7 THE IRON-AGE SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN ØSTLANDET

In this chapter, I shall examine the relationship between the buildings and the world around them: in other words, I shall explore the broader settlement pattern. I shall first assess the reasons for variance in building practice (Ch. 7.1) and shall then aim to shed light upon the farmstead as a site by studying how the settlements were created and abandoned (Ch. 7.2). I shall then investigate spot-continuity, or the extent to which buildings were constructed on top of predecessors or either over or below graves (Ch. 7.3). I shall also offer brief reflections on the organization of the farmsteads (Ch. 7.4) before making a summary of the settlement pattern in Østlandet (Ch. 7.5).

THE REASONS FOR VARIANCE IN BUILDING PRACTICE

In this section, I briefly evaluate some possible reasons behind the variations in the length, width and alignment of the buildings that were revealed in Chapter 6. I understand that there is a reflexive relationship between material culture in the form of the built environment and the collective ideals and ideas of society and I regard the building practice as an effective technology in a social sense (Ch. 1). I have emphasized, however, that I do not dismiss the possibility of external factors influencing the settlement pattern. I shall investigate, therefore, whether the variations in the alignment, length or entrance-types of the buildings should first and foremost be regarded as adaptations to local climatic or topographical factors, which in turn influenced or set bounds to economic adaptation; or whether such variance should be explained through cultural factors. It has been noted that the difference between functional or economic rationales and ideological or cultural options can be an artificial one (Eriksen 2019:124–35). I agree, but would equally note that these can also be real differences. One example serves to illustrate this difference. Neither bananas nor cannabis are cultivated in any significant quantity in Norway, but for two different reasons. Bananas need a temperature of around 27°C and high humidity all the year round and will not grow out of doors in Norway. Although it is now possible to grow bananas in glasshouses, the costs are high, and bananas are easily transportable. As a result, it is a rational, economic decision not to grow bananas in Norway. Cannabis, conversely, can be grown in Norway, even out of doors, but because it contains a psychoactive compound its cultivation is forbidden here even though growing it should undoubtedly be lucrative. So it is a cultural decision not to cultivate cannabis.

The alignment of the buildings — climatic adaptation?

The buildings in northern Østlandet are mostly oriented E–W while those in southern Østlandet are aligned N–S (Ch. 6.2.2). I shall now explore what the reason for this difference might be. I shall discuss, in particular, whether the buildings may have been aligned with respect to local wind-directions, in order to make use of the sun as a source of warmth, or if an explanation needs to be looked for in other cultural preferences. It is commonly assumed that the buildings are aligned in relation to the sun in order to make use of this source of warmth, and/or in relation to the local prevailing wind or topography (Myhre 1980:229; Björhem and Säfvestad 1993:280; Webley 2008:56 with refs.; Nitter 2013; Eriksen 2019:132–4 with refs.). Earlier studies in other areas, however, have shown that there is no consistent connexion between the prevailing wind-direction and the alignment of the buildings, and that graves and buildings tend to have the same alignment. Webley (2008:59–60) suggests, as a result, that the alignment is the product of a combination of functional adaptation and mythology linked with different quarters of the sky. Two examples of mythology linked to compass direction are that the road to Hel lies northwards in Norse mythology while the Æsir live to the south (Shetelig and Falk 1937:237–9; Birkeli 1943:117–19). Eriksen (2019:124–34) has recently reviewed a range of functional and ideological explanations. She emphasizes that the buildings are principally aligned in relation to the four points of the compass and proposes that this was due to ideological rather than practical considerations even though she stresses that the difference between those is largely artificial. In my attempt to explain the alignment of the buildings I attach weight to the fact that the predominant alignment of the buildings is different between northern and southern Østlandet respectively; that around

20% of the buildings in both zones have a different alignment from the majority; and that few buildings are aligned perfectly N–S or E–W (Ch. 6.2.2). I shall examine how alignment correlates with the prevailing wind-directions and the sun, and shall look at the relationship between graves and buildings in respect of alignment. Although I do not take into account how, for instance, the prevailing wind may vary over the year or that wind-directions could have changed after the buildings were put up, my investigations do produce a good basis for exploring whether or not the buildings were aligned in relation to the prevailing wind-direction.

The sun provides most warmth to buildings that are oriented E–W (Nitter 2013:226) in which respect the buildings in northern Østlandet have a more favourable alignment. The alignment of the buildings in southern Østlandet must therefore have been determined with other objectives in view than ensuring maximum warmth from the sun. It is shown by Figures 6.5 and 7.1 that there is some correlation in variation between the principal alignment of the buildings and the predominant direction of the wind nowadays — it appears that, ideally, the wind struck the gable ends and not the long side of the building. If wind-direction has not changed, this reduced the pressure on the building in a strong wind while the wind would also have cooled the building less. Nevertheless, the alignment of the buildings appears to have been more standardized than the prevailing winds were, while a significant minority of the buildings have divergent alignments. The wind-direction at Ilseng near Hamar in Hedmark, for instance, is more or less N–S while elsewhere in northern Østlandet it is nearly E–W; at Kalnes in Østfold the wind-direction is often E–W although otherwise in southern Østlandet it is largely N–S (Ch. 6.2.2). It is probable, therefore, that the aim of facing the wind at a gable end is only part of the explanation of the alignment of the buildings. It is otherwise difficult to detect any functional reasons beyond wind-directions for the buildings being aligned differently on the whole in Oppland and Hedmark than in Akershus, Østfold and Vestfold. The sun provides most warmth when it is in the south wherever you are; cereal cultivation and livestock farming were the predominant subsistence basis; and the buildings consistently have so much in common that they indicate similar ways of living.

The buildings are rarely aligned directly N–S or E–W, not even those buildings with non-standard alignments. This could reflect the fact that in prehistory, the compass directions were determined on the basis of different factors than the compass: e.g. sunrise or sunset on specific days. Throughout prehistory and into the early Middle Ages in southern Sweden the graves were predominantly oriented close to E–W, or more precisely ESE–WNW and NNE–SSW (Lindström 1997; 2005). This could be because a compass direction was determined on the basis of the point of sunrise at the autumn sacrificial festival (Lindström 2005). In the Mälar region there are also graves aligned nearly N–S (more precisely NE/ENE–SW/WSW and SE/SSE–NW/NNW). These could have been governed by sunrise or sunset at the winter solstice or Yule (Lindström 2005).

The buildings in Hedmark and Oppland are predominantly oriented E–W, like the majority of buildings elsewhere in Scandinavia; however N–S is the predominant alignment elsewhere in the study area and also across Norway in the Late Iron Age (Webley 2008:56–60; Eriksen 2019:fig. 5.8). Although the agricultural conditions are fairly similar in these two areas, 'outland' subsistence activities such as iron-production, hunting and gathering must have been much more important in Hedmark and Oppland than in Akershus, Østfold and Vestfold (Jacobsen 1997). It is conceivable that other economic facets of the community may have led to variant approaches to the compass points. Both hunting pits and iron-production appear to be coordinated with topographical circumstances and not towards any of the four principal points of the compass (Larsen 2009; Rundberget 2012; pers. comms. from Jostein Bergstøl and Bernt Rundberget 17 March 2015 and Jan Henning Larsen 18 March 2015). Might there be some connexion between the topographical-functional approach to the alignment of features linked to hunting and gathering and the alignment of the buildings in the farmsteads? Many of the three-aisled buildings of Oppland are in Gudbrandsdalen. There, a deep valley with a major river at the bottom of a vale is a characteristic feature of the topography. The typical direction of the vale is NNW–SSE, albeit with great local variation. The evidence is admittedly sparse, but it is difficult to perceive any consistent correlation between the alignment of the buildings and that of the vale. The buildings from Hedmark are mostly situated on the relatively flat agricultural region east of Lake Mjøsa, and no particular topographical factors that would make it distinctly practical to align the buildings E–W have been identified.

In general in Scandinavia, graves and buildings have the same alignment (Lindström 1997; 2005), and I shall investigate whether or not this is also the case in Østlandet. However, we do not at present have a comprehensive overview of the alignment of graves

Figure 7.1a–g *Wind-directions from seven sites in Østlandet. Form upper left to lower right: Gardermoen in Akershus; Rygge in Østfold; Ilseng-Hamar in Hedmark; Kalnes-Sarpsborg in Østfold; Lillehammer in Oppland; Vinstra in Oppland; Melsom-Stokke in Vestfold. MET Norway. License for re-use: CC BY 4.0 Downloaded from met.no, June 2014.*

throughout the Iron Age, and it lies beyond the limits of this study to produce such a summary. I base myself therefore on the little that can be found in extant publications. A close to N–S alignment of the graves predominates in Vestfold in the Viking Period, usually with the head to the N (Sjøvold 1944; Gjerpe 2005b). The burial evidence from Hedmark and Oppland consists largely of cremation burials and has almost entirely been retrieved from other than scholarly excavations. It is difficult, as a result, to determine whether these graves are aligned any differently from the remainder of the study area (Grieg 1926; Hougen 1947; Herteig 1955b). Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide (2011) has studied a selection of graves of the Late Iron Age in various parts of Norway, including some from Østlandet. It transpires that at Ullensaker in Akershus there are five graves of the Viking Period lying close to N–S and a grave of the 11th century that may have been oriented E–W (Nordeide 2011:appendix List 3). At Lom in Oppland the only grave with a given alignment of the Viking Period was aligned N–S while at Ringebu in Oppland there is Viking-period grave that lay NE–SW (Nordeide 2011:appendix List 3). I found only two inhumation graves of the Early Iron Age for which the aligment of the grave cut is known, both at Gile, Toten, Oppland. They were aligned NE–SW and nearly N–S (Herteig 1955b:pls. I–III). This may indicate that the graves were aligned mostly N–S throughout the study area. If this is correct, Oppland and Hedmark differ from the rest of the study area and southern Scandinavia more widely, in that the graves and the buildings are aligned to different compass directions.

Is it possible that the alignment of the buildings offers an indication of what were culturally the most important contacts for their residents (Bradley 2001)? Starting from *Ynglinga saga* and *Ynglinglatal*, Bjørn Myhre (2013) discussed whether the cheftainly dynasties in Viken and central Sweden were connected via the Opplands in the Late Iron Age, but rejected the proposition because the historical reliability of *Ynglingatal* is uncertain. The buildings in the Opplands are, as noted, oriented E–W but the graves may be aligned N–S. There is no comprehensive summary of the alignment of the buildings in central Sweden. The impression I gain, though, is that more of them are aligned E–W than N–S (Kyhlberg et al. 1995; Eklund et al. 2007). In northern Østlandet and in central Sweden, therefore, the buildings are primarily oriented E–W, at the same time as (some of) the graves are aligned N–S. Both areas differ from the areas around them — to the south at least; we lack comparable studies for the areas to the north. Both areas also lie absolutely at the southern limit of the zone of mid-Scandinavian building practice (Herschend 2009). It is possible, then, that there were cultural contacts between northern Østlandet and central Sweden already in the Early Iron Age, and likewise in the Late Iron Age. This is supported to some extent by changes in the alignment of buildings in Akershus, Østfold and Vestfold. The numerical preponderance of those buildings that are not three-aisled and which are aligned N–S is lower than in the Early Iron Age but the differences may arguably be regarded as minimal. The trend is decidedly clear in both contexts.

Altogether, the alignment of the buildings can in some measure be explained in terms of them being constructed so as to have the lowest possible exposure to direct wind on the long sides. This factor, however, does not sufficiently explain the co-variance between the distribution of mid-Scandinavian buildings and buildings oriented E–W in northern Østlandet and of southern and mid-Scandinavian buildings and buildings aligned N–S in southern Østlandet. On the basis of the discussion to this point, it appears reasonable to infer that the different alignments of the buildings were due to mythological and cosmological factors and cultural leaning: e.g. that the predominant alignments were determined by sunrise or sunset on various days. In this way, varying importance attached to, for instance, the autumn sacrifice and Yule may have led to buildings varying in alignment (Lindström 1997; 2005). Common preferences in alignment may indicate that there was some form of cultural contact between northern Østlandet and central Sweden as early as the Early Iron Age. In the Late Iron Age, this contact between the Oslofjord and central Sweden via northern Østlandet contributed to some consolidation and also some undermining of the strong preference in the alignment of the buildings. The three-aisled buildings were aligned in the predominant direction even more than previously while the other buildings normally differ in alignment (Tabs. 6.19 and 6.20). It may, then, appear as if those who made use of the well-established three-aisled building technique were also tradition-bound in the choice of alignment. If one looks only at the buildings of the Viking Period, half of those from Oppland and Hedmark are oriented E–W while in Akershus, Vestfold and Østfold three lie N–S and two E–W. This shift might be a response to the major dust-veil event of AD 536 and the years with no summer that followed it (Gräslund 2007; Gräslund and Prince 2012; Arrhenius 2013; see also Ch. 9.3). Why the autumn sacrificial festival might have been more important than Yule in

northern Østlandet in the Early Iron Age and why this preference may have changed in the Late Iron Age and Viking Period cannot be investigated here. One possibility, however, is that the failure of the sun, and a fear that this would recur, made the winter solstice — the turning point to the lighter seasons — more significant.

