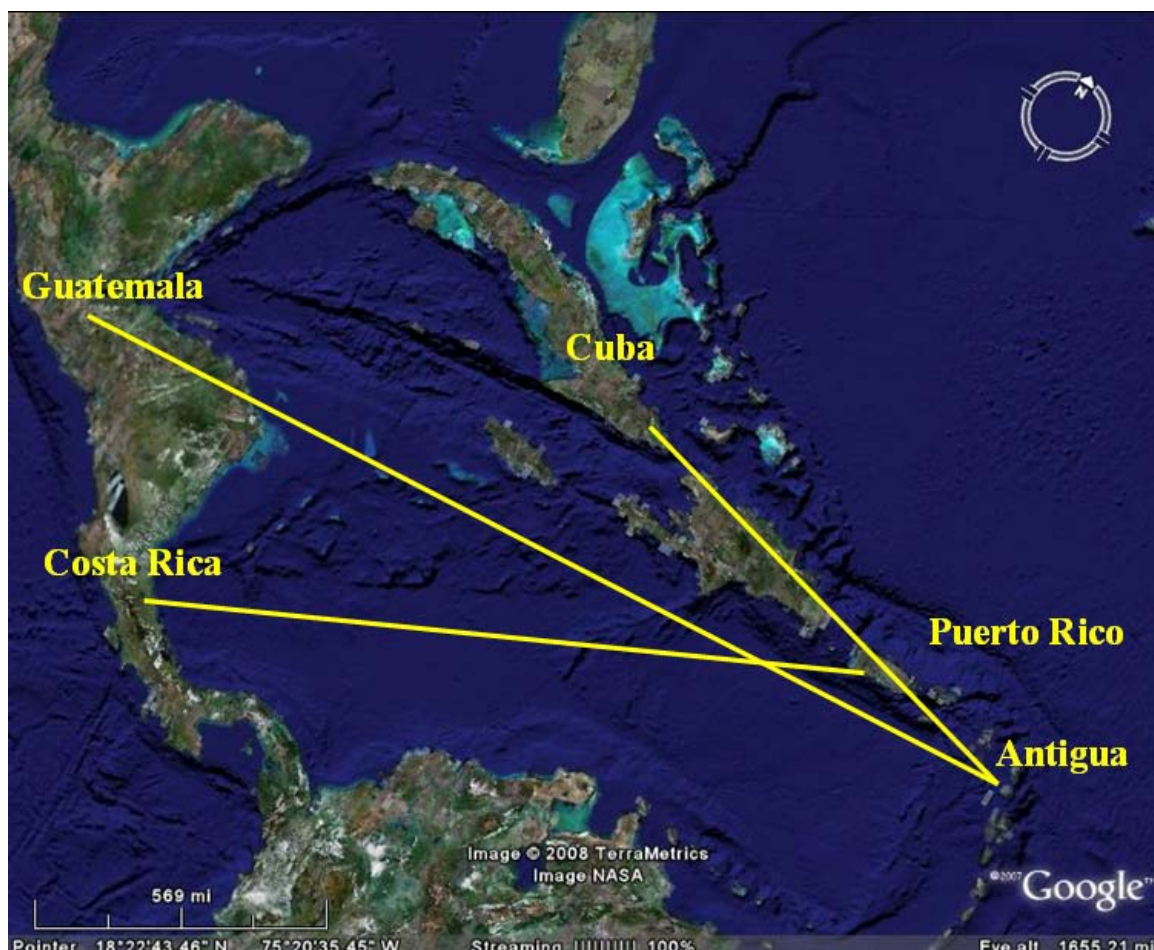


Figure 1. Map of the Caribbean Basin showing three possible broad pre-Columbian inter-regional connections. The potential Antigua-Guatemala connection is based on sourcing of Saladoid jadeite axes found on Antigua (Harlow et al. 2006). The Antigua-Cuba connection is based on petrological analysis of a jadeitite jade source on Cuba (García-Casco et al. 2009). The Puerto Rico-Costa Rica connection is derived from Wilson’s (2007b) argument for non-coincidental similarities in late prehistoric stone-lined plazas found in both places.

plazas (Figure 1). Reniel Rodríguez (this volume) points to additional lines of evidence, suggestive of interactions between the Antilles and lower Central America at various times in the pre-Columbian past. Just how frequent and systematic relations between these regions were is an area of research that still needs doing. The kinds of research that will be most compelling – to establish the veracity of interrelations – will come from trace-element, petrographic, and mineralogic studies, like what Harlow et al. (2006) and García-Casco et al. (2009) have been doing. Once the physical-science

studies demonstrate solid connections between specific regions, sub-regions, or places then I think we can explore other more interesting aspects of connections, like economics, sociopolitics, ideology, and cosmology.

