

# Migration Narratives in Archaeology

**Edited by** Daniela Hofmann,  
Catherine J. Frieman, Astrid J. Nyland  
**Illustrations by** Nikola Radosavljević











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HOTACADEMIA



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# An introduction to the series - HotAcademia and migration: Myths and realities explained

Welcome to the pioneering issue of the new Sidestone Press series *HotAcademia* – an international series that covers hotly debated academic topics in archaeology, history, anthropology and museum studies, in a rather unconventional and non-academic form, while maintaining scientific accuracy. Addressing both professional and non-professional audiences, the volumes in this series aim to bring novelty and impact by making readers pause and re-think.

Inspired by the success of the illustrated booklet *Gender stereotypes in archaeology. A short reflection in image and text* (edited by Laura Coltofean-Arizancu, Bisserka Gaydarska, and Uroš Matić; Sidestone Press, 2021)<sup>1</sup>, the hallmark of the series is its format consisting of short texts and impactful images. The texts are written by specialists in the topic, while the accompanying images are meant not simply as an illustration but as a constructive element in the creation or deconstruction of the narrative in the individual texts and the overall book.

The rationale behind the initial booklet was to expose and critique stereotypical views about gender in archaeology.

The current volume – which is the first published example in this series – follows on this initiative by delving into another popular, newsworthy and highly stereo-

typed topic of our days: migration.

Migration, no matter if past or present, provokes strong feelings, whether public outrage over misleading images of crowds splashed on pro-Brexit billboards or an academic reaction to sensationalist claims of mass replacement of people in the past. The reason for such often opposing and contradictory emotions is entrenched but poorly documented misconceptions about migration and the attempts to de-politicise or de-glorify bombastic claims. The role that archaeology has played in forming these misconstrued understandings of people's mobility will divide opinions. This illustrated booklet tries to put the record straight – not through lengthy academic arguments but with short, straight-to-the-point statements. Yet the booklet captures the complexity and multitude of issues concerned with the movement of people, objects and ideas. It looks critically, and sometimes humorously, at unfounded stereotyping about migration and offers a glimpse of the epistemological and methodological intricacies of doing archaeology, as well as of collaborating with other disciplines when researching such a complex topic.

As with the booklet that inspired this series, the overall message is to try to avoid essentialism – whether in finding the causes for migration, the definition of

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<sup>1</sup> Available online at <https://www.sidestone.com/books/gender-stereotypes-in-archaeology>.

type(s) of mobility or the identities of the people on the move. Common themes run through the entries in the booklet, contributing to the complementary deconstruction of myths, such as the glorification of sedentism seen as tradition and rootedness, therefore implying that migration, and mobile lifestyles more generally, are uprooted and uncivilised; or the uncritical projection of real historical events (e.g. colonial encounters) or religious tropes (e.g. biblical movements of people) over time and space. The overlapping topics also help to reveal similarities and differences between conditions for mobility in the past and present and warn about the danger of essentialising migration. A major achievement of the booklet is the vindication of mobility. Migration has acquired many negative connotations across the world, especially in the various socio-economic and political contexts of the last thirty years. It has often been said, both by politicians on the right of the political spectrum and the press, that migration is caused by crises, that migrants are violent, they loot and destroy, and that ultimately, they will displace the locals and take their resources and jobs. By stripping away the illusions about the direction and reasons for movement, the composition and size of migrating groups, the gender of people on the move and the purpose of their journey, the booklet brings to the fore the positive aspects of interaction between migrants and locals

with integration, rather than assimilation, as the desirable way forward. The dangers of the divisive “us” versus “them” approach are made very clear without sounding edifying.

With this booklet, the reader is in for a feast of witty and thoughtful images, whether ironic or less so, as well as a multivocal chorus of telling stories that will take them from the steppes of central Asia to the coasts of Norway, and from the Late Stone Age to the Early Medieval period. We hope that you will stay in one place for long enough to read and enjoy this issue on migration. If by reading it we have made you reflect and question your own assumptions about mobility, our goal has been achieved.

*Bisserka Gaydarska, Laura Coltofean-Arizancu and Uroš Matić (series editors)*

**Migration, no matter if past or present, provokes strong feelings**



# Migration in the past and present – stereotypes, methods and stories

This booklet follows on from the trailblazing volume *Gender stereotypes in archaeology. A short reflection in image and text*, edited by Laura Coltofean-Arizancu, Bisserka Gaydarska and Uroš Matić and published as an open-access volume by Sidestone Press in 2021. We were inspired by the original volume's dedication to bring complex academic information to a wide public, thereby showing how archaeologists can make a contribution to important political debates in the present. We were also immediately taken in by the non-preachy tone of the original booklet. Rather than talking down to its audience, its text and images came together to provoke reflection about gender from a new angle, but left readers room to develop their own ideas and solutions. There are many more hotly contested topics today to which archaeologists could contribute in a similar manner; and, indeed, the editors of the booklet explicitly hoped other colleagues would take up the baton. So, when the opportunity presented itself, we decided to do so. This booklet is the outcome of work undertaken as part of a one-year research project on migration in the Neolithic, called *Exploring the archaeological migration narrative*<sup>1</sup>. This project was generously funded by the Centre for Advanced Study (CAS) in Oslo,

Norway, and allowed a dedicated group of researchers, drawn from archaeology and archaeogenetics, to come together, critically discuss each other's work, and write new, collaborative publications. Together, we wanted to understand migrations in the past, with a particular focus on the Neolithic in western and northern Europe. This was not just about figuring out whether or when migrations happened, but also why people moved, how migrations were structured as a process, and what they meant to people – both those moving and those staying put. These are not questions that can be answered with the hard sciences alone. They require us to think imaginatively and to take the human factor into account – and this means that, potentially, there is a lot of room for unreflected stereotypes to creep in. For example, skimming just some press releases about past migrations, we are told in sensationalist tones that “Stone Age farming women tamed nomadic warriors” (Liberatore 2017), “Turkish migrants” built Stonehenge (Hamill 2019) or that “the most murderous people of all time” had been let loose in Britain in the Stone Age (Barras 2019). This style of reporting unashamedly plays on present-day fears and stereotypes concerning migration in our own time, and tends to pander to

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<sup>1</sup> The *Exploring the archaeological migration narrative* project website can be found at: <https://cas.oslo.no/research-groups/exploring-the-archaeological-migration-narrative-the-introduction-of-farming-and-animal-husbandry-in-southern-norway-article4077-827.html>

the right of the political spectrum. It also skims over the fact that it is very hard to tell good stories about what happened in the past. Many different disciplines are normally involved, all with their own ways of thinking – for example, archaeologists and archaeogeneticists are only just beginning to really communicate effectively with each other. Also, the different kinds of data we bring to the table can tell conflicting stories. Traditional archaeological narratives of migration, which emphasised that societies in the past were “normally sedentary”, cannot be upheld now we have much more data at our disposal, but archaeological information is still crucial for understanding what the DNA evidence tells us. Communicating all of this complexity to an audience beyond academia is even more challenging, and cannot only be left to press offices.

A booklet aimed at dissecting stereotypes about migration, and which would be widely available both in print and online, seemed like a good way to critique overly simplistic reporting, and to communicate the direction of current research in a thought-provoking, but also fun way. Part of this volume, therefore, dismantles common stereotypes we have about migration – both in general, including the present (Stereotypes 7 or 9, for example), and also concerning the past (e.g. Stereotype 12). However, we also wanted to give more room to reconstruction, not just

deconstruction – in addition to critiquing traditional and prejudiced patterns of thinking, we wanted to present possible versions of how things could have been. We have therefore given greater weight to also presenting case studies (our “Migration Narratives”) that showcase the diversity of human experiences of migration. Because of the focus of our CAS-project, these are biased, but not limited to, the European Stone Age. In addition, the study of migration needs many different fields of research, it is a truly collaborative endeavour. But it is often difficult for non-specialists and daily newspaper readers to understand what the strengths and limitations of various approaches are, and how they are applied together. So, alongside the myths and the archaeological migration stories, we also include a section that briefly explains some of the more commonly used methods. At the very end of the booklet, there are suggestions for further reading for those who want to delve deeper. The authors of these contributions are all experts in their field, and the majority were part of the Oslo CAS-project group, but we have recruited a few additional authors to expand the range of topics we could cover. Many of our contributors, including the editors, have personal experience of being migrants and trying to make a home in a new place – yet another reason why it was so important for us to make this book happen.

As with the *Gender stereotypes in Archaeology* booklet, the text contributions have been ably illustrated by artist Nikola Radosavljević, who has shown not only enormous creativity, but also enormous patience in trying to bring our often confused ideas to a graphically striking conclusion. We wanted the drawings to help our readers think about the issues we discuss beyond the words written on the page, to explore the gaps and cracks in our knowledge and in our ways of thinking. Some drawings are therefore caricatures or parodies – they poke more or less gentle fun at unreflected and stereotypical ways in which we have been thinking about migrations past and present (for example those for Method 5 or Narrative 7). Other drawings rather aim to create surprise and reflection through unexpected juxtapositions and connections, functioning like metaphors – the deep roots depicted in Stereotype 5 fit into this category. Yet others show scenes we imagine could have taken place in the past, but where we have tried to frame migration processes in novel or unorthodox ways (for example for Stereotype 11, or Narrative 4, where we imagine how people in the past may have thought about their journey into the afterlife). These are not “truths” or ready-made answers, but our interpretations of the evidence we have so far. Just like the more traditional interpretations, they are possibilities which will hopefully lead to new questions and new research. Taken

together, we hope the images and texts will provoke discussion and critique, reflection and interest – and also just be fun. We certainly enjoyed making this book!

