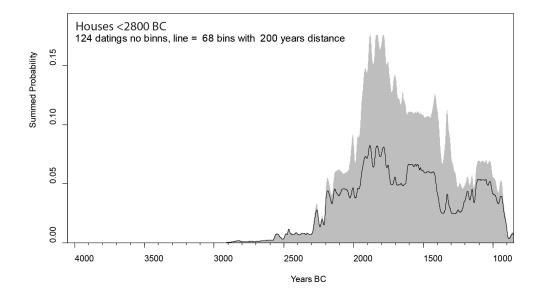
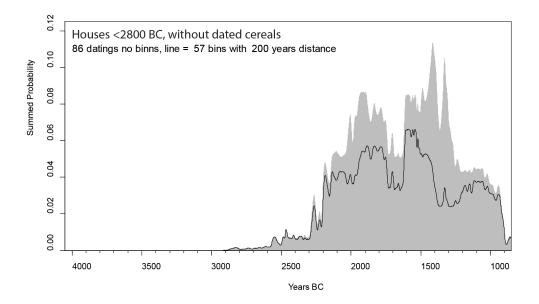
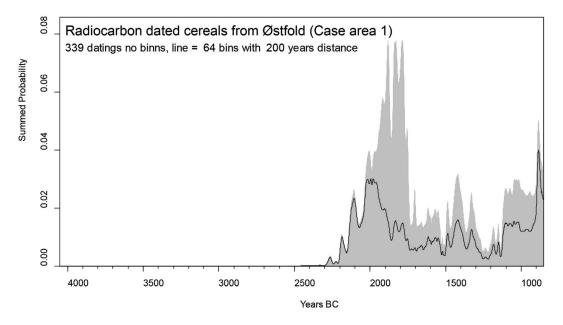
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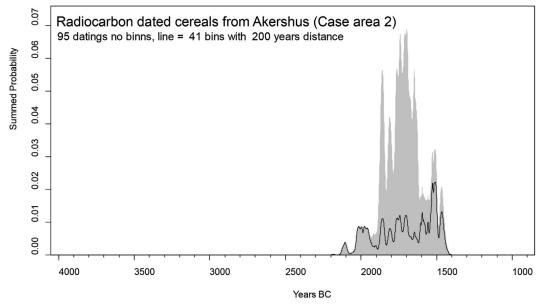
Appendix 1

