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7 The Royal Edifice at Avaldsnes: A *Palatium* for the King or a Residence for his Canons?

By comparing the Norwegian king's main residences and edifices, this chapter discusses the design and function of the excavated building complex at Avaldsnes. How does Avaldsnes fit into the royal building program at other royal edifices in the mid-13th to mid-14th century, especially the three other residences with a collegiate connected to the Norwegian Royal Chapel organisation established 1308? Is it possible to indicate whether the edifice at Avaldsnes was mainly a king's palatium or a residence for his canons? In addition to the royal edifices, particularly of the royal residence at Holmen in Bergen, episcopal princely edifices are discussed, especially in western Norway. The analysis indicates that the edifice at Avaldsnes follows the system of the front or façade wing in Bergen with its functions, however at a smaller scale and with a keep instead of a gatehouse. The royal workshop in Bergen seems to have taken part in the building activity at Avaldsnes. At Avaldsnes a freestanding stone building seems originally to have been erected contemporaneously with St Óláfr church and to the south of the church's chancel and with two possible functions; either as a chapter house for St Óláfr's priesthood or a royal keep, the building later to be included in the total wing. Based on a comparison with the other discussed royal edifices a keep seems possible and, if so, indicates that this original stone building was intended for the king and probably residential, maybe in combination with wooden buildings. Based on the comparison to other royal edifices, it is to be expected that the completed wing at Avaldsnes would hold the same functions as in a traditional royal residence with a hall, living quarters, and chapel (St Óláfr's), possibly with adjustments to accommodate the canons who most likely lived and worked there permanently, while the king resided there only for those periods when present at Avaldsnes.

The newly excavated masonry remnants of a building complex close to St Óláfr's church at Avaldsnes raise a number of questions as to its interpretation with regard to its layout(s), its dating(s), and its function(s) (Sand-Eriksen and Nordlie this vol. Ch. 6). The following chapter will not look into the details of the Avaldsnes site, but rather will concentrate on other royal and princely building complexes from the same period, primary in western Norway but also in other parts of Norway. The aim and methodical approach of this chapter will thus be to create a foundation for the comparison of Avaldsnes with these other building complexes.

The written narratives provide some premises for the interpretation. For example, Avaldsnes during the Norwegian Middle Ages (c. AD 1000–1537) was a royal manor, where King Hákon IV Hákonarson during his reign built a stone church dedicated to St Óláfr. King Hákon Magnússon in 1308 established a collegiate of more than one canon at Avaldsnes, as a part of the Royal Chapel organisation (Helle 1999; Lidén 1999). The sources document that the king and his entourage would stop at Avaldsnes, on their way to or from Bergen. Because the archaeological documentation indicates that the building complex at Avaldsnes was erected between the mid- to late 13th and early 14th centuries, it should be possible to connect the building activity to the king,

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especially as the structure of the building complex seems to be in accordance with royal requirements.

However, the question arises as to what sort of royal building complex the remnants at Avaldsnes indicate. Three options seem plausible:

1. a royal *palatium*, i.e. living quarters for the king but also for all other activity related to the king's quarters (below)
2. a canons' residence, i.e. quarters for the secular canons connected to the royal chapel at Avaldsnes
3. a combination of these functions, i.e. a canons' residence where the king also had his quarters, either as a separate block or section, or as part of a tradition whereby the king and his entourage customarily had some part of the canons' residence at their disposal when present

Based on a comparison with other known royal building complexes, is it possible to answer these questions? The task is made difficult due to lack of knowledge on secular canon residences in Norway. However, a comparative study of the new building fragments at Avaldsnes together with the other royal and episcopal princely building complexes offers the potential to shed light onto the interpretation of this newly discovered medieval royal building complex.

The discussion deals with the royal *palatiums*, that is, royal sites primarily intended for residence and administration, which were also fortified (e.g. Bagge 2013:90). The sites with fortification as their primary function, that is, the castles such as Sverresborg in Bergen and Nidaros, Akershus, Vardøhus, Ragnhildsholmen, and Bohus, are not included in the discussion, with the exception of Tunsberghus, a royal castle that also included one of the royal chapels included in the king's Royal Chapel organisation. The main discussion will be related to the west-Norwegian sites.

