

Colin Amundsen, Jørn Henriksen, Elin Myrvoll, Bjørnar Olsen and Przemyslaw Urbanczyk

CROSSING BORDERS: MULTI-ROOM HOUSES AND INTER-ETHNIC CONTACTS IN EUROPE'S EXTREME NORTH

Abstract

Multi-room houses (No. *mangeromstufter*) are complex buildings containing several rooms connected by a corridor and / or by doorways. Their main distribution area is the coast of Finnmark. Available radiocarbon dates suggest a period of use from 1300 -1500/1550 A.D. The article discusses possible Norse, Novgorodian/Karelian and Saami connections to these remains. The hitherto mono-cultural explanations of origin and function seem to be insufficient.

Keywords: building remains, cultural connections, Middle Ages, Finnmark.

Colin Amundsen, Anthropology, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, USA.

Jørn Henriksen, Institute of archaeology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø, N-9037 Tromsø, Norway.

Elin Myrvoll, The Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, NIKU distriktskontor Tromsø, N-9296 Tromsø, Norway.

Bjørnar Olsen, Institute of archaeology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø, N-9037 Tromsø, Norway.

Przemyslaw Urbanczyk, Institute of archaeology and ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Al. Solidarności 105, 00-140 Warszawa, Poland.

Iron Age and Medieval studies in northern Europe have focused both on urban and rural settlements. However, little attention has been paid to the archaeology of those who lived and traded in the vast sub-arctic coastal region north and east of the Norse settlement area in Norway. Despite its fascinating and relatively well-studied prehistory, archaeologists have been remarkably reluctant to engage with the late prehistory and early historical periods of Europe's extreme north. One reason for this may be found in the otherness of the cultural heritage here, exhibiting few familiar signs of a "proper" European Iron Age and Medieval material. Moreover, the fact

that this northernmost coastline is part of the native territory of the Saami, long depicted as primitive bands of hunter-gatherers best studied by ethnographers, may have given this otherness an ethnic and social connotation that legitimised this archaeological disinterest (Olsen 1986; 1998b; Opedal 1996). Despite the changes that have taken place since the late 1970s, allowing disciplinary space also for this "other" past (Kleppe 1977; Reymert 1980; Olsen 1984; Odner 1992; Henriksen 1996; Urbanczyk 1996; Schanche 2000), knowledge about the late prehistoric and early historical past in the far north is still very limited.

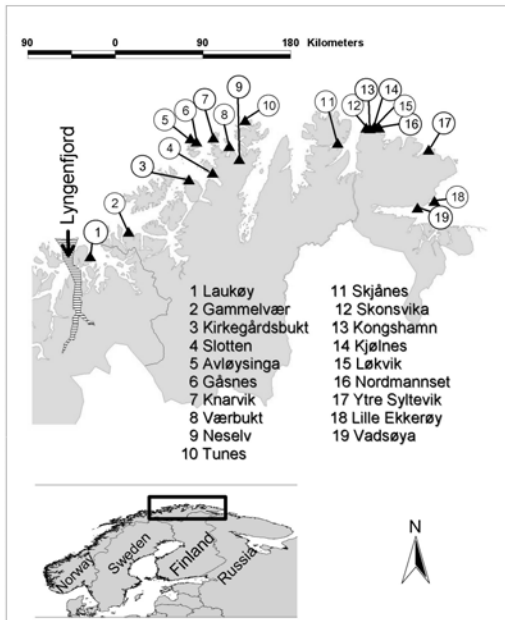


Fig. 1. Distribution of multi-room house sites in Finnmark and northern Troms. An additional site is known in the Russian territory just east of the Norwegian border and there are recent reports suggesting the presence of two more sites in Kvænangen (north-east of the Lyngen Fjord) in northern Troms.

This “void” explains some of the background of the current multi-disciplinary research project carried out in coastal Finnmark, North Norway (Fig. 1). The main focus of the project is the so-called multi-room houses, a complex and still enigmatic dwelling structure confined to this northern coastline. Radiocarbon dates suggest that these houses emerge around 1200 A.D. and were used until the 16th century. Their phase of occupation coincides with a period when the coast of Finnmark became the target of trade, taxation and settlement expansion from outside societies. This multi-cultural encounter led to a significant altering of the coastal landscape, in which both natives and newcomers took part, by adding to it a remarkable diversity of new material inscriptions. A major concern of this project is to analyse the social, economic and material outcome of the new interface in the north, and in what way the multi-room houses were related to this emerging “inter-regionalization”. In this paper we shall present some main topics and discuss alternative

hypotheses regarding the origin and function of medieval multi-room houses in Finnmark.

PHYSICAL SETTING

The coast of Finnmark, extending beyond 71°N, delineates the northern margin of the European mainland. The coast is characterized by its deep fjord-systems that cut well into the interior (Fig. 1). A chain of large islands provides a protected coastal fairway in the west, while the mainland coast east of North Cape is directly exposed to the ocean. As one moves from the west to the east there is also sharp decrease in the overall relief, from an average of 650 to less than 200 m a.s.l. The eastern coastline provides a more “arctic” impression with flat barren plateaus plunging into the sea. Along the outer coast, settlements are confined to inlets, bays and promontories.

The coastal climate of Finnmark is greatly determined by the Gulf Stream providing ice-free conditions all-year around. A relatively mild maritime climate dominates with recorded average temperatures in the range of ca. -5° to 12°C. With the warmer Gulf Stream waters come the prevailing westerly winds bringing conditions warmer and more humid than the colder and dryer arctic air coming from the north and east. This meeting of warm and cold air masses results in frequent gales. The Gulf Stream also influences the floral distribution providing growing conditions for enclaves of coastal birch forest as well as other tree species such as alder, rowan, various willow species and heather. In prehistoric times, pine, now primarily confined to interior river valleys, also occurred in the coastal area. Due to the mild climate and favourable summer light conditions, grass growth is fast providing relatively stable crops of hay.

The maritime fauna is abundant and varied. The mixing of the warmer and more saline waters of the North Atlantic with the colder and less saline waters of the Arctic Ocean creates favourable hydrographic conditions (Hognestad 1958). In addition, the shallow Barents Sea provides optimal conditions for the production of plankton, feeding a rich and diverse fauna of fish and sea mammal species. This is the most important feeding ground for the North Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*), the economically most significant of all fish species. The seal population includes both migratory and

non-migratory species. Several species of toothed and baleen whales and dolphins are also frequently occurring. While only making sporadic occurrences today, walrus was formerly an important part of the coastal fauna during winter. Numerous species of migrating and non-migrating birds add to this resource abundance. Extensive colonies of birds nesting in numerous cliffs along the outer coast, formerly provided an important resource during spring and early summer (Helland 1906 II:528; Larsen 1950:24-25). Until the last few centuries the terrestrial fauna of Finnmark was varied and rich as well. Most important were the large populations of wild reindeer migrating to the coastal area for their summer pastures. Other important mammals included moose, brown bear, marten, wolf, stoat, wolverine, beaver, weasel, otter and foxes. Several of these were key resources in the prehistoric and historic fur trade.

