BEYOND BALKANIZATION

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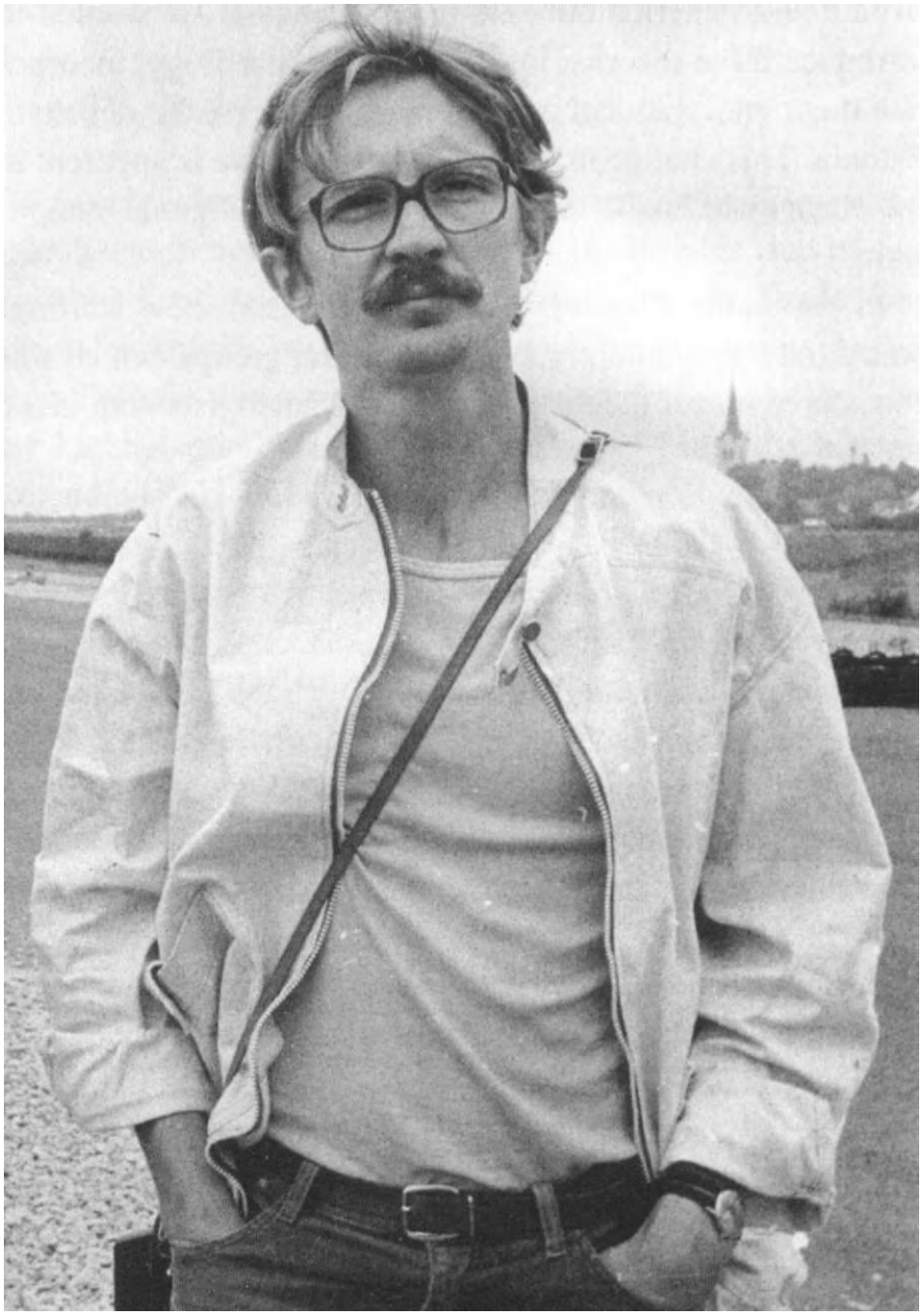

In Memoriam Priit Ligi (24 May 1958 — 28 September 1994)

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Editor's Foreword

This volume contains the majority of the papers presented during a conference that took place on 16th-21st May, 1997 in Łódź, Poland. The conference was organized by the Institute of Archaeology, University of Łódź and Departement d'anthropologie, Universite de Montreal (Canada). The conference was funded by the University of Łódź and by IREX (International Research & Exchanges Board), which also supported this publication. The publication was partly founded by the University of Łódź and by the Foundation of Adam Mickiewicz University, too.