Furthermore, the following discussion does not include Norwegian monastic edifices, likewise not suitable for comparison as Avaldsnes according to the narratives is an edifice owned by the king. In a west-Norwegian context in the period c. 1250–1350 this excludes the building remains from the Augustine edifices at Halsnøy and from the monastic period at Utstein, as well as the Benedictine edifice at Selja.

7.1 Historical setting and theoretical framework

7.1.1 What is a royal *palatium* in the 13th and 14th century?

When discussing the princely *palatium* in medieval Europe, scholars often take Charlemagne's *Kaiserpfalz* in Aachen as a model (e.g. Graham-Campbell and Untermann 2007:342–50; Untermann 2009:165–66; Opačić 2013:51). This palace consisted of three distinct elements: 1) the festal hall, 2) the private residence,

and 3) the chapel. These elements were apparently present in princely palaces also in Norway, at least from the early 12th century onwards (e.g. King Eysteinn Magnússon's very first royal wooden buildings in Bergen, below and Hommedal 2013:37). As will be seen in the following, these elements – the festal hall, the private residence, and the chapel – seem to be a defining feature in the princely palaces also in 13th- and 14th-century Norway, both in royal and in episcopal contexts. Investigation will focus on whether such elements were related only to the larger residences, or whether they can also be found at presumably smaller royal building complexes, as Avaldsnes presumably would have been.

There is also the question of whether the building complex at Avaldsnes in terms of its structure and character is primarily suited as the canons' residence. With a *communio* of several priests, at least from 1308 onwards but most probably even in the late 13th century, presumably the buildings at Avaldsnes would reflect the function as a canons' residence. As mentioned above, there is practically no written evidence regarding the secular canons' residences in Norway, neither the canons connected to the cathedrals nor those connected to the royal chapels. Regular canons' residences are known at Halsnøy and Utstein, located respectively 50 kilometres to the north and 40 kilometres to the south of Avaldsnes. However, the character of these regular canons' residences were that of regular monastic building complexes and cannot be accounted for in the discussion of the secular canons' residences. Regarding the secular canons related to the five Norwegian cathedrals, the only information is that their residences was located close to the cathedrals; even less is known about the secular canons related to the royal chapels. How then might knowledge of these residences be attained from the building remains at Avaldsnes?

In 1308 King Hákon V obtained a papal privilege to establish a Royal Chapel organization consisting of 14 chapels outside episcopal control, distributed throughout the country from Tromsø in the north to Lista in the south (Bagge 1976). Ten of the chapels were designated for western Norway, three of these for Bergen. The king seems to have had different ideas for this chapel organization. Four of the chapels were related to hospitals, others were located along the sailing route as convenient harbours, for instance Avaldsnes. The king probably valued the opportunity to recruit loyal servants for the royal administration from among the royal chapel clergy. The four most prominent of the chapels had a collegiate consisting of secular canons. The royal chapel in Bergen (Church of the Holy Apostles) had since 1271 been organized as a collegiate chaired by a provost, and was now reorganized as a collegiate of 12 canons. The provost at the royal chapel in Bergen was also the head of the entire Royal Chapel organization (*magister capellarum regis*), wielding a bishop's status if a bishop was not present. The royal chapel in Oslo (St Mary) had a collegiate of six canons, and the provost there was from 1314 onwards the king's chancellor. The royal chapel in Tønsberg (St Michael's) had a collegiate of four canons, also lead by a provost. The fourth-ranked of the royal chapels, St Óláfr's at Avaldsnes, had then a collegiate of probably not more than four canons. It is unknown whether the collegiate at

St Óláfr's also was organized with a provost (Bagge 1976; Helle 1972:593–4, 2013:118; Lidén 1999:106–7).¹

7.2 Norwegian parallels to Avaldsnes

In the 13th and even in most of the 12th century, Bergen held the position as the most important centre for secular government in Norway (Helle 2013), in comparison the three other most important towns of the kingdom; Nidaros (Trondheim), Oslo, and Tønsberg. According to the historian Knut Helle (2013:111) the best available evidence for assessing the relative prominence of those towns as governmental centres lies in what is known about their role as royal places of residence. In a discussion of the physical remains of the royal residences, the royal residence in Nidaros, about which little is known, not even its precise location, must be left out (Lunde 1977:206–7). Moreover, in the period of most interest in relation to Avaldsnes, the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th century, the residence in Nidaros according to the narratives seems to have been the least important of the four royal residences,² likely due to its position as the archiepiscopal seat of Norway.