MULTI-ROOM HOUSES

“Multi-room houses” (*mangeromstufte*) is an archaeological term denoting remains of complex buildings containing five to 18 rooms connected by an intervening corridor and/or by doorways. A common outer wall seems to have surrounded most

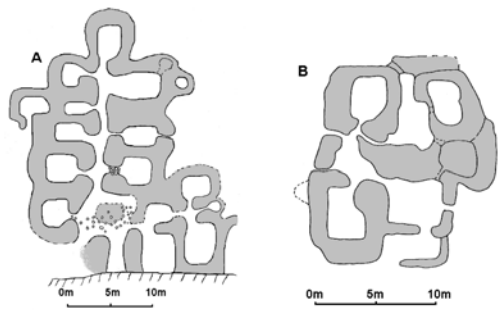


Fig. 2. Multi-room house (A) with and (B) without a common corridor.

complexes giving some of them a “fortified” image. Due to their solid stone-and-turf construction the remains of multi-room houses are still very visible marks on this northern coastal landscape. Apparent differences in the internal spatial design suggest a basic division into two main types of houses (Fig. 2). One in which the rooms are connected by a common corridor which often – but not always – constitutes a central axis of the house. In this case the rooms are paired opposite each other along this corridor, itself terminating in a “back” room, giving the house a very symmetrical outlook¹ (Figs. 2 and 3). The



Fig. 3. Multi-room house among salmon fishing cabins at Nordmanset, Berlevåg.



Fig. 4. Flagstone floor and stone wall recovered at Kongshavn, Berlevåg.

other type lacks the organising principle of a common corridor. Here, rooms are grouped more randomly and linked by doorways providing direct and multiple inter-room access. There are also considerable differences in size, between the smaller and more common houses, containing 5-9 rooms, and the larger complexes (Tanner 1928; Simonsen 1981; Bratrein 1996; Niemi 1997; Myrvoll 2002; Henriksen 2002).

The multi-room houses normally have very solid walls constructed of stone, soil and turf². Whalebones are also commonly included and in some cases logs of driftwood. Excavations have revealed traces of vertical wooden panelling for the interior walls (see Fig. 9). The floors are made up of planks and/or layers of flagstones (Fig. 4), and floor levels are in some cases dug partially subterranean. Roofs were probably attached individually to most rooms and seem supported by at least one wooden post placed inside the room. Some of the larger complexes have an

outer and bigger room attached, accessible only by a separate outdoor entrance. A number of individual houses and structures often surround the multi-room house(s) proper. Few available radiocarbon dates suggest that they were contemporaneous with the main complexes. While rather systematically accompanying the multi-room houses in the west, boathouses are rare in the east of Finnmark.

The main distribution area of multi-room houses is the coast of Finnmark (see Fig. 1). However, their distribution extends to Laukøy in the neighbouring county of Troms in the west, as well as to Soim east of the mouth of the Russian Petchenga Fjord, in the east. So far, 19 localities with multi-room houses are recorded each normally containing one or two houses. A remarkable exception is the atypical, and probably quite late, site at Vadsøya, Varanger, which number more than 20 multi-room houses³ (Tanner 1928; Simonsen 1981). The 40 available

Table 1. Radiocarbon dates from multi-room houses. Exact information for the three last dates is missing.

Context	Lab. Ref.	Locality	C-14 -B.P.	C-14-Kal. 68.2% / 95.4%
Testpit 1	Wk-10180	Gammelvær	411 ± 55	1430 - 1520 / 1410 - 1640 A.D.
Testpit 2	Wk-10181	Gammelvær	711 ± 66	1240 - 1390 / 1210 - 1410 A.D.
Testpit 2	Wk-10182	Gammelvær	731 ± 38	1258 - 1298 / 1210 - 1390 A.D.
Testpit 7	Wk-10186	Neselv/Avzejohka S	526 ± 40	1330 - 1440 / 1300 - 1450 A.D.
Testpit 8	Wk-10187	Neselv/Avzejohka S	574 ± 38	1315 - 1415 / 1300 - 1430 A.D.
Testpit 10	Wk-10188	Neselv/Avzejohka N	292 ± 46	1510 - 1660 / 1470 - 1800 A.D.
Testpit 10	Wk-10189	Neselv/Avzejohka N	414 ± 64	1430 - 1630 / 1410 - 1640 A.D.
Testpit 12	Wk-10190	Neselv/Avzejohka N	Modern	
Testpit 12	Wk-10304	Neselv/Avzejohka N	379 ± 67	1440 - 1630 / 1420 - 1650 A.D.
Testpit 13	Wk-10305	Neselv/Avzejohka N	637 ± 67	1295 - 1395 / 1270 - 1430 A.D.
Testpit 14	Wk-10306	Værbukta	Modern	
Testpit 15	Wk-10322	Værbukta	813 ± 62	1500 - 1640 / 1450 - 1680 A.D.
Layer 12	Wk-12179	Skonsvika	718 ± 48	1240 - 1390 / 1210 - 1400 A.D.
Testpit 20	Wk-10309	Skonsvika	685 ± 65	1295 - 1395 / 1280 - 1410 A.D.
Testpit 22	Wk-10311	Skonsvika	676 ± 60	1280 - 1400 / 1240 - 1410 A.D.
Oven	Wk-12177	Skonsvika	660 ± 54	1270 - 1400 / 1220 - 1410 A.D.
Testpit 19	Wk-10323	Skonsvika	643 ± 47	1280 - 1390 / 1270 - 1410 A.D.
Oven	Wk-12178	Skonsvika	642 ± 42	1295 - 1395 / 1280 - 1410 A.D.
Room 3	Wk-12176	Kongshavn	1207 ± 41	770 - 890 / 680 - 960 A. D.
Room 2	Wk-12182	Kongshavn	839 ± 47	1160 - 1265 / 1040 - 1290 A.D.
Room 0	Wk-12186	Kongshavn	799 ± 42	1215 - 1280 / 1160 - 1290 A.D.
Room 4	Wk-12184	Kongshavn	686 ± 39	1270 - 1390 / 1260 - 1400 A.D.
Room 1	Wk-12181	Kongshavn	654 ± 48	1290 - 1390 / 1280 - 1410 A.D.
Room 5	Wk-12174	Kongshavn	618 ± 46	1300 - 1400 / 1290 - 1410 A.D.
Room 1	Wk-12180	Kongshavn	587 ± 43	1305 - 1410 / 1290 - 1430 A.D.
Testpit 24	Wk-10324	Kongshavn	585 ± 58	1300 - 1410 / 1290 - 1440 A.D.
Room 3	Wk-12183	Kongshavn	570 ± 40	1300 - 1420 / 1300 - 1440 A.D.
Testpit 25	Wk-10193	Kongshavn	380 ± 43	1440 - 1630 / 1440 - 1640 A.D.
Room 5	Wk-12175	Kongshavn	371 ± 40	1450 - 1630 / 1440 - 1640 A.D.
Room 5	Wk-12185	Kongshavn	336 ± 48	1490 - 1640 / 1450 - 1650 A.D.
Testpit 27	Wk-10313	Kjølnes	697 ± 132	1210 - 1410 / 1030 - 1450 A.D.
Testpit 29	Wk-10325	Laukvika	386 ± 45	1440 - 1630 / 1430 - 1640 A.D.
Testpit 30	Wk-10194	Laukvika	396 ± 37	1440 - 1620 / 1430 - 1640 A.D.
Testpit 31	Wk-10304	Laukvika	339 ± 58	1480 - 1640 / 1440 - 1660 A.D.
Testpit 34	Wk-10317	Nordmannset	1178 ± 58	770 - 960 / 690 - 990 A.D.
Testpit 38	Wk-10318	Tofteelva	503 ± 65	1320 - 1470 / 1290 - 1620 A.D.
Testpit 38	Wk-10319	Tofteelva	585 ± 67	1300 - 1410 / 1290 - 1440 A.D.
-	-	Avløysinga	315 ± 85	1470 - 1640 / 1400 - 1850 A.D.
-	-	Kirkegårdbuk		Ca. 1420 AD
-	-	Kirkegårdbuk		Ca. 1290 AD