Entrances and length — economic adaptation or cultural option?

The lengths of the buildings and their entrance-types may have varied according to the relative importance of livestock. In this perspective, the location of the entrances could illustrate what importance was attached to the animals. There was also probably a connexion between the length of the buildings or their type of entrance and the social and economic standing of the human occupants, a point I return to (Ch. 7.1.3). I shall now explore whether variation in length and entrance-types may have had practical reasons. A combination of cereal cultivation and livestock farming was the subsistence mode throughout the area and period of study, but it is possible that livestock (for instance) was more important in certain areas or specific periods.

In a southern Scandinavian building, the people and their livestock used the same entrance space, but the gap between the byre and the residential section can still be greater than in a mid-Scandinavian building. There, there was just a wall, perhaps with an opening for inter-access, separating people and beasts. In southern Østlandet both southern and mid-Scandinavian buildings are known from individual settlement sites, and if one type of entrance was reserved for a special function, that function must have been absent from northern Østlandet, which is hardly plausible. Nowadays, livestock farming is more important than cereal cultivation in Gudbrandsdalen where most of the buildings from Oppland have been found. The conditions for cereal cropping in Gudbrandsdalen are now less favourable than in the other administrative provinces, but the area is rich in pasture. It is easy to imagine that livestock farming was relatively more important in Oppland in prehistory as well. The conditions for cereal-growing in Gudbrandsdalen were described at the end of the 18th century as good but vulnerable to frost, drought and wind (Hiorthøy 1785:49). The high yields at that time may be due to good supplies of dung from animals kept in the byre. There may, thus, be a connexion between the recognition of livestock as extremely important and a preference for the mid-Scandinavian building. The buildings excavated in Hedmark, however, are situated in the good agrarian districts around Mjøsa, and it is difficult to perceive the conditions there as having been critically different than those in, for instance, the northern part of Akershus, where both types of entrance occur. Different economic and cultural significance attached to the value of the livestock thus cannot on its own explain the preferences for different types of entrance.

The length of the buildings also varies chronologically and geographically. The buildings of Hedmark of the Migration Period, for example, are much longer than those in the other provinces in that period (Tab. 6.22). Long buildings provide space for large numbers of beasts in the byre section and it is possible that livestock farming was more important in periods and areas which have long buildings. In this context, it is an interesting point that buildings with mid-Scandinavian entrances consistently appear to be longer than the southern Scandinavian buildings, even in southern Østlandet where both types are found. The buildings in Oppland and Hedmark do not, however, stand out as especially long except in the Migration Period and to some extent the Merovingian Period in Hedmark. My review of the evidence provides little basis on which to explain why it is exclusively short buildings that diverge in alignment but this is possibly connected to function. It is possible that whole buildings or parts of buildings were used for drying hay, food, or whatever. Several of these buildings have hearths, both southern and mid-Scandinavian entrances are represented, and architectonic features equally do not apparently differentiate them from other buildings.

All in all, I therefore regard it as relatively improbable that the length or entrance-types of the buildings were products of simple economic adaptation to the environment. It may rather be that the buildings reflect their occupants' cultural appreciation of cereal cultivation or livestock farming.

Social status and building practice

The connexion between social status and building practice may help to identify which differences are regional and/or represent chronological change even if inequalities in social status are not in themselves a key focus of this study. Eriksen (2019) has demonstrated a correlation between the length and entrance-types of the buildings and the status of the residents in the case of Late Iron-age buildings. She found that long buildings, buildings with more than one room with a hearth, buildings with four or more entrances and

buildings that were reconstructed several times at the same spot, were occupied by people of high status. I shall now explore whether or not that could have been the case throughout the Iron Age, and whether variation in building practice is principally due to the social status of the residents of the individual buildings.

Not all of the parameters that Eriksen examined are included in my data sample, but I shall take a closer look at long buildings, buildings with many entrances, and buildings that were rebuilt repeatedly at the same spot. 'Long' and 'many' are relative concepts here, which need to be defined in relation to something. The longest building in Migration-period Østfold, for instance, was 28 m long and thus less than the mean in Oppland and Hedmark. There are several factors which may explain this. One possibility is that social inequalities in Østfold were relatively low, or that they were not marked by the length of the buildings. The 28 m building in Østford is also 25% longer than the next longest building from this province of that period, and thus relatively long. It is also conceivable that the evidence is incomplete and that truly long buildings in Østfold just have not been discovered yet. Although far from all localities have sufficient evidence from each of the periods for a statistical approach to be meaningful I shall nevertheless try to discover possible trends in respect of length, the number of entrances, and repairs or reconstruction.

Six buildings had four or more entrances and all of these are of the Early Iron Age (Tab. 7.1). I shall examine these first. I have identified entrances in 90 buildings from across the Iron Age, so that the figure of six with four or more entrances is 7%. In her national data for the Late Iron Age, Eriksen (2019:87) found four of 43 buildings that have identified entrances to have four or more of them: around 9%. None of those is from Østlandet. The number of buildings that are distinguished with multiple entrances may thus be described as approximately the same in our studies. Multiple entrances are therefore relatively uncommon and may have been a sign of high social status in the Early Iron Age too, just as Eriksen (2015:87) proposes for the Late Iron Age. Three of the buildings with four or more entrances are more than 45 m long and amongst the very longest within the area of study. Ringdal *hus*1 measures 32 m and is the longest building from Migration-period Vestfold. Askim parsonage *hus* 1 of the pre-Roman Iron Age is 26 m long and the fourth longest buildings from Østfold of that period, 4 m shorter than the longest example. Borgenhaugen *hus* 10 of the same period and also in Østfold, by contrast, is just a little longer than the mean. All of these buildings are multi-phase, lying either above or below other buildings, or have been massively rebuilt — once more except in the case Borgenhaugen *hus* 10. Rebuilding renders it difficult to determine whether or not all of the entrances to the building were contemporary and so how many entrances the building really had. Borgenhaugen *hus* 10 stands apart in that two of the entrances have been identified on the evidence of short chambers rather than entrance posts (Grindkåsa 2009). This could mean that short chambers are ill-fitted as criteria for identifying entrances, and consequently that this building has only two entrances: one of the mid-Scandinavian type at each end. It could also mean that only forms of entrance which needed earth-fast posts could serve to mark status. (There are 14 buildings with entrances that are either in part or entirely identified on the basis of short chambers; especially the case with buildings of the pre-Roman Iron Age. If these are excluded from the discussion of entrances, the main trends of the evidence do not change.)

In periods with seven or more well-identified buildings per administrative province, the longest building is more than 1.7 times the mean, and it is only in periods where a province has three or fewer buildings that this ratio falls below 1.4:1 (Tabs. 6.14, 6.23, 7.2 and 7.3). This may indicate that both long and short buildings were constructed in all periods and all areas but that examples of the longest or shortest structures simply have not been found in

Table 7.1 *Buildings with four or more entrances.*

Building	Dating	Width	*Fylke*	Entrance-type	Number of entrances	Length	Herschend's entrance-type
Borgenhaugen	pRIA	6	Østfold	M1M2M3M4	4	17	Central Scandinavian
Askim	pRIA	6.5	Østfold	M1G	5	27	Ohter
Missingen hus 2	RIA	8	Østfold	M1S1M2S2M4	5	50	Both
Missingen hus 1	RIA	8	Østfold	6	6	61	None
Valum hus I	MigP	8.7	Hedmark	M1S1M3S2	4	47	Both
Ringdal 13 hus 1	MigP	8	Vestfold	M1M2M3M4	4	32	Central Scandinavian

Table 7.2 *Buildings more than 40 m long.*

Hus	Dating	*Fylke*	Gable	Number of entrances	Length	Calculated width
Missingen,	RIA	Østfold	Drawn out	6	61	6.5
Missingen hus	RIA	Østfold	-	5	50	7.7
Veien hus I	RIA	Buskerud	-	2	45	7.9
Skøyen hus 1	RIA	Østfold	Drawn out	3	41	
Rødbøl 19,	RIA/MigP	Vestfold	Rounded	1	45	7.6
Vøien hus 2	RIA/MigP	Akershus	Drawn out	3	44	
Valum hus II	MigP	Hedmark	Drawn out	3	51	
Valum hus I	MigP	Hedmark	Drawn out	4	47	
Sem Fengsel	MerP	Vestfold	Drawn out	2	41	9.5

all periods and all provinces. The low variance in the length of the buildings thus probably reflects a low level of representativity in the evidence rather than the actual state of affairs in prehistory.

Nine buildings are more than 40 m long. Eight of these date to the Roman Iron Age, Roman Iron Age/ Migration Period or Migration Period, and the other to the Merovingian Period (Tab. 7.2). I shall now discuss if these buildings have anything in common besides their length. Entrances have been identified for all of these structures but it is difficult to discern any pattern in the entrance-types other than that three of the examples had four or more entrances.

The five buildings with surviving traces of walls range from 6.5 to 9.5 m in width, approximately the same as found in the evidence as a whole. The two buildings at Valum are quite similar and built on the same spot with just a few centimetres' offset. The two buildings at Missingen were also built on the same site but look rather more dissimilar. Vøien *hus* 2 had a number of posts replaced and may have been rebuilt. Both Rødbøl 19 *hus* 3 and Sem Prison appear to have been single-phase buildings with no reconstruction. The building at Sem Prison had no other three-aisled buildings in its vicinity. Several long buildings but far from all of them, therefore, were reconstructed or replaced. Several of the buildings have been associated with what we call 'high-status milieux'. The cemetery at Veien, immediately adjacent to the buildings, included a number of rich burials of the Early Iron Age, amongst them a rich Roman Iron-age male grave (Gustafson 2000; 2001; 2016). The buildings at Missingen are interpreted as halls at a chieftainly farmstead linked to a craft centre producing gold-work, amongst other things (Bårdseth and Sandvik 2007; Bårdseth 2009; Maixner 2015). A grave was inserted in the central aisle of the building at Jarlsberg immediately after the building burnt down. This grave contained, amongst other things, weaponry and a shield-on-tongue buckle, and the deceased was probably of relatively high status (Grindkåsa 2012a).

There is, in contrast, little to suggest that the buildings at Vøien or Rødbøl belonged to high-status milieux of the Roman Iron Age/Migration Period

Table 7.3 *The ratios between the longest building of a period and the mean length of the buildings. Values that are higher than in the preceding period are marked in grey. The highest ratio is picked out in semi-bold typeface. The number of identified three-aisled buildings of the period in brackets.*

Maximum length as percentage of mean length (Number of identified three-aisled buildings from the period)	pRIA (incl. pRIA/RIA)	RIA	RIA/MigP	MigP (incl. MigP/MerP)	MerP	VP (incl VP/ MA)
Østfold	207 (38)	**226** (9)	138 (2)	140 (6)	121 (3)	100 (1)
Akershus	171 (4)	189 (15)	**191** (7)	165 (7)	170 (5)	
Vestfold	160 (4)	143 (5)	161 (4)	**168** (7)	111 (2)	
Oppland	100 (1)	**182** (7)	135 (2)	123 (2)		100 (1)
Hedmark	100 (1)	**177** (5)		131 (4)	131(3)	
Buskerud	100 (1)	**118** (2)	100 (1)			
Telemark	**100** (1)					
Oslo	**100** (1)					

(Gjerpe and Rødsrud 2008; Berg-Hansen 2010b; Kjos and Skogsford 2010). It is true that later on, probably in the Viking Period, a burial mound was raised immediately adjacent to the buildings of Rødbøl 19 (Gjerpe and Rødsrud 2008). A female grave of the Merovingian Period containing, inter alia, oval brooches was found in the central aisle of Rødbøl 27 *hus* 2 about 200 m further east, and an equestrian grave of the Viking Period has been excavated about 200 m to the south-west at the neighbouring farm of Seierstad (Brrathen 1989; Rønne 2007). Contemporaneity and locational proximity must, however, be the criteria for interpreting a place as a high-status context (Stålesen 2011:72–4) as the density of burials in Vestfold is high. I will conclude, then, that long buildings are often but not always from high-status milieux. This does not mean, however, that long houses were not *per se* a status symbol in the Early Iron Age too (see Eriksen 2015:58).

Adaptation or cultural choice?

This survey shows, in sum, that climatic factors had limited effect on variance in building practice in the study area. It must be emphasized, though, that no detailed studies of local climatic or topographical conditions have been undertaken. The buildings do not appear to have been aligned in accordance with locally prevailing winds and the entrance areas of the buildings and their length do not appear to be correlated with the capacity of the surrounding area for livestock farming. I shall conclude, therefore, that it was first and foremost the social status of the residents and their cultural preferences that underlay the varieties of building practice.

THE FARMSTEADS AS SITES — THE HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT SITES IN A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE

Many settlement sites were established sites of some kind both before and after their use as settlement sites. By investigating the events before and after the period of settlement I wish now to search for possible patterns in the foundation and termination of the history of the sites; in other words, I aim to provide a simplified review of the settlement sites' biography with particular focus on their conception and death (Ch. 1.4.5). Just here, then, I place equal weight on the events before and after occupation as on the buildings themselves. The study is based upon 49 sites from Akershus, Østfold and Vestfold (Fig. 7.2) that are suitable for such assessment (Ch. 5.4.4). Sites in the other administrative provinces are not included in this review. This is first and foremost due to the fact that few sites from those provinces meet the criteria (Ch. 5.4), so that cumulatively the sites provide little insight into possible changes over time. This is especially in view of the fact that building practices have revealed variance in both time and space (Ch. 6) and it is important to assess, as a result, whether or not the life of the settlement sites varied too.