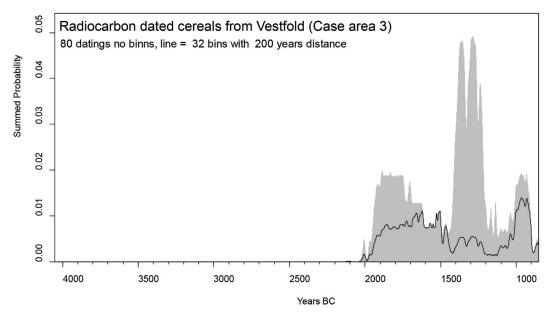




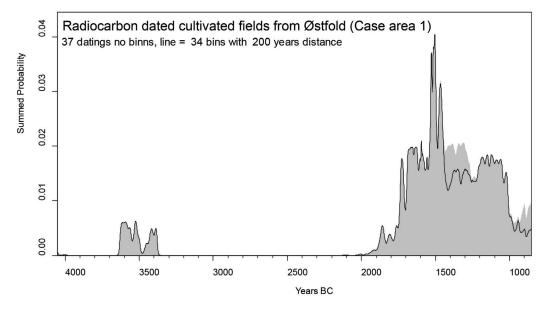
Appendix 2

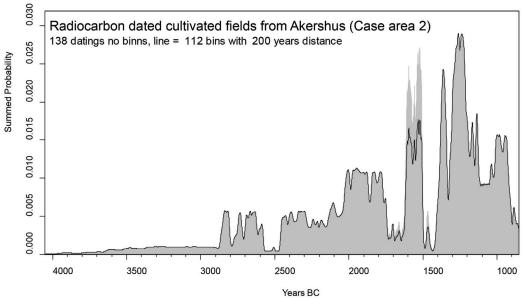


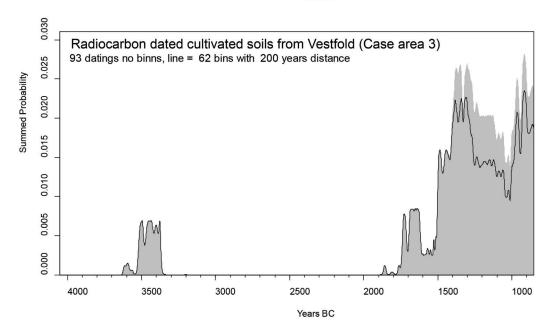




Appendix 3







Appendix 4: Settlement material

Eastern side of the fjord

At Stensrød in the region of Østfold on the eastern side of the Oslo fjord, three two-aisled houses dated to the LN were excavated in 2002 (Rønne 2003a; 2004; Table 1 and Figure 2A), while additional postholes dated to the mid LN (3630±60 BP, 2035-1925 cal BCE, TUa-3918) were found at the nearby site Torpum 9a (Rønne 2003b). Stensrød was located 47 m above the present sea level, in an area that with a 15-20 m higher sea level would have been an island, around 600 m from the shoreline. Two of the houses at Stensrød were partially superimposed (Figure 1A), while the third house was situated 6.5 m west of the other houses (Rønne, 2003a, 206, Fig.108). The third house was only partially uncovered, while the two other houses measured 23.1 x 6.5-6.7 and 19.2 x 4.8-5.8 m. Compared to general trends in houses elsewhere in Scandinavia (Artursson 2009, 50-51, 70), the Stensrød houses are lower- to medium-sized. The smallest house is dated between 2150-2050 BCE (Table 1) and had a slight trapezoidal form with straight to slightly inwards curving sides, perhaps indicating the placement of parallel entrances, and one rounded and one straight gable. The roof-bearing structure consisted of four posts,

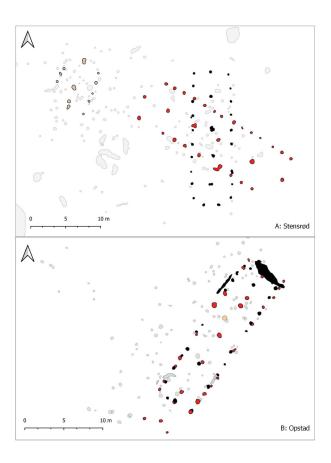


Figure 1. Ground plans from houses on the eastern side of the fjord as presented in excavation reports the different houses marked in red and black. Other structures in grey (Source: MCH, maps by A. Sand-Eriksen).

with wall-posts situated fairly wide apart, 1.8 m in average. The other, slightly younger house also had

Site	House ID	C14	1 sigma	Lab. no
Stensrød	House 1	3595, 45	2020-1890 calBCE	TUa-3899
Stensrød	House 1	3535, 40	1930-1770 calBCE	TUa-4099
Stensrød	House 1	3790, 50	2300-2130 calBCE	TUa-3895
Stensrød	House 2	3660, 45	2140-1960 calBCE	TUa-3900
Stensrød	House 2	3720, 50	2200-2030 calBCE	TUa-4100
Stensrød	House 2	3685, 60	2200-2030 calBCE	TUa-3901
Opstad	House 1	3515, 40	1900-1765 calBCE	LuS-16617
Opstad	House 1	3515, 30	1950-1825 calBCE	LuS -16320
Opstad	House 1/2	3530, 35	1920-1770 calBCE	LuS -16322
Opstad	House 1/2	3520, 35	1925-1770 calBCE	LuS-16319
Opstad	House 2	3495, 35	1885-1765 calBCE	LuS-16318
Opstad	House 2	3520, 35	1885-1765 calBCE	LuS -16326
Opstad	House 2	3530, 35	1885-1765 calBCE	LuS -16321
Opstad	House 3	3495, 40	1930-1770 calBCE	LuS-16616
Opstad	House 3	3500, 35	1900-1770 calBCE	LuS-16620
Opstad	House 3	3500, 30	2140-2030 calBCE	LuS-16622
Opstad	House 4	3530, 35	2015-1895 calBCE	LuS-16621
Opstad	House 4	3520, 35	1940-1775 caBCE	LuS-16623