radiocarbon dates from 12 localities⁴ are remarkably unanimous, suggesting a period of use from 1200 to 1600/1650 A.D. (Table 1). The occupation phase may, however, be narrowed as most dates cluster between 1300-1500/1550 A.D. Some dates, indicating a possible earlier appearance, still need to be confirmed. While there are indications that some houses have been used for a very short period, others have clearly been occupied (or reoccupied) for more than a century.

In the western part of the distribution area, most of the multi-room house sites are located close to the straits between the islands and the mainland. This corresponds well with the preferred fairway for sailing vessels in historic times. At a micro-level, the multi-room houses are most often located at sheltered spots, such as inlets and bays (Fig. 3). This is also the case for the multi-room houses along the exposed coast of eastern Finnmark. An interesting feature of their local topography is that most multi-room



Fig. 5. Slab-lined pit for seal and/or whale oil extraction excavated at Mellaneset, Berlevåg. The pit was filled with fire-cracked stones. Dated to 540-690 A.D. (95.4% probability).

houses are situated at places that make them difficult to spot from the sea while still allowing good visibility to the coastal fairway.

HISTORICAL SETTING

During the Iron Age and Early Medieval Period the geographical outline of the Norse settlement area in northern Norway remained relatively stable, with the Lyngen fjord region constituting a northern frontier. Norse long houses and burials are rarely found north of the fjord, where Saami materials are abundant. This border zone corresponds neatly with the one described by the North-Norwegian chieftain Othere (Ottar) in his report to King Alfred the Great of Essex in the late 9th century (Lund 1983). Othere, who probably had his farm not far from the present day city of Tromsø, said he lived the northernmost of all Norwegians and that north of him the land was “unsettled” apart from Saami hunters and fishers.

The impressions these hunters and fishers left on the “unsettled” landscape differ significantly from the Norse material heritage both in terms of shape and scale. Most common are mundane rows of slab-lined pits for seal oil extraction found along the shore area (Fig. 5) and small burial pits and cairns constructed in the scree slopes (Henriksen 1996; K. Schanche 1990; A. Schanche 2000). Even more mundane are the remains of their circular turf houses containing a central hearth and an axial mid-passage dividing the floor area into different compartments. While previously unnoticed, due to their low surface visibility, a number of Saami Iron Age houses have recently been recorded and partially excavated (Olsen 1993; 1998a; Hesjedal *et al.* 1996; Henriksen 2002; Myrvoll 2002; 2003; see also Grydeland 1996; Odner 2001).

The border read from these material distributions, and to which Othere gave words, was not an obstructive one. Boats sailed, goods traded

and people interacted and married across it (Henriksen 1996; Hesjedal *et al.* 1996; Storli 1994; Mundal 1996). Othere himself engaged in and reported about this border crossing activity, firstly, by describing travels and whale hunting along the coast of Finnmark, and secondly, by stressing the key importance of Saami products for the Norse elite economy (“their income is chiefly in the tribute that the Saami pay them”). The close relation between the Saami and the Norse chieftains is well described in the Icelandic Sagas, emphasizing a symbiotic co-existence and portraying the Saami as good hunters, as helpers and as masters (and teachers) of magic and *seid* (Odner 1983; Mundal 1996; Hansen & Olsen 2003). However, despite social, economic and religious proximity – or maybe precisely because of it – the boundary of settlement was reproduced (Odner 1983; Schanche 1986; Olsen 2003; Hansen & Olsen 2003). It even survived the new and tense socio-political, economic and religious conditions that emerged in the late Viking Age when the emerging all-Norwegian Christian kingdom defeated the North-Norwegian chieftains. And it was initially seemingly unaffected by the increasingly successful attempts by the principality of Novgorod to include the Saami in new and extensive long-distance exchange networks (Hansen & Olsen 2003).

From the 13th century onwards, however, the boundary fragmented. The most noticeable change was the establishment of Norwegian⁵ fishing communities along the outer coast of Finnmark (Bratrein 1989:201-217; 2001; Nielsen 1985:15-16). The breakthrough for commercial fishing and settlement expansion was clearly linked to the organized demand for fish effectuated by the Hanseatic trade networks in northern Europe, which also provided the necessary return supplies to these non-native communities. Even though direct historical information about the fishing communities is scarce prior to 1520 AD, archaeological data testifies to their pioneer phase. The archaeological sites in question are identified on the basis of huge midden accumulations, house grounds (including boat houses), churches and churchyards. Small-scale archaeological investigations indicate that at least some of them were established 1200-1300 A.D. (Bratrein 1990:23).

Evidently, this “fishery colonization” was also motivated by political and ecclesiastic ambitions. By extending Norwegian state authority and Roman Catholic influence to the north and east, one sought to oppose the rivalling economic and political power of Novgorod and the Russian Orthodox church. The fortress and church built at Vardø, easternmost Finnmark, slightly after 1300 AD is a manifest expression of those ambitions (Nielsen 1986:79; Balsvik 1989:13-16; Lind 2000). During the 13th century the principality of Novgorod had made their political and economic authority increasingly more visible in the north, especially through their Karelian middlemen (Hansen 1996; Storå 1977; Johnsen 1923; Uino 1997; Makarov 1997). From settlements along the western shores of the White Sea, the Karelians carried out trade and taxation partly as independent merchants and partly on behalf of Novgorod (Storå 1971:273-275; Hansen 1996:55-56). By 1251 Karelian presence is documented in Finnmark and Northern Troms (Johnsen 1923:19). The conflicting relationship between Norway and Novgorod is expressed in 11 Karelian or Russian attacks on Norse settlements reported between 1250 and 1444. Likewise, Russian sources have documented Norse raids targeting settlements and monasteries in the Dvina region of the White Sea (Ovsyannikov 1993; CN 1970:189).