Talking about regions, sub-regions, and places, we see studies of mobility and exchange at dramatically different scales of analysis. David Watters (2008) raised an important question: how local is local? I would suggest that we attempt to identify culturally relevant, or emic, regional scales of analysis. That is, for some groups with

tightly circumscribed social and political territories what is considered to be a broad region in terms of exchange patterns may be thought of as a local territory for groups or communities with loosely defined boundaries. Clearly, there are sociopolitical correlates in defining appropriate scales of analysis. Tightly circumscribed sociopolitical territories would be another way of referring to the competitive and unstable chiefly formations known for the Greater Antilles. Our challenge is to identify units of analysis that may be linked realistically to communities, and interactions between them, when addressing the geographic parameters of mobility and exchange through pre-Columbian history. Reconstructing the ever-changing cultural mosaic through time demands well-designed technical studies in material sourcing and microstylistic analyses of artifacts generally and ceramic surface treatments and vessel forms specifically (see Hofman et al. 2008). And another key to success in this enterprise will be efforts to refine our chronological frameworks within the Caribbean Basin. To this end, Hofman and Hoogland (2010) recently compiled and calibrated hundreds of radiocarbon dates from the Lesser Antilles and southern Caribbean. We do ourselves a serious disservice if we relegate interests in culture history to the bad old archaeology.

We see shifting scales of regional interactions in several of the case studies and other publications. Arie Boomert (this volume) examined the disintegration of Saladoid pan-Caribbean cultural unity around AD 700, resulting in cultural realignment and smaller-scale exchange networks for each of the islands of Trinidad and Tobago. And, Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland (1999; Hofman 1995; Hoogland 1996) addressed the expanding regional scope of Taíno cacicazgos in the establishment of an outpost on Saba in the

northern Lesser Antilles. What I find intriguing about Hofman and Hoogland's research is the idea that a cacicazgo from the Dominican Republic may have bypassed a number of other islands to establish an outpost on Saba. Given these findings, my question is what were the inter-polity dynamics that resulted in the spatially expansive process? I have written elsewhere that competitive feuding between Taíno cacicazgos documented in the ethnohistoric sources may be related to this finding of Taíno outposts in the Lesser Antilles (Siegel 2004).

Jago Cooper (this volume) employed an innovative approach to systematically identify interaction networks on pre-Columbian Cuba by analyzing available site data using GIS. My major hesitation of this analysis is in the uneven survey coverage of the island so some of the identified patterns may be artifacts of sampling. I acknowledge the same criticism for some of my research with similar aims on Puerto Rico (Siegel 2004, in press b). There have been a few well-designed systematic surveys in the Caribbean that have produced statistically robust data, from which inferences can be drawn without agonizing greatly over sampling biases (e.g., Curet 1992; Watters 1980; Wilson 1989, 2006; Wilson and Melnick 1990). That said, it is still useful to engage in analyses like Cooper's to establish testable hypotheses in designing systematic archaeological surveys.

Rodríguez Ramos (this volume) refers to potentially far-flung networks of exchange in "fetichized objects" as evidence of "social asymmetry" in the Saladoid. I would suggest that we propose hypotheses, reasons, and test implications for networks of exchange and interaction in the multiple historical circumstances (in other words, different moments in time) of the pre-Columbian Caribbean before jumping to conclusions about social organization.

Context is important and “it ... encourages more relevant questions” (Arnold 2010:35). For example, look at the craftsmanship and exotic raw materials displayed in the technology of Paleo-Indian spear points. Do the distributions of these ‘fetish’ objects necessarily reflect social asymmetry approximately 11,000+ years ago or are there issues of resource imbalances and interregional buffering survival strategies that should be considered (Hayden 1982)? Angus Mol (this volume) is beginning to address important questions of context as he is “tracking exchange” in the Caribbean.

Getting back to Watters’ (2008) point about scale, my guess is that at more-local levels, as defined by the social and political context, the kinds of exchanges revolve around basic necessities of quotidian life, like food and raw materials to make implements. Households within villages and villages across landscapes constantly traffic in goods and services and informa-

tion about decidedly everyday necessities of daily existence (Figure 2).