The major questions of the conference were, 1) what is the current evidence for eastern or southern influences in the development of eastern European Mesolithic and Neolithic populations, and 2) to what extent are current political trends, especially the reassertion or, in some cases, the creation of ethnic and national identities, influencing our interpretations of the prehistoric data.

The idea for such a conference came into being through the co-organizers' long-term studies of the development of those prehistoric human populations which inhabited the vast region stretching north and east from the Oder river and Carpathian Mountains to the foothills of the Urals. In a tradition established in modern times by Gordon Childe, virtually all of the transformations of Eastern Europe's Neolithic Age human landscape have been assumed to be responses to prior developments in the Balkan peninsula and Danube basin. We think that a body of new evidence requires a renewed analysis of the distributions of cultural products, peoples, and ideas across Eastern Europe during the Mesolithic through the Early Metal Age within a much wider geographic context than previously has been the case. This includes giving adequate attention to the far-ranging interactions of communities between the Pontic and Baltic area with those located in both the Caucasus and the Aralo-Caspian regions.

We hope that this volume will contribute to such a redirection of future analyses.

Lucyna Domańska
Ken Jacobs

Editorial comment

1. All dates in the *B-PS* are calibrated [see: *Radiocarbon* vol.28, 1986, and the next volumes] (other versions are cited for the wish of authors). Deviations from this rule will be point out in notes.

2. The names of the archaeological cultures (especially from the territory of the Ukraine) are standarized according to the English literature on the subject (e.g. Mallory 1989). In the case of a new term, the author's original name has been retained.

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Richard W. Lindstrom

HISTORY AND POLITICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT ETHNOGENETIC MODELS IN SOVIET ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology plays an important role in defining and promoting national character, and ethnicity is often critical in the creation of nationalism [Banks 1996]. The past, as revealed through anthropology, is used to legitimize modern political authority, as seen in Iraq where Saddam Hussein's name is inscribed in the bricks of restored walls in Babylon, linking his name to the glorious past of Mesopotamian power [Jehl 1997]. It is also used to establish (or deny) territorial rights of ethnic/national units, as seen in the ongoing conflicts in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia (as referred to by P.L. Kohl in this volume). Control of the past confers political power in the present, and is actively sought, as exemplified by Native American groups seeking control of the excavation, study and reburial of remains in the United States. Anthropologists, as recoverers and interpreters of the past, are in the uncomfortable position of providing ammunition for ethnic and political conflict, while at the same time disagreeing in most cases with popular and political interpretations of ethnicity and prehistory.

The role of anthropologists in the manipulation and control of the past is not always passive. Anthropologists are members of their contemporary ethnic and national structures, and their research and interpretations are shaped by them. This is not a situation that is new to anthropology, though it has received considerable attention in recent years. The focus of this session, the reading of politics into the past, is just one example of this interest. I have chosen to look not at a modern example of how politics are shaping anthropology (and vice versa), but rather on a historical case in which political control of anthropological research and interpretation has influenced an entire science in one country.

While preparing for a symposium at the 1996 meetings of the American Anthropological Association on "Language, Archaeology and Culture History" [Lindstrom 1996], I became familiar with a considerable and growing body of Western literature on ethnogenetic theory. J.H. Moore [1994a] and others describe ethnogenetic theory as viewing the ethnos as "fragile, permeable, or illusory" (p. 12), as contrasted to a culture-historical model where language, culture, and biology have coevolved within stable ethnic units. J.H. Moore, in promoting ethnogenetic theory, cites the example of the anthropology in the Soviet Union as an example of an an-