The conflict was attempted to be resolved by the 1326 peace treaty between Norway and Novgorod, confirming reciprocal rights to taxation and free trade in the north (Johnsen 1923:30; Hansen 1996). An appendix to this treaty specifies the geographical limits of this common territory (which simultaneously defines the border of Norwegian and Russian land proper) as running from the Lyngenfjord (“Lyngstuva”) (see Fig. 1) in the west to the eastern tip of the Kola Peninsula (“Trines”, Ponoj), including its southern shore, in the east. In other words, it comprises northern Troms, Finnmark and the Kola Peninsula. Interestingly, despite the ongoing Norwegian colonization of Finnmark, the document restates Lyngenfjord as the northern border of Norway, by referring to it as the one set from “olden times.” The peace treaty seems to have had little real impact on the conflicting relationship, however, and warlike encounters



Fig. 6. Aerial photo of the excavation trench and the multi-room house at Skonsvika, Berlevåg.

continue being reported until the mid-15th century. The conflict over this northern coastline and the right to trade was not just a Norwegian-Russian/Karelian bilateral affair. Apart from the Saami themselves (whom the right to tax and trade was a major matter of conflict), even Icelandic and English traders operated in these waters, partly as free entrepreneurs but also as representatives of state powers.

INTERPRETING MULTI-ROOM HOUSES

These brief accounts outline the historical context in which the multi-room houses appeared. Their distribution is confined to a coastal region defined as “common” to Norway and Russia/Novgorod by the 1326 peace treaty. Despite their bias towards the western part⁶ they do not transgress the traditional Lyngenfjord border. Moreover, their advent and phase of occupation coincides with a period when a wide range of trans-frontier activities and conflicting relationships occurred along this coast. Thus, it

is hardly a daring hypothesis to connect the multi-room houses to this new and turbulent interface in the north. They fit well into (and contributed to) the significant reshaping of the material heritage that took place during the late Medieval Period in Finnmark, adding another dimension of complexity and hybridity to the coastal zone. This, however, does not explain *why* they were built, *who* used them and for *what* purposes.

Since the first scientific report on multi-room houses was published by the Finnish scholar Väinö Tanner in the late 1920s, interpretations have concentrated on two potential candidates for their origin, the Saami or the Norwegians (see however Bratrein 1996). Tanner himself, describing the only locality known from present Russian territory, regarded the multi-room houses as past dwellings of the eastern (Skolt) Saami. This interpretation was mainly based on oral traditions recorded among the Petchenga Saami, who claimed that the nearby multi-room house at Soim was the house of their ancestors (Tanner 1928). Later interpreters, however, have all argued in favour of the Norwegian origin and conceived multi-room houses as dwellings used by the late medieval fishing communities (Beronka 1933; Simonsen 1981; Niemi 1983; 1997). Apart from data recovered by limited excavations carried out by Povl Simonsen (1981) at the complex Vadsøya site in the late 1970s, the interpretations were not informed by excavated material.

As indicated from the historical account above there are clearly more candidates to potential multi-room house “dwellers” than the two previously considered, as well as more possibilities regarding the function of these enigmatic structures. In the next sections we shall discuss different hypotheses regarding the origin and possible function of multi-room houses. The discussion is based on written sources, survey data and materials from archaeological excavations. Regarding the latter, most important are the ongoing excavations at the sites of Kongshavn and Skonsvika in the municipality of Berlevåg at the northeastern margin of the Varanger Peninsula (Figs. 6 and 7). Both sites contain a large and complex multi-room house, actually the two largest multi-room houses so far known. In addition test excavations have been

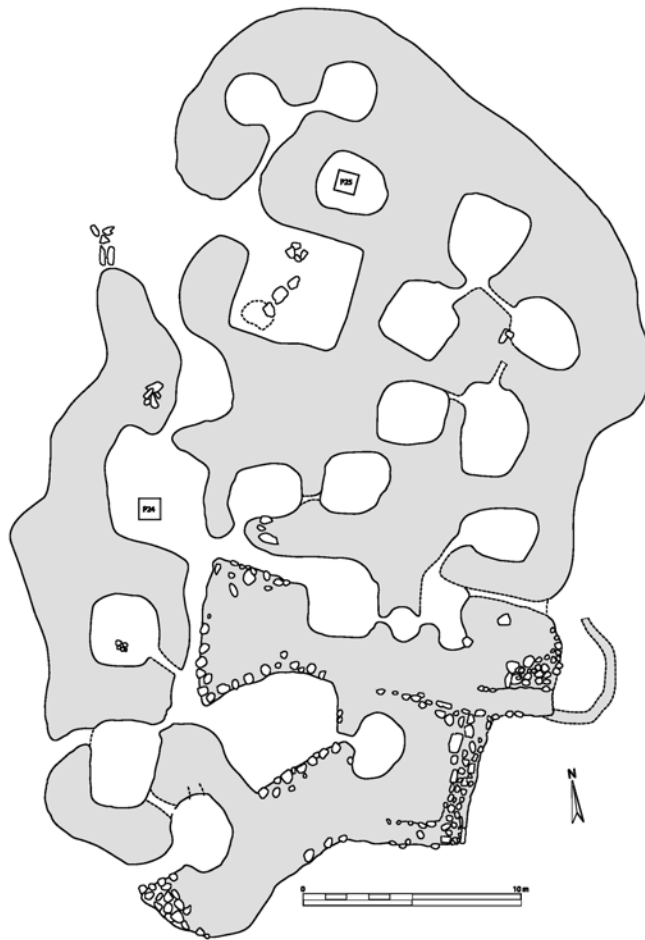


Fig. 7. Plan of the multi-room house at Kongshavn, Berlevåg.

carried out at 11 other sites. As the major excavations in Berlevåg still are in progress and analyses under way, the results presented here must be regarded as preliminary and tentative. Nevertheless, results already achieved allow some conclusions to be suggested.

THE NORSE CONNECTIONS

The plural form of the subtitle indicates that there are several possible Norse connections to the multi-room houses. In fact the least likely connection is the one which so far has gained most support; that multi-room houses formed part of the vernacular architecture and settlement structure imposed by the early Norwegian fishing

communities in Finnmark. Several factors speak against this explanation. Firstly, they rarely occur at localities recorded as Norwegian fishing villages in the first register from 1520/1521. Secondly, while the latter have an extreme outer coast location in terms of overall distribution, multi-room houses (especially along the western coast of Finnmark where their location is less determined), are commonly found in protected waters and close to the sailing routes. Thirdly, preliminary results from analysis of faunal assemblages do not speak in favour of a specialised (and commercial) fish economy. The characteristic huge midden accumulations (creating so called "fishing village mounds") are lacking (with the possible exception of the



Fig. 8. Norse implements: baking plate fragments, soap stone vessel (fragment) and a sinker (Kongshavn).

Værbukta locality), and although fish species are far most frequent in the faunal material the size selection differs from those known from Norse sites oriented at commercialised procurement. Preliminary and limited determinations of fish bones from Skonvika (1200/1300 - 1400 A.D.) also showed that the economically less significant haddock (*Melanogrammus aeglefinus*) is represented almost twice as frequent as the commercially important cod.