Table 1. Details on radiocarbon dates separated by sites and houses from Case 1 on the eastern side of the fjord.

wall-posts far apart and a similar form. The distance between the postholes could perhaps indicate an exterior construction consisting of bole walls. The house has a striking similarity with house C from Lille Torup, situated in the northernmost district Vendsyssel in northern Jutland, which, alongside other houses in this area, such as the LN houses from Besjebakke, Østre Nibstrup and Søndergård, are suggested to have been made from the same template (Sarauw 2019, 164).

Associated finds (Table 2) and structures from the site and surrounding area, such as traces of fossilised fields, and several (but disputable) clearance cairns, have been interpreted as evidence of intensive arable farming at Stensrød and deforestation of the landscape for pasture (Glørstad 2012, 85; Rønne 2003a, 198). In prior studies, it has also been stated that the pollen analysis finds several phases of agricultural activity between 4000 and 3000 BP at Stensrød (Glørstad 2004, 70). Although the pollen analysis (Høeg 2003) shows some agricultural indicators, such as some traces of animal husbandry and clearance, it also states that the area was heavily dominated by forest, and we cannot see it supporting a notion of either intensive or extensive arable farming at Stensrød during the LN and EBA.

At Opstad, 23 km from Stensrød, four twoaisled houses were found during excavations in 2019 (Munch Havstein in prep), and dated to the LN (Table 1). The site was situated 55 masl., around 300-350 m away from the contemporary shoreline. Two of the houses at Opstad were stratigraphically superimposed, and with complete ground plans uncovered during excavation (Figure 1B). Both were also dated around 1900-1700 BCE (Table 1). The oldest house was 19.5 x 4.9-5.2 m, and the youngest 24.5 x 4.8-5.4 m. The wall-posts in the oldest house were on average 1.5 m apart, while in the younger house, the distance seems to have decreased to around 1.2-1.3 m. The two other two-aisled houses encountered at the site were not completely uncovered during the excavation and were partially superimposed with each other and the two other houses. Based on stratigraphic and radiocarbon dates, they are older than the two complete houses. Both measured c.15 x 5-6.5 m. Compared to trends elsewhere in southern Scandinavia, all houses from Opstad seem to be lower to

medium sized, like those at Stensrød. In association with the houses, pottery, flint artefacts and an unusually high number of cereal grains were found (Table 2).

North of the fjord

At the site Huseby in the region Akershus, northeast in the Oslo Fjord area, a two-aisled house was excavated in 2011 (Rødsrud 2014). The house is dated to the transition between LN and EBA (Table 3). This house was much smaller than the two-aisled houses found further south, measuring only 13.5 m in length (Figure 2A). The house was 5.2 m wide and slightly narrower in the middle, which could indicated the placement of an entrance (Rødsrud 2014, 19). In contrast to the houses further south, the two-aisled house from Huseby had two straight gables. The corner posts, however, are asymmetrical, something that is not in line with the definition of straight gables (Artursson 2005, 40). No hearths were found in connection to the house, but traces of secondary heat in one of the wall-postholes could indicate the existence of a fireplace in close proximity.