thropology which has embraced ethnogenetic theory. The nature of ethnicity and its role in prehistory as described by J.H. Moore's ethnogenetic theory, however, were completely at odds with what I understood of ethnogenetic theory as applied in the Former Soviet Union. As M. Banks [1996] has noted, the Soviet ethnos theorists are perhaps the most strongly 'primordialist' of any in the world, being among the few that "consistently seem to think that ethnicity really does exist and really is a fundamental aspect of the human condition"(p. 186). In Soviet ethnos theory "there has to be an observable core of stable cultural 'stuff' that persists over generations" (p. 79). I became intrigued with understanding why Soviet ethnogenetic theory differed so radically from that envisioned by Moore. What I found is that ethnogenetic theory in the Soviet Union was shaped by the political milieu of the 30s and 40s, giving it a very different form than the ethnogenetic theory developing in the West today.

In American anthropology ethnogenetic theory has recently been explored as an alternative to standard branching models of culture history. The culture-historical model has a tendency to unite biology, language and material culture within a relatively immutable ethnos [Bateman, Goddard, *et al.* 1990; Moore 1994b; Bellwood 1996]. The stability of the ethnos allows anthropologists to use material culture, physical anthropology and linguistics to trace specific ethnic groups time and space [as in Cavalli-Sforza, Minch, *et al.* 1992; Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, *et al.* 1994]. This leads to the projection of modern ethnic distinctions into prehistory. Ethnogenetic theory has been offered as an alternative way of understanding the associations of these variables within an ethnos. Ethnogenetic theory proposes a loose association of language, biology and material culture, and views ethnic groups as temporary units, constantly evolving, merging and splitting throughout history [Moore 1994a]. A fluid definition of ethnicity is also favored by other theorists [Banks 1996]. The tenuous nature of ethnicity makes the tracing of ethnicity into the past uncertain (indeed, ethnicity may be a relatively modern creation [Banks 1996:42]), and the loose association of material culture, language and biology makes it difficult to support hypothesized ethnic histories.

A closer look at Soviet anthropology, however, suggests that its interpretation of ethnogenetic theory is very different from that proposed by Moore. Soviet, and now Former Soviet, anthropology, though developed in a framework of ethnogenetic theory, is decidedly culture-historical in its interpretations of the past, and often associates ethnos with language, material culture and biology. Many Russian prehistorians consider an archaeological culture the reflection of one ethnos which should be characterized by a single language [Artsikhovskiy 1954:14-15; Olkhovskiy 1992:31; Kuzmina 1994:59]. While explicitly recognizing that archaeological cultures and ethnoses are not always identical [Tretyakov 1963], certain indicators or assemblages are considered to be "quite reliable ethnocultural indicators, allowing us to trace the movements of groups of peoples" [Olkhovskiy 1992:31]. The equation of archaeological culture, or more precisely, specific traits of an archaeological culture, with an ethnic group allows the archaeologist to consider the history of material culture as the ethnic history of a people. This view is also favored by Russian bio-

anthropologists who expect the grouping of races, cultures and languages within an ethnic unit [Gerasimov, Rud, *et al.* 1987:3].

In Soviet anthropology, the close association of language, biology and material culture within the ethnos allows modern ethnic groups to be traced into the past. Criteria for linking modern ethnic groups and archaeological cultures (such as those developed by E.E. Kuzmina [1981; 1994]) invariably confound these three variables. By tracing modern ethnic groups into the past, archaeological cultures are assigned to specific (often modern) ethnic groups. As an example, in Bronze Age Eurasian steppe studies, Andronovo cultural groups have been described as ethnically Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Finno-Ugric and Indo-Aryan, with cultural, linguistic and biological identities to match [see for example Kosarev 1965; Stokolos 1972; Gening 1977; Smirnov, Kuzmina 1977; Kuzmina 1994; Kovaleva 1995]. The extent to which such attributions of ethnicity can be carried is seen in recent studies of the Sintashta and Petrov cultures. Though the differentiating material features of these two Andronovo cultures has yet to be made clear, archaeologists have gone so far as to hypothesize that the Sintashta culture was Indo-Aryan, while the Petrov was Indo-Iranian [Zdanovich 1990]. Archaeologists studying Andronovo are now virtually required to assign archaeological cultures (and even regional or temporal variants) to attested ethnolinguistic groups (e.g. many of the papers from the 1995 conference "Russia and the East" [Zdanovich, Ivanova, *et al.* 1995]). Russian archaeological studies of Andronovo should clearly be classified as culture-historical. Modern ethnic and linguistic groups are projected into the past, archaeological cultures are interpreted as ethnic units, speaking a particular language, and the members of these ethnic units are expected to differ genetically from one another. Archaeological culture change is interpreted in terms of the movement of peoples carrying with them their culture, biology and language. The culture history of the steppe zone, as reconstructed by Soviet scholars, was not developed as culture history per se, but rather is the result of an ethnogenetic theoretical framework.