In his discussion of the royal residences in the 13th and the first decades of the 14th centuries, Helle (1982:552–6, 2013:112–15 with references) has analysed the location of the king with his court (*hirð*) during the winter months, that is, the period from November/December to the beginning of Lent. During the rest of the year, the king and his court moved around in the country, mostly travelling by ship along the coast between Oslo in the east and Bergen in the west (Bagge 2013:90). Bergen seems to have been the main royal residence in Norway through most of the 13th century and in the beginning of the 14th century. Of the 46 winters within the reign of Hákon IV (1217–63), the king spent 25 (more than half) in Bergen, eight in Nidaros, six or seven in Oslo, and five or six in Tønsberg. Magnús VI (1263–80) seems to have been even more firmly attached to Bergen. Of the 17 winters of his reign, twelve can be accounted for, eight of which were spent in Bergen. Eiríkr II (1280–99) was more firmly attached to Bergen than any other medieval Norwegian king, staying there continually for large periods of his reign and almost always in winter. Hákon V (1299–1319) prior to becoming king had been a duke with his main residence in Oslo, but as king he seems to have spent at least half of his regnal winters in Bergen, more than twice the number he seems to have spent in Oslo (Helle 2013:112–15).

¹ The numbers of canons are referred after Bagge (1976). According to Bjørkvik (1970:45), St Michael's in Tønsberg had a provost and three canons while St Óláfr's at Avaldsnes may have had a provost and two priests plus a vicar.

² For instance, according to the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (HsH 1963:367) King Hákon only built a wooden hall in the royal palace in Nidaros, while he erected stone buildings in the other three towns.

7.2.1 Bergen – the royal residence at Holmen with the Church of the Apostles and the collegiate

The royal residence in Bergen was located at the Holmen Peninsula (Figs. 7.1–7.2) at the northern outskirts of the town centre and thus “noble” in its location, separated from the bustling town by a narrow passage (“Sandbru”). It also occupied a strategic location at the “mouth” of the town’s harbour, the Bay of Vågen. The residence was prominently visible from the town centre, from the opposite shore of Vågen (where the archbishop’s palace was located, p. 502), and – not at least – when entering the town by ship. In addition to the royal centre, Holmen in the Middle Ages was also the site for the ecclesiastical centre of Bergen, with the cathedral, bishop’s palace, canon’s residence, and Dominican friary all located to the north and east of the royal residence but now totally lost (Fig. 7.2). From the 1520s onward Holmen was rebuilt into the present fortress of Bergenhus (Fischer and Fischer 1980; Bagge 2013; Erslund 2013; Helle 2013).



Fig. 7.1: The royal *palatium* in Bergen c. AD 1300 seen towards the north-east. The Christ Church Cathedral to the left. Model based on archaeological and historical evidence. Photo: Tore Klyve, Bergen City Museum.

According to the narratives, King Eysteinn Magnússon (1103–23) established the royal seat at Holmen. The king moved the royal residence to its urban location from the royal manor of Alrekstad, c. 2 km to the south of the town centre (Helle 1982:115, 2013:111). According to the sagas the first buildings were erected in wood: a large hall³

³ In all three, wooden halls are mentioned as part of the royal edifice during the 13th and 14th century narratives (Helle 2013:113).



Fig. 7.2: Holmen in Bergen c. AD 1300 with the royal centre (left) and ecclesiastical centre (above and right), Bergen. Seen towards the north-west. Model based on archaeological and historical evidence. Photo: Tore Klyve, Bergen City Museum.

and a royal chapel (the first of three) dedicated to the Holy Apostles, indicating a Byzantine inspiration (Ersland 2013:79). The existence must be assumed of other wooden buildings at the site functioning as private rooms; the royal residence already from the 12th century onwards thus had the form of a princely *palatium* with its distinct elements. Archaeological traces interpreted as Eysteinn's hall and chapel have been excavated at the site (Fischer and Fischer 1980:132, 136), providing a glimpse into the royal residence at the time when Bergen seems to have become the most important royal residential town, during the reigns of Magnús Erlingsson (1161–84) and Sverrir (1177–1202).