The random farmstead and the marked farmstead

A systematic schematization of the events reveals certain clear patterns (Fig. 7.2). Seven sites in Akershus and six in Vestfold were founded in the pre-Roman Iron Age or the first half of the Roman Iron Age, before c. AD 200. What they have in common is that all comprise few buildings and were short-lived. There were on the whole only one or two buildings per site, and the construction of these buildings was the first event at the site. There are no earlier burials at any of the sites, although in some cases earlier cooking pits or traces of other activity are present. There are likewise no contemporary burials at any of the settlement sites. The site often, although not always, appears to have been forgotten after people moved away from it. Cooking pits are decidedly the most common signs of activity post-dating abandonment. A settlement of this category I shall label 'the random farmstead', because to a large extent such settlements were founded at sites with no history and appear to have created little history of themselves. The pattern is a little different in Østfold, and I shall return to this (Ch. 7.2.2).

Ten settlement sites in Akershus and five in Vestfold were occupied in the period AD 200–600. These settlements were usually in use for longer than the earlier ones; there are usually several contemporary or successive buildings at each site; and in some cases there were earlier burials at the site when the first buildings were raised. At some sites there are also contemporary burials. There are frequently cooking pits at the sites, which can be earlier, contemporary with or later than the buildings. In two cases, sites where very much earlier buildings had stood were built upon. This category of settlements I label 'the marked farmstead', because the site has a history, usually both before and after its functioning period as a settlement. There are cases of contemporary burials at some settlement sites of this period in Akershus and Vestfold. Vestfold is distinct, however, in that settlement sites that were abandoned in the Migration Period or the early Merovingian Period

often seem to have been closed with human burials. This can take place immediately after the site is given up, as at Rødbøl and Sem Prison, and possibly at Ringdal too, or perhaps a little later, as at Elgesem, where the graves are undated. The settlement sites in Akershus do not appear to be closed in this manner at this time.

The unknown farmstead

Few settlement sites have been excavated which are later than c. AD 600, and my term for this category is therefore 'the unknown farmstead'. Those sites that have been investigated in Vestfold and Akershus appear to be located at already established sites, usually pre-existing settlements. Several of them are also sites which were in use in the early Medieval Period even if that is not immediately evident from Figure 7.2. The discussion of any possible closing of these sites is closely bound up with the source-evaluative factors that were considered in Chapter 4. I shall therefore undertake a qualitative study of sites which may very well have had a long sequence of continuity as settlements even if no buildings have been discovered there (Ch. 7.2.3).

The pattern in Østfold is rather different from that in Vestfold and Akershus. Around half of the settlement sites there were located at sites established as early as the pre-Roman Iron Age and there are often more than two contemporary or successive buildings at the site. There are no contemporary graves and buildings at any site in Østfold, but at two sites graves were placed there a few centuries after the last building was constructed, or possibly in an interval between two settlement phases. After the year 600 it appears that new settlements were located at sites with no previous activity but by preference in the neighbourhood of more or less contemporary burials. It would thus appear that the creation and termination of the sites as settlements displays some of the same geographical distribution as the buildings themselves (Ch. 6.2 and 6.3). Østfold is distinctive while Akershus and Vestfold are more similar, but there are still specific differences, such as that burials were made after the cessation of settlement activity at several sites in Vestfold.

In depth: sites with long continuity

Some sites may have had long continuity without any buildings being discovered there. If settlement continuity runs right up to the present day the sites will only exceptionally have been examined archaeologically, for the very reason that the prehistoric structures lie underneath the current farmstead (Ch. 4.2). Moi in Agder, and Åker and Valum in Hedmark, may indicate that some settlements with contemporary activity have continuity going far back in time, to the Roman Iron Age at least (Pilø 2005; Reitan 2011). In Østfold, Vestfold and Akershus too, the three provinces I am investigating in this part of the study, there are sites with a history from the Bronze Age to the Medieval Period and into the Modern Period. I shall take a closer look at three of those sites: Hesby, Gulli and Østre Borge in Vestfold. All of them are situated close to present-day farmsteads with continuity known back to the Medieval Period; traces of buildings of the Iron Age have only been found at Hesby and Gulli. Just as Hørdalsåsen cannot be understood by means of continuity scholarship, these sites are difficult to understand without taking continuity into account. I have also examined Rør in Rygge, Østfold, in greater detail too because it is the only site in this study with buildings from the Early Roman Iron Age to the Late Viking Period. These sites have also been picked out in order to shed light on the source-critical problem already noted (Ch. 4.6): can the reason why we find few buildings from the Merovingian Period and even fewer from the Viking Period be, to some extent, the fact that they are lying underneath existing contemporary farmsteads?

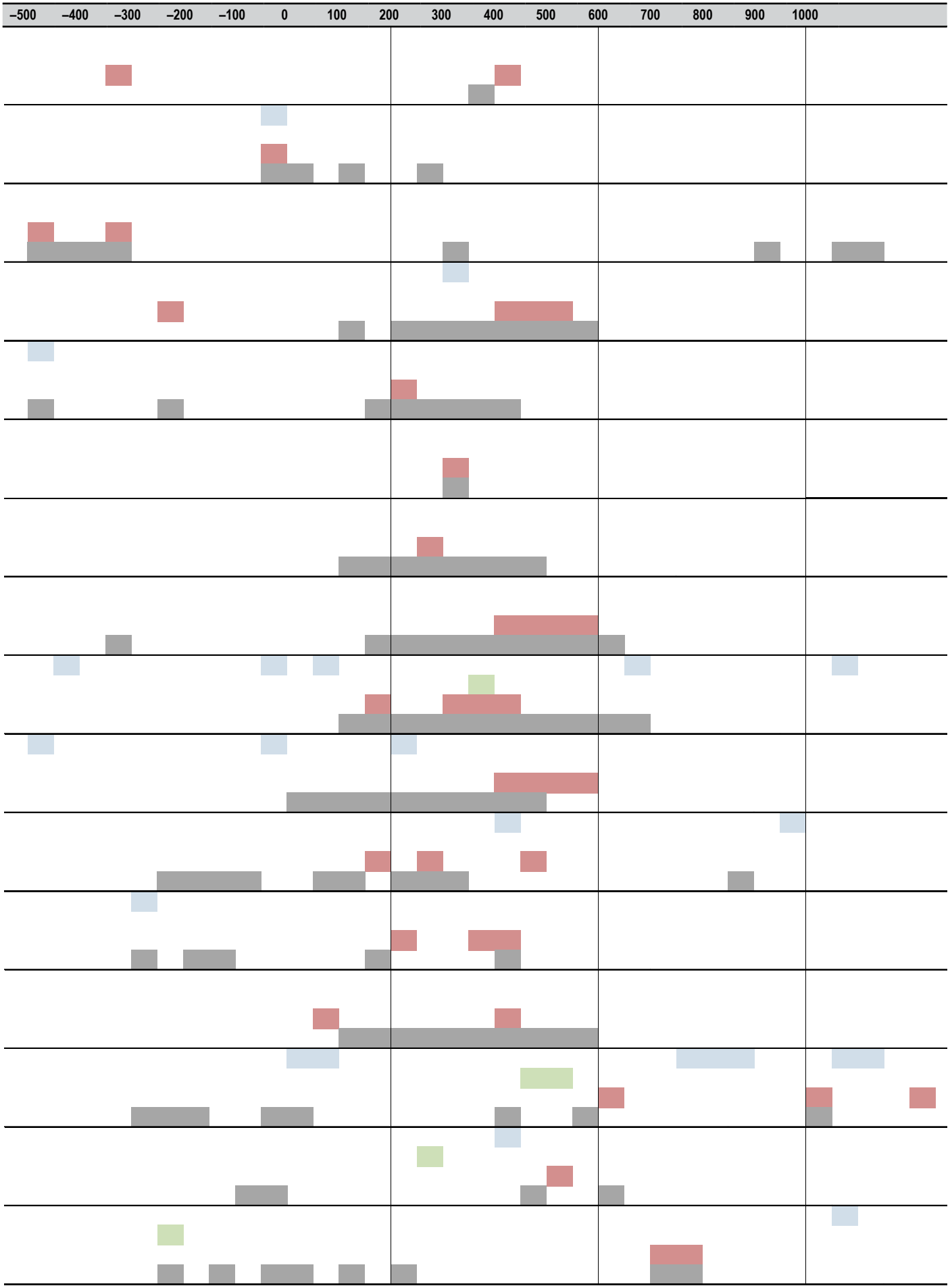
The areas investigated at Hesby lie on a gentle south-facing slope (Gollwitzer 2012a). At the top of the ridge the present-day farm settlement is found. The area became dry land in the Early Bronze Age and was grazed or cultivated soon thereafter. Evidence of manuring with settlement waste has been found by means of micromorphological analyses of the cultivation layers (Viklund et al. 2013) but no buildings of that period have been discovered. This probably implies that the settlement was situated at the top of the ridge, unless the settlement waste was transported from some other site to be used in manuring. The situation is more or less the same in the pre-Roman Iron Age, but in addition cooking pits were created. The only building from the site is dated to the Roman Iron Age while there were also wells, remains of craftwork and a number of cooking pits of this period. It then appears that activity ceased: there is no sign of activity in the Migration Period. In the Merovingian Period activity apparently recommenced (unless, in fact, it had continued). Cultivation layers with traces of settlement waste, grazing and at least one well are dated to this period. It is possible that cultivation became less intensive towards the end of the period. One grave is dated either to the

Merovingian or the Viking Period and three to the Viking Period. A ring-ditch with no preserved grave is very probably of these periods too. Wells were built in the Viking Period, alongside cultivation and grazing. The latest dated well was constructed early in the Medieval Period, a period in which cultivation appears to have been intensified. The graves were robbed in the Middle Ages and it is likely that grave markers in the form of barrows were cleared. Hesby is recorded in historical documentation of the Medieval Period and it is probable that it was indeed the settlement on the ridge top immediately north of the excavated site that this refers to. In more modern times the settlement has been where it now stands. Although the buildings are lacking, it is probable, as a result, that the ridge at Hesby has been a settlement site from the Bronze Age to the Modern Period with a hiatus in the Migration Period.

The areas examined at Gulli were a few metres east of the contemporary farmstead and largely at the same elevation (Gjerpe 2005b; 2008a). At Gulli there are scattered traces of activity, possibly settlement or cultivation, from the Bronze Age, c. 1500 BC. Around AD 200 activity intensified: a number of cooking pits and cultivation layers derive from this period, while a three-aisled building from the period immediately before the birth of Christ confirms that there was settlement here for at least some parts of the period. The building, however, lies about 180 m from the contemporary farmstead. Around AD 500 activity reduced, before the site became a cemetery from the 8th century to c. AD 950. In the Late Viking Period, grain provides evidence of cultivation, and some post-holes possible evidence of settlement, although these post-holes cannot be joined up to form buildings. A smithy is dated to the Medieval Period and implies settlement, while concurrently Gulli is referred to in medieval written sources. The site at Gulli

Fylke	Site	Sortering	Events
	Borgen	1	Other
	Borgen	1	Grave
	Borgen	1	Building
	Borgen	1	Cooking pit
	Onsrud	1	Other
	Onsrud	1	Grave
	Onsrud	1	Building
	Onsrud	1	Cooking pit
	Svarstad	1	Other
	Svarstad	1	Grave
	Svarstad	1	Building
	Svarstad	1	Cooking pit
	Åmål og Hol	1	Other
	Åmål og Hol	1	Grave
	Åmål og Hol	1	Building
	Åmål og Hol	1	Cooking pit
	Dønnum	1	Other
	Dønnum	1	Grave
	Dønnum	1	Building
	Dønnum	1	Cooking pit
	Hurdal skole lok 2	1	Other
	Hurdal skole lok 2	1	Grave
	Hurdal skole lok 2	1	Building
	Hurdal skole lok 2	1	Cooking pit
	Huseby	1	Other
	Huseby	1	Grave
A	Huseby	1	Building
K	Huseby	1	Cooking pit
E	Nannestad Videregående	1	Other
R	Nannestad Videregående	1	Grave
S	Nannestad Videregående	1	Building
H	Nannestad Videregående	1	Cooking pit
U	Nordre Moer	1	Other
S	Nordre Moer	1	Grave
	Nordre Moer	1	Building
	Nordre Moer	1	Cooking pit
	Nordre Moer 05	1	Other
	Nordre Moer 05	1	Grave
	Nordre Moer 05	1	Building
	Nordre Moer 05	1	Cooking pit
	Søndre Moer	1	Other
	Søndre Moer	1	Grave
	Søndre Moer	1	Building
	Søndre Moer	1	Cooking pit
	Trollerud	1	Other
	Trollerud	1	Grave
	Trollerud	1	Building
	Trollerud	1	Cooking pit
	Vøien	1	Other
	Vøien	1	Grave
	Vøien	1	Building
	Vøien	1	Cooking pit
	Garder	1	Other
	Garder	1	Grave
	Garder	1	Building
	Garder	1	Cooking pit
	Nannestad prestegård	1	Other
	Nannestad prestegård	1	Grave
	Nannestad prestegård	1	Building
	Nannestad prestegård	1	Cooking pit
	Ullensaker prestegård	1	Other
	Ullensaker prestegård	1	Grave
	Ullensaker prestegård	1	Building
	Ullensaker prestegård	1	Cooking pit