In solidifying social networks, especially across large regional expanses, there is greater likelihood that symbolically charged items are exchanged, along with intangibles like esoteric knowledge (Helms

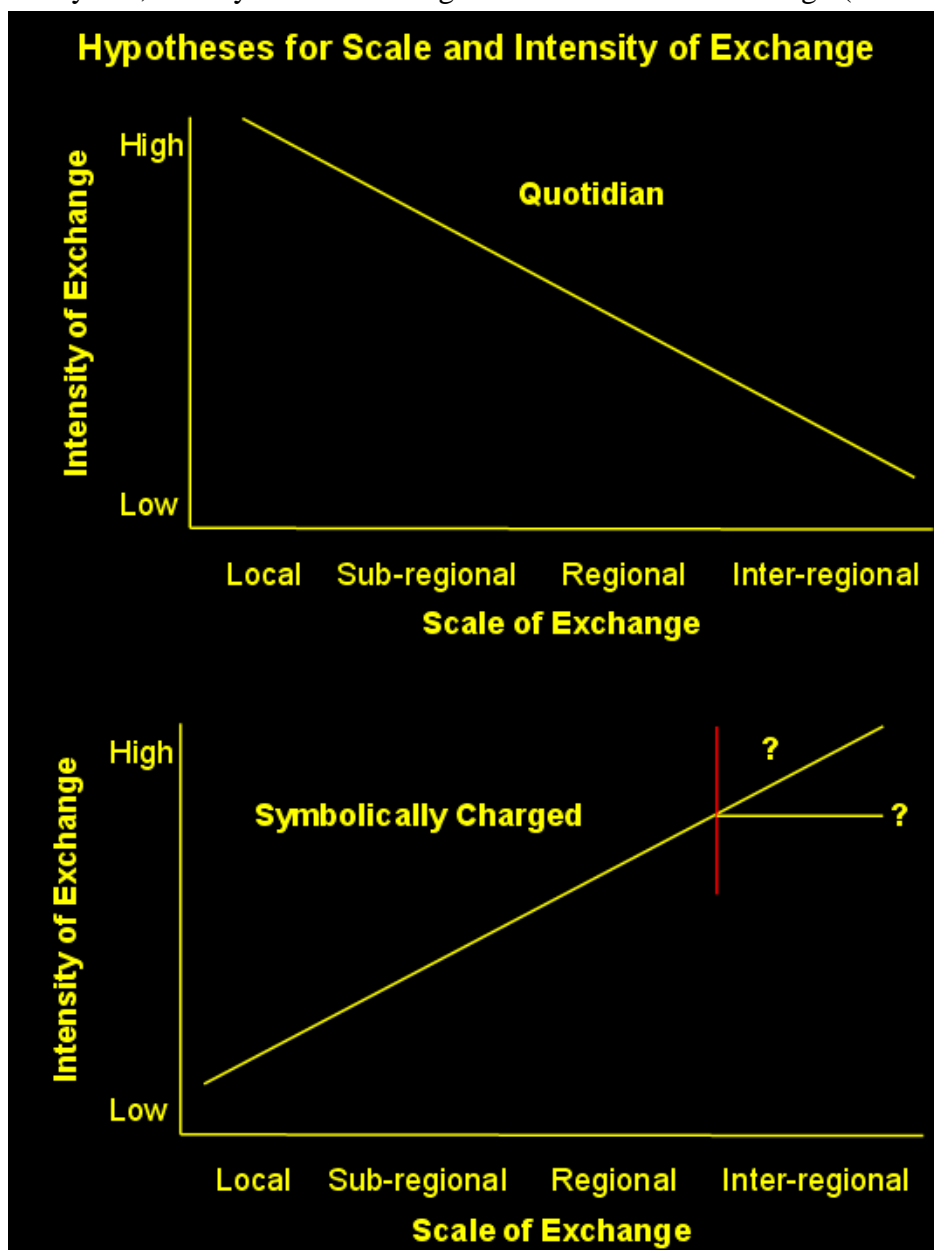


Figure 2. Expectations for kinds of exchange patterns depending on culturally relevant regional scales of interaction. As the regional scale of interaction increases it is expected that the kinds of things exchanged are imbued with greater symbolic and political value.

1988, 1992). And from the pan-Caribbean perspective, as defined in the introduction to this volume, we can investigate the kinds of things we would expect to circulate at interregional levels. Much like in formally arranged interactions between political leaders in today's world, the kinds of things exchanged are highly symbolic and emblematic of the personalities of the givers and what messages are meant to be sent (Figure 2). Think of George W. Bush giving a pair of hand-tooled snake-skin cowboy boots to Tony Blair. Or, the giving of unique and "easily recognizable" *guaizas* by caciques that seem "*to be connected to personhood*" in the "*establishment of political power relations among the Taíno*"; eventually the Spaniards were incorporated into the logic of this gift giving (Mol, this volume). We are now investigating interregional interactions at variable scales of analysis (Crock 2008; Hofman et al. 2007; Hofman and Hoogland 2010).