It is also great news that Sidestone Press will now publish a series of similar volumes dedicated to stereotype-busting, with Laura Coltofean-Arizancu, Bisserka Gaydarska and Uroš Matić as series editors. We are particularly happy to be included in this new series, and would like to thank the series editors for this opportunity. Finally, thanks are of course due to all our authors and to Nikola Radosavljević for generating the content. This book could not have happened without the capable assistance provided by the team at Sidestone Press, in particular Karsten Wentink, Corné van Woerdekom and Marta Klement. We would also like to thank the Centre for Advanced Study in Oslo for funding not only our research stay, but also the production of this volume.

*Daniela Hofmann, Catherine J. Frieman  
and Astrid J. Nyland*

**Traditional archaeological  
narratives of migration,  
which emphasised that  
societies in the past were  
“normally sedentary”,  
cannot be upheld**





# **MIGRATION** **STEREOTYPES**

# Migration is a recent phenomenon

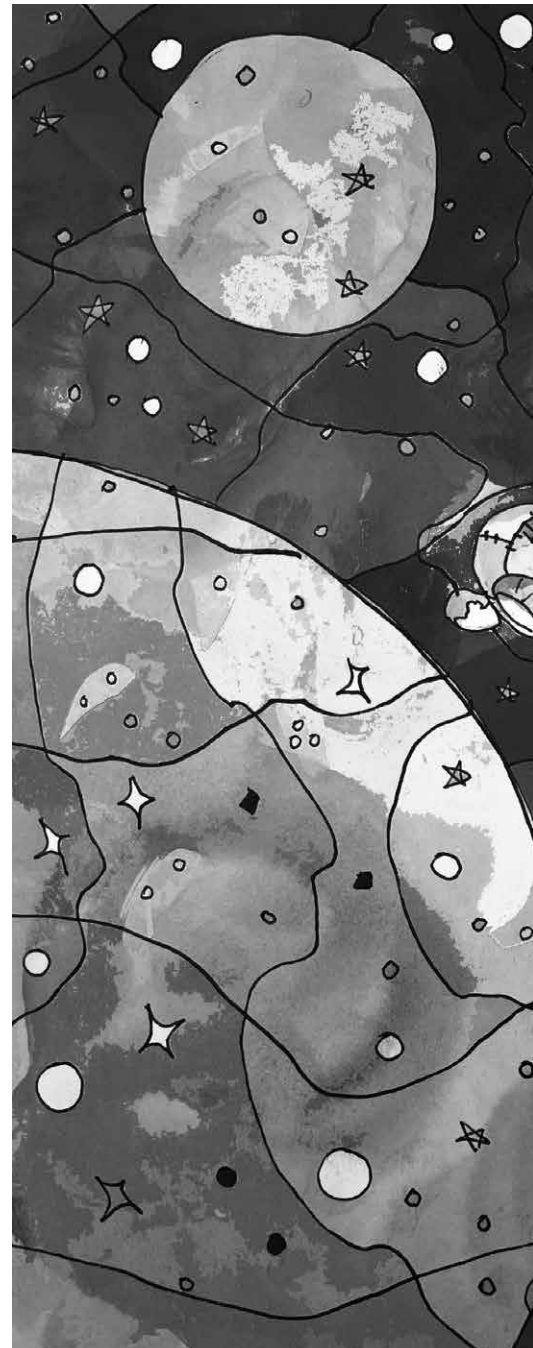
Stefan Burmeister

That people of the past were immobile, tradition-bound and down-to-earth is a common opinion that is also reflected in many historical studies. According to this view, once people had become farmers, migrations played only a minor role in traditional, pre-modern societies; if at all, they were of limited geographic scope and only a few people in these societies were mobile. It was only through Western colonialism, such as settler movements to the Americas, and through industrialisation that people became mobile. So, are far-reaching and extensive migratory movements a phenomenon of modernity?

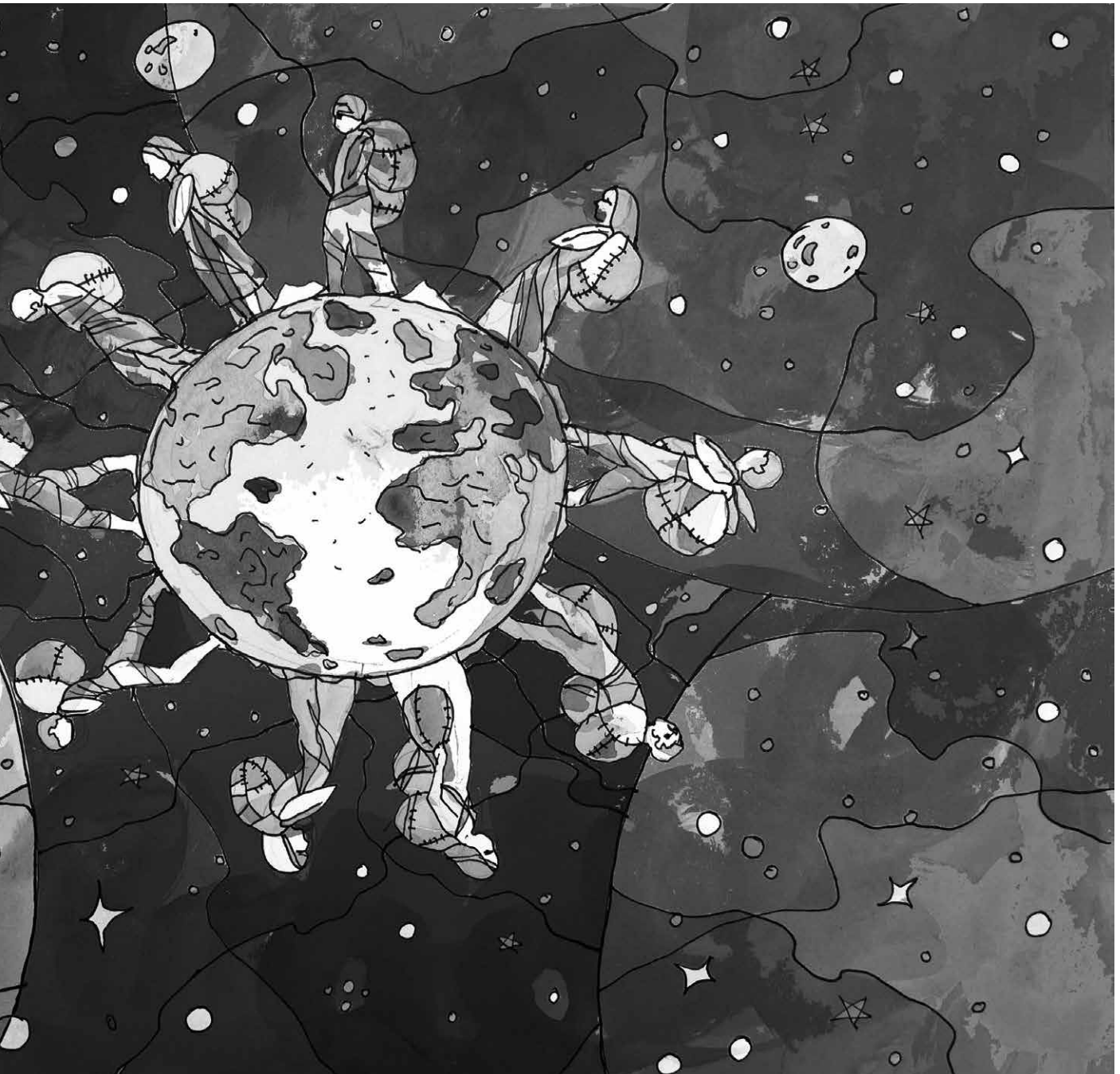
Even a brief look at human history shows that this is wrong. Since *Homo sapiens* left Africa, humans have entered and inhabited (almost) every accessible place on earth. The molecular biological studies of recent years impressively prove the high degree of mobility of prehistoric humans. Hardly any society

lived in isolation. Archaeology in particular shows the many and constant exchange relationships, the far-reaching cultural contacts and influences that characterise all societies of the past. The mobility behaviour of prehistoric people was not fundamentally different from that of modern people.

The human species could also be called *homo migrans*. There is no doubt about it: migration has always been part of social reality. Migration was – and is – a strategy for securing one's own economic and social prospects in life. Especially when land appears freely available, emigration is an obvious means of solving social problems. But what was the significance of migration in the development of prehistoric societies? This is a question that still divides opinion.