Norse connections are, however, evident in the archaeological record. At Kongshavn (1200/1300 - 1500/1600 A.D.) a large number of baking plate pieces (for baking flat bread) are found, as well as fragments of soapstone (steatite) vessels, both considered typical Norse artefacts and known from a vast number of medieval contexts in Norway (Reiersen 1999:82-85) (Fig. 8). A Norse connection is also suggested by a blank of a slate quern-stone found on the floor of the central room at Skonsvika (Fig. 11), and by the find of a

typical Norse soapstone sinker (type IV, Helberg 1993:117, 142-144) at Kongshavn (Fig. 8). Other artefacts, such as a large number of boat nails, may suggest a Norse or northwest European connection, rather than a Saami or Karelian/Russian (cf. Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998:334-363). The building material used in the houses themselves, and the standing wooden panelling recovered from the inner walls, also recalls Norse associations as do the very “architectural grammar” of multi-room houses, resembling Icelandic and Norse Greenlandic house design. Leaving the latter association aside for the moment, what other Norse alternatives are there to the fishing colony hypothesis?

One challenging option is to relate the multi-room houses to the Norwegian system of maritime defense – the *leidang*. According to the historian H. D. Bratrein this system, comprised of geographical-administrative units providing warships to the national fleet, was still



Fig. 9. Fragments of Baltic/Russian “black ware” and of early German Stone Ware (Skonsvika).

operational in northern Norway 180 years after it was demobilized in the south (Bratrein 1984: 28). This prolonged existence may have been caused by recurring threats from the east, making military mobilization in the north still necessary. The law code of western Norway (*Gulatingssloven*), written in the early 13th century, explains that the objective of sustaining the north Norwegian *leidang* was to guard against the threats from the east (– *thvi at their eign verdhalld austr* – NGL 1846:315). In 1420 AD a complaint was raised from coastal Finnmark that the men have to be in naval readiness almost all year-round, due to the constant threat from “the Russians and “heathens” (– *Rutzer oc hedhinge* – DN 1847:670). Long ago O. A. Johnsen (1923:30) suggested that these raids resulted from the threat posed to Novgorodian interests by the Norwegian settlement expansion in Finnmark.

However, the raiding and pillaging attitude was mutual. The northern *leidang* fleet is a potential “suspect” for the Norwegian raids on Russian/Karelian strongholds in the White Sea reported in 1419 and 1445 (CN 1970:189, 203). Some sparse information about violent encounters involving other groups than the Russians or Karelians may also be indicative of the existence of a local military organization. Icelandic annals from the year 1258 report the slaying of an Icelandic(?) crew at the coast of Finnmark (Mundal 1996:104-105, 108). In 1428, a crew of 16 English sailors is reported killed by local men in Finnmark (Urbanczyk 1992:147). The sources do not specify exactly who was responsible for

these hostilities, and why the bloody conflict occurred, but the *leidang* is once again a possible suspect as it may have been commissioned to control all foreign maritime peril in Finnmark during the period when Norwegian kings tried to sustain their valuable monopoly for sailing in the North Atlantic waters (Urbanczyk 1992:72f , 138, 146f).

Can multi-room houses be attributed to the *leidang*? If boat crews had to be in a state of readiness for a period of time, then the multi-room houses at some point might have served as temporary naval quartering. The “hidden” location of most localities, the fortified impressions of some of the complexes, as well as the general enclosed and “strict” spatial organization of the multi-room houses, strengthen this hypothesis. In this respect they may be somehow compared to the Iron Age circular courtyard sites known from the coastal areas of western and northern Norway, and by some archaeologists interpreted as military quarterings (Johansen & Søbstad 1979; see however different interpretations in Urbanczyk 1992:185-186; Storli 2001).

This attractive hypothesis connecting multi-room houses with the “remnant” northern *leidang* is, however, undermined by several counter arguments. Firstly, we have no historical evidence that the organization of the Medieval coastal defense system included some permanent “garrisons”. Secondly, the complicated layout of the buildings in question does not seem to be designed with regard for possibly quick dispatch. Thirdly, several factors indicate that they were

occupied during winter when sailing from the east was rather unlikely. Fourthly, although occurring rather systematically on the western multi-room house localities, boathouses of the size and regularity expected for a *leidang* is not present. Finally, excavations so far have revealed no evidence of military related items and the overall picture that appears from the investigations is one of dominantly domestic activities. It is also hard to explain why the housing of the *leidang* north of the Lyngenfjord would take forms unseen elsewhere in Norway.

Another Norse connection is suggested by the obvious similarities between multi-room houses and Medieval vernacular architecture of Norse Iceland and Greenland (cf. Águstsson 1968; Nørlund 1935; Christensen 1989). The similarities in spatial layout, especially with the “centralized” farms of Greenland and the late Medieval “passage” houses are intriguing.⁷ Some recorded events may weave a fragile thread of actual historical connections between these remote settlements in the north Atlantic. The Icelandic royal chronicle *Morkinskinna* narrates a story concerning the wealthy Oddr Ófeigsson who sailed from northern Iceland to Finnmark and spent the winter there with his boat crew during the reign of Harald Hardrade⁸. The Icelanders traded with the Saami and despite their later encounter with the royal administrator (*sysseľmann*) Einarr Flugá, and king Harald, they returned safely to Iceland with their tribute the next summer (MS 2000:257-261). In an earlier account the same *sysseľmann*, appears to have defeated another(?) Icelandic crew that traded with the Saami (MS 2000:249). Commercial dealings with the Saami were illegal due to the monopoly imposed by the Norwegian kings on the *finnkaup* and *finnskat* (trade and tax expeditions aimed at the Saami) (Holmsen 1977). Especially the profitable trade in hides “north of Vennesund” was reserved for the kings, which is stated explicitly by the early law code of Frostating (NGL 1846:257).

From the late 13th century and onwards, royal decrees forbade foreign trade outside markets and towns controlled by the king, but illegal trade in Northern Norway continued throughout the medieval times (Urbanczyk 1992:138-147). Icelanders may have been involved in this later trade too, as suggested by 13th and 14th century

records (Bratrein, pers. comm.; cf. also Mundal 1996:104-105, 108). While the extent of this trade is unknown, considerable amounts of fur and hides, e.g., squirrels, brown bear, beaver, otter and moose, of probable Saami origin, arrived in English coastal towns from Norway according to custom registers from the 13th and 14th century (Bugge 1899:212; Urbanczyk 1992:231). This is remarkable since Norwegian royal authorities, despite their proclaimed monopoly, are believed *not* to have engaged actively in the fur trade after A.D. 1200 (cf. Wallerström 1995:188-192). It is to be noticed, that when the Norwegian king after a void made the last attempt to reinstall the *finnkaup* in 1310-1311, he engaged an Icelander, Gissur Galle, to conduct the expedition.

Why was an Icelander chosen for this commission? Was it due to the Icelanders’ knowledge of the northern waters and good contacts with the Saami established through generations of illegal trade? Did the Icelandic traders introduce modified version of their own farm houses to coastal Finnmark when trading north of the established border of the Norwegian kingdom proper? There are yet no answers to these questions. However, the architectural idea of building multi-room structures seems to be characteristic for widely dispersed settlements located along the cold climate edge of the north Atlantic. This may indicate socio-economic networks and cultural exchange hitherto largely unacknowledged in cultural historical research.