Around 4 km from Huseby, the remains of two houses dating to the later parts of the LN was excavated in 2008 (Eggen 2010). Both houses were generally small, measuring 11 and 14 m, but only a single row of roof-supporting posts were uncovered. The trend of building smaller is also evident in the subsequent three-aisled houses at Huseby dating to EBA I-II (Figure 2B, Table 3). The house measures 17.5 m, but the northernmost postholes are questioned in the report, and could be part of a second house (Rødsrud 2014, 26), which would result in an even smaller three-aisled house. Traces of two other partial three-aisled houses were also found at Huseby, measuring 8.5 m and 12 m (Figure 3C and D). They are rather widely dated between 1900 to 1500 BCE (Table 3). Based on the number of other structures, of which several are postholes, and the wide spread of C14-dates, several of which are within the LN II and prior to the introduction of the three-aisled building technique, the houses could benefit from a reassessment. Similar reinterpretations have successfully been carried out on house material in the south-

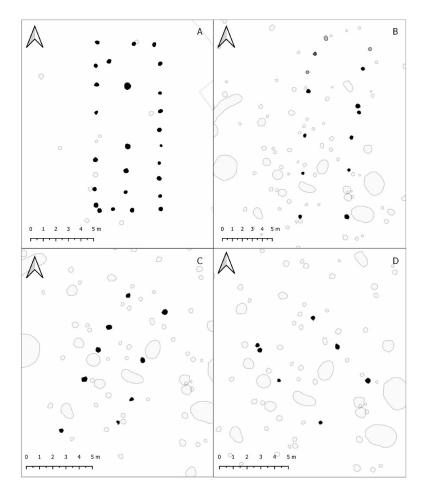
Site	Category	Total	Sub category	No
	Flint	208	Mainly refuse debitage, but also arrowhead, drilling tool, scrapers, fragment of polished flint	
	Other lithics	342	Mainly debitage, but also axes (of the Nøstvet-type dated to the Late Mesolithic)	
	Cereal	13	Naked barley (Hordeum vulgare var. nudum) Wheat (Triticum spp.)	10
			Mammals (indet.), one fragment of cloven-foot animal	48
Stensrød	Bones	55	Fish (indet.)	2
			Possibly human fragments	5
	Other resources	?	Hazelnut shells (Corylus avellana) are mentioned, but no numbers stated.	
	Pottery	56	Coarse ware	55
		4.0	Decorated	1
	Burnt clay	16	From mud-built structure(s)	16
	Flint	206	In addition refuse debitage, e.g. fragment of a sickle and polished fragments Naked barley (Hordeum vulgare var. nudum)	236
	Cereal	265	Bread wheat (Triticum vulgare)	230
	00.00.		Unidentified cereals (Cerealie indet.)	25
			Goat/sheep (Ovis/Capra)	2
			Large cloven-foot animal	1
	Burnt bones	134	Large animal, one from likely cattle (Bos taurus)	5
Opstad			Middle sized animals (such as sheep/goat or pig)	14
,			Small animal, possibly bird	2
	Other resources	?	Hazelnut shell (<i>Corylus avellana</i>)	
			Raspberries (<i>Rubus ideaus</i>) is noted to be presented in postholes	
	Pottery	351	Variety of coarse shards, rims and bases	350
			Decorated	1
	Burnt clay	4	Well-preserved. Although there are traces of straws/branches and likely finger marks, they are not con-	
	Barric clay		to wattle-and-daub exterior of the house. Of which more were expected to be found (Munh-Havstein, i	in prep)
	Lithics	3	Fragments of flint and quarts	
			Naked barley (Hordeum vulgare var. nudum)	6
			Barley (Hordeum vulgare)	21
	Cereal	72	Emmer wheat (Triticum dicoccum)	12
Huseby			Spelt wheat (Triticum spelta)	32
Пазсыу			Unidentified cereals (Cerealie indet.)	32
	Burnt bones	10	Not analysed (but from contexts dated to the LN-EBA)	
	Other resources	7	Fragments of hazelnut shells (Corylus avellana)	
	Pottery	6	Shards and rims (some from contexts dated to the LN-EBA)	
	Burnt clay	1?	Only collected from one posthole, observed in others but discarded	
Asak	Flint	1	Fragment Mostly debitage and fragments, some with wear marks, but also a bifacial arrowhead dated to LN-EBA,	as well
	Flint	15	as a sickle fragment (found during the registration of the site) and a spearhead in the rock shelter	as well
Nordby	Cornel	5	Barley (Hordeum vulgare)	4
	Cereal	5	Unidentified cereals (Cerealie indet.)	1>
	Burnt bones	29	Mammals, but 20 of the fragments are unidentified	28
	Burne Bones	23	Seal (<i>Phoca vitulina</i>) found in the rock shelter	1
	Other resources	?	Fragment of hazelnut shells (Corylus avellana) noted	
	Pottery	7	Coarse, one rim shard. One decorated PWC-fragment from the rock shelter	
	Bronze	1	Possible nail, found in structure dated to Middle Ages	
Løve-skogen	Flint	683	Mainly debitage, but also type 1-dagger, drill, scraper, ad hoc artefact	
	Other lithics	6	Sanding/waterstone and debitage	6
			Wheat (Triticum spp .)	4
	Cereal	14	Bread wheat (Triticum vulgare)	2
	Cerear	14	Barley (Hordeum vulgare)	2
			Unidentified cereals (Cerealie indet.)	6
			Fragment of jaw from cattle or pig	1
Løve-skogen		146	Middle sized animal (such as sheep/goat or pig)	9
Løve-skogen	Burnt bones	140	1.0	
Løve-skogen	Burnt bones	140	Large animal (such as cattle or horse)	1
Løve-skogen	Burnt bones Other resources	5	Large animal (such as cattle or horse) Fragments of birnt hazelnut shell (<i>Corylus avellana</i>)	1
Løve-skogen			Large animal (such as cattle or horse)	1 2 1 350