**There is no doubt about it:  
migration has always been part  
of social reality**





# Migration is mass migration

*Stefan Burmeister*





**In general, it can be assumed that migrations of entire populations were not the rule**



Western migration narratives are inspired by the Bible and ancient Greek and Roman records that describe the migrations of entire peoples. In general, however, it can be assumed that migrations of entire populations were not the rule, but individual and small group mobility prevailed. Historical and recent migrations are not a single collective movement by a huge, pre-existing group of people, but many individual episodes of movement which only become a collective migration in the mass.

But is this transferable to prehistoric migrations? Even if, for example, the groups that have been recorded in ancient texts and that headed towards the Roman Empire can now no longer be reconstructed as ethnic groups, they were still larger collectives that acted as a common unit. This is clearly a different social process than the well-known migrations in modern societies. Are those migrations at the periphery

of ancient empires special cases in history?

Even if people in prehistoric societies were not fundamentally different from us today, they certainly acted under different conditions. The typical “wave of advance” model often used by archaeologists assumes that migrants can simply settle in a region at will, and then spread out in a kind of wave-like manner. However, this presupposes empty spaces or ecological niches that are easy to occupy, which is no longer the case today (and wasn’t always in prehistory). Today, migration processes tend to proceed by leapfrogging, from centre to centre, with some migrants settling in one place while others keep moving. We definitely have to sharpen our concepts of past migrations.

# Migration is a one-way, linear process

*Martin Furholt*

Virtually all definitions of migration refer to the phenomenon of someone moving from one place to another, being uprooted from their place of origin and having to build their new home at the place of destination. This often leads to a simple model that reduces migration to a direct line between those two – clearly important – steps: a move from one local community and a subsequent integration into the new, host community. Such a situation might well characterise a few, special cases of migration. However, practically, most migrants do not give up their links to their place of origin. Instead they communicate with or visit their relatives, friends and acquaintances, host them when they travel, or help them migrate. Having ties in separate places is often called a “trans-local” identity. Thus, it is a main characteristic of most migration experiences that they create lasting, two-way connections and social ties

between those different local communities. And since migrants can arrive in a community from different places, and might also further migrate to other places later on, this is not only a two-way relation between two local communities, but a whole network of trans-local communities, where established and durable social ties facilitate the frequent circulation of people between them. In other words, the communities of origin are as much affected by migration as the destination communities, because of the impact of mobility and exchange. Indeed, the terms “origin” and “destination” communities only apply to the individual migrants’ perspectives, if they are useful at all.





**It is a main characteristic of most migration experiences that they create lasting, two-way connections**





# Migrants are a coherent group

*Daniela Hofmann*



## The same behaviour - changing residence - is valued differently with different words



We have many words for people who migrate, depending on where they come from and why they move. Historically for example, “settler-colonists” acted differently to “explorers”. Today, when we say “refugees”, we imagine a mass of tired people fleeing conflict or disaster. People travelling to find work are often called “migrants”. They make an individual decision to move, but many come from the same countries, often economically weaker ones. Finally “expats” (or “expatriates”) are those who work in high-status or highly skilled jobs, or live abroad as pensioners or for leisure. The same behaviour – changing residence – is valued differently with different words. In contrast, we assume that individuals within each category are very similar. These ideas also sneak in when we apply modern-day words to past migrations. However, the experiences of people on the move are different even within one

group, depending amongst other factors on age, gender, race, or religion. For example, migrant children usually learn new languages faster than their parents, and more quickly pick up information about how the new cultural setting works, often through school. Some children end up shouldering big responsibilities, for instance acting as translators for their families during medical visits or at the bank. By taking on these roles, they change the expectation of what “childhood” should be like. People can also move between categories over a lifetime, for example by picking up job skills. The situation was just as diverse and complex in the past, so we need to be aware about what is hidden within a simple word.



# Migrants give up their roots when they migrate

*Astrid J. Nyland*

One reason for leaving home may be that natural hazards or war have destroyed it. Yet, even then, one rarely gives up one's roots. Migration may be a one-way journey, but the relationships we have are two-way: most migrants travel to places they already have connections to, and their roots continue to matter.

By having roots, we mean one's sense of ancestry and belonging to a specific group and sometimes to a specific land or territory. Our roots are expressed consciously and unconsciously by our bodies in our gestures and ways of acting. Growing up in a particular region and social group, we continually learn guidelines, traditions and practices. Thus, our bodies remember and signal our attachments and roots in the way we act; so our way of doing or making things can signal our identity or affinity to a place or group of origin. As mementoes, objects, or practices (like dancing or cooking), our

past and origin live with us. Moreover, many migrants intentionally maintain and continue to enact practices from their home culture, such as rituals, domestic activities, decorative styles and technologies. This social strategy helps them to familiarise themselves or to feel at home in unfamiliar surroundings, to make the unknown less foreign. What migrants bring with them may in turn gradually become indispensable to others. Roots thus extend and become intertwined in new relations and settings and are never truly given up.



**As mementoes, objects,  
or practices, our past  
and origin live with us**





# Migrants will eventually assimilate

*Daniela Hofmann*





**There are many ways  
in which people of diverse origin  
can co-exist without becoming  
the same as the majority**



Policymakers today frequently expect that migrants coming to a new country should “assimilate”. This means they should adopt the values and behaviours of the majority until they have completely blended in. If this does not happen, people often feel threatened and talk in terms of “us” versus “them”. Examples from across history show that an us/them feeling mostly develops where access to jobs, education, political influence or other resources is seen as dependent on origins. But there are actually many different ways in which people of diverse origin can co-exist in a stable manner without becoming the same as the majority. In a diaspora setting, migrants maintain a clear sense of their own identity as a group, celebrating traditional festivals, upholding ties with their country of origin and with compatriots in other countries, and distinguishing themselves through language or dress. An example

would be the many Jewish quarters in European or American cities. Where there is greater pressure to conform, a difference can develop between public spaces, where migrants act according to majority expectations, and private settings, where own traditions are maintained. For example, migrants can live in houses that look the same as everyone else’s on the outside, but will have furnishings and food styles that are their own. Where societies are more open, migrants and locals can learn and adopt from each other. The outcome of this integration will be something entirely new. There are many examples of this, for instance in the pre-contact American Southwest, where new kinds of religious rituals emerged from interactions between migrant and local groups.

# People don't want to move

## *Stefan Burmeister*

The common metaphor of cultural roots and rootedness of identity implies a definite location of people. Since one can only be part of one tree, the image of the root evokes temporal continuity and territorial ties. Surveys by the UN's International Organization for Migration (IOM) show that people today have a positive attitude towards migration in almost all regions of the world, except Europe.

Our Western way of thinking is characterised by an ideology of sedentariness. People are tied to places, nations to territories. In our world view, there are two mutually exclusive ways of life: sedentary and nomadic. Mixed forms are largely left out. If we see the sedentary way of life as "normal", the mobile one becomes deviant and thus is in need of explanation. Migrants are seen as uprooted, without a clear sense of belonging. This basic Western anti-migrationist attitude collides with migrant groups'

attitudes and realities. Mobile lifestyles and sedentariness are the end points of a range of adaptation strategies, for example to changing environmental conditions and different social and political contexts. There are many possible solutions between these end points. Moreover, archaeological studies show that migration can be part of the social matrix of sedentary groups. Even societies such as the Pueblo people of the United States' Southwest were not permanently sedentary, despite their large settlements, leading to their characterisation as "urbanised nomads". Sedentariness and mobility can be reconciled within a society and can together be an integral part of cultural practice.





**Our Western way of thinking  
is characterised by an ideology  
of sedentariness**



# Migrations happen because of crises

*Martin Furholt*





## Just as today, in the past migration and mobility were common experiences for the majority of people



The dominant idea about migrations is that they are decidedly exceptional, traumatic experiences that only occur if people are out of alternatives. This sense of migration-as-exception comes to us from the highly sedentary early modern European state societies. Early historians and ethnographers imagined an immobile, socially closed conservative rural village life as some kind of primordial lifestyle, now sadly lost. There is no evidence this romantic ideal peasant society ever existed – even in the Late Medieval and Early Modern world for which it was supposedly standard. Just as today, in the past migration and mobility were common experiences for the majority of people and did not require such dramatic driving forces. While a crisis (i.e. war, environmental breakdown, or epidemics) may well have been a push-factor initiating migration, there is no reason to believe that such phenomena would

be the universal primary drivers. Rather, migrations may have been initiated or fuelled by pull-factors, such as access to new productive land for farming, a better climate, or a religious or social impetus, like a charismatic prophet or even the desire to leave behind annoying neighbours. Indeed, people could have been drawn to specific communities for their renowned feasts, pleasant company, or sophisticated storytellers.