However, by comparison with Avaldsnes, the development of the royal residence at Holmen seems to be of greater importance during the century lasting from c. 1217 to 1319 – that is, during the reigns of Hákon IV Hákonarson (1217–63), Magnús

Hákonarson *lagabætir* ('the lawmender', 1263–80), Eiríkr II Magnússon (1280–99), and Hákon V Magnússon (1299–1319). Over the course of that century, the residential buildings at Holmen were repeatedly renewed and developed, especially in the period c. 1240 to 1302. Majestic wooden buildings were gradually replaced with even more majestic stone buildings. Two great stone halls were erected, together with a residential building soon to be replaced with another residential building. A keep was built and a surrounding curtain wall with at least two gatehouses. A new (the second) royal chapel of the Holy Apostles (1247–1302) was erected, soon to be replaced by a third royal chapel of the Holy Apostles (1302–1529). This church appears to be the last of the great building projects at the high medieval royal residence in Bergen. In this period Bergen may have been the largest town not only in Norway, but even in the whole Scandinavia, with a population of up to 10,000 inhabitants by around 1300 (Helle 2013:111).

In the 1240s King Hákon IV initiated an extensive rebuilding of the royal residence, partly after a fire (HsH 1963:367), but also with the purpose of converting the residence into a stone-built palace of the type common throughout Europe. The majestic royal palace, developed in Bergen in the 13th and the dawn of the 14th century, provides evidence of an ambitious monarchy, more powerful than in previous times and eager to impress its subjects as well as foreign visitors to the Norwegian court (Helle 2013:112; Bagge 2013:89). The building complex also expresses the ambitions of the Norwegian monarchy to resemble the European kingdoms and demonstrate that the Norwegian kingdom enjoyed a full European status, however geographically remote. King Hákon IV's desire to impress is a central theme in his saga (Bagge 2013: 89–90). The remnants of the residence, primarily from the restored Håkonshallen, produce a reliable impression of the medieval hall (Hommedal 2013).

In relation to Avaldsnes, the different building structures at the royal palace in Bergen will be surveyed below in an approximately chronological sequence.

The (second) chapel of the Holy Apostles

According to the Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, King Hákon IV in the 1240s built a new (the second) chapel of the Holy Apostles (HsH 1963:367), the first known major building project in stone at the royal palace in Bergen. The chapel was consecrated by Cardinal William of Sabine in 1247, when he visited Norway to coronate King Hákon. Some masonry traces (foundations), presumed to be of the chapel, are observed in archaeological excavations both in the 1890s and in the 1950s (Fischer and Fischer 1980). However, nearly nothing is known of this building, located to the south of the more recent Håkonshallen. This second royal chapel of the Holy Apostles was in 1271, according to the narratives (Icelandic annals), by King Magnús VI converted into a collegiate institution led by a provost (Helle 1972:593–4, 2013:118; Lidén 1980:137). Possibly, the church was rather small for such a function, and this may be one of the

reasons why the king some years later started building a new and third chapel of the Holy Apostles. The older church was abandoned and demolished in 1302 when the new royal chapel of the Holy Apostles was consecrated. In 1308, Hákon V made it the principal church of his royal chapel institution (Lidén and Magerøy 1980:137; Lidén 1999:106).

The two stone halls: The great “Stone Hall” or “*Breiðastofu*” (Håkonshallen)

According to Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, King Hákon IV erected “two good stone halls” in the royal palace at Bergen (HsH 1963:367). According to the same saga, the halls must have been built within the period 1247–1261. Both halls must have been quite new, perhaps even brand new, at the wedding and coronation of King Magnús VI and Queen Ingeborg in September 1261 (Fischer and Fischer 1980:124–30; Helle 1982:546–7, 2013:113).

The larger of the two halls, in the narratives called the “Stone Hall” or *Breiðastofu* (Helle 1982:555; Bagge 2013:90), still stands in its restored form, now better known as Håkonshallen – King Hákon’s Hall. It was restored in 1880–95, and then again in 1957–61 after a fire due to a wartime explosion in Bergen in 1944. Although heavily restored, the hall with its authentic and restored parts provides a rather accurate general impression of the medieval hall (Hommedal 2013:39).