Figure 7.2 *Events at the settlement sites before, during and after the settlement stage. Drawn by Elise Naumann.*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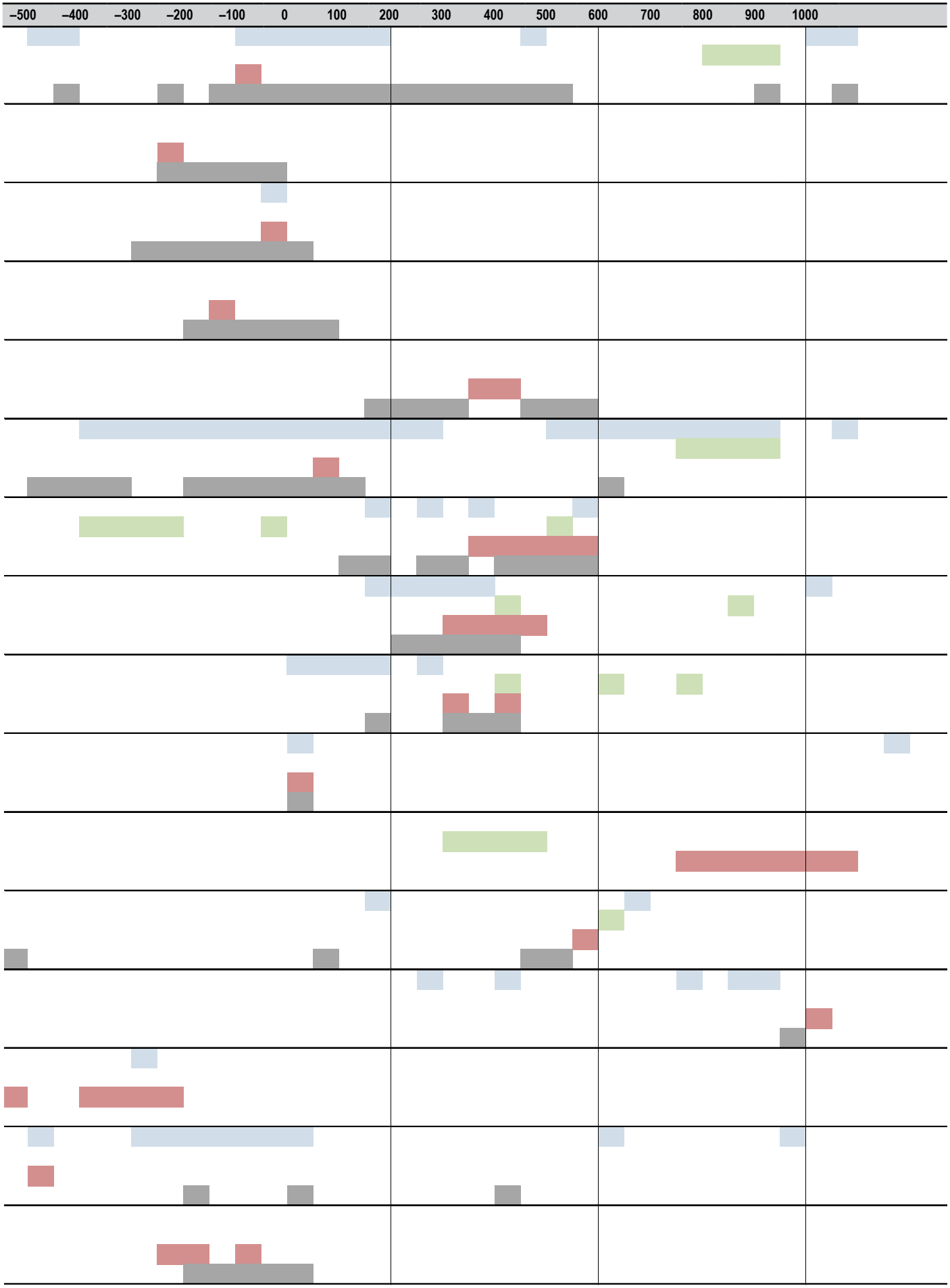
thus has deep continuity, initially from the pre-Roman Iron Age to c. AD 500 and then from c. AD 700 onwards. No traces of settlement of the Late Iron Age have been discovered, not prior to the very end of the Viking Period at least. There is, however, an opening running through the Viking-period cemetery which could have been a routeway. It is aligned towards the contemporary farmstead and may indicate that the farmstead of the Viking Period was in the same place. It is possible, then, that the buildings of the Late Iron Age, and indeed of the Early Iron Age, are lying underneath the present-day farmstead, immediately west of the area of excavation.

At Østre Borge, the areas excavated were situated about 60 m south-south-east of the contemporary farmstead, somewhat lower than it (Storrusten and Østmo 2012). There was agricultural activity here as early as the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, and activity intensified around 1100 BC. Cooking pits, furnaces, wells and a series of other traces of activity and artefacts from the period between c. 1100 BC and the Migration Period have been found. Micromorphological analyses show that the area had imported settlement waste (Viklund et al. 2013) but despite that, and the finding of isolated post-holes, no building has been found here. No signs of activity in the Migration Period have been found at the site notwithstanding the dating of more than a hundred radiocarbon samples. Nor have sherds of bucket-shaped pottery been found here, an artefact-type which is very common at Migration-period settlement sites, Vestfold included. Pollen analyses additionally show a clear reduction in cereal cultivation in the 5th century (Svensson and Regnéll 2013). In the 7th century evidence of activity re-appears, particularly in the form of signs of cultivation, while one pig bone and a layer of brewing stones (potboilers) are dated to the Viking

Figure 7.2 *Events at the settlement sites before, during and after the settlement stage. Drawn by Elise Naumann.* (cont.)

Fylke	Site	Sortering	Events
VESTFOLD	Gulli	1	Other
	Gulli	1	Grave
	Gulli	1	Building
	Gulli	1	Cooking pit
	Nøtterøy golf	1	Other
	Nøtterøy golf	1	Grave
	Nøtterøy golf	1	Building
	Nøtterøy golf	1	Cooking pit
	Slagen kirkegård	1	Other
	Slagen kirkegård	1	Grave
	Slagen kirkegård	1	Building
	Slagen kirkegård	1	Cooking pit
	Vølen	1	Other
	Vølen	1	Grave
	Vølen	1	Building
	Vølen	1	Cooking pit
	Elgesem 46	1	Other
	Elgesem 46	1	Grave
	Elgesem 46	1	Building
	Elgesem 46	1	Cooking pit
	Hesby	1	Other
	Hesby	1	Grave
	Hesby	1	Building
	Hesby	1	Cooking pit
	Ringdal	1	Other
	Ringdal	1	Grave
	Ringdal	1	Building
	Ringdal	1	Cooking pit
	Rødbøl 19	1	Other
	Rødbøl 19	1	Grave
	Rødbøl 19	1	Building
	Rødbøl 19	1	Cooking pit
	Rødbøl 27	1	Other
	Rødbøl 27	1	Grave
	Rødbøl 27	1	Building
	Rødbøl 27	1	Cooking pit
	Åmot	1	Other
	Åmot	1	Grave
	Åmot	1	Building
	Åmot	1	Cooking pit
	Huseby	17	Other
	Huseby	17	Grave
	Huseby	17	Building
	Huseby	17	Cooking pit
	Ölfvin	1	Other
	Ölfvin	1	Grave
	Ölfvin	1	Building
	Ölfvin	1	Cooking pit
	Hedrum prestegård	1	Other
	Hedrum prestegård	1	Grave
	Hedrum prestegård	1	Building
	Hedrum prestegård	1	Cooking pit
ØSTFOLD	Borgenhaugen	1	Other
	Borgenhaugen	1	Grave
	Borgenhaugen	1	Building
	Borgenhaugen	1	Cooking pit
	Glemmen	1	Other
	Glemmen	1	Grave
	Glemmen	1	Building
	Glemmen	1	Cooking pit
	Askim prestegård	1	Other
	Askim prestegård	1	Grave
	Askim prestegård	1	Building
	Askim prestegård	1	Cooking pit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Period. Cereal cultivation appears, however, to fall in the Viking Period before increasing again from around the year 1000. In the Medieval Period there is evidence for cultivation from pollen analyses but no other signs of activity of this period have been found in the archaeological evidence. Notwithstanding a range of traces of activities and of manuring with settlement waste, the actual buildings have not been found. This could be because they lay on the small hill where the present-day built settlement is, partly lower down and partly outside of the area of investigation which was determined by heritage management protocols. Four farms in the Borge cluster — Borghom, Ellingsborghom, Olbiarnaborghom and Tantaborghom — are mentioned in medieval documentary sources. It is not inconceivable that these correspond with modern Østre, Vestre, Mellom- and Tuten-Borge [East, West, Middle and Tuten Borge] even if it cannot be certain which of the medieval names goes with which of the contemporary names. The site of Østre Borge was thus in use from the Bronze Age to the end of the Roman Iron Age and from the Merovingian Period to the present. The buildings of this period are lacking, but they may lie beneath the current farmstead immediately adjacent to the area of excavation, and it is therefore not inconceivable that there has been settlement at this site in parts of the period if not throughout it.

At Rør in Østfold, two sites separated by a crossroads have been excavated (Berg 1997). There was activity here as early as the Neolithic, while in the Bronze Age there was probably settlement and farming going on in the vicinity, although no buildings have been identified. In the pre-Roman Iron Age cooking pits were created, and the first building was raised at the beginning of the Roman Iron Age. From then to c. AD 600 four further three-aisled buildings were put up. A sunken feature building was constructed around the year 800, and four post-holes dated to the early Medieval Period may

Fylke	Site	Sortering	Events
	Bjørnstad (Eidsberg)	1	Other
	Bjørnstad (Eidsberg)	1	Grave
	Bjørnstad (Eidsberg)	1	Building
	Bjørnstad (Eidsberg)	1	Cooking pit
	Borge vestre	1	Other
	Borge vestre	1	Grave
	Borge vestre	1	Building
	Borge vestre	1	Cooking pit
	Bustgård lok 32-36	1	Other
	Bustgård lok 32-36	1	Grave
	Bustgård lok 32-36	1	Building
	Bustgård lok 32-36	1	Cooking pit
	Dikeveien	1	Other
	Dikeveien	1	Grave
	Dikeveien	1	Building
	Dikeveien	1	Cooking pit
	Gonsgrinda	1	Other
	Gonsgrinda	1	Grave
	Gonsgrinda	1	Building
	Gonsgrinda	1	Cooking pit
	Kjenne	1	Other
Ø	Kjenne	1	Grave
S	Kjenne	1	Building
T	Kjenne	1	Cooking pit
F	Lundeby	1	Other
O	Lundeby	1	Grave
L	Lundeby	1	Building
D	Lundeby	1	Cooking pit
	Melleby	1	Other
	Melleby	1	Grave
	Melleby	1	Building
	Melleby	1	Cooking pit
	Nøkleby	1	Other
	Nøkleby	1	Grave
	Nøkleby	1	Building
	Nøkleby	1	Cooking pit
	Solberg lok 28	1	Other
	Solberg lok 28	1	Grave
	Solberg lok 28	1	Building
	Solberg lok 28	1	Cooking pit
	Årum	1	Other
	Årum	1	Grave
	Årum	1	Building
	Årum	1	Cooking pit
	Missingen	1	Other
	Missingen	1	Grave
	Missingen	1	Building
	Missingen	1	Cooking pit
	Rør i Rygge	1	Other
	Rør i Rygge	1	Grave
	Rør i Rygge	1	Building
	Rør i Rygge	1	Cooking pit
	Solberg lok 27	1	Other
	Solberg lok 27	1	Grave
	Solberg lok 27	1	Building
	Solberg lok 27	1	Cooking pit
	Vister	1	Other
	Vister	1	Grave
	Vister	1	Building
	Vister	1	Cooking pit
	Bjørnstad	1	Other
	Bjørnstad	1	Grave
	Bjørnstad	1	Building
	Bjørnstad	1	Cooking pit
	Bjørnstad (Sarpsborg)	1	Other
	Bjørnstad (Sarpsborg)	1	Grave
	Bjørnstad (Sarpsborg)	1	Building
	Bjørnstad (Sarpsborg)	1	Cooking pit

Figure 7.2 *Events at the settlement sites before, during and after the settlement stage. Drawn by Elise Naumann.* (cont.)