# Migrants will displace locals demographically

## Tim Kerig

This fear is surprisingly widespread today – but is it factually confirmed? The prejudice links the fear of immigration with a supposedly high number of immigrants' children. It is insidious, as it is ultimately based on perpetuating exclusive categories of identity ("us" versus "them") and a diffuse feeling of inferiority among the local population. Such feelings are often a source of racism. This thinking has even stood behind some recent terrorist atrocities. Those who have this prejudice may indeed be confronted with a growing number of migrants in their neighbourhood. This could be due to many different factors – for instance, upwardly mobile people may disproportionately choose this neighbourhood. However, such personal observations can lead to a distorted perception of the realities of society as a whole. A group's average number of children is mainly determined by their living

conditions, as population history and archaeology show. Families with a high mortality risk tend to have many children, but they cannot expect a long life. For some children to grow up at all, the number of births for those in poorer circumstances must be higher than for those in better-off ones. Conversely, the better the living conditions, the lower the number of children. As migrants leave their home country to seek better conditions elsewhere, they can be expected to have many children. However, if migrants find a good life in their new place of residence, the number of births quickly drops to the level of their neighbours. So, there is no reason to fear a displacement by fairly treated migrants.





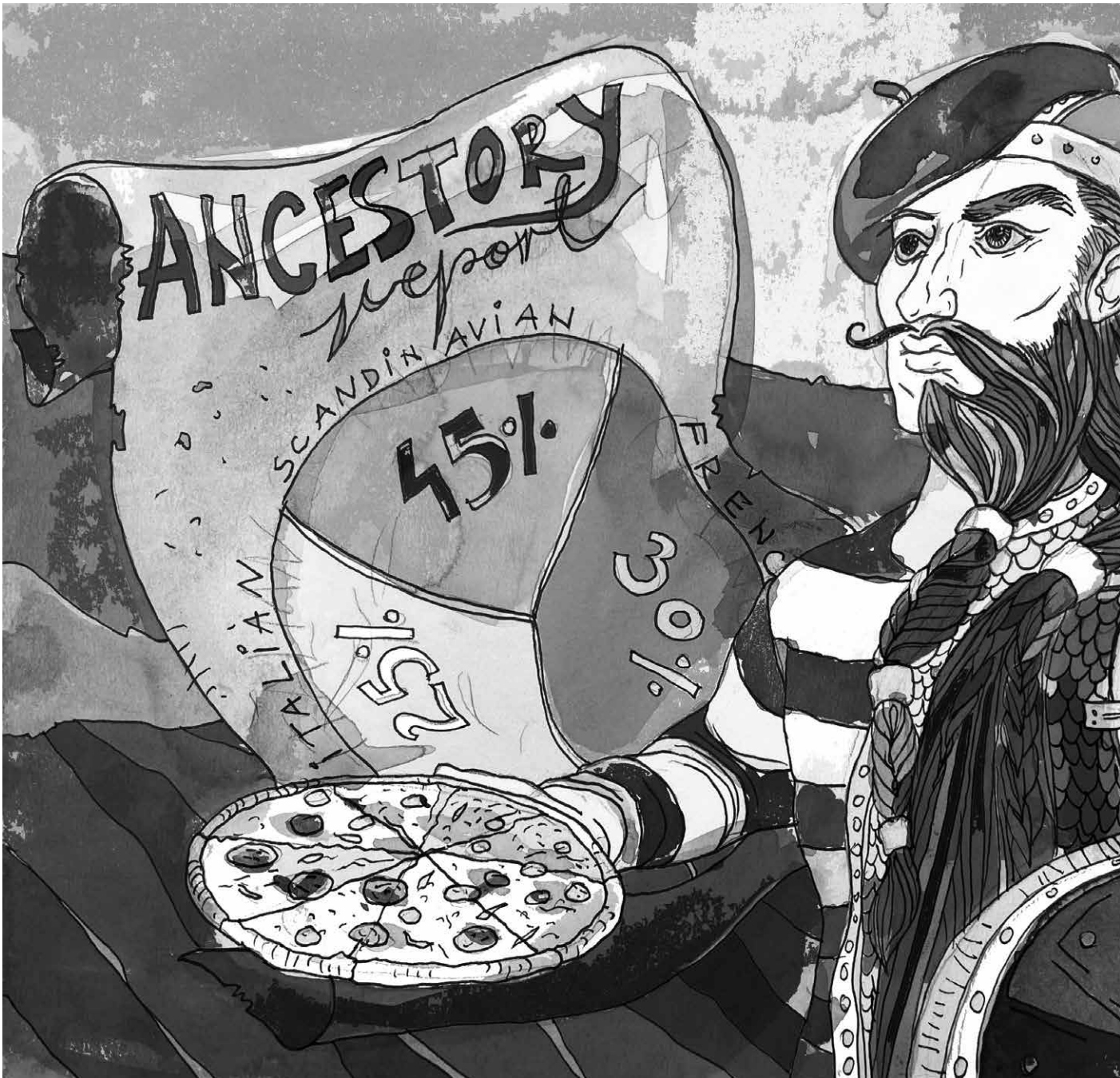
**This prejudice is insidious,  
as it is ultimately based on perpetuating  
exclusive categories of identity**





# Genes determine your ethnicity

*Eva Fernández-Domínguez*





## It is a misconception that ethnicity and genetic heritage are the same



Direct-to-consumer genetic testing companies have contributed to popularising the idea that race and ethnicity are determined by our genes. The reality could not be more different. Ethnicity is a social construct used to categorise human groups based on shared characteristics such as cultural background, language, beliefs or geography, but not necessarily common genetic heritage. The misconception that ethnicity and genetic heritage are the same is partly due to the incorrect use of “genetic ancestry” and “ethnicity” as synonymous concepts. Genetic ancestry is a broad term that refers to the characteristics an individual has inherited from their ancestors. Human groups sharing common ancestors in the past also display a characteristic genetic signature that differs broadly from other, more distantly related groups. Based on these patterns of human diversity at the broad scale, the genetic make-up of a

person can be used to infer their most likely group of origin, which may or may not coincide with the ethnicity they identify with. The relationship between genetic ancestry and ethnicity becomes even more blurry when we study prehistoric populations, as we only have fragmentary information about how these communities were organised. While ethnicity and genetic ancestry may have coincided in a handful of past societies, this is the exception, not the rule. For example, during the third millennium BCE, human groups across Europe, from Spain to Germany, used similar material objects, but ancient DNA analysis has shown that they had different genetic ancestries. Similarly, very different genetic patterns have been found across different Viking settlements, indicating that the “Viking” ethnicity label included people with different genetic ancestries.

# Mobile women are a modern phenomenon

*Samantha S. Reiter  
and Karin M. Frei*

Scholars used to think that mobility was restricted in European prehistory. Moreover, if prehistoric people did move, academics differentiated those movements by gender. While men were thought to move due to trading, warfare or political visits (possibly repeatedly), females were thought to move only once, e.g. in order to establish alliances through marriage. Though this model has since found partial support in the archaeological record (through the many high-status female burials that have been found with jewellery and/or clothing elements atypical of the area in which they were buried), recent strontium isotope results suggest that a variety of mobilities were present, and that these were exercised by both men and women. Some prehistoric women have recently been shown to exhibit mobilities that would previously have been considered “male”. For example, the Bronze Age Egtved Girl

(Jutland, Denmark) moved repeatedly. In contrast, the Bronze Age Ølby Woman (Zealand, Denmark) seems to have been non-mobile, despite the many non-local materials and objects from different places in Europe and beyond recovered from her tomb. Hence, objects were brought to her rather than the other way around. Moreover, ancient DNA studies have also reframed our understanding of how people in the past understood kinship, as both women and men were sometimes buried with children to whom they were not biologically related. This begs the question whether the exchange of “spouses” was indeed a kind of social contract, or whether more complex social processes were at play, involving more than women as the ultimate gift.





**Some prehistoric women  
have recently been shown  
to exhibit mobilities that  
would previously have been  
considered 'male'**





# Migrations in the past were violent

*Astrid J. Nyland*



**Sometimes the story of hostile takeovers is read directly into prehistory, as if all migrations looked like European imperialism**



The dominant narrative of prehistoric migrations is one of rapid domination. This is a storyline familiar from European and American colonial history. One way of telling the story of this colonial migration history would be to say that travelling male warriors were on a quest for new lands to farm and resources to secure for a growing population or a powerful leader at home. Boats and horses enabled movement of large groups and are also thought to have shocked or impressed indigenous groups. By using weapons, technology, or social strategies that indigenous populations had never encountered, the migration processes regularly resulted in hostile takeovers. Sometimes this story is read directly into prehistory, as if all migrations looked like European imperialism. This narrative is indeed one of domination. It rests on the idea that agency lies with those who move, while indigenous populations are easily dominated.

However, the process of migration also has other sides. Although tension may have arisen as new people moved into other groups' territory, migrants rarely move blindly into completely unknown land. Instead, people often choose to move into areas where infrastructure, including family ties, or lines of communication have already been established. Archaeologically, one can identify artefacts, technologies, resources and raw materials that have moved between regions prior to migrations. Moreover, people on the move may not necessarily be out to conquer. To live well in a new land or landscape might have required people to cooperate with locals, and the other way around, leading to peaceful coexistence and slow integration on all sides.