The hall is about 37 metres long and over 16 metres wide, externally measured. According to the architectural historian Zoë Opačić (2013:47), this ranks Håkonshallen as one of the largest medieval halls in 13th-century Europe, outclassed only by the vastly inflated (and much older) structures of Westminster in London (77 x 24 metres) and Palais de la Cité in Paris (70.5 x 27.5 metres). In distinction to many of the compared European halls, Håkonshallen is three-storeyed, the actual and unbuttressed hall filling the total area of the top storey. At the northern gable wall, the hall was furnished by the royal dais and high seat, marked architecturally by moulded blind arcading and a splendid tracery window (Figs. 7.4 and 7.6); at least parts of the mouldings were done in soapstone delivered from the quarry at the Cistercian Lyse Abbey south of Bergen (Hommedal 2017). In the opposite southern gable wall another tracery window was located, possibly somewhat less splendid than the northern (Fig. 7.5). The main entrance to the hall was also located in the southern wall, providing an exceptional view of the room towards the royal dais for the visitors entering the hall. This interior structure of the banqueting hall may have been organized due to the fact that the main parts of the *palatium* were located to the south and west of the hall building, making it natural with a main entrance from south. However, possibly even more importantly for the layout with the royal dais on the northern gable wall, Christ Church Cathedral was located approximately 30 metres directly to the north of Håkonshallen (Fig. 7.2). The cathedral served as the coronation church and wedding church for the royal family, and was also the main burial church for the dynasty. When seated in



Fig. 7.3: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. King Håkon's hall, upper storey. The restored dais and high seat with its arched moulding. C. 30 meters behind the dais lay the Christ Church Cathedral with the king's dynastic ancestors' sepulchers and the shrine of St. Sunniva. Photo: O.E. Eide.

Håkonshallen the king would thus have had his dynastic ancestors “at his back”, both literally and figuratively. The same with St Sunniva, the patron saint of Bergen elevated in the Christ Church Cathedral, according to legend originally an Irish queen.

The two lower storeys of Håkonshallen are both divided into three chambers, the central one being wider than the two flanking ones, separated by masonry walls. The rooms have square mid-pillars, originally erected to carry the wooden floors of the two upper storeys. However, according to Gerhard and Dorothea Fischer's building survey of the hall in the 1940s and 1950s (Fischer and Fischer 1980:119–23), extremely finely constructed stone vaults of thin flagstones were secondarily incorporated in the middle storey and inserted into the walls and the original pillars (Figs. 7.6–7.7). This alteration seems to have been carried out after a fire mentioned by the narratives as occurring in the hall in 1266 and thus just a few years after the building was completed. The middle storey itself continued to have a wooden floor (Fischer and Fischer 1980:119–23; Helle 2013:113; *Islandske annaler* 1888:386). The communication between the storeys was through passages with



Fig. 7.4: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. King Håkon's hall in its present external restored form, seen towards the south-east. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.



Fig. 7.5: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. King Håkon's hall, upper storey, in its present internal restored form, viewed towards the south-east. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

stairways in the walls, and by doorways in the southern gable wall, probably leading from external wooden galleries.

The passages in the walls lead up to the roof of the building. This may indicate that Håkonshallen had a military function, although this is very uncertain. The present gables and battlements of the hall are reconstructions from the late 19th century, based on the oldest depiction of the hall from around 1581. Whether this design was original, however, is debatable, and in the 13th century the hall may have been built with a saddle roof with corresponding gables, and possibly with a ridge turret (Fischer and Fischer 1980:125; Hommedal 2013:29–31).

Håkonshallen's division into three storeys is rather unique. In England and Britain, supposedly the source of the main architectural influence for Håkonshallen (Simpson 1961; Fischer and Fischer 1980:124; Helle 1982:547–9; Fernie 2000:82; Opačić 2013), such an organisation of space is not unknown, for instance the 11th-century Scotland's hall in Richmond Castle, Yorkshire. However, there is an established preference for ground-floored halls. In Germany and France there was a stronger tradition of halls raised up over one or more levels; according to Opačić (2013:54–6), this is the tradition to which Håkonshallen harkens back. Håkonshallen appears most closely to resemble a transition between a French donjon and the 14th-century residential towers



Fig. 7.6: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. King Hákon's hall, upper storey. The restored dais and high seat with its arched moulding. C. 30 meters behind the dais lay the Christ Church Cathedral with the king's dynastic ancestors' sepulchers and the shrine of St. Sunniva. Photo: O.E. Eide.

such as Karlstein Castle in Bohemia, where the towered residence consists of several levels, with the spaces of greatest ceremonial importance situated on the highest level (Opačić 2013:63–4). This also bears relevance on the question of a possible military function of Håkonshallen. Though somewhat anachronistically, Opačić finds the comparison with Bohemian architecture not entirely out of place: the royal palace in Prague castle in its Romanesque, 13th-century form was a rectangular structure with a large hall elevated over a basement containing a sequence of vaulted chambers. However, the hall in Prague was two- rather than three-storeyed.