THE NOVGORODIAN-KARELIAN CONNECTION

The time-space distribution of multi-room houses, however, also makes the Karelians and Russian-Novgorodians potential candidates for their origin. Indeed, the fact that multi-room houses do not appear south (west) of the Lyngenfjord border suggests a non-Norwegian connection (cf. Bratrein 1996). Karelian and Russian presence in Finnmark is well recorded in Icelandic and Russian documentary sources from the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. Their presence and influence in northern Norway are also reflected in numerous place names, of which some are of medieval origin (Bratrein 1977). The eastern connection is also documented in late

Medieval burial finds from Finnmark containing Russian Orthodox crucifixes (Schanche 2000). Despite unanimously inscribed in contexts of raids and warlike encounters in the written sources, the main motif for Karelian and Russian presence (as well as for the conflicts) in Finnmark was trading with and taxing the Saami. Although some of these expeditions followed inland routes (cf. Wallerström 1995:193), it is evident that the sailing route around the Kola Peninsula was very important. This is especially true for the larger expeditions launched from the mouth of Dvina (cf. Ovsyannikov 1993). The key question, however, is whether this presence extended beyond being mere seasonal (and mobile) expeditions and resulted in the establishment of more permanent settlements, trade stations or “pogosts”? Since sailing is restricted to summers and autumns due to the freezing of the White Sea, and archaeological and botanical data from multi-room houses suggest winter occupation (Engelmark 2003), this becomes a critical condition for ascribing Karelian or Russian occupancy to the multi-room houses.

While several features of multi-room house architecture and excavated material clearly points to a Norse connection, others do not. Firstly, finds of Medieval ceramics are exceptionally rare and the potsherds recovered so far are mainly of Baltic-Russian “black ware” (all found at the sites of Kongshavn, Skonsvika and Nordmansen in the municipality of Berlevåg) (Fig. 9). Two pieces of early German stoneware from Skonsvika are the only finds of western European Medieval pottery recovered so far. This clearly contrasts with the rich ceramic material of western origin known from Norse Medieval sites further south in northern Norway. If the multi-room house sites were fully integrated in a socio-political system with access to Norse and Hanseatic trade networks, this discrepancy seems hard to explain.

Secondly, even if multi-room house architecture shares important elements of North Atlantic house design, other elements contradict this tradition. In Norse medieval buildings the hearths of habitation rooms were typically placed in the middle of the floor (Urbanczyk 1992:94). Although traces of central hearths are claimed by the excavator of the Vadsøya site (Simonsen 1981), our excavations so far have not recorded

this phenomenon. On the contrary, corner fireplaces (at Kongshavn) and a wall attached stove (at Skonsvika) are recorded (Fig. 10). Large slab-build corner stoves are also recorded at other localities (i.e., Laukvik and Værbukta). At Kongshavn an unusual funnel (or smoke oven?) made of flagstones was attached to the corner fireplace of the central room. Among the Russians and Karelians, corner stoves/fireplaces was a guiding principle for internal room design (cf. Khoroshev & Sorokin 1992:145-151; Uino 1997; Korkeakoski-Väisänen 2002).

Thirdly, the excavation at Skonsvika revealed a remarkable outdoor stone-oven⁹ (dated to 1270-1410 A.D.) unparalleled in any known Norwegian medieval context. The oven contained a solid rectangular core build up of larger stones that were paved around with smaller “boiling” stones (Figs. 11 and 12). This oven vaguely shares some features with late medieval ovens excavated in Finnish Karelia (Korkeakoski-Väisänen 2002), but more generally with the large outdoor “Russian ovens” widely used for baking bread until recent times. Burned seeds of cereals associated apophytes were found during macro fossil analysis of samples taken from this oven. Most probably, these seeds were brought here as contaminants in flour, thus indicating bread baking (Engelmark 2003). Most interesting is a piece of corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*), a plant closely associated with rye, which was a common crop among Russian and Karelians. A final eastern link to be mentioned here, is provided by several artefacts found, such as a bronze vessel (Fig. 13), cut pieces of bronze, fibulas, and animal tooth amulets (cf. Zachrisson 1976:46-62; Makarov 1997:343; Caune 1990:84; Odner 1992:131). For example, a double-headed metal buckle found at Skonsvika is identical to buckles recovered in burials dated to 11-13th centuries in north-west Russia, including burials excavated near the mouth of Varzuga on the southern shore of the Kola Peninsula (Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998:26-32, 46, 460; cf. Makarov 1990:203; Sobolev 2001:119).

One argument against the Karelian-Novgorodian hypothesis is the relative abundance of Norse artefacts, such as soap stone vessels and baking plates. Such inclusions do seem strange in perspective of the antagonistic relationship portrayed in the historical records. However, as already noted, these sources may be



Fig. 10. Wall attached oven excavated at Skonsvika. The oven was built in a wooden box attached to the turf wall. Large stones stood around a horseshoe shaped floor made of pebbles covered with clay. Most likely it was roofed or enclosed by a cover.

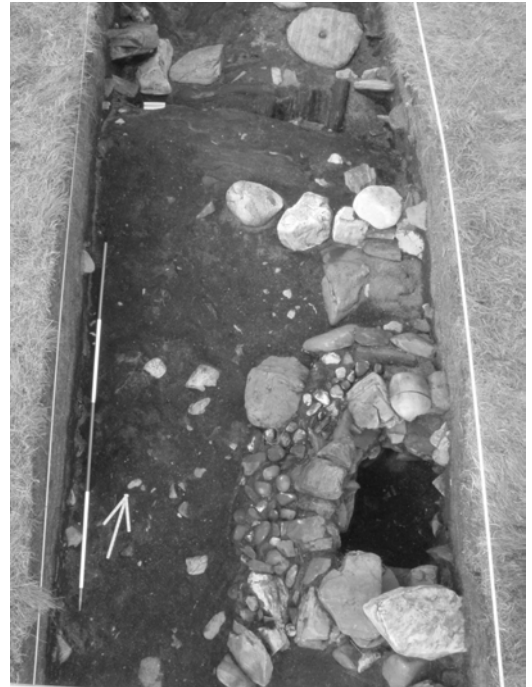


Fig. 11. Excavation trench at Skonsvika. In front of the picture is the partially recovered outdoor oven, while the top layers of the central room are under excavation in the background. Note the fragments of wooden panel and the blank of a slate quern stone being recovered.

biased and goods may still have been traded between Norsemen and Karelians/Russians. Access to Norse products may also have been provided by Saami intermediaries. The same argument can of course be used to defend a Norse origin despite the presence of eastern products. A more serious deficiency with the Karelian-Novgorodian hypothesis under consideration is the lack – as far as the authors know – of parallels in the White Sea region or elsewhere in Russia to the multi-room houses themselves. Although complex fortified settlements are known from the eastern White Sea region (Ovsyannikov 1993; Jasinski & Ovsyannikov 1998), their size, layout and morphology seem very different from those of the multi-room house sites. If not native to the Karelians or Russians, it remains to be explained why they adopted this peculiar architecture precisely during their (eventual) north-western diaspora.