# STUDYING MIGRATION IN THE PAST: THE METHODS



# How to read an arrow on a map

*Catherine J. Frieman*

Archaeologists make a lot of maps. We map the distribution of finds on a site; the location of sites in a region and their age and type; the regions within which certain ways of life predominate; and the movement of all of these over time and space. Rendering something dynamic like mobility in a static, two-dimensional format like a map is not always straightforward and not always successful. Usually what we do is draw arrows. The good thing about an arrow is that it makes the direction of mobility clear – a thing or person or idea from Over There was recovered by archaeologists Over Here. However, an arrow implies that the mobility in question was direct (from Point A to Point B, no stops or deviations) and happened only once. It may further imply that the people in Point B knew about the Point A origins and, indeed, the location of Point A. So, an arrow on a map does not show the true reality of what it was like to move, but depicts the archaeologist's often limited knowledge of that mobility (that some thing or person came from "else-

where"). Other attempts to capture the dynamism of mobility in static maps use different sorts of symbology. Large overlapping circles or semi-shaded zones might indicate areas in which people are regularly mobile and encountering each other, sharing ideas and trading technologies.

Digital mapping programs, such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS), give us tools to simulate mobility through space. We can simulate the movement of a person in a particular landscape and the places they would encounter. Analytical tools can calculate the ease or difficulty of travelling for example through marshy ground or up and down steep slopes, enabling us to suggest hypothetical routeways people may have followed, the length of time it may have taken them to get from one place to another, or what they experienced while they did so. Even this is just a start at visualising the complexity of human and object mobility.





**Rendering something dynamic  
like mobility in a static,  
two-dimensional format like a map  
is not always successful**





# Where do objects come from?

*Catherine J. Frieman*



## Reshaping can tell us about transformations on a stone tool's journeys



We trace the movement of objects in many different ways. Some objects are made of unique raw materials from specific places of origin. Microscopic analysis can tell us where they originated – or at least where that raw material was acquired. Copper sources, for instance, can be recognised based on the chemical elements in a copper object. However, while the copper in an axe might have been mined in Ireland, it could have been melted and alloyed many different times over tens, hundreds or even thousands of years before it was deposited where the archaeologist found it. So tracing the mobility of the axe based on the metal source is not straightforward.

It's a little easier to trace these sorts of movements by looking, for example, at stone tools. You can't melt down an old stone tool and erase its previous form the way you can with metal. Instead you need to rework it by chipping or polishing, often reducing it in size while

reshaping it into its new form. Sometimes traces of the previous tool remain visible, giving an indication of how it was reshaped and at what point in its life cycle this occurred. At other times, the new form is distinct to a given region. This can tell us about transformations on its journeys from the place the stone was quarried to the place the tool was found by archaeologists.

This is the case with a number of very hard, highly polished green stone axes found across Europe, dating to c. 5000-3500 BCE. They originate from a single source of jadeite in the remote Italian Alps, but come in many different, often regionally and temporally specific forms. These sequences of reworking offer us insight into how jadeite stone moved over time and space. Older and longer-travelled axes that had been through many rounds of repolishing were highly valued. Their reshaping could have been linked to ceremonial practices during which people reworked precious items, traded them or gave them as valuable gifts to each other. In this way, the axes spread from northern Italy as far as Ireland, Scandinavia, Portugal and Bulgaria.



# How languages spread

## Rune Iversen

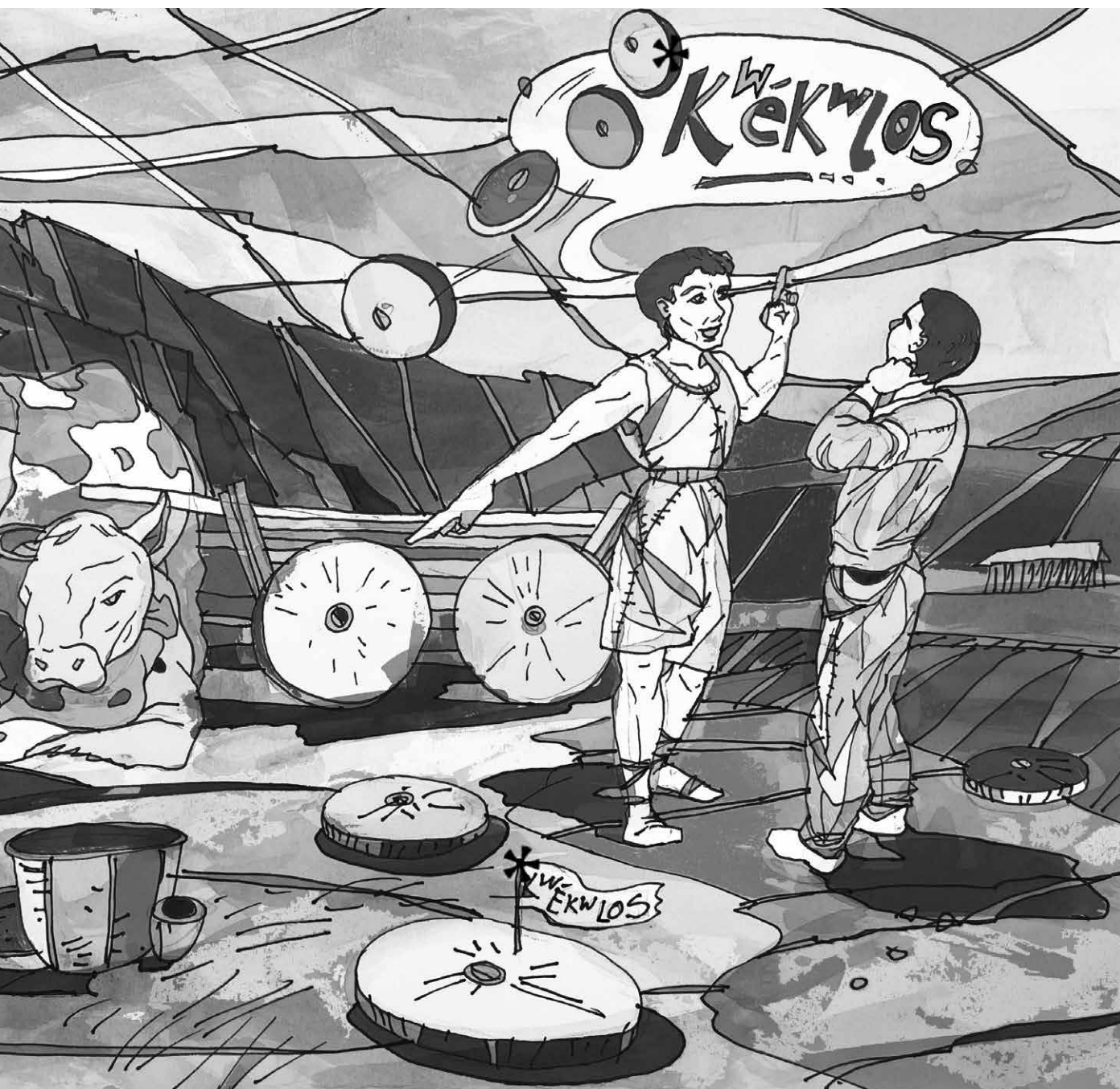
Before global mass media, languages spread with migrations. As people settled new areas, interaction with the local population led for example to language replacement, coexistence of multiple languages, or language change through mutual influencing. Well-known recent *Indo-European* examples are the spread of Spanish, French and English with colonialism. Indo-European languages probably first originated somewhere on the west Eurasian steppe 6500-4500 years ago. Today, they constitute the largest language family, as almost half of the world's population speak an Indo-European language, including most of Europe, Russia, and south and south-west Asia. How did languages move so far and how can we trace languages back 6000 years? By comparing words and grammar in different Indo-European languages, historical linguists have been able to define similarities that can only be explained if the languages had a common ancestor. This ancestral language is referred to as Proto-Indo-European and the words that can be traced back to

this proto-language give important clues to where and when it originated. According to the so-called *paleolinguistic method*, a language will only have a word for something if its speakers know the concept referred to by that word – if you have a word for “wheel”, you know what a wheel is. For Indo-European, these words relate to e.g. wagon technology, dairy and wool production. Aided by archaeology, we can locate these technologies in time and space. In this way, Proto-Indo-European can be dated back to the Copper Age of the west Eurasian steppe. To explain the spread of early Indo-European, we look for evidence of migrations that could have caused widespread language changes. In fact, significant changes in material culture, burial practices and so on are evident throughout Europe c. 5000 years ago. Ancient DNA analyses confirm that migrations from the steppe across western Eurasia took place at this time, facilitating these changes and probably also the introduction of early Indo-European dialects. However, we cannot immediately equate

a certain genetic profile with a specific language and material culture, as languages and behaviour are learnt, not coded in genes.