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have formed a building. There are only 30 radiocarbon dates from this relatively extensive excavation (fully 9,000 sq m, with 1,250 structures) and those were taken primarily from the foundations of buildings and a few post-holes that could not be associated with buildings. It is difficult, as a result, to tell whether or not the activity is principally of the same date as the periods that have been dated or if it was more evenly spread out. It is clear, too, that the excavations have covered nothing like the complete settlement site, as several of the buildings were only partly uncovered. It is likely that much of the settlement site had been destroyed by modern building works before the archaeological excavation; especially by the railway line that then ran to the north. The settlement site may therefore have continued underneath the modern settlement area north of the railway. The buildings of the Early Iron Age lie in the south-eastern extremity while the medieval building is that furthest to the north-west, with the buildings of the Late Iron Age in between. It may appear, then, that the settlement had slowly moved from south-east to north-west through time. If that were the case, it is possible that the settlement at Rør referred to in written documents from 1320 may lie even further north-west beyond the area of excavation and beneath a farmstead (Rør gnr. 2 bnr. 7). The three cadastral farms of western, northern and southern Rør have a complex history of division and recombination (Flood 1957:9–29) and this farmstead itself was founded in the 19th century. The possible settlement of the Medieval Period may lie, then, underneath one of the present-day farmsteads even though that farm was only established in the 19th century. The earlier farmstead (Rør gnr. 2 bnr. 1) is situated fully 100 m west of this site. Rør was nonetheless a firmly established site throughout the Iron Age and into the Medieval Period.

It is demonstrated beyond doubt, therefore, that some sites have been in use for a long time and that the sites themselves have long sequences of continuity. Even so, only a few buildings have been found at these sites. The 'missing' buildings may, as noted, lie beneath the extant settlement of our time. Archaeological excavations inside existing farmsteads have, however, yielded only a small amount of empirical evidence that either supports or undermines this proposition (for a number of excavations with no finds of buildings, see Martens 2009; Stene 2009; Johansson 2011). It may also be the case that only special sites have long continuity. At Hesby and Østre Borge, for instance, various forms of craftwork or production appear to have been important: a field of activity that is otherwise rarely represented in the archaeological settlement-site evidence. It is possible, then, that sites for production and craftwork more often have long continuity than other sites. Another interpretation may be that craftwork and production were not linked to agrarian settlement, so that it is not farming settlement that has long continuity.

SPOT-CONTINUITY — BUILDINGS WHICH OVERLIE OR UNDERLIE OTHER BUILDINGS AND GRAVES

In a number of cases it appears that a specific spot was of significance, not just the general site (Brink 1984). Spots of this kind may be marked in various ways. Two or more successive buildings may be put up on exactly the same plot; the buildings may be placed above earlier graves or later graves may be inserted above the buildings. My aim here is to investigate whether the younger feature was deliberately constructed above the elder. For this, I need to go into details again. In the review of the evidence I pay attention to another pattern too. Some buildings very nearly overlap: they are so close to one another that they can hardly have been standing at the same time. I shall also, therefore, investigate if it could have been deliberate that the buildings do not overlap and if there is any pattern in what kinds of buildings overlay or underlay other buildings or graves.

I consider it important to draw out any pattern that was the product of the housebuilders' conscious thoughts in respect of the re-use of earlier plots rather than being more or less a matter of chance. If several generations build in a limited area, some buildings will usually lie close to each other or overlap, but that does not necessarily mean that the housebuilders were in any way consciously involved in overlapping the structures. It may more plausibly be the site itself that was attractive. In the following review I shall attach especial weight to circumstances which it is difficult to perceive as purely coincidental, before drawing certain trends out of the evidence in conclusion. I shall first present buildings that have parallel central axes and which overlap (Ch. 7.3.1). The aim here has been to include every example. I shall then look more closely at buildings that lie at a right angle to each other or in a chevron configuration; here too I aim to present every example (Ch. 7.3.2–7.3.3). I then examine buildings that would almost have been touching if they had been contemporary (Ch. 7.3.4); this evidence, however, is unlikely to be complete. Finally I consider buildings that over- or underlie graves (Ch. 7.3.5) before finally drawing out certain trends within the evidence (Ch. 7.3.6).

Parallel successive buildings

To begin with, I consider in more detail what I have called the parallel house-over-house phenomenon (Tab. 7.4; Fig. 7.3). Parallelism here is a factor of the alignment of the central axis. Some buildings overlap practically entirely and it can even be difficult to determine whether two or more buildings have been constructed on the same plot or just one building has been rebuilt or improved. Other buildings may have minor differences in alignment, or differ either lengthways or sideways, so that it is clear that two separate buildings are present.

The buildings which over- or underlie other buildings are no different from other buildings of their period. In the pre-Roman Iron Age, however, it is only in Østfold that buildings have multiple phases or several buildings are definitely constructed on the same plot. There is one possible exception from Hedmark, but those buildings are poorly identified and weakly dated. It may also be argued that individual buildings outside of Østfold, for instance at Vøien in Vestfold, have evidence of the replacement of a single post (Grindkåsa 2010:38). In my view this represents something different from the replacement or rebuilding of major parts of the building that can be observed in Østfold (Bukkemoen 2015) and which occurs repeatedly at Dilling, a major settlement site in Østfold that has only been published in part (Ødegaard et al. 2018; Gjerpe 2019). It is worth noting that none of the many buildings at Borgenhaugen in Østfold overlap, because this shows that having a large number of buildings around the same site will not necessarily lead to them being built over predecessors. This could show, then, that the construction of one building above a predecessor was deliberate. In the Roman Iron Age, a building was put up above an earlier building at least on one occasion in Østfold and possibly at one site in Akershus. Individual buildings in Østfold, Oppland and Hedmark, however, were most probably repaired or rebuilt. It is not possible to exclude the possibility that in those three cases too there were in fact successive buildings of different lengths on the same spot. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that rebuilding and new construction on the same plot did happen outside of Østfold in this period, and buildings appear to have been lengthened on the same spot. In the Roman Iron Age/Migration Period buildings appear to have been constructed above preceding buildings in Akershus, Vestfold and Buskerud and very probably in Østfold, but not in northern Østlandet. In the Migration Period this practice is found in Akershus, Hedmark and Vestfold and possibly in Østfold but not in Oppland. In the Merovingian Period, buildings were put up over predecessors in Akershus and Hedmark. The lack of matching discoveries in the other provinces may be due to the sparsity of evidence. In the Viking Period buildings were raised above earlier ones in Østfold and possibly in Hedmark.

It emerges from this review, then, that buildings which were laid parallel above earlier buildings have been found in the majority of the provinces and in most periods but that the practice was adopted at different times. In Østfold it appears as early as the pre-Roman Iron Age but occurs only from the Roman Iron Age onwards in the other administrative provinces. The sparsity of evidence from Østlandet of the Late Iron Age renders it difficult to determine when the practice went out of use but it very probably survived as long as the use of three-aisled buildings did. Eriksen (2019) has discussed the origins of the practice but with less attention to its demise in her discussion of the much more extensive evidence from Norway as a whole. Altogether, it is clear that the later building was, as a rule, constructed soon after the earlier had been pulled down, burnt down or collapsed — even if it is rare to be able to determine exactly what happened to the earlier building. In some cases it is clear that two or three buildings had been put up in the same place while at other sites some of the roof-bearing posts were replaced. It is possible, in addition, to distinguish between three ways of raising a building on the same spot. In some cases the later structure was probably a copy of its predecessor and the roof-bearing posts are just repositioned by a few centimetres along the long axis.

The practice of putting up multiple, identical buildings on the same spot has only been found in northern Østlandet but it is not impossible that some cases in southern Østlandet have been misinterpreted as the replacement of posts. In other cases the later building is repositioned a few centimetres to one side or the other so that it is clear that they are separate buildings. In some cases buildings of different length and form but with parallel and often approximately equally wide central aisles lie one over the other, usually repositioned by some amount along the long axis. If the walls do not survive it is usually difficult to distinguish between this mode and the replacement of posts. There are no buildings with different alignments that overlap in parallel except in the case of one building of the pre-Roman Iron Age at Borge vestre in Østfold. This corroborates the inference that overlapping was not a matter of chance.

Table 7.4 *Successive parallel buildings. Sorted by period and then by* fylke. *Pilø (2005) dates the buildings from Åker to the Merovingian or Viking Period and Eriksen (2019) to the Viking Period. As I treat the period in which a building was constructed rather than its period of use as important, I date them to the Merovingian Period.*

Site **Parallel superimposed buildings**	**Buildings**	**Notes**
Borge vestre, Østfold	Building 8 (pRIA) over Building 7 (BA–pRIA) Building 5A over or under Building 5B (pRIA)	Two-aisled buildings. Repair; not two buildings?
Nøkleby, Østfold	Building 1 (pRIA), Building 2 (pRIA), Building 3 (pRIA?), Building 4 (pRIA?)	All four buildings overlap and cannot have stood at the same time. Buildings 2 and 3 may be phases of one buidling but Buildings 1 and 4 (shorter) are two different buildings.
Askim prestegård, Østfold	Building 1 (pRIA) over Building 2 (pRIA)	May be two phases of one building.
Bjørnstad, Østfold	Building 1 (pRIA) over Building 2 (pRIA)	
Missingen, Østfold	Building 2 (RIA) over Building 1 (RIA) Building 3 (EJA) over or under Building 1 (RIA) og 2 (RIA)	
Bustgård (lok. 33), Østfold	Building 1 (RIA) over Building 2 (EJA/pRIA?	Not fully parallel central axes; Building 1 twice the length.
Skøyen, Østfold	Building 1 (RIA)	Very probably alterned, may be two buildings.
Borgen, Akershus	Building 1 (RIA) over Building 5 (pRIA)	Central aisles do not overlap.
Lille Børke, Hedmark	Building 2 (RIA) over Building 1 (RIA)	Central aisles do not overlap and are not fully parallel.
Vidarshov, Hedmark	Building A (RIA) over Building B (RIA)	Probably two phases, not two buildings
Leikvang, Hedmark	Building 2 (EJA) over Building 1 (pRIA). Isolated postholes may indicate a building either above or below Building 1 (pRIA)	Just a few centimetres overlap at the end. The postholes are not connected to the building, not dated
Brandrud IV, Oppland	Building 2 (RIA) over Building 3 (RIA)	Most probably two buidlings but may be two phases of one building.
Vister, Østfold	Building 1 (RIA/MigP) and Building 2 (RIA-MigP) may overlap	Central aisles do not overlap but the side aisles may.
Nordre Moer, Akershus	Building 2B (RIA/MigP) over Building 2A (RIA)	
Trollerud, Akershus	Building 2 (RIA/MigP) over Building 1 (RIA)	
Veien, Buskerud	Building IV (RIA/MigP) over Building II (RIA)	
Rødbøl 19, Vestfold	Building 4 (RIA-MigP) over or under Building 5 (RIA- MigP)	Building 5 poorly identified.
Kjølberg, Østfold	Building 1 (MigP) over or under Building 8 (MigP)	Central aisles not parallel, Building 8 poorly identified. Might also be fan-shaped (Ch. 7.3.3).
Søndre Moer, Akershus	Building 3 (MigP) possibly over Building 1 (RIA)	Both buildings poorly identified; the neds may overlap.
Ringdal, Vestfold	Building 6 (MigP) over Building 17 (MigP) Building 4 (MigP) over Building 10 (EJA)	Building 10 poorly identified.
Valum, Hedmark	Building 3 (MigP-MerP) over Building 1 (MigP) and Building 2 (MigP)	Very probably three different buildings built on the same spot. Indeterminable if Building 1 or Building 2 is the earliest.
Nannestad, Akershus	Building 6 (MerP) over Building 5 (MigP) and Building 4 (RIA/ MigP)	
Valum, Hedmark	Buildings I–III are three approximately equivalent buildings built on the same plot in the MigP	
Åker, Hedmark	Building I, Building IIA and Building IIB built successively on the same plot in the MerP. Lates phase may be of the VP.[18]	
Bjørnstad søndre, Østfold	Building 1 (VP) over Building 2 (MerP)	

[18] Pilø (2005) dates these buildings to the Merovingian or the Viking Period and Eriksen (2015) to the Viking Period. As I stress the period in which the building was constructed rather than its use, I date them to the Merovingian Period.