THE SAAMI CONNECTION

The Saami connection to multi-room houses was suggested already in the late 17th century by the Vardø-based governor of Finnmark, Hans Lillienkiöld. During the 1690s Lillienkiöld visited Berlevåg and saw the remains of the multi-room complex in Kongshavn, describing it as a “castle ruin.” While there he also collected a local folk poem recounting a story about a king and his daughter supposed to have lived at the castle in Kongshavn, the only poem (or folk song) of its kind to be preserved from Finnmark (Bakke 1976; Simonsen 1976; Krogh 1999). Lillienkiöld connected the material remains in Kongshavn (“the harbour of the King”), to a Norse medieval tradition about a Saami social elite, the so called *finnekonger* (“Saami kings”) (Lillienkiöld 1698/1945). The Norse Sagas contain several accounts of such Saami kings (cf.



Fig. 12. The rectangular core of the outdoor oven at Skonsvika. Note the dog skeleton at the left base. Five dog skeletons were found at the Skonsvika site in 2003.

Zachrisson 1997:144-148), however, these have largely been dismissed by modern historians as ethnocentric projections of Norse socio-political conditions onto the Saami. Only one historian, H. D. Bratrein, has expressed some concern regarding this dismissal. He refers to a short and down-to-earth remark in Icelandic annals for the year 1313 stating that “This summer Martin the Saami king came to king Håkon” (Bratrein 2001:1). The Norwegian king in question is Håkon Magnusson and the meeting probably took place in Bergen. Based on various historical records, Bratrein argues that these depictions of Saami kings actually refer to a real Saami social institution or form of leadership that the Norse compared to that of a king or kingdom (Bratrein 2001:4-5; cf. Mundal 1996:110).

While the legitimacy of the term “king” clearly may be questioned, there is ample archeological evidence in support of increased Saami social

stratification from the Late Iron Age onwards. Rich burial finds from the late Viking Period and Early Medieval Period are known throughout the Saami settlement area (Zachrisson 1997; Schanche 2000), and particular rich finds are known from coastal Finnmark (Sjøvold 1974; Schanche 2000). The emerging fur trade stimulated by growing demand at European aristocratic courts and changing relations to neighboring Norse and Russian societies may have triggered the advent of new social configurations. Later, even more serious processes of change may have taken place in coastal Finnmark as a response to trade, taxation, and colonization. By an analogy to studies of Native American responses to fur trade and mission (Leacock 1954; Wolf 1982), this new interface may well have affected considerable changes in social organisation, habitation and economy. However, the tricky part is – once again – to provide the bridging arguments to the multi-room houses.



Fig. 13. Bronze vessel partially covered with textile remains (Kongshavn).

Regardless, there are several factors which may be interpreted as supporting a Saami connection. The scene onto which the multi-room houses are introduced is after all the traditional Saami settlement area, and their overall geographical distribution is almost identical with Saami material from the Iron Age, i.e., the slab lined pits (Henriksen 1996). One should neither dismiss the fact that local folk traditions do link the Saami to the multi-room houses. Lillienkiöld's account was collected less than 200 years after the site of Kongshavn was abandoned. Moreover, the "mixed" and confusing archaeological record, blending eastern and western goods and traditions, accords well with other assemblages of Saami medieval material culture (cf. Zachrisson 1976; 1997; Grydeland 1996; 2001; Olsen 2000). Closely connected to the trade networks of both the Norse and the Karelians/Novgorodians, such bricolage is probably most likely to be expected at a Saami settlement in Finnmark. Although typical "Saami" artifacts (when found in western contexts) often are trade items from the east (cf. Storli 1991; Zachrisson 1984; 1997), some artifacts may be more indicative of ethnicity. Pieces of cut bronze, for example, are very common to Saami medieval contexts (Carpelan 1975:45; Zachrisson 1976), even suggested to have functioned as some kind of "primitive money" (Odner 1992:131). Tooth amulets were also frequently used by the Saami (Fig. 14), and are known from numerous

archaeological as well as ethnographical contexts (cf. Storå 1977:92; Price 2002:270).

The resource utilization pictured by the faunal assemblages also in general fits well with our current knowledge of medieval Saami economy. The variety of species represented in the faunal assemblages picture a broad based resource utilization pattern in concordance with the native economy. The presence of domesticates, such as sheep and/or goat in the faunal material, is probably indicative of small-scale cattle husbandry. The Skonsvika sheep (lamb) bone, radiocarbon dated to 1280-1420 A.D., represents the hitherto oldest confidently dated domesticate from Finnmark. Even if cattle meat may have been traded, botanical information from macro fossil as well as pollen analysis suggest that cattle was kept at least at some sites (Engelmark 2003; Jensen 2002). Pollen analysis carried out at the Skonsvika locality does point to a rapid increase in apophytes, indicating grassing as well as a possible man made birch forest clearing (resulting in the present tree-less landscape) at the point of the advent of the multi-room houses (Jensen 2002:21). Similar, even if less conclusive, results are obtained from pollen analyses carried out at four other localities. Animal husbandry is well documented at late medieval sites in Finnmark and northern Troms (Odner 1992; 2001; Grydeland 1996; 2001), and probably marks the introduction of the later coast Saami "mixed" economy.

However, one aspect of the faunal material represents a real challenge to the Saami connections. Pig is present in the test pit assemblages from most sites, and preliminary analyses may indicate that it is more frequently represented than sheep/goat at some of them. According to ethnographical sources the Saami did not keep pigs as pork meat was considered "unclean" (Kolsrud 1955:160¹⁰; Simonsen 1980:223-224). While the time depth of these conceptions is uncertain it may be significant that pig is lacking from the faunal material recovered from late medieval and early modern Saami sites in Varanger, eastern Finnmark (Odner 1992:193; Hambleton & Rowley-Conwy 1997) and Kvanangen, northern Troms (Grydeland 1996), despite presence of other domesticates. Pig bones may be indicative of (salted) pork meat brought here, either as a trade object or as provision.



Fig. 14. Tooth amulet freshly from the soil (Kongshavn)

However, pig husbandry cannot be ruled out. It may be significant that pigs are regarded as a pertinent resource option especially for satellite communities since they produce much protein rapidly and feed on a wide range of waste products (Hesse & Wapnish 1998:125-126).