It should be pointed out that this projection of ethnicity into the past, and the confounding of language, material culture and biology within the ethnos is by no means confined to Soviet anthropology. Indo-European studies in all areas frequently make this equation, though within a culture-historical rather than an ethnogenetic framework. Similar interpretations have also accompanied studies of other modern linguistic groups, such as Polynesian [Rouse 1986] and Numic [Madsen, Rhode 1994] speaking peoples. Russian studies are conducted within an ethnogenetic framework, but the results are strictly culture-historical. These interpretations are the results of explicitly ethnogenetic theory, but one that was shaped by the political and ideological conflicts of the 1930s and 40s.

Prior to and immediately following the 'Great October Revolution', Russian anthropology was on a course very similar to its counterparts in the West, with a primary focus on culture history and typology [Trigger 1989; Shnirelman 1993b]. The Revolution began a period of turmoil for all aspects of Soviet culture. In the years immediately following the Revolution, many of the pre-Revolutionary institu-

tions and academic leaders went unchanged [Bulkin, Klejn, *et al.* 1982]. In the mid 1920s, however, there was a major reorganization of scientific research in the new Soviet Union [Mongait 1959]. A new generation of young, idealistic Marxists came quickly into positions of influence in all branches of the sciences [Trigger 1989]. In anthropology, N.Ya. Marr, as the director of the newly established Russian (later State) Academy for the History of Material culture, quickly became a leading figure in Soviet anthropology [Mongait 1959; Bulkin, Klejn, *et al.* 1982; Trigger 1989; Shnirelman 1993b]. N.Ya. Marr, a Near-Eastern philologist by training, developed a 'Theory of Stages' for describing cultural development in which language, ethnicity and sometimes race were all seen as 'superstructural' phenomena that were determined more by the stage of economic development of a culture than by its history [Bulkin, Klejn, *et al.* 1982]. According to the stadial theory, as cultures moved through inevitable socio-economic stages (as defined in the writings of Engels and Marx), superstructural characteristics would change as well. Marr's theory was quickly 'blessed' by the Soviet leadership [Trigger 1989:212; Malina, Vašiček 1990:93]. It was seen as a true 'Marxist' theory that served as a necessary break from the bourgeois science of the West. By emphasizing the primacy of socio-economic development, it fit well with Marx and Engels 'histories' of human society, passing through distinct stages determined by the productive forces at each stage.

N.Ya. Marr's theory had repercussions throughout Soviet anthropology. For linguists, it denied that structural similarities in language were rooted in history [Riasanovsky 1984:583]. Marr's theory essentially denied any realm for ethnography, which was to focus specifically on ethnicity [Gellner 1977]. Under the stadial theory, the study of ethnicity was almost completely dismissed in the years before the 'Cultural Revolution' of 1934-39. Because ethnicity was essentially an 'effect' of economic development, there was no point in trying to establish the historical path and relationships of an ethnic group [Slezkin 1993]. Though N.Ya. Marr's theory was decidedly non-cladistic, in that it denied any necessary ancestral relationship between linguistic or cultural groups, it certainly reinforced notions of stability and continuity, encouraging archaeologists to interpret archaeological sequences as stages in the history of a single people [Bulkin, Klejn, *et al.* 1982:275; Trigger 1989:225]. Had N.Ya. Marr and his followers remained in power, anthropology in the Former Soviet Union would be very different today. However, in the mid to late 1930s the situation in the Soviet Union changed dramatically. The Soviet Union was faced with an increasingly belligerent neighbor in the form of fascist Germany [Riasanovsky 1984]. In responding to this threat, the Soviets relied not only on diplomacy and arms, but also on ideology and history to defend their state.