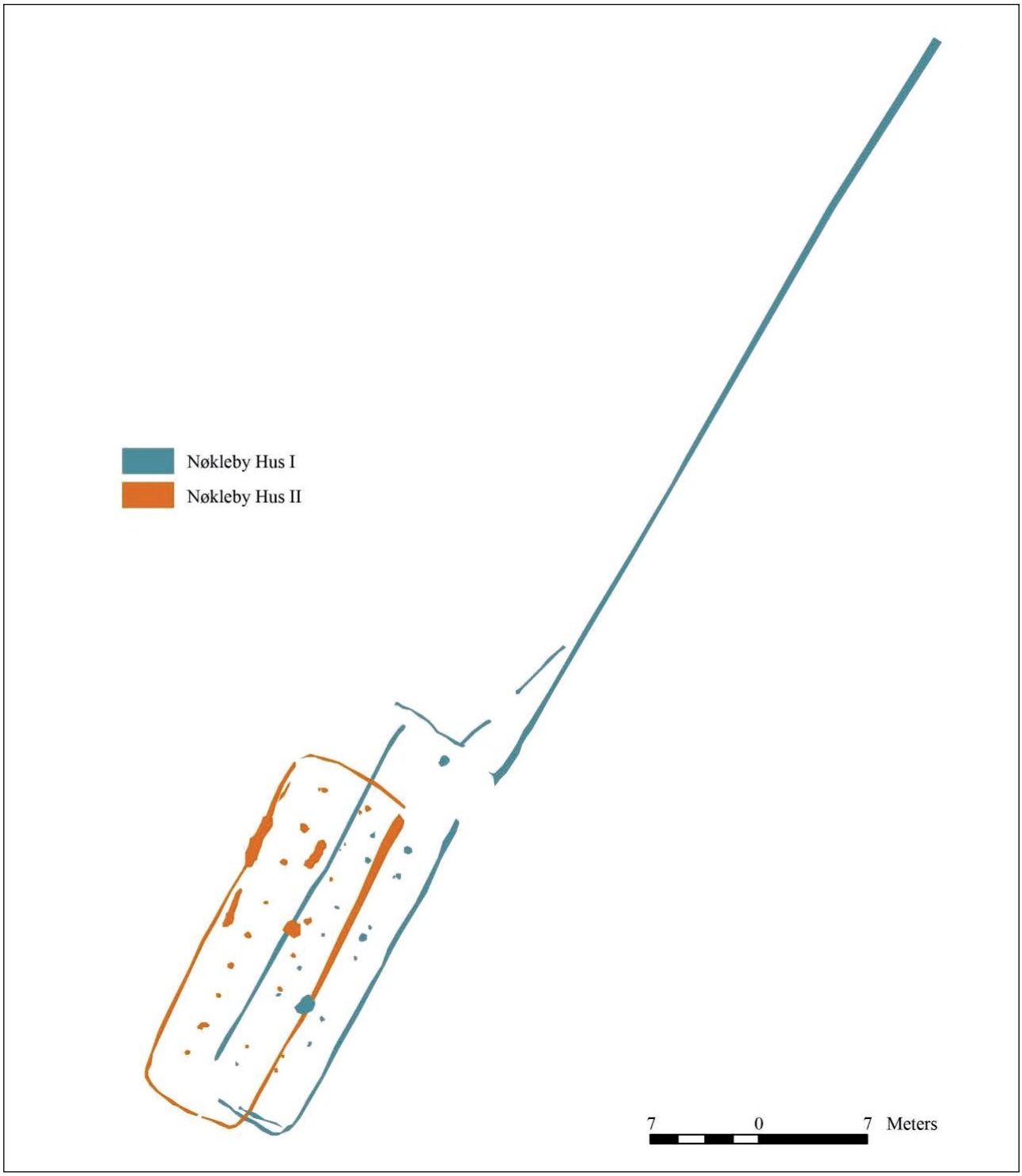

Figure 7.3 *An example of the parallel house-over-house phenomenon at Nøkleby. Drawn by Elise Naumann.*

Successive buildings at right angles

In a few cases a building was constructed over a predecessor at a right angle so that it is the central aisles that overlap (Fig. 7.4; Tab. 7.5). Once again Østfold stands out with examples of this as early as the pre-Roman Iron Ages. There are, however, many more examples of buildings lying at a right angle to each other and with (the presumptive) wall lines crossing or at least touching (Tab. 7.5). It appears, as a result, that these buildings were commonly built so close together that they could not have been standing at the same time and yet nearly always without the central aisles touching. This could show that there was a conscious idea behind the placement of the later building in relation to the earlier.

Table 7.5 *Successive buildings at right angles. Sorted by period and by* fylke.

Site Overlapping buildings at right angles	Buildings	Notes
Dikeveien, Østfold	Building 1 and Building 2 (pRIA) over Building 3 (BRA– pRIA)	**Central aisles på Building 1 and Building 3 overlapper partially,** but only the side aisle/end chamber in Building 2 and Building 3.
Borge Vestre, Østfold	Building 4 (pRIA) over Building 7 (slightly earlier)	**Central aisles fully overlapping.**
Brandrud IV, Oppland	Building 3 (RIA) partially over Building 4 (pRIA)	Only the side aisle/end chamber overlap.
Grytting 1, Oppland	Building 1 (RIA) over Building 2 (RIA) Building 1 over Building 4	Walls overlap **Central aisles *may* overlap. Uncertain.**
Ringdal, Vestfold	Building 1 (MigP) over Building 8 (RIA)	**Central aisles fully overlaping.**
	Building 9 (MigP) and Building 5 (MigP) over Building 16 (RIA)	The side aisles/end chamber just about touch.
	Building 5 partially overlapped by Building 4 (MigP)	The side aisles/end chamber just about touch.
	Building 2 (MerP) over Building 1 (MigP)	The side aisles/end chamber just about touch.
Totenvika, Oppland	Possibly Building 1 (VP) partially over Building 2 (MerP)	Unclear where the walls ran. Central aisles do not overlap.
Søndre Moer, Akershus	Building 1 (RIA) and Building 2 (RIA)	**Central aisles probably fully overlapping,** but the buildings are so poorly identified that it is hard to say for certain.
Søndre Moer, Akershus	Building 3 (MigP) over Building 2 (RIA)?	The identification makes it hard to be certain.
Hol, Akershus	Building 3 (MigP) over Building 1 (RIA) and Building 2 (RIA)	The central aisle in Building 1 touches the central aisle of Building 3, while only the walls of Building 2 and Building 3 overlap.

Successive buildings at a chevron angle

In a few cases, later buildings were constructed over predecessors at various, more acute angles of alignment, often in such a way that the central aisles overlap at one end (Fig. 7.5). Successive buildings in a chevron configuration are quite infrequent, however: nonetheless there is one observed case in Akershus (Korsegården *hus* 4, RIA/MigP lay either over or below the undated *hus* 6); one in Vestfold (Ringdal *hus* 1, MigP, partly overlying *hus* 8, RIA); and possibly one in Østfold (Kjølberg *hus* 1, MigP, above or below *hus* 8, MigP) — those might also be two parallel buildings (Ch. 7.3.1). In the case of Korsegården it is hard to decide if this was done deliberately or not, but there is such a short time-interval between the buildings at Kjølberg that it seems reasonable to suppose it was quite intentional.

Buildings that are nearly touching

Several buildings had been constructed so that their wall lines could have touched one another if the buildings were contemporary, or are so close together that it is impractical for them to have been standing at the same time: it would, for instance, have been anything but practical to pass in between them. These buildings can be at right angles, end-to-end, or in a sort of chevron configuration. Buildings like this occur in the majority of the administrative provinces and periods in which large numbers of buildings have been excavated. It is difficult to discern any pattern apart from the fact that Østfold stands out with several examples of this kind from the pre-Roman Iron Age. This is probably a direct consequence of the fact that only Østfold has several buildings at settlement sites of that period. At several sites a considerable number of buildings were constructed within a short period of time with it being regular for the buildings to be as close to each other as possible without the central aisles touching (e.g. Habberstad and nordre More in Akershus; Rødbøl 19 in Vestfold; Kjølberg in Østfold; and Brandrud and Grytting in Oppland). It is possible that there are practical reasons for buildings to lie close together without overlapping. It may, for instance, have been desirable to construct a new building as close to the old farmstead as possible with the old house still occupied while construction was in progress. It could have been a major effort to clear the old plot.

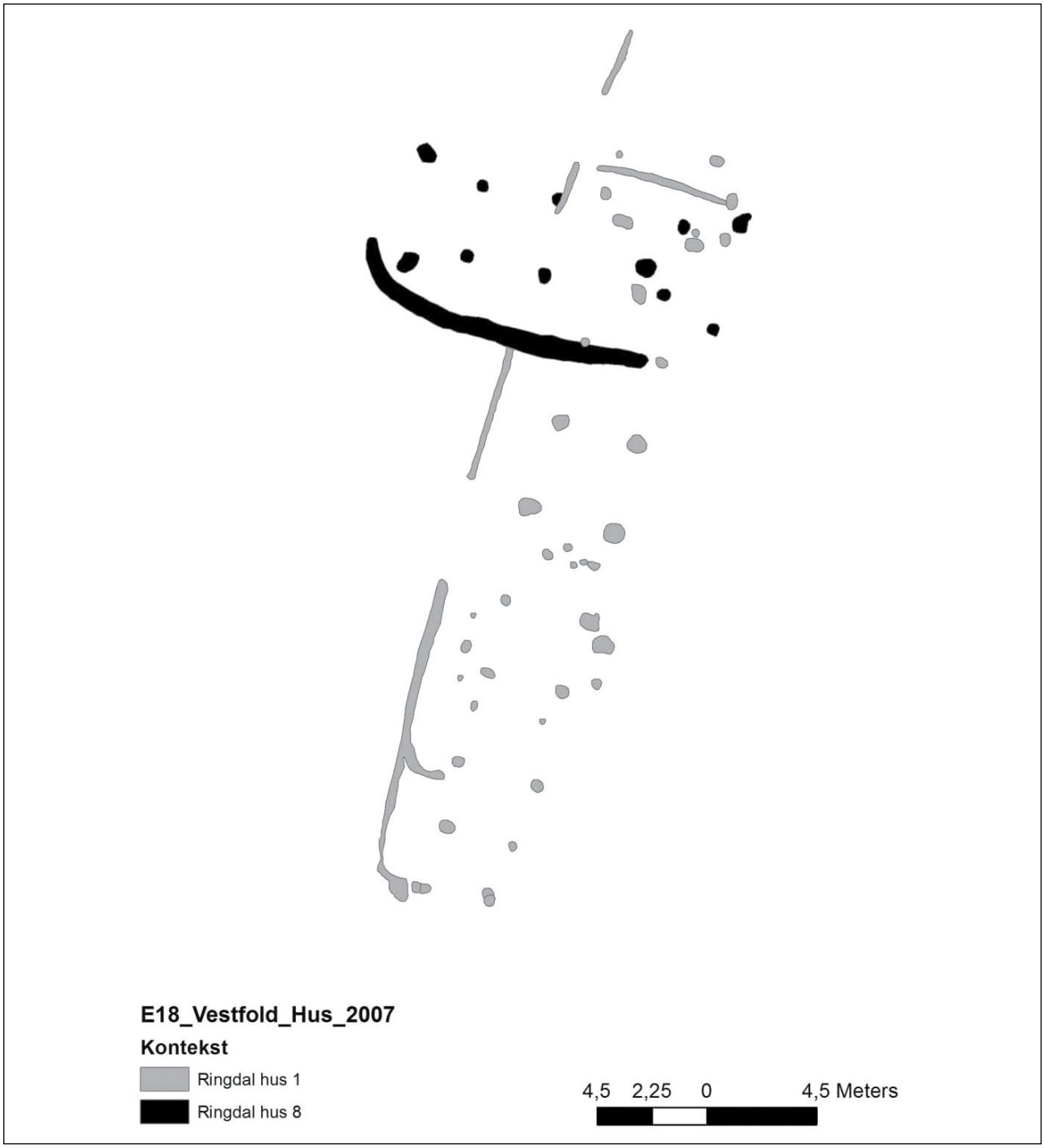

Figure 7.4 *Successive buildings at right angles at Ringdal. Drawn by Lars Erik Gjerpe.*

Buildings beneath and above graves

A relatively small number of buildings lay above or below graves (Figs. 7.6–7.7). In most of these cases it is probable that the earlier component was visible when the later one was put in place and there is reason to believe that the latter was deliberately positioned over the former; these are the cases that I shall concentrate on in detail. In a few cases, as at Ringdal, there may have been contemporary covariation in positioning (see below). In her review of buildings of the Late Iron Age above or below graves, Eriksen (2019:194–200) identified three examples (Åker, Huseby, and Hedrum parsonage) of buildings overlying graves, and two (Sem Prison/Jarlsberg and Engelaug) of graves overlying buildings in Østlandet. I have found a further example of a Late Iron-age grave above a building from the end of the Early Iron Age at Rødbøl (Rønne 2008) and one example of a building of the Early Iron Age having been built above graves at Ringdal (Gjerpe and Østmo 2008).