Multi-room house architecture is another “obstacle” to a Saami origin. Indeed, it is a big leap from the mundane and small Saami circular turf houses¹¹ from the Iron Age and Early Medieval Period to these big stone-and-turf built complexes. Moreover, the preceding local architecture, well documented through surveys and excavation during this project, continues during the time of the multi-room houses – and outlives them. However, Saami vernacular architecture did undergo considerable changes on the transition from the medieval to early modern times, as reflected in the emergence of the large coastal “common house” (*fellesgamme*) (cf. Andreassen 1996:33, 36-37, 46). This house,

providing common housing for men and beasts, emerged partly as a response to economic changes and a semi-sedentary settlement pattern. The morphology of these houses that existed parallel to the round houses¹², do in some cases resemble that of the multi-room houses, and even the spatial arrangement of rooms may become quite complex (Falkenberg 1941; Vorren 1982). In fact, a structure at the Vadsøya site earlier interpreted as a small multi-room house proved to be a common house after close inspection. Radiocarbon dates of samples from a test excavation in 2001 dated the house to 1450-1660 A.D. Thus, architectural changes are not foreign to early Saami history, and the multi-room houses may represent a temporary differentiation, which later “modified” and turned into the common house. If Saami societies in coastal Finnmark underwent a change in social structure during the Medieval Period, resulting in a social differentiation unparalleled later, as reflected in



Fig. 15. Golden finger ring (Kongshavn).

the “king” records, then the architectural complexity and differentiation associated with multi-room houses is probably to be expected.

Although this does not relate only to the Saami candidature, there are some indications of internal social differentiation in the bigger multi-room complexes such as Kongshavn and Skonsvika. Most noticeable is the existence of at least one well-equipped room centrally located in the complexes, yielding far more rich finds than others. Although archaeological finds indicating the presence of high ranking persons admittedly are few, there are some hints provided by finds such as textiles, bronze padlocks, rare fibulas/bucklets, amulets and a golden finger ring from Kongshavn (Fig. 15). The latter belongs to a type dated to 12th to early 14th century, of which only four are known from Norway. While two of these are stray finds, the other two are found in the medieval towns of Oslo (Gamlebyen) and

Trondheim (Bibliotekstomta) (Hammervold 1997:48, catalogue nos. 93-96). Finger rings played an important role in high status gift exchange, and may throw some archaeological light on the written accounts of interaction between high ranking Saami and Norsemen. However, the ring may as well be indicative of a Norse presence.

CONCLUSION: CROSSING BORDERS AND ETHNICITIES

As evident from the discussion above, there is no uncontested candidate to whom the multi-room houses may be ascribed. Although the Saami, Karelian-Novgorodian and Icelandic connection may seem more likely than the Norwegian one, the material resists subordination to any clear-cut cultural or ethnic framework. The obvious reason for this archaeological “obstinacy” is that these

cultures did not exist apart, and our preliminary results are timely reminders of the complex and dynamic processes caused by contact situations as dealt with here. Thus, even if the multi-room houses as a phenomenon were linked to only one of these groups, which still of course is a viable interpretive alternative, it is unlikely that our ongoing excavations will reveal evidence of a non-hybridized cultural presence. To the contrary, it is far more likely that they will produce further rhizome statements about the entangled lives of those who lived and traded in this northern coastal region.

These statements may suggest connections that go beyond trade and movements of materials, affecting also the “peoples” and the “cultures” involved. Consequently, they challenge us to consider the possibility of more complex multi-room house biographies than the hitherto mono-cultural explanations of origin and function. Possible multi-ethnic roots of the societies that created these settlements, built their unusual houses and dwelled in them may find support in the recent studies on the multi-cultural origin of the settlers of the north Atlantic islands that included not only substantial population of Irish origin but also some Saami, Germans and possibly Slavs (Rafnsson 1974:222; Pálsson 1996; 1997; Urbanczyk 2002; 2003). These conclusions support a general observation that medieval societies were much more tolerant and open to “the other” than we tend to imagine.

While any exhaustive propositions are premature due to ongoing investigations and the preliminary status of analysis, some suggestions may still be made. Firstly, multi-room houses may have been introduced to Finnmark by outsiders, for example to serve as winter quartering for Icelandic traders. Due to trade and social interaction (and possible processes of symbolic exchange) the form may have been taken over by an emerging Saami elite and developed into vernacular status residences. Secondly, multi-room houses may have functioned as inter-ethnic meetings grounds for trade and exchange allowing for considerable degree of co-habitation during their use. Thirdly, the multi-room houses may have been a “joint venture” between a Saami social elite and outsiders

(such as the Karelians and Novgorodians), functioning both as a seasonal trade station for the latter and as the permanent residence of the former. Moreover, the differences in the multi-room house layout and size may indicate that there are more than one answer to the questions of why these peculiar buildings came into use and what role they played in medieval coastal Finnmark. Hopefully, the ongoing excavations and analyses will yield results that make us better equipped to address also the interpretive alternatives hinted at here.

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NOTES

- 1 In some of the larger complexes of this type the common corridor does not constitute a central axis and the rooms are more randomly distributed. Substantial outdoor areas containing a number of structures (ovens, pits, etc.) are also recovered within these large complexes.
- 2 There are, however, exceptions. One such case is the Neselva South locality, containing a large and very symmetrical multi-room house that seems surprisingly lightly built. Test excavations also indicate a very short period of occupation.
- 3 There is, however, considerable doubts if all these could be classified as multi-room houses. The site also contains numerous remains of later buildings and is partly destroyed due to WW-II installations.
- 4 Two of these localities, Kirkegårdsbukt, Hammerfest and Avløysinga, Ingøy, are dated independently of this project (see Bratrein 1995; 1996; Andreassen 2003).
- 5 The term Norwegian may not be adequate for the ethnic identity of those who lived in these medieval fishing communities. According to later registers from the 16th and 17th century the population was multi-ethnic comprised of German, Swedish, Danish and Scottish inhabitants.
- 6 This observation is based on our current knowledge about their distribution. Since systematic surveys for such houses have not been conducted east of the Pechenga fjord, Russia, the possibility remains open that they also have an unacknowledged eastern presence.
- 7 As exemplified by the "passage" house at Groef, this house type dates at least back to the 14th century in Iceland (Orri Vésteinsson, pers. comm.). One should also explore eventual parallel to the concentration of the multi-room structures (such as Vadsøya) in the north Icelandic trade "emporium" in Gasir near Akureyri. Excavations initiated in 2002 confirmed a medieval origin and revealed imports from the continent – including sherds of the Baltic-Slavic black ware.
- 8 The manuscript covers the period 1030-1157, and was probably written in the beginning of the 13th century. The actual story takes place during the reign of Harald Hardradi (1047-1066), but clearly contains anachronistic elements (such as the *sysseleinn* institution that was established during the late 12th century) and may have been added as a later interpolation. Oddr Ofeigsson appears in several sagas, however, and is elsewhere described as a wealthy trader and ship owner.
- 9 Only half(?) of it was exposed by the excavation trench.
- 10 Kolsrud refers to a statement by Lillienkiöld (1685) claiming that "among the Saami there are a strange distaste for pigs".
- 11 It should be noted, however, that excavations at Slettnes, Sørøya, revealed a more complex Saami structure dated to 1000-1200 A.D. This structure contained several linked stone built platforms, enclosures and/or rooms (Hesjedal *et al.* 1996:33-34)
- 12 The Saami round house (saami: *goahti*), including the tent, continued being used not only by nomadic reindeer herders, but also among the Saami coastal societies on hunting and gathering trips.

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