In Germany, the course of anthropological development in the beginning of this century was not interrupted by revolution, but by the First World War. Both before and after the war, archaeological cultures were thought to be the material expressions of distinct ethnic groups, but ethnicity was not traced into the past [Veit 1989]. Physical anthropology in Germany focused was on the classification of physical types. Races were seen as purely physical, they did not equal a 'people' and were not related to language or material culture [Proctor 1988]. The anthropology

of Germany before World War I was very much like that found in Russia prior to the revolution.

After Versailles, anthropology in Germany changed. Before the war, bioanthropology had been the study of 'otherness,' distinguishing between the 'kinds' of man. After the war, Germany was stripped of its colonial assets. With no external 'other' to study, the focus of anthropology generally shifted to the 'internal' other (Gypsies and Jews), and the unique qualities of the German people [Proctor 1988:139]. In the 1920s the rediscovery of mendelian genetics brought the distinction between bioanthropology and ethnology into question. Genetics seemed to bridge the gap between biology and culture that had been relatively unexplored before the war. By the 1930s, behaviors and dispositions were seen as genetic, and linked to race [Proctor 1988] (though this was by no means the first time this was done [Gould 1981; Stocking 1988]).

The link between archaeological culture and ethnos, always quietly assumed, had become tighter under the influence of nationalists like G. Kossinna before World War I. In the 1930s, the growing nationalism in Germany encouraged ethnic interpretations of the past, and was reflected in archaeological and bioanthropological research [Trigger 1989:163]. German archaeologists, now studying 'peoples' rather than material culture, were tracing the history of Germanic peoples (as a linguistic and ethnic group) as far back as the Mesolithic, and demonstrating how Germanic expansions had influenced the development of 'lesser' peoples (especially the Slavs) [Trigger 1989:166]. German archaeologists became ever bolder in their ethnic interpretations of archaeological materials, and the German state increasingly used archaeological research to support its policies. At the same time an ethnocentric fixation developed in bioanthropology, often focused on rescuing the Germanic race from 'threats' of mixing with biologically less developed races. Nazi programs of forced sterilization, denial of jobs to Jews and other peoples of 'mixed blood', and, ultimately, the incarceration and extermination of millions, all rested to some degree on a foundation of bioanthropological/racial research [Proctor 1988]. In Nazi anthropology, the ethnos became closely associated with language, culture and biology, and was seen as immutable through time.

The Soviet Union, firmly under the control of Y. Stalin by the 1930s, was not blind to the increasing nationalistic fervor in Germany, or the value of anthropological research in their propaganda. The Soviets needed to mount an intellectual counteroffensive against the growing threat of German nationalism. The role of history is vital to Soviet ideology, and it was imperative that the control of history be wrested from German anthropologists. One immediate goal was to instill a sense of nationalism among the peoples of the Soviet republics. Nationalism is often closely linked with primordial notions of ethnicity, and folk conceptions of biology [Banks 1996]. This pattern is clear in Nazi Germany, and followed quickly in the Soviet Union. Still reeling from the rapid consolidation of power, painfully fast industrialization and forced collectivization, a sense of Soviet nationalism had to be built quickly [Riasanovsky 1984:528]. Ethnogenetic research was seen as a way to establish the historical importance of modern ethnic groups, fostering a sense of national

pride [Trigger 1989:229]. V.A. Bulkin, *et al.* note that "Soviet scholarship responded vigorously to the resulting growth of national self-consciousness, the expression of national pride and the fostering of the best indigenous traditions" [Bulkin, Klejn, *et al.* 1982:276). In Russia, it legitimized historical claims to territory, and fostered nationalism by emphasizing the Slavic role in the development of European culture. Of course, this goal would not have been met without appropriate manipulation by the State and Party.