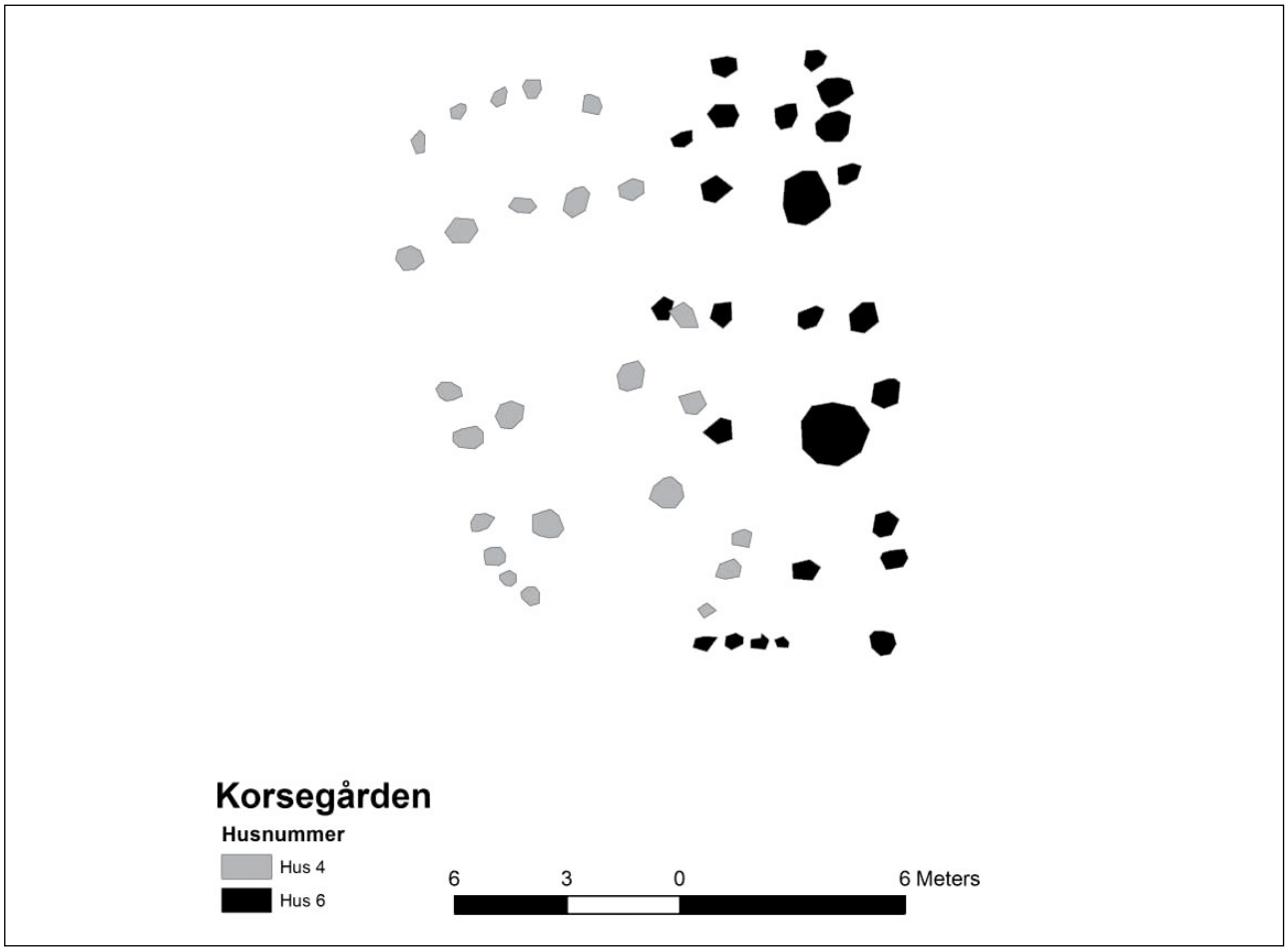

Figure 7.5 *Examples of successive buildings in a chevron configuration at Korsegården. Drawn by Lars Erik Gjerpe.*

At Åker, three overlapping three-aisled buildings of the Merovingian Period stratigraphically overlie an undated grave. This grave contained cremated bone but no grave goods and may have had a visible marker. The grave could also be considerably older than the buildings and in my judgment it is difficult to determine if the collocation was intentional. At Huseby one or more successive hall buildings of the Late Iron Age lay over a flattened burial mound (Skre 2007c). The barrow was probably of the very late Roman Iron Age and both glass and amber beads were found, along with parts of a comb, a spindle-whorl and cremated bone, scattered in the remains of the barrow. It seems likely that the barrow was levelled in order to prepare the plot for the raising of the hall but it is difficult to determine whether or not the barrow was a readily accessible spot in an ideal location or if what mattered most was to build over a funerary mound. At Hedrum parsonage a building of the Late Viking Period partially overlies a grave from about a century earlier with a preserved ring-ditch (Berg 1998). Both the building and the grave are radiocarbon dated. Neither the building nor the grave was visible before the topsoil was removed in the excavation, and the stratigraphical evidence provided no secure testimony of the chronological relationship between the grave and the building.

No datable finds were made that can be considered most probably to have come from the burial mound. Although the datings rest on slender foundations, it nonetheless appears as if the grave was fully or partially removed when the building was put up only about a hundred years after the burial was made. It is therefore most likely that the building was intentionally sited over the barrow. At Ringdal, an urned burial with no grave goods of the pre-Roman Iron Age (grave 2) lay in a pit with cleaned cremated bone from the transition between the pre-Roman and Roman Iron Ages (grave 1) both in the entrance chamber and approximately along the wall line of *hus* 1 of the Migration Period (Fig. 7.6; Gjerpe and Østmo 2008). It is unclear whether these graves originally had visible markers but no sign of anything like that survived to be found by excavation, and markers do not appear to have been usual in Vestfold in the pre-Roman Iron Age (Hougen 1924; Nybrugget 1978). I regard it as rather improbable therefore that the building was deliberately constructed over graves at least 400 years old.

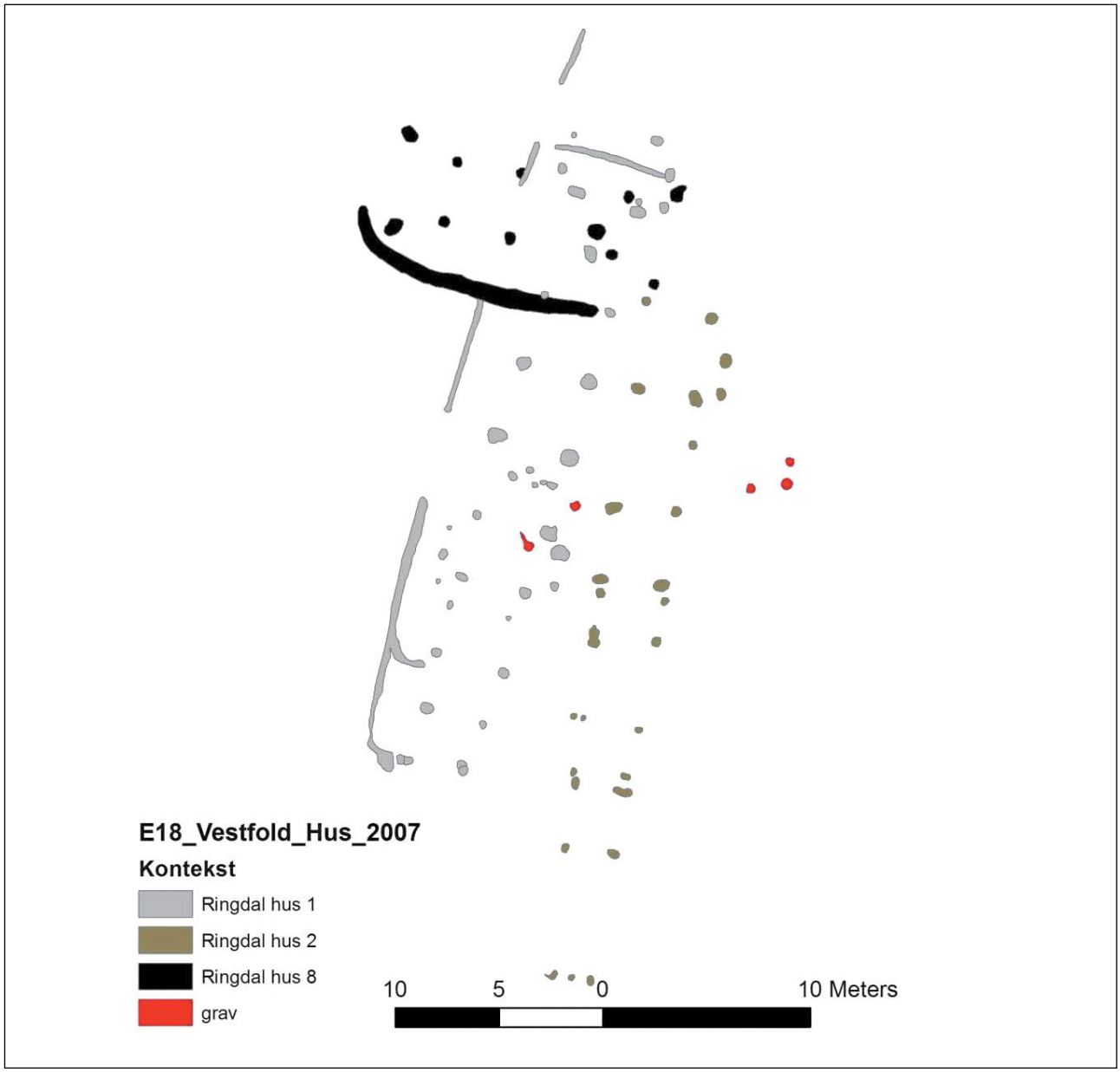

Figure 7.6 *Example of a building overlying a grave at Ringdal. Drawn by Lars Erik Gjerpe.*

At Rødbøl 27, a woman's grave of the 8th century was placed in the central aisle of two overlapping buildings of the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period respectively (Rønne 2008). The buildings were still visible when the excavations took place. It is probable, then, that the grave was intentionally placed even though there was quite a long time from when the building had been in use to when the burial was made. This inhumation grave was marked with a low cairn and contained rectangular brooches, 35 glass beads, a knife, a firesteel, key and an awl. At Sem Prison, a grave was placed in the diagonal between the two southernmost pairs of roof-bearing posts of a three-aisled building (Grindkåsa 2012a). This building had been raised at the beginning of the Merovingian Period and burnt down shortly afterwards. The burial is dated to the first half of the 7th century and contained burnt material from the building. The short interval between the fire and the burial, the inclusion of burnt material in the grave, and its position in the diagonal between two pairs of posts, indicate to me that this grave was deliberately located over the building. The grave was relatively well furnished, including a sword, a seax, a shield, a shield-on-tongue buckle and a horse's head. There was no surviving trace of any possible grave marking. Five ring-ditches have been excavated at the site. One of them cut the Merovingian-period grave and must therefore have been later. The other ring-ditches cannot be dated either relatively or in absolute terms other than that ring-ditches in Vestfold usually post-date c. AD 200 and are no

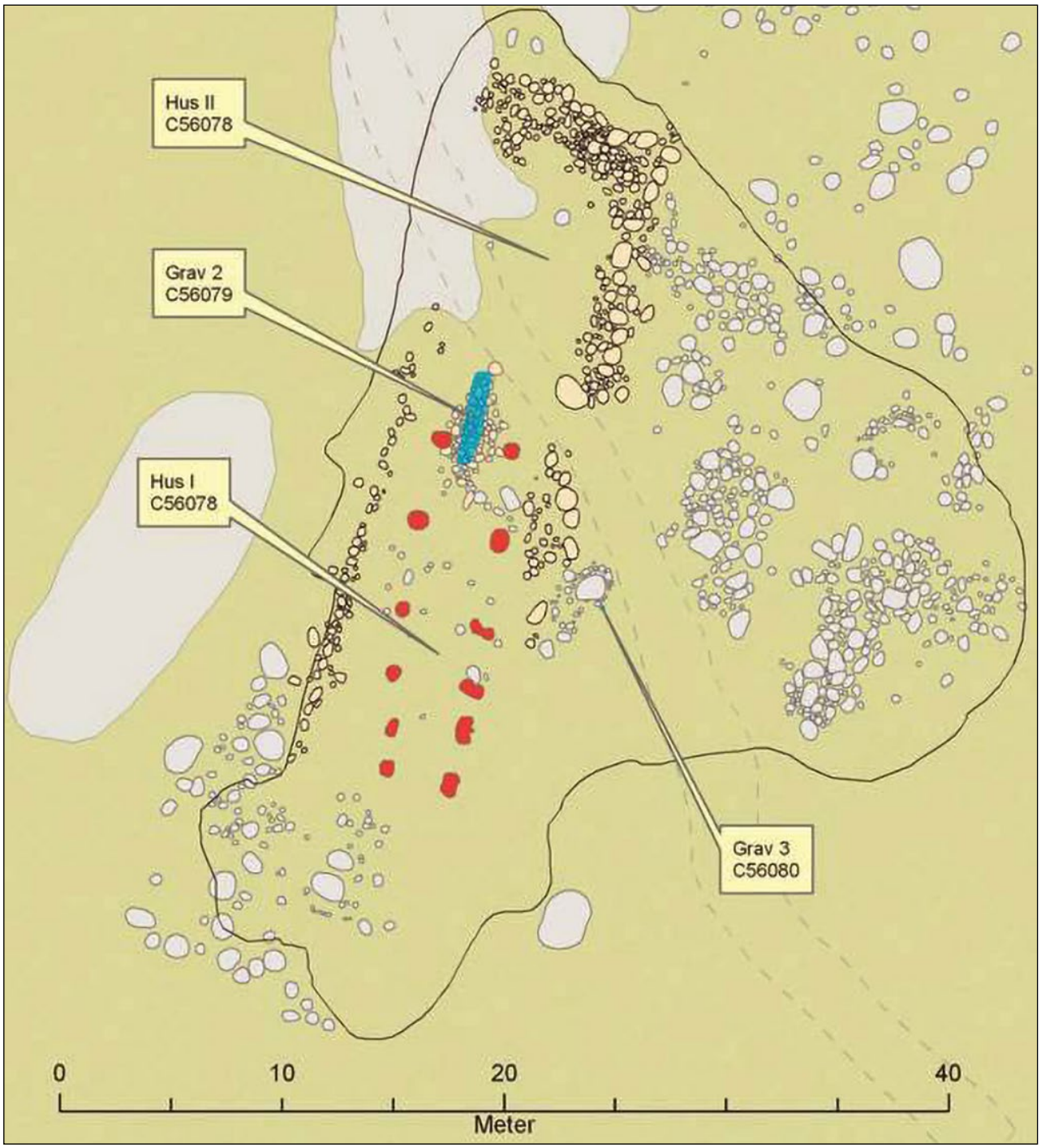

Figure 7.7 *Example of a grave overlying a building at Rødbøl 27. Drawn by Magne Samdal.*

later than the Viking Period (Løken 1974; Gjerpe 2005a).