**A language will only have a word  
for something if its speakers know the  
concept referred to by that word**





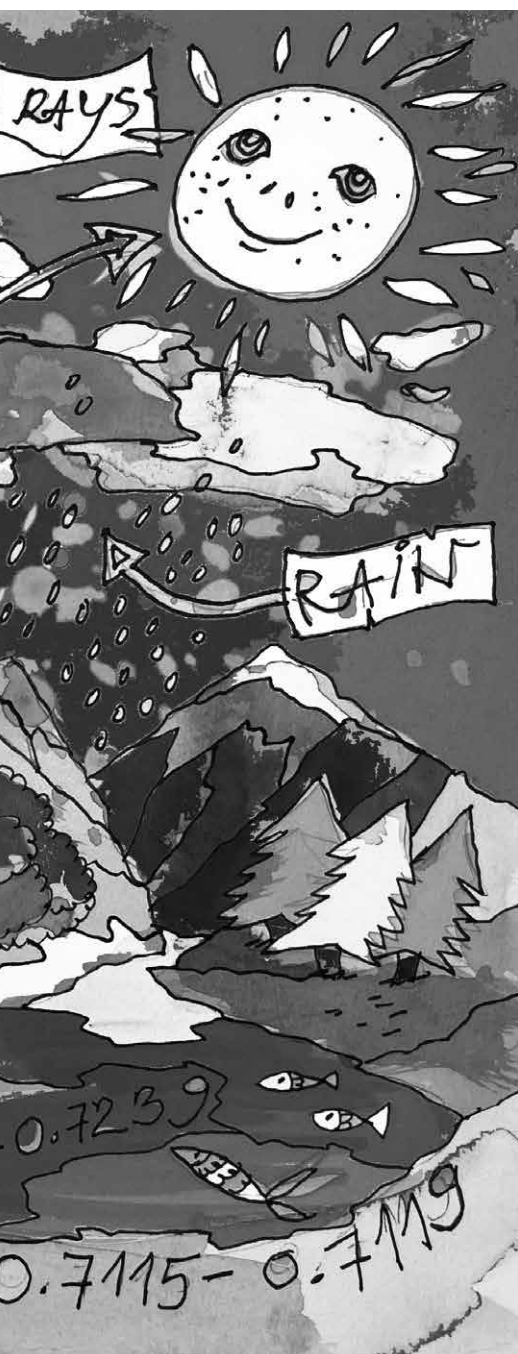
# Migration is in your bones!

Steinar Solheim





**A tooth or bone  
sampled for  
isotopes reflects a  
specific time in a  
person's life span**



You are what you eat, they say, but did you know that what you ate can also tell us something about where you are from?

Archaeologists can analyse the chemistry in human or animal bones or tooth enamel to find out about movement and diet in the past. This is achieved by studying isotopes, which are variations of the same elements occurring in organic and inorganic compounds.

Isotopes get into our body and are deposited in our skeleton through what we eat and drink, and different isotopes give us different information. Stable isotopes of carbon ( $^{13}\text{C}$ ) and nitrogen ( $^{15}\text{N}$ ) reveal a person's dietary patterns, as these isotopes can distinguish between marine and terrestrial diets and where a person was situated in the food chain. Indirectly this can inform us on mobility if, for example, a skeleton with high  $^{13}\text{C}$ -values, indicating a marine diet, is found buried far from the coast.

Strontium (Sr) originates from weathering rock minerals and reaches the human body through the food web. The ratio of different strontium isotopes varies in different sediments and rocks and

between geological regions. The strontium signal in humans reflects the geological signature of where they reside, and tells us if a person stayed in the same region all their life or moved to another region than that where they grew up.

While strontium isotope analysis has become a standard method for studying human mobility in the past, it has some limitations.

Isotopes cannot tell us exactly where a person was from, because only movement between regions with different geology can be recognised. A tooth or bone sampled for isotopes also only reflects a specific time in a person's life span: tooth enamel holds the chemistry of early childhood, while bone contains the chemistry of the last decade of life. Still, strontium isotopes can provide information whether a person moved between regions with different geological signatures during life, and whether they were local to the place of burial or not. When results from samples from several individuals are combined, this gives insight into long- or short-distance mobility in the past, and provides valuable glimpses into the dynamics of social life.

# How does ancient DNA work?

*Eva Fernández-Domínguez*

DNA, the “molecule of life”, is present in every single cell of living organisms, and can be extracted, copied, and interpreted by scientists using sophisticated laboratory techniques and methods of analysis. Since the late 1980s it is possible to obtain “ancient DNA”, i.e. DNA from bone, tooth, hair, mummified tissue, seeds, plants and even fossilised faeces that are hundreds or thousands of years old! DNA degrades as years go by, so not all remains retain enough genetic material to be studied.

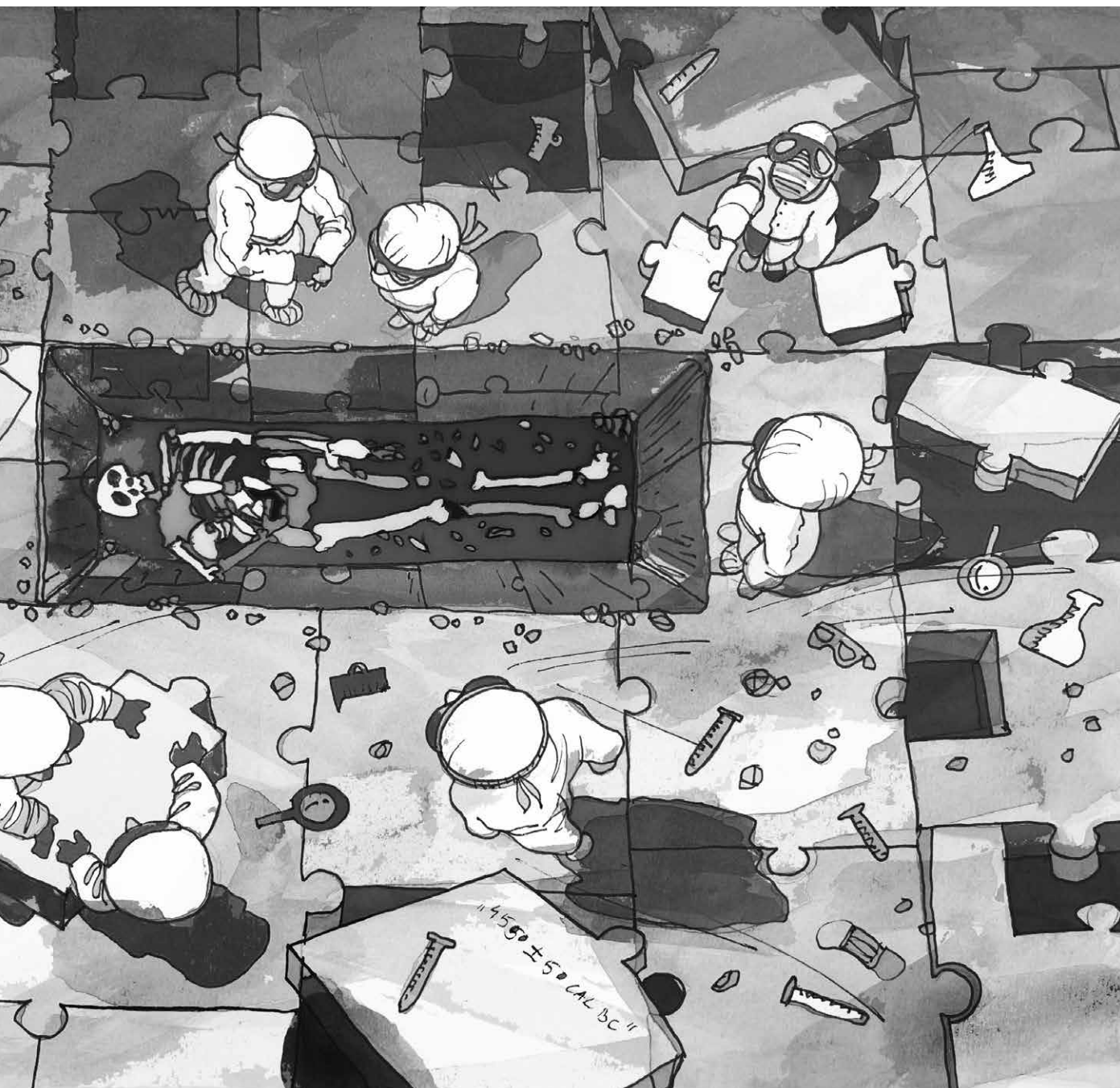
The analysis of ancient DNA from past human groups allows researchers to reconstruct different aspects of their lives. On average, 99.9% of the DNA is identical among humans, so all the differences we observe between people fit into just 0.1% of our DNA. The variability of DNA in a person makes it possible to investigate who they were biologically related to and even understand the social structure of human groups. For example, DNA from skeletons in the same grave could determine if those buried together were a biological family and by extension, if family ties

were taken into consideration by the community when burying their dead. The study of DNA can also tell us about the movement and interactions of human groups. Individuals from a human group with shared recent ancestors usually share the same information in certain parts of the DNA, and this information tends to be different in other geographically distant groups. By studying these DNA segments, we can therefore learn if different groups came into contact and exchanged genes in the past. However, translating this gene-flow into actual migrations is challenging, as we cannot be certain of exactly how and when this DNA was exchanged. The information provided by ancient DNA always needs to be pieced together with other sources of evidence, like archaeology. For example, precise dating of the individuals studied for ancient DNA is essential if we want to establish a timeline for the observed genetic changes.