I think these ideas of symbolically charged items and esoteric knowledge relate directly to what John Crock (2008) told us about Anguillian 'exports' and interisland transmission of information, to Mary Jane Berman's (in press) review of diachronic trends in Lucayan exchange patterns of luxury goods, to Alexander Geurds and Laura Van Broekhoven's (this volume) search for social identity in Isthmo-Colombian iconography, and to Heather McKillop's (this volume) recognition of "*the sea [as] ... central to ritual ideology [and iconography] of the Classic Maya*". Nearly four decades ago, a conference was held at Dumbarton Oaks on "The Sea in the Pre-Columbian World" (Benson 1977). Several of the chapters in the resulting book emphasized the sea as a medium for broad interregional connections, which are particularly relevant for the interests of a number of Caribbeanists today (see especially Sears 1977; Wilbert 1977; Wing

1977).

It will be important to keep in mind some basic questions as we continue to investigate issues of regional mobility and exchange. What were the mechanisms and conditions under which exchange occurred? Were exchanges the result of direct access and procurement or were systematic down-the-line relations established? Why were interregional connections established? Were initiates sent out and told not to return until they brought back tangible evidence of distant places? Can we think of voyages of discovery and information gathering?

I would suggest, too, that we attempt to further theoretical discussions of interaction using the rich body of data that we have in the Caribbean. Brian Hayden observed long ago "*that 'interaction' cannot be treated as a monolithic phenomenon; rather there are many types of interaction with many different outcomes for artifact patterning*" (Hayden 1982:109; see also Hayden and Cannon 1984). With some modification, I think the framework proposed by Hayden would be useful to consider as we proceed in the Caribbean: (1) adaptive conditions for interaction, (2) reasons for interactions, (3) modifications of interaction vis-à-vis the social context, (4) interaction mechanisms, and (5) artifact patterns and distributions resulting from the four factors (Hayden 1982:109-114, Fig. 1).

The chapters in this volume and other research in the Caribbean beg a larger question: what are the intersections between the processes, events, or behaviors of migration, colonization, mobility, exchange, and interaction? Attempting to answer this question will force us to narrow our gaze on testable hypotheses, details of the archaeological record, appropriate archaeological and ethnographic comparisons, and ever-shifting geographic

scales of analysis. What were the global parameters for Archaic foragers, Saladoid horticulturalists, and Taíno cacicazgos? Of course, my labeling of these social formations as foragers, horticulturalists, and cacicazgos are undoubtedly cartoons of 3000 BC, 100 BC, and AD 1300 reality; reality is not so easy to characterize.

In the spirit of provocative discussion, I want to close this paper with some thoughts about broad interregional relations that may have had implications for Native American thought, politics, and economy. I draw inspiration for this discussion from remarkable parallels in Amerindian cosmology in many groups from Native North America, lowland South America, and the West Indies. Recently, John E. Clark has been looking at the structural organization of early mound groups in the southeastern United States, Mesoamerica, and South America. He documented a degree of precision in mound layout that organized and demarcated sacred space, which can only be described as premeditated site planning based on engineering and architectural principles. And, he argues, these principles were widely shared in North and South America during Archaic times. Clark (2004:209) stated that “*similarities among mound groups through time and space also suggest greater historic contact among Archaic collectors than is generally thought.*” Design and execution of these building projects was for the goal of “*the encirclement of sacred space*” (Clark 2004:209). His chronological range predates everything talked about in this volume. Clark is dealing with periods of 3000 BC at Caney Mounds in Louisiana; 1800 BC in Late Archaic mound groups in Mississippi and at Poverty Point, Louisiana; about 1500 BC at Paso de la Amada in southern Mexico; and about 1500 BC at Sechín Alto in the Casma Valley of Peru. As Clark says, his dataset spans “*more than 3,000 years and 3,000*

terrestrial miles” (Clark 2004:187).

Over 40 years ago, James A. Ford’s (1969) book “A Comparison of Formative Cultures in the Americas: Diffusion or the Psychic Unity of Man” was published posthumously by the Smithsonian. Ford argued that from about 3000 to 400 BC “*elements of ceramics, ground stone tools, handmade figurines, and manioc and maize agriculture were being diffused and welded into the socioeconomic life of the people living in the region from Peru to the eastern United States*” (Ford 1969:5). In his 1971 review of the book, Richard Diehl observed that “*a major problem in this reconstruction is that the Caribbean island archeology has not revealed evidence of such voyages or contacts*” (Diehl 1971:411). Perhaps given the kinds of things now being discussed in the Caribbean we need to revisit some of these older pre-New Archaeology concepts. If we were to replace Ford’s word “diffusion” with the phrase ‘interregional connections’ we might find some accord between research going on today and ideas about the ancients 40 years ago. It is good to acknowledge our intellectual ancestors once in a while; just do not turn them into caricatures of themselves.

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