At Engelaug, a grave of the Viking Period was placed over a building of the late Merovingian Period or perhaps the Viking Period (Risbøl 1997). This cremation burial was marked by a cairn and furnished with a spindle-whorl and a knife. The cremated bones may have come from a relatively young adult woman. Grave mounds that apparently overlie buildings of the Early Iron Age have been excavated at, amongst other sites, Oppstad and Kulås Park, Østfold. These buildings are only poorly identified and datable (Helliksen 1996b; Løken 1998a) and it is difficult to determine if these were cases of a more or less chance re-use of a location or the deliberate construction of graves above buildings. At Hørdalen in Vestfold a round, stony barrow of the Roman Iron Age overlies what was very probably a building dated to the end of the Bronze Age or beginning of the pre-Roman Iron Age (Mjærum 2012e). After occupation and before the burial was made, however, there had been a period of cultivation, and it is scarcely likely therefore that

the grave was deliberately located above the building. The evidence is sparse, but in my view there is reason to accept that the conscious construction of buildings over graves or graves over buildings is above all a phenomenon of the Late Iron Age. This appears to be the case in some other parts of Scandinavia too (Thäte 2007; Dahl 2016).

In those cases within the study area where the artefacts within the graves or the osteological remains allow us to determine the sex/gender of the deceased, and the collocation of the building and the grave appears to have been deliberate, there are two women's graves (Engelaug; Rødbøl 27) and one man's grave (Jarlsberg/Sem Prison) which have been placed on top of buildings, while there is one example of a building constructed over a woman's grave (Huseby). The evidence is obviously very slight but it does, overall, appear as if women's graves are often involved in this sort of re-use in Østlandet, as is the case in Rogaland (Dahl 2017). Thäte (2007:118) suggests that two groups could be buried within buildings. If the building had been burnt and the burial took place soon afterwards it was most probably one of the occupants of the building who was interred there. If there is a long interval from the abandonment of the building to this re-use the new settlers may purposefully use the building to establish a connexion with the previous occupants: the grave is conceived as a new high-seat. In such a case it is — perhaps a little surprisingly — the woman's grave at Rødbøl 27 that makes a connexion with the previous occupants while the man's grave at Sem Prison and the woman's grave at Engelaug represent the occupants of the building itself. The grave in the central aisle of the building at Sem Prison was, as noted, disturbed by a later ring-ditch. Traces of four further ring-ditches were found, probably the remains of a burial ground that comprised more than six barrows (Nicolaysen 1862–66:183). None of these ring-ditches is dated and the chronological relationship between the disturbed grave, the later ring-ditch which affected it and the four other graves is necessarily uncertain. Another example from Vestfold, however, may indicate that the disturbed grave was one of the earliest. At the cemetery of Gulli, 3.5 km north-east of Sem Prison, a grave was disturbed by a later ring-ditch (see also Ch. 7.2.3 and 9.4.1). This disturbed boat grave contained a sword amongst other things, is dated to the 8th century, and has no surviving trace of visible marking. When excavated, the cemetery at Gulli had been ploughed over, and only those features that were cut below the plough-horizon survived. Thirty-six ring-ditches were excavated, 13 of which had surviving graves. Six graves without ring-ditches were excavated in addition. With the exception of the grave of the Merovingian Period referred to, all of the dated graves were of the Viking Period, and the Merovingian-period grave was the only one that was disturbed by the interment of later graves. These two cemeteries thus have several common features. The earliest burials were made in the Merovingian Period (the 8th century at Gulli; the 7th century at Sem Prison), neither had evidence of visible grave markers, and both were disturbed but not completely obliterated by the digging of a later ring-ditch. At both Gulli and Sem Prison it appears, therefore, as if the primary graves at the site were erased and subsequently a new cemetery was established at the same location (Gjerpe 2020).

Spot-continuity — a summary

When the results given above are brought together, it emerges clearly that in Østfold buildings were replaced on the same plot and with the same alignment, repaired or reconstructed, already in the pre-Roman Iron Age. In the Roman Iron Age buildings were repaired or reconstructed in Hedmark and Oppland too. In Akershus there are two buildings on approximately the same plot but their central aisles do not overlap. In the Roman Iron Age/Migration Period buildings were reconstructed or repaired in Akershus and Buskerud, and possibly in Vestfold. In the Migration Period this was done in Vestfold, Hedmark and possibly in Østfold and Akershus, and in the Merovingian Period in Hedmark. In Akershus buildings were put up partially above earlier ones in that period, but again their central aisles do not overlap. One Viking-period building in Østfold partially overlies a Merovingian-period predecessor but their central aisles do not entirely overlap. The latest of three buildings at Åker in Hedmark may be of the Viking Period.

As early as the pre-Roman Iron Age, then, buildings are reconstructed on existing plots in Østfold, or the buildings were extensively reconstructed, possibly repaired. This trend is clear at Dilling. Nevertheless the effort was made for a building to stand in the same place for a longer period — this first appears in the Roman Iron Age and sometimes even later in the other provinces. In some sites up to three generations of a building were raised on the same spot. It would appear that it was primarily buildings aligned N–S in southern Østlandet and E–W in northern Østlandet that were repaired or reconstructed in this way. It may also appear as if it was long buildings whose occupants

were of high status that were rebuilt (e.g. Missingen, Veien, Åker). At some sites overlapping buildings were raised without giving the impression that it was important that the later building was standing on the same spot as its predecessor. Already in the pre-Roman Iron Age, buildings were put up at a right angle to predecessors, in such a way that their central aisles overlapped, in Østfold and possibly in Hedmark. This apparently does not occur otherwise until the Roman Iron Age or later. It is relatively uncommon for the central aisles of buildings at right angles to overlap; it is most often only one of the side aisles of the one building which overlaps the area between the gable end and the first pair of roof-bearing posts of the other. It is still important to remember that re-use of building plots and overlapping buildings are, on the whole, the exception; most buildings appear not to have been repaired or reconstructed, nor do they overlie earlier buildings. At some sites the buildings stand so close to one another that they cannot realistically have been standing at the same time while in some cases their side aisles must have overlapped but not the central aisles. There may be practical explanations for this: it was desirable to construct the new building as near to the existing farmstead as possible, or it was difficult, or laborious, to clear and level the old plot. Viewed in connexion with the fact that buildings at some sites were pulled down and the plots cleared before what were very similar buildings were constructed on more or less the same site, it is likely that this was done by choice. Although it is difficult to recognize possible patterns in which buildings were raised over predecessors, it seems that continuity was more important to those who were constructing long buildings, which can in turn be linked to high status, in the common era AD in any event. At the transition to the Late Iron Age a new phenomenon was introduced with graves located over abandoned buildings and buildings raised over graves.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FARMSTEADS

Above (Ch. 7.2), I have researched the settlement sites as localities before, during and possibly after the period of occupation and the dynamism of change through time. In this section I shall reflect briefly on and around the organization of contemporary components of the farmstead. I have also already shown that the datings are often imprecise (Ch. 4.4) and that the areas excavated are usually too small for all settlement traces that belonged together in time and space to be uncovered (Ch. 4.8). The situation is further complicated by the fact that far from all of the activities or constituent parts of the farmsteads under investigation left traces that are recognized in archaeological excavation. Fences can in some cases be useful aids to delimit the farmsteads, whether they are well preserved and stone-built as in Rogaland, for example, or discovered as sunken foundations as, for example, in Jutland or Trøndelag (Myhre 1972; Grønneby 1999; Holst 2010). In Østlandet, however, no farmstead-boundary fences of the Iron Age have been found. Either there are clear limits to what the evidence can show, or the absence of such evidence in this case does reflect the fact that fences were rarely constructed — or were built in such a fashion that we do not find them. Few settlement sites outside of cultivated land have been examined, but at Rødbøl 27 in Vestfold, for instance, any stone walls should have been discovered (Rønne 2008). The fences, or perhaps boundaries or markers, of small field plots of the Early Iron Age at Hørdalsåsen and Unnerstvedt and Ragnhildrød in Vestfold indicate that those fences were constructed with a single layer of stones which cannot have blocked the movement of animals (Mjærum 2012c; 2012d). At some sites traces of earth-fast posts or stakes have been found which might have formed part of fences: e.g. at Missingen and Nøkleby in Østfold (Bårdseth and Sandvik 2007; Sæther 2011) but none of those appears to be a farmstead boundary. Despite the evidential problems, the objective is to draw out certain basic images that characterize particular periods. Very broadly, these show that there were two forms: buildings which stood alone and buildings which stood in pairs, either more or less at right angles or more or less parallel. In a few cases, as at Ringdal in Vestfold, three or more three-aisled buildings may have been standing at the same time.

Buildings standing on their own occur in all periods and all of the administrative provinces, but it is, except in a few cases, difficult to determine whether or not this is due to the limitations of the evidence or really reflects farmstead organization in the Iron Age. Two or more contemporary buildings that may have been part of the one farmstead are sometimes found. Østfold stands out for having farmsteads with two contemporary buildings as early as the pre-Roman Iron Age. These buildings stand either at right angles or in a chevron configuration. In the Roman Iron Age, farmsteads with two contemporary buildings are probably also found in Akershus, Østfold, Vestfold, Hedmark and Oppland. It appears that these buildings stood either at right angles or in chevron configurations even though some of the

provinces have only one farmstead with two buildings. In the Roman Iron Age/Migration Period there are farmsteads with two buildings in Østfold, Akershus and Vestfold; in the Migration Period in Vestfold, Akershus and Hedmark; in the Merovingian Period in Østfold and Akershus; and in the Viking Period in Akershus alone. It is not possible to discern any pattern in the position of the buildings relative to each other in these periods, but that may be a product of the paucity of examples.

THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN ØSTLANDET: THREE TYPES OF FARMSTEAD AND REGIONAL PATTERNS

I shall now summarize the most important trends in the settlement pattern of Østlandet based upon the discussion in Chapter 7.2–7.4. I have identified, there, three different types of farmstead which in their turn constitute a social chronology (Rødsrud 2012:2, 13; Amundsen and Fredriksen 2014). This social chronology can only be constructed from the evidence from southern Østlandet; the evidence from northern Østlandet has not allowed for any comparable assessment.

The random farmstead is characterized by buildings having been constructed in places with no previous activity, and there are few buildings at each site. There are no contemporary graves at any of these settlement sites, while the sites appear often to have gone out of use when they are abandoned as settlements. The buildings of this period are single-phase and do not appear to have been reconstructed or repaired to any particular degree. The farmstead also appears to have consisted of a single building. This settlement-type occurs in the pre-Roman Iron Age and the earlier Roman Iron Age in Akershus and Vestfold but not in Østfold.

The marked farmstead is characterized by buildings that were usually constructed at sites with signs of previous activity, often in the form of cooking pits and in some cases also burials. The settlement sites were usually in use for an extended period and there are often several contemporary or successive buildings at each site. Within that period, buildings were often put up on earlier building plots. In some cases the foundations of the buildings overlap in such a way that it cannot have been a matter of coincidence, and some of these sequences may have been the result of several generations of buildings standing at approximately the same spot. Concurrently, it appears that in some cases people deliberately avoided having the central aisles of the buildings overlapping. At some sites there are also contemporary graves. This settlement-type occurs as early as the pre-Roman Iron Age in Østfold and from the later Roman Iron Age through to the Merovingian Period in Akershus and Vestfold.

The unknown farmstead is heterogeneous, and few buildings of this type of settlement have been excavated. To the extent that any pattern can be found, it is primarily that the buildings are located at sites which were already established, usually as settlement sites. The reason why so few buildings of this period have been found is probably twofold. The three-aisled building with earth-fast posts appears gradually to have been superseded by other types of building which are less easy to recognize with the methods currently in use. Concurrently it appears that these settlement sites more often became permanent and had been founded in the vicinity of the historically known farmsteads of the present day. This settlement-type occurs from c. AD 600 onwards in Østfold, Akershus and Vestfold.

In this chapter and the one before it I have demonstrated how building practice and settlement patterns in Østlandet vary chronologically and geographically, and have attached especial significance to the three types of farmstead. This is the first of three stages towards understanding how rights to land were organized in the Iron Age. In the following chapter I progress to the next step by looking at various ways of organizing rights, and focus particularly on alternatives to territorially rooted rights. As the social chronology has been determined for southern Østlandet, this zone will occupy a major place in the discussion in Chapter 9.