Stalin's purges in the late thirties certainly contributed to the control of research results. By selectively eliminating intellectual opposition, the political goals of research could be met. Those that were not eliminated were far more careful to produce the results required by the State. Though N.Ya. Marr's stadial theory was not officially renounced until Stalin's *'Marksizm and Voprosy Iazykoznaniya'* in 1953, it lost much of the influence it had. The key to instilling a sense of national pride was seen to be ethnic history, requiring a turn to ethnogenetic research, and Marr's theory was condemned for its rejection of studies of ethnicity. Ethnography, left in a shambles by the stadial theory, again began to have a role in anthropological research. The primary focus was now the study of ethnogenesis and dispersal of ethnic and national groups. This area, while being valuable practically from the political standpoint, was also relatively safe, in that it did not directly impinge on the territory of Marxist historians [Humphrey 1984:311]. In addition to ethnogenesis, ethnographers were also charged with studying the forms of transition of pre-capitalist society directly to socialism, bypassing capitalism, and the construction of cultures, "national in form and socialist in content" [Slezkin 1993:120]. Interestingly, these areas closely match the areas in which the formation of the Soviet Union directly contradicted the predictions of Marx and Engels. The study of these topics was thus of immense political and ideological importance to the Soviets, and was under close scrutiny and State control.

All branches of anthropology were reshaped in the struggle against fascist Germany. Ethnogenesis became important for all fields, and research results used for political purposes. In bioanthropology, 'ethnic anthropology' came to prominence, focusing on historical questions, particularly ethnogenetic [Debets 1961; Dragadze 1980]. Ethnic anthropology and racial analysis were adopted in the 'fight against racism', a response to the biological and cultural imperialism of German anthropologists. However, this application of bioanthropological research required considerable reorientation within Soviet bioanthropology. As I.I. Roginskiy and M.G. Levin [1978] optimistically portray it,

> The theoretical reworking of questions of the correspondence of anthropological types with ethnic and linguistic groups of mankind allowed the use of concrete anthropological material as a historical source for the study of problems of origins of various people (p. 36).

In this 'reworking', bioanthropology officially adopted ethnogenetic theory, adding biology to the definition of the ethnos, and at the same time becoming culture--historical in its focus. The integration of race into the definition of ethnos became, as M.M. Gerasimov, *et al.* describe it, part of "the methodological basis of Soviet

historical anthropology" [Gerasimov, Rud, *et al.* 1987:3]. Race became linked to language and culture within an ethnos in a way that mirrored its role in German bioanthropology. To fight 'racism', Soviet bioanthropologists essentially adopted the same interpretive framework as the Germans they opposed.

Though Soviet archaeologists scorned 'bourgeois archaeology' as explaining all changes in culture in terms of race, associated with migration and interaction [Artsikhovskiy 1954], Soviet archaeology began to do just this. Ethnic archaeology had been crippled by Marrists, unable to link archaeological cultures with ethnos. As the political tide changed, favoring and even requiring ethno-historic studies, archaeologists quickly put out many histories tracing origins of peoples, working rapidly to support the Soviet political agenda [Shnirelman 1993b]. The political agenda behind the emphasis on ethnogenesis was clear, as L. Malina and Z. Vašiček [1990:114] note, "attempts to project an ethnic division into the past [...] were a reaction to the pressures of German settlement archaeology.". Archaeologists were well aware of the political dimension of their work. As Bykovskiy bluntly stated "If archaeological material allows several various interpretations, then if follows to choose from them that which is more patriotic" [Shnirelman 1993b:56]. From the end of the 1930s Marrist methods were used to study ethnogenetic problems, tracing direct lines of descent from modern peoples back to archaeological cultures based on ceramic decoration or house design criteria. Archaeological cultures were interpreted in exclusively ethnic terms, with an emphasis on identifying ethno-specific cultural traits that could be used to trace and isolate ethnic groups [Trigger 1989:237; Shnirelman 1993b:60]. Stimulated by Soviet nationalism, this lead to tracing the origins of the Russian people back to various and widespread archaeological cultures (even to the Paleolithic [Derzhavin 1944; cited in Shnirelman 1993b:61]). Eventually Slavs in Soviet archaeology came to dominate the history of humanity, with Germanic peoples marginalized, presenting a mirror image of the history presented by German anthropologists [Shnirelman 1993b:63].