 Table 2. Details on associated finds from the sites based on information from excavation reports.

Table 3. Details on radiocarbon dates separated by sites and houses from Case 2 in the northern part of the fjord.

Site	House ID	C14	1 sigma	Lab. no
Huseby	House 4	3360, 31	1730-1610 calBCE	Ua-46745
Huseby	House 4	3403, 31	1745-1665 calBCE	Ua-46746
Huseby	House 4	3513, 31	1890-1770 calBCE	Ua-46747
Huseby	House 4	3410 31	1750-1665 calBCE	Ua-46748
Huseby	House 4	3370, 31	1740-1630 calBCE	Ua-46749
Huseby	House 4	3412, 30	1750-1665 calBCE	Ua-46750
Huseby	House 1	3200, 25	1510-1425 calBCE	Tra-3824
Huseby	House 1	3489, 42	1880-1750 calBCE	Ua-46752
Huseby	House 1	2775, 25	925-850 calBCE	Tra-3825
Huseby	House 1	3229, 31	1525-1450 calBCE	Ua-46753
Huseby	House 1	3307, 31	1620-1530 calBCE	Ua-46754
Huseby	House 2	3294, 32	1610-1525 calBCE	Ua-46755
Huseby	House 2	3467, 33	1880-1740 calBCE	Ua-46756
Huseby	House 2	3279, 31	1610-1515 calBCE	Ua-46757
Huseby	House 3	3437, 33	1870-1680 calBCE	Ua-46758
Huseby	House 3	3451, 33	1880-1690 calBCE	Ua-46761
Huseby	House 3	3410, 32	1750-1665 calBCE	Ua-46759
Huseby	House 3	3392, 32	1740-1635 calBCE	Ua-46760
Asak	House 1	3575, 35	1945-1880 calBCE	TUa-7997
Asak	House 1	3510, 40	1915-1775 calBCE	TUa-7998
Asak	House 2	3650, 35	2110-1945 calBCE	TUa-7999
Asak	House 2	3540, 40	1915-1775 calBCE	TUa-8002

Figure 2. Ground plans from houses at the site Huseby north of the fjord as presented in excavation reports. Other structures in grey. In B, the questioned posthole is marked in dark grey (Source: MCH, maps by A. Sand-Eriksen).