**On average, 99.9% of the DNA  
is identical among humans**







# **MIGRATION** **NARRATIVES**

# Travelling by boat in the Stone Age

*Knut Andreas Bergsvik*

When we imagine people moving during the Stone Age, they usually travel over land and on foot, and carry their heavy gear along the way. This was true sometimes, but many groups – at least the ones that lived in coastal areas or along inland rivers and lakes – were water people. Their lives were deeply dependent on boat technology; boats were important to hunting and fishing, and settlements were nodes for aquatic travels. However, boats were made of skin or wood, and such materials have generally not been preserved until today. But there are exceptions. At wetland sites in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands, Early Stone Age canoes have been found. These are dugouts of lime trees and were paddled in the fjord systems and archipelagos. Boats are also represented in Stone Age rock carvings in northern Norway. The carvings show that there were boats of different sizes used for a variety of tasks. These rock

art boats appear to have been made of skin, which is likely, since wood suitable for dugouts was not available in this region. In southern Norway, however, large numbers of stone adzes for hollowing out logs show that dugout canoes were made. Boats were used to provide food and raw materials, but social travels between groups and even warfare and migration also happened by boat, as the largest examples could carry many people. One dugout canoe from Denmark is up to ten metres long, with carrying capacity for six to eight passengers and more than half a ton of luggage. If necessary, these boats were sturdy enough to cross long, open stretches of water, into new lands and territories.





**When we imagine people moving during the Stone Age, they usually travel over land - but many groups were water people**



# How farming came to Europe

*Daniela Hofmann*





**Early archaeologists  
saw farming as superior  
to other lifestyles  
- but it's not that simple**



Farming was invented independently in many areas of the globe. Over much of Europe, farming was first adopted in the later part of the Stone Age, a period archaeologists call the Neolithic. Neolithic farmers raised animals and plants originally domesticated in south-west Asia: cattle, pigs, sheep and goats, cereals, and pulses like lentils and peas. These resources were introduced by migrating groups, who settled ever further north and west. Early archaeologists thought that this process was self-evident. They saw farming as superior to other lifestyles, like hunting, because it is closer to what we today think is a “civilised” life: one where people control nature, and are as sedentary as possible. But it's not that simple. Plants and animals needed to adapt to very different environments and climates: more rain, more frost, or different soils. Combinations of resources that worked in one place would fail in another. As a result,

there were big differences across Europe in what people actually ate: how important meat and milk were compared to plant foods, or how much farmers also hunted and fished. In some places, farmers had stable fields for generations, in others they had to shift fields after a few years, remaining more mobile and living in small communities. In some areas, the hunters and gatherers who already lived there had food sources that were just as reliable, or even more so, than farming. In Denmark, for example, hunter-fisher-gatherers on the coast survived alongside farming groups for several hundred years thanks to rich, predictable marine resources.



# Coping with new surroundings in Neolithic Norway

## *Almut Schülke*

How can migration and its social context be identified in the archaeological record? In southern Norway, new kinds of material culture were introduced in the earlier part of the Neolithic (3900-2800 BCE), including ceramics, polished flint axes and a few dolmens (a type of megalithic tomb). These material remains have been interpreted as influences of farming groups living further south in Scandinavia. Do such “foreign” finds indicate exchange relations between local hunter-gatherers in southern Norway and farmers to the south, or the migration of farming groups into southern Norway? To understand this archaeological scenario it is insightful to look at how and in what contexts these objects and monuments were used.

Worldwide studies on past and present human social life show that ritual practices are particularly important when communities and individuals move. Thus, the dolmens in southern Norway could be

traces of Neolithic migrants coping with a new world, new places and surroundings. Building these dolmens needed specific technical skills and ritual knowhow. Their erection and use was therefore most likely primarily directed at a social group already familiar with these rituals, i.e. other migrants. But it also involved the locals. The placement of the monuments along strategically important waterways was surely intentional. Were the dolmens in these places accepted by the locals? Did their construction and use result from or facilitate contact between migrants and locals? Or do the monuments indicate conflicts between newcomers and locals? Around the dolmens, ritual landscapes with other kinds of grave monuments evolved subsequently. This indicates that the dolmens were accepted as monuments after they had been erected.



**Ritual practices are particularly important when communities and individuals move**





# Horses and wagons: technologies of mobility

*Niels N. Johannsen*





## Horses and cattle-drawn wagons affected how people imagined and understood mobility



Riding horses and driving wheeled vehicles are both considered among the most significant technological innovations of prehistory. They have also been considered key to human groups' ability and inclination to migrate – sometimes leading to narratives of invading hordes on horseback. Yet, almost the entire globe was colonised by members of our own species with access to neither. Horses were probably domesticated after 4000 BCE on the Eurasian steppes, possibly first as a source of meat and then for riding; but keeping horses probably remained a cultural speciality of this region for a long time. Recent genetic and archaeological studies suggest that domesticated horses were not involved in the early third millennium BCE westward migrations from the eastern steppe, and that the direct ancestors of modern domestic horses only spread into Europe and other regions alongside

the horse-drawn chariot nearly 1000 years later, during the Bronze Age. The first generation of wheeled vehicles – sturdy wagons and carts drawn by cattle – became widespread much earlier. While the earliest examples may have been toys, full-scale vehicles spread across western Eurasia after 3500 BCE. More than technologies of migration, horses and cattle-drawn wagons were technologies of mobility – mobility that was at least as important in everyday activities, as when groups decided to migrate over longer distances. They also affected how people imagined and understood that mobility. For instance, increasing use of wheeled vehicles around 3000 BCE led people on the Jutland Peninsula to bury their dead alongside roads in carts with draught-oxen, probably reflecting new answers to a difficult question in all human lives: what happens when you die?

# Mobile women in the Bronze Age

*Karin M. Frei  
and Samantha S. Reiter*

Ancient societies were once thought to be rooted within a limited region with few connections to the outside world; and ancient people who engaged in long-distance journeys are often described as powerful, physically strong men. By contrast, ancient women are often presented as passive homebodies. However, recent genetic and isotopic data tell us that people of all genders were already mobile over long distances in prehistory. We now know that in Europe, especially during the Bronze Age, men and women were highly mobile. In some regions, women were more mobile than men. These women's high mobility might reflect their involvement in networking, trade, and/or politics, but there is no uniform pattern. Two Bronze Age women buried in Denmark make this clear. The Skydstrup Woman travelled a very long distance just once in her life. By contrast, the Egtved Girl travelled repeatedly. Nevertheless,

both women were buried, in a similar manner, in similar monumental mound burials despite their different mobility patterns and their different foreign origins. The diversity and complexity of female mobility patterns strongly challenges previous simplistic models.





**In Europe, especially  
during the Bronze Age,  
men and women  
were highly mobile**





# On the road - paths and routeways

*Catherine J. Frieman*



## Road-building was a key element of the Roman conquest of Europe and the Mediterranean



Although we know that people were travelling overland at all times in the past, the routes and paths they took are largely invisible until recent history. As populations grew and people became more tethered to specific places or landscapes they trod the same paths enough times – sometimes accompanied by animals, sometimes with sledges or wheeled vehicles – that these began to become visible in the landscape. Some very old paths persist to this day as deep holloways and the ghosts of old routes. Others have been revealed by archaeologists after fortuitous preservation. At Flintbek in north Germany, archaeologists found ruts from wagon wheels preserved under the edge of a fourth millennium BCE burial monument. Indeed, monuments such as this one often seem to shadow routeways, as if the right place for the dead was along the path to the next life. So-called barrow-roads have been reconstructed

in a number of European regions, with some of the routeways in question still being used today. The most famous ancient roads in Europe, however, aren't prehistoric, they are Roman. By the Roman period wheeled vehicles were common, so carefully-prepared overland routes had become a necessity. Road-building was a key element of the Roman conquest of Europe and the Mediterranean. The roads built by the Roman army were stone-paved, designed to drain easily, and extended wide and straight to the far reaches of the Empire, allowing the military and administrative state to penetrate the peripheries with speed and efficiency. These roads were built so well they long outlasted the Roman Empire, and many are still present, fossilised into the European motorway network.



# Warriors on the loose?

## The Migration period

*Stefan Burmeister*

Who brought down the Roman Empire? According to a common view, Germanic peoples were responsible, who invaded the Western Roman Empire by the hundreds of thousands in the fourth to sixth centuries CE and took political control. The decline of a superpower, however, is too complex for monocausal answers. Who were these Germanic groups? Roman authors report of various Germanic peoples who came to the Roman Empire seeking land for settlement and riches. We hear about Goths, Vandals, Franks, Lombards and many others. The Romans called these groups *gentes*, groups of the same descent, but they could also be called tribes or peoples. But are these designations really accurate? It is all too easy to think of the romantic notions of the nineteenth century, which saw tribes and peoples as political agents sharing ancestry, language and culture. The picture we have today

contradicts these notions. The Germanic groups were not homogeneous ethnic units but amalgamated multi-ethnic mixtures. They rallied around successful military leaders who also provided the ethnic label that the ancient records pass down to us. They were multi-ethnic warrior groups accompanied by their families. In many cases, the warriors were in Roman service as soldiers, and their Germanic leaders were high-ranking Roman generals. The Germanic tribes were well paid for their services by the Romans: with gold and land to settle on. Military success made these units attractive and other groups soon joined them. It took many generations and a growing inability on the Roman side to deal with the problems of the time before the Germanic groups not only manned the Roman military, but also gained political control.