The shift to ethnogenetic studies in Soviet anthropology did not happen slowly. It was actively promoted and supported by the Soviet government. Ethnogenetic studies served the Soviet State as more than a response to Fascist anthropology. They were also used to provide support for various internal policies, from the aligning of internal political and ethnic boundaries to justifying the preeminence of Great Russians in the Soviet government [Humphrey 1984]. Ethnogenetic research was very culture-historical in its focus, defining an ethnic group and tracing its history based on material culture remains and the distribution of 'racial' types.

After World War II, ethnogenetic studies remained the focus of Soviet anthropology. Teams of ethnographers, linguists, archaeologists and bioanthropologists were dispatched throughout the USSR to study the ethnic histories and origins of the various ethnic groups within the Union. In part, this was a response to the need to establish administrative boundaries over newly annexed territories, and the research was often compromised by political needs [Humphrey 1984:311]. Considerable effort was devoted to providing a theoretical and methodological foundation to the ethnogenetic studies which were already in progress. Iulian Bromlei played

a major role in defining Soviet ethnography as the study of ethnicity, focusing on defining the cultural distinctiveness of various groups [Gellner 1977]. The primary unit of anthropological inquiry was the ethnos. The various Soviet definitions of ethnos almost universally included territory, material culture, often some degree of biological homogeneity [Bromlei 1974], and most importantly language [Arutiunov 1983]. As already noted, Soviet ethnos theory was 'primordial', in that it saw ethnicity as eternal and enduring.

Ethnogenetic studies are considered an integral part of Soviet physical anthropology as well. Ethnogenesis is counted as one of the three branches of physical anthropology (along with studies of human origins and human morphology), defining its main tasks as "the study of the history of nations and the fight against racism" [Debets 1961:3], but at the same time, it is also interested in "the determination of the kinship of races and anthropological types, and in ways for employing anthropological material as a source of historical information" (p. 15). To apply physical anthropological methods to historical reconstructions, physical anthropologists relied on the rough equation of an ethnos with an anthropological type. V.V. Pokshishevskiy [1974:97] asserts that understanding the time required the creation of an ethnos "would bring us close to the solution of the questions involved in the formation of races".

Ethnogenesis thus came to encompass racial classification and typology, as well as the establishing the origins of modern racial groups. G.F. Debets [1961:17] notes that such studies frequently "did not succeed in avoiding the bias toward identifying the described anthropological types with the contemporary linguistic families". While G.F. Debets intends this to be a reflection of the influence of N.Ya. Marr, he does not mean that language and biology are not connected, believing rather that "any migration of populations determined on the basis of anthropological data and any mingling of races is a product of definite historical causes and is necessarily reflected in the dissemination and interaction of languages" [Debets 1961:18]. Thus the patterns of linguistic relationship (in the form of a language phylogeny) will reflect or be a reflection of genetic events. More forcefully put by G.F. Debets *et al.* [1952] "anthropological types are never distributed without culture and language" and therefore "where anthropological data indicates the distribution of one or another type, the task falls to historians, archaeologists, ethnographers and linguists to explain the historical conditions which brought about that distribution".

In Soviet archaeology, the trend toward ethnogenetic research that began in the 1930s continued and was further elaborated, becoming one of the primary aims of archaeology [Malina, Vašiček 1990:114]. While the focus was initially on ethnic histories for groups within the Soviet Union, it came to influence archaeological studies in other areas.

The Soviet emphasis on ethnogenesis has tended to lead to the conglomeration of language, biology and material culture in the ethnos. By defining the ethnos in terms of endogamy [Bromlei 1974], material culture [Arutiunov 1983] and language, the ethnos has become a real, material object of study for archaeologists, bioanthropologists and linguists. Despite N.Ya. Moore's view emphasizing the disjunction

of material culture, biology and language, in Soviet studies these are absorbed as a unit into the concept of ethnos.