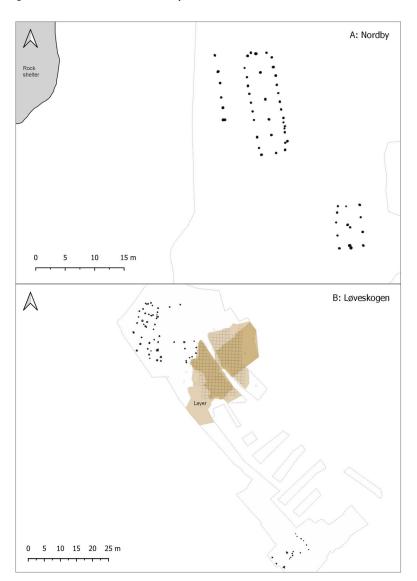


Figure 3. Ground plans from houses on the western side of the fjord as presented in excavation reports (Source: MCH, maps by A. Sand-Eriksen).

ernmost region of southeastern Norway (Hauge 2007, 72-74; Valum 2011).

Traces of cereal grains were found in connection to all houses, and a comparatively small number of bones, perhaps indicating an orientation towards crop farming. The cereals differ between numerous types (Table 2). This could represent several harvests, but might also show a level of management to ensure resilience in crop production (see e.g. Bishop et al. 2022). Compared to the other case sites, Huseby contained a remarkably low number of other finds (Table 2).

Western side of the fjord

At Nordby in Vestfold, on the western side of the fjord, two two-aisled houses dated to the LN and a third house or building dated to the EBA I-II

were found during excavations in 2006 (Gjerpe and Bukkemoen 2008; Table 4). One of the houses was found with a completely preserved ground plan, measuring 17 x 4.8-5 m, while the other only consisted of a single line of roof-bearing postholes, measuring 11 m. The house from Nordby has a roof-bearing construction of four posts (Figure 3A), and wall-posts situated c.1.5 m apart, rather similar to that from Stensrød (Figure 1A). The roof-bearing posts in the other house had distinct similarities with those from the definable house. The third building at Nordby was rectangular, measuring 7 x 4.3 m, oriented similarly to the other houses, and dated between 1700-1400 BCE (Table 4). A rock shelter c.40 m west of the houses was excavated simultaneously. Dates of animal bones from a layer (3670±35BP, TUa-6692; 3120±35BP, TUa-6694) demonstrate that the rock shelter was used at the same time as the houses, probably as a working or storage place, but later and earlier dates and artefacts were also found inside the shelter (Gjerpe and Bukkemoen 2008, 35). With a sea-level 15-20 m higher, an inlet would be located *c*.200 m from the site, a placement closer to the sea than any of the other sites.

Only 5.5 km from Nordby, the site Løveskogen was excavated in 2019 (Sand-Eriksen and Mjærum 2021). The site was situated *c*.500 m from the contemporary shoreline. A stone cairn dated to the BA was situated between the site and the sea, forming part of a system of 12 similar cairns in the area (Sollund 1996). At Løveskogen, two two-aisled houses and traces of a third building were discovered (Figure 3B). The oldest was dated with a fairly wide timespan, *c*.2200 BCE to *c*.1300 BCE (Table 4). The youngest most likely stem from activity in connection with the partially

overlapping younger house, which is securely dated to the decades around 1300 BCE (Table 4). The houses measured 15.5 x 5.7 m and 16.5 x 5.5 m, but they were not completely uncovered (Figure 3B). The youngest house had six roof-bearing posts, which in the northern end could have had supporting posts or replacements. They are also placed much closer together than in any of the other cases. This could indicate either that the house was of a considerable length, or that some posts stem from buildings that could not be adequately defined. The third building, measuring c.11 x 5 m, was situated 72 m south of the two other houses, and dated to EBA I (Table 4). A large refuse layer was also uncovered at the site, dated to the same period as the settlement (3660±35, 2140-1970 cal BCE, Lus-15740; 3060±35, 1390-1265 cal BCE, Lus-15741; 3115±30, 1430-1305

