Prehistoric ‘Europeans’ in Xinjiang:
A case for multiple interpretations

C.P. Thornton & T.G. Schurr

Department of Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania
September 11, 2003
Identification is...

“a process of identifying another object, an object of otherness, at which point the agency of identification – the subject – is itself always ambivalent, because of the intervention of that otherness.”

- Homi Bhabha

Ethnicity is...

“both a transient construct of repeated acts of interaction and communication and an aspect of social organization which becomes institutionalized to different degrees, and in different forms, in different societies.”

- Sian Jones

“The essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things.”

- Ernest Renan
FIG. 9.1 Map by Duval indicating notional Celtic lands.
The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia
Volume I
Edited by Victor H. Mair

The Mummies of Ürümchi
Elizabeth Wayland Barber

Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West

The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang

The Peoples of Ancient Xinjiang and Their Culture
J. P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair
Documents in the Tocharian languages on paper and wood collected by Sir Aurel Stein from Koucha and Turfan. 7th–8th centuries AD.

(Renfrew 1987)
mt-DNA

(Comas et al. 1998)

NRY-DNA

(Zerjal et al. 2002)