Where N.Ya. Moore focuses on the instability of ethnic boundaries, there is a real tendency in Soviet anthropology to assume that ethnic units are long lived and traceable in the past [Banks 1996]. Though the particular traits used to define the boundaries of the ethnos shift through time (and interpretation), the idea that such boundaries persist is never lost. The ethnos itself is nearly permanent, allowing the ancestors of historic ethnic groups to be traced into the past. Ethnogenetic studies of the past become recipes for the formation of modern ethnic groups, combining various cultural, linguistic and biological elements from archaeologically 'known' ethnic groups into modern ethnoses [Litvinskiy 1981]. While today ethnogenetic theory is seen as a valuable alternative to culture-historical interpretations of human history, Soviet ethnogenetic studies provide extreme examples of the unification of language, culture, and biology in the ethnos, and its projection into the past.

This outline of the origins of Soviet ethnogenetic research gives only the barest glimpse of the way in which politics and history have shaped ethnogenetic theory in the Soviet Union. The close association of ethnicity with language, race and material culture is a key point. Another is the political motivation that drove ethnogenetic theory toward specifically culture-historical interpretations. The various Soviet definitions of ethnos almost universally include territory, material culture, often some degree of biological homogeneity, and most importantly language. Such a definition of the ethnos easily lead to culture-historical interpretations of the past. It is somewhat ironic that in an attempt to develop an anthropological theory to counter the culture-historical anthropology of the Germans, Soviet anthropologists were led to the same interpretations of the past. In a chain reaction German nationalism and historical expansionism in anthropology gave birth to a responding Soviet nationalism.

It serves to bear in mind that ethnogenetic theory is not the only one that guides Former Soviet anthropologists. There are various definitions of ethnicity, and conflicting schools of thought on the association of language, material culture and biology. Ethnogenetic theory, in the form that I have traced here, remains very influential in all branches of anthropology in the Former Soviet Union. Even when ethnogenesis is not the direct subject of inquiry, a large proportion of archaeological and physical anthropological works include a discussion of the ethnicity of the past peoples being studied (though this practice has been questioned by some Soviet scholars [e.g. Korenevskiy 1992]. While my readings of the Soviet and (largely) Russian anthropological literature have focused on the Bronze age, it is not uncommon to have ethnicity discussed in papers dealing with the Neolithic and Mesolithic (linguistic affiliations are sometimes even assigned to archaeological cultures as early as the Palaeolithic [e.g. Dolukhanov 1989]). In Bronze Age Andronovo studies, ethnic attributions (practically on a site specific level) are virtually required. This is perhaps an exceptional situation, as Andronovo is the center of controversy for a migration hypothesis developed primarily to explain language distributions [Lindstrom 1994]. The weight of linguistic reconstructions seems to urge archaeologists to attribute

ethnicity and language to past peoples, a situation seen in other cases as well [Rouse 1986; Mallory 1989; Madsen, Rhode 1994]. Ethnic attribution of archaeological cultures, and the grouping of language, material culture and biology within the ethnos are, however, widespread in Soviet and Former Soviet anthropological literature.

The focus of this conference session, the reading of ethnic and national politics into the past, is both timely and necessary. However, the political manipulation of the past is by no means a recent innovation. For as long as antiquities have been recognized as material remains of past peoples, they have been used as political tools. Political manipulation of the past takes many forms, from the reconstruction of Babylon to the supremacist rhetoric of groups like 'Pamiat'. Anthropologists must be vigilant that the study of the past is not controlled by the politics of the present. While a post-modern, reflexive anthropology has much to offer, the past should be a more than mere reflection of present political currents. While we cannot divorce ourselves from our own ethnic and national experience, we can be aware of the biases that these impose on us, and make the conscious decision to be scientists rather than politicians.

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	– Archeologicke rozhledy, Praha.
AP	– Archeologia Polski, Wrocław.
AJPA	– American Journal of Physical Anthropology, New York.
CA	– Current Anthropology, Chicago.
KSIA	– Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii Akademii Nauk USSR, Moskva.
KSIA (Ukraine)	– Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii Akademii Nauk USSR, Kiev.
KSOGAM	– Kratkie Soobscheniya Odesskogo Gosudarstvennego Arkheologicheskogo Muzeya, Odessa.
MASP	– Materialy po Arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomorya, Kiev.
MIA	– Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii, Moskva.
SA	– Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, Moskva.
SAA	– Sovet Anthropology and Archaeology, Moskva.
SE	– Sovetskaya Etnografiya, Moskva.

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