Site	House ID	C14	1 sigma	Lab. no
Nordby	House 1	3550, 35	1950-1780 calBCE	TUa-6516
Nordby	House 1	3555, 35	1960–1780 calBCE	TUa-6517
Nordby	House 1	3465, 35	1880–1730 calBCE	TUa-6518
Nordby	House 2	3760, 50	2280-2050 calBCE	TUa-6551
Nordby	House 2	3385, 45	1740–1620 calBCE	TUa-6558
Nordby	House 2	3340, 45	1690–1530 calBCE	TUa-6557
Nordby	House 2	3250, 40	1610–1450 calBCE	Beta-238363
Nordby	House 4	3945, 40	2570–2340 calBCE	TUa-6513
Nordby	House 4	3665, 45	2140–1970 calBCE	TUa-6550
Løveskogen	House A North	3080, 35	1430-1255 calBCE	Lus-15744
Løveskogen	House A North	2995, 35	1385-1115 calBCE	Lus-15746
Løveskogen	House A North	3135, 30	1495-1300 calBCE	Lus-15745
Løveskogen	House A North	3080, 40	1410-1285 calBCE	Lus-15965
Løveskogen	House A North	3130, 35	1445-1310 calBCE	Lus-15976
Løveskogen	House A North	3095, 35	1420-1300 calBCE	Lus-15977
Løveskogen	House A North	3075, 40	1405-1285 calBCE	Lus-15978
Løveskogen	House A North	3245, 40	1540-1445 calBCE	Lus-15979
Løveskogen	House A North	3050, 40	1390-1255 calBCE	Lus-15980
Løveskogen	House A North	3765, 40	2285-2060 calBCE	Lus-15981
Løveskogen	House A North	3105, 45	1430-1295 calBCE	Lus-15982
Løveskogen	House A North	3165, 40	1500-1410 calBCE	Lus-15983
Løveskogen	House A North	3100, 35	1420-1300 calBCE	Lus-15984
Løveskogen	House A North	3565, 35	2010-1825 calBCE	Lus-15986
Løveskogen	House A South	3420, 40	1865-1630 calBCE	Lus-15964
Løveskogen	House A South	5055, 35	3945-3795 calBCE	Lus-15987
Løveskogen	House A South	3475, 40	1880-1740 calBCE	Lus-15988
Løveskogen	House A South	3235, 35	1535-1445 calBCE	Lus-15989
Løveskogen	House A South	3470, 35	1880-1700 calBCE	Lus-15990
Løveskogen	House A South	3150, 35	1495-1325 calBCE	Lus-15991
Løveskogen	House A South	3715, 35	2195-2035 calBCE	Lus-15992
Løveskogen	House B	3260, 40	1610-1455 calBCE	Lus-15985

Table 4. Details on radiocarbon dates separated by sites and houses from Case 3 on the western side of the fjord.

cal BCE, Lus-15742; 3165±30, 1500-1410 cal BCE, Lus-15743; 3060±60, 1395-1265 cal BCE, Lus-15967; 3115±40, 1435-1300 cal BCE, Lus-15968) and with a wide range of associated finds (Table 2). For instance, 1.2 kg of pottery, of which eight different vessels could be distinguished, a flint dagger (Type VIb) and a Nøklegård (drill) point. In addition to the refuse layer, several cooking pits and fireplaces dated to the LN and

EBA were also found (3085±40, 1415-1290 cal BCE, Lus-15969; 3175±40, 1500-1415 cal BCE, Lus-15971; 3195±45, 1505-1425 cal BCE, Lus-15972; 3135±45, 1495-1320 cal BCE, Lus-15973; 3315±40, 1625-1530, Lus-15974). In addition to the bone fragments in the refuse layer, traces of animal faeces were found in a micromorphological sample from the layer, a rather direct evidence that animals were being kept on or near the site.

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