**The decline of a superpower  
is too complex for monocausal answers**



# Suggested reading

The following literature list provides selected suggestions for further reading, rather than a comprehensive bibliography. We have tried, as far as possible, to include open access material, or sources available through most public libraries. Some entries are more scholarly and give a deeper insight, others are more recreational but still invite reflection.

## Migration in the past – stereotypes, methods and stories

- Barras, C. 2019. Story of most murderous people of all time revealed in ancient DNA. *New Scientist* 3223, 29-33.
- Coltofean-Arizancu, L., Gaydarska, B. and Matić, U. (eds) 2021. *Gender stereotypes in archaeology. A short reflection in image and text*. Leiden: Sidestone Press (available at <https://www.sidestone.com/books/gender-stereotypes-in-archaeology>).
- Hamill, J. 2019. The builders of Stonehenge were descended from Turkish migrants, scientists claim. *Metro* 16th April 2019 (available at <https://metro.co.uk/2019/04/16/builders-stonehenge-descended-turkish-mi>

- grants-scientists-claim-9220411/).
- Liberatore, S. 2017. How Stone Age farming women tamed nomadic warriors to give rise to the Corded Ware culture. *Daily Mail* online (available at <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-4380874/How-Stone-Age-farming-women-tamed-migrant-warriors.html>).

## Stereotype 1: Migration is a recent phenomenon

- Reich, D. 2018. *Who we are and how we got here. Ancient DNA and the new science of the human past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shah, S. 2020. *The next great migration. The story of movement on a changing planet*. London: Bloomsbury.

## Stereotype 2: Migration is mass migration

- Bade, K.J. 2003. *Migration in European history*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- IOM – UN Migration. 2022. World migration report 2022 (available at <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/>).
- Sassen, S. 2016. *On migration. reSITE*. (available at <https://www.resite.org/talks/saskia-sassen-on-migration>).

## Stereotype 3: Migration is a one-way, linear process

- Amrith, M. 2020. The linear imagination, stalled: changing temporal horizons in migrant journeys. *Global Networks* 21, 127-145 (available at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/glob.12280>).
- Cabana, G.S. and Clark, J.J. (eds) 2011. *Rethinking anthropological perspectives on migration*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Samers, M. and Collyer, M. 2016. *Migration*. London: Routledge.

## Stereotype 4: Migrants are a coherent group

- Antidote, 2017. Migrant, refugee, immigrant and expatriate: what is the difference? *Antidote's blog* 3rd April 2017 (available at <https://www.antidote.info/en/blog/reports/migrant-refugee-immigrant-and-expatriate-what-difference>).
- Orellana, M.F., Dorner, L. and Pulido, L. 2003. Accessing assets: immigrant youth's work as family translators or 'para-phrasers.'" *Social Problems* 50, 505-524 (doi:10.1525/sp.2003.50.4.505).

## Stereotype 5: Migrants give up their roots when they migrate

- Connerton, P. 1989. *How societies remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levitt, P. 2004. Transnational migrants: when “home” means more than one country. *Migration Policy Institute*, 1st October 2004 (available at <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/transnational-migrants-when-home-means-more-one-country>).

Mauss, M. 1979 [1950]. The notion of body techniques. In M. Mauss (ed.), *Sociology and psychology. Essays 1979* (translation B. Brewster), 97-123. London: Routledge & Keagan Paul.

### **Stereotype 6: Migrants will eventually assimilate**

Clark, J.J. [+ 10 others] and Ware, J.A. 2019. Resolving the migrant paradox: two pathways to coalescence in the late precontact US Southwest. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 53, 262-287.

D’Alterio, E. 2018. Migration stories of community – culture that is shared, not diminished. *Europeana* blog post, 21st August 2018 (available at <https://www.europeana.eu/en/blog/migration-stories-of-community-culture-that-is-shared-not-diminished>).

Macleod, C. 2017. The changing concepts around immigrant integration (available at <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/changing-concepts-immigrant-integration>).

### **Stereotype 7: People don’t want to move**

IOM – UN Migration. 2022. World migration report 2022 (available at <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/>).

Sassen, S. 2016. *On migration. reSITE* (available at <https://www.resite.org/talks/saskia-sassen-on-migration>).

### **Stereotype 8: Migrations happen because of crises**

Hollifield, J.F. and Foley, N. (eds) 2022. *Understanding global migration*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Mayblin, L. and Turner, J. 2020. *Migration studies and colonialism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

USCRI. 2020. Understanding migration: why “push factors” and “pull factors” do not explain very much (available at <https://refugees.org/understanding-migration-why-push-factors-and-pull-factors-do-not-explain-very-much/>).

### **Stereotype 9: Migrants will displace locals demographically**

Andersen, E. 2019. Decline in fertility for immigrant women. *Statistisk sentralbyrå Statistics Norway* (available at <https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/decline-in-fertility-for-immigrant-women>).

Bocquet-Appel, J.-P. and Bar-Yosef, O. 2008. Prehistoric demography in a time of globalization. In J.-P. Bocquet-Appel and O. Bar-Yosef (eds), *The Neolithic demographic transition and its consequences*, 1-10. New York: Springer.

Cohen, J.E. 2003. Human population: the next half century. *Science* 302, 1172-1175.

IOM – UN Migration. 2022. World migration report 2022 (available at <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/>).

### **Stereotype 10: Genes determine your ethnicity**

Colwell, C., Shannon, J., Gomez, E., Zimmer, C., Bolnick, D. and TallBear, K. 2018. Is your DNA you? *Sapiens* podcast (available at <https://www.sapiens.org/biology/podcast-dna-you/>).

Thomas, M. 2013. To claim that someone has “Viking ancestors” is no better than astrology. *The Guardian* 25th February 2013 (available at <https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2013/feb/25/viking-ancestors-astrology>).

### **Stereotype 11: Mobile women are a modern phenomenon**

Reiter, S.S. and Frei, K. 2021. Examining alternative constructions of power and mobility in the Early Nordic Bronze Age: a case study of a local elite female from Denmark. *Les nouvelles de l’archéologie* 163, 24-32 (doi:10.4000/nda.11947).

Reiter, S.S. and Frei, K. 2022. The Ølby woman. *TheNewHistoria* (available at <https://www.thenewhistoria.org/schema/the-olby-woman/>).

Reiter, S.S., Frei, K., Nørgaard, H.W., and Kaul, F. 2019. The



Ølby Woman: a comprehensive provenance investigation of an elite Nordic Bronze Age oak-coffin burial. *Danish Journal of Archaeology* 8, 1-22 (doi:10.7146/dja.v8i0.114995).

### Stereotype 12: Migrations in the past were violent

Barth, F. (ed.) 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of culture difference*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Said, E. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto & Windus.

### Method 1: How to read an arrow on a map

Archaeosoup. 2013. GIS (Geographic Information Systems): aspects of archaeology ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F6Sb1lmi\\_lk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F6Sb1lmi_lk)).

McCoy, M. 2022. *Maps for time travelers. How archaeologists use technology to bring us closer to the past*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

### Method 2: Where do objects come from?

National Museums Scotland, no date. Stone Age jade from the Alps (available at <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/stories/scottish-history-and-archaeology/stone-age-jade-from-the-alps/>).

Sumnall, K. 2022. From the mountains of Italy to the River Thames: the story of a jadeite axe. *Museum of London* (available at <https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/italian-mountains-thames-story-jadeite-axe>).

org.uk/discover/italian-mountains-thames-story-jadeite-axe).

### Method 3: How languages spread

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# Migration Narratives in Archaeology

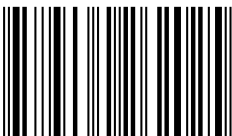
Migration is not just a recent, crisis-driven phenomenon, but a fundamental part of human life – and has always been so. This booklet is aimed at everyone who is interested in human migration in the past. In short texts, we first deconstruct twelve common migration stereotypes which are often encountered in both scholarly texts and other media, such as news reports. While more of our texts are written from an archaeological perspective, they also impact how we see migration in the present. For example, are migrations always violent? What is the demographic impact of migrations? How does migration change both migrants and welcoming societies?

A second section explains five common archaeological and scientific methods used to trace past migrations, for example ancient DNA (aDNA), isotopic analysis, and archaeological sourcing methods. In a final part, we present seven selected case studies from the European prehistoric past, from the Stone Age to the early medieval Migration Period. Each text is accompanied by a lavish illustration which functions as a trigger for critical reflection in its own right – whether by provoking laughter, presenting alternative narratives, or inviting emotional responses. The volume also contains a series preface, an introduction, and suggestions for further reading. Enjoy!

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