Håkonshallen is thus more than a hall. The building is also an organisation of royal space in three levels. The first floor has been interpreted as the king's chambers combined with administration, with the royal chancery located there during the king's stays in Bergen. It is also suggested that the rooms were used for the substantial legislation carried out during the last part of the reign of Hákon IV and that of his son Magnús VI, most notably the revision of the laws that resulted in the National Law in 1274. The basement of Håkonshallen, where bedrock comes into two of the rooms as also seen at Avaldsnes, has been interpreted as storage rooms, the middle room with a doorway towards the east, the less prominent side of the hall (Fischer and Fischer 1980:126–8; Bagge 2013:90–1). The interpretation of a sauna in the northernmost room seems more problematic (Fischer and Fischer 1980:122, 128).



Fig. 7.7: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. King Håkon's hall, the two lower stores during restoration in the 1950s. The vaults, built after the fire in 1266, are constructed with thin flagstone. Photo: G. Fischer. Source: The Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

It has been suggested that the king and royal family had their chamber or private withdrawing room (*solár*) located in a now-destroyed, c. 9 x 13 metres additional building of Håkonshallen to the north-east (Fischer and Fischer 1980:126; Opačić 2013:64; Bagge 2013:91). However, it is not likely that the royal family had their private chambers located at this most dark and sun-less part of the royal palace, literally falling in the shadow of the hall building. In favour of such a location of a *solár* is the room's close proximity to the Christ Church Cathedral with its dynastic and saintly importance; however, that aspect seems to be accounted for by the location of the dais in the hall itself (p. 472). With more than one storey in Håkonshallen, the royal private withdrawing room more probably would be the northernmost chamber on the first floor, even more easily accessible than the added building and also interpreted by the Fischers as a royal chamber.

It seems more probable that this additional building to the north-east was a kitchen with direct access to the hall itself during banquets and close to the high seat of the king (Hommedal 2013:36–7). Such an entrance could not be the main entrance for serving food at banquets, but would give direct access to the dais and the most prominent persons. Such a location of a kitchen would also be in accordance with Westminster Hall in London, where the kitchen was located in the hall's corner close to the king's throne (Opačić 2013:46, fig. II nos. 19 and 2).

The two stone halls: The smaller “Yule Hall”

The other stone hall mentioned in Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar was called the “Yule Hall”, indicating that it normally housed the attendant royal *hirð* and was used for hosting its celebrations at Christmas (Helle 2013:113). The archaeologically documented building remnants interpreted as traces from this hall were excavated in the 1890s and in 1930, and are located to the west of Håkonshallen thus indicating that the Yule Hall was facing Vågen Bay. This smaller hall was c. 23 metres long and 10 metres wide, externally measured. The ground storey was divided into three rooms, a narrow mid-chamber flanked by two approximately quadrangular chambers, indicating that the building at least was two-storeyed with the hall filling the upper level. However, it seems unlikely that the hall building was more than two-storeyed, since the building then would hide the splendour of the larger hall as viewed from the harbour. A three-storeyed Yule Hall would also block the light towards the large windows of Håkonshallen, while a two-storeyed Yule Hall would probably give the same protection for these large windows. It seems then most likely that the Yule Hall was two-storeyed, permitting Håkonshallen's large windows to have a view over the smaller hall's roof. According to the excavators of the small hall's remnants, this hall was built directly after the great hall (Fischer and Fischer 1980:90, 148), and both halls finished before 1261.

The two halls were laid in parallel to each other and stretched to the same line towards the south, forming a c. 9 metres wide courtyard between them (Figs. 7.3 and 7.8–7.9). This may have allowed the Yule Hall to have larger windows oriented towards this courtyard. Towards the north, the smaller hall stretches more than half of the length of the larger hall, and the courtyard seems to have been completed to Håkonshallen's full length by a wall in continuation from the small hall (Figs. 7.8–7.9). The windows of Håkonshallen thus originally faced onto a closed courtyard. Although Håkonshallen today stands isolated in the northern part of the palace area, the hall originally seems to have been erected in an entirety with the smaller Yule Hall. In Westminster Palace, London, the smaller White Hall was located in a close proximity to the greater Westminster Hall, not in parallel but more in a line (Opačić 2013:46, fig. II nos. 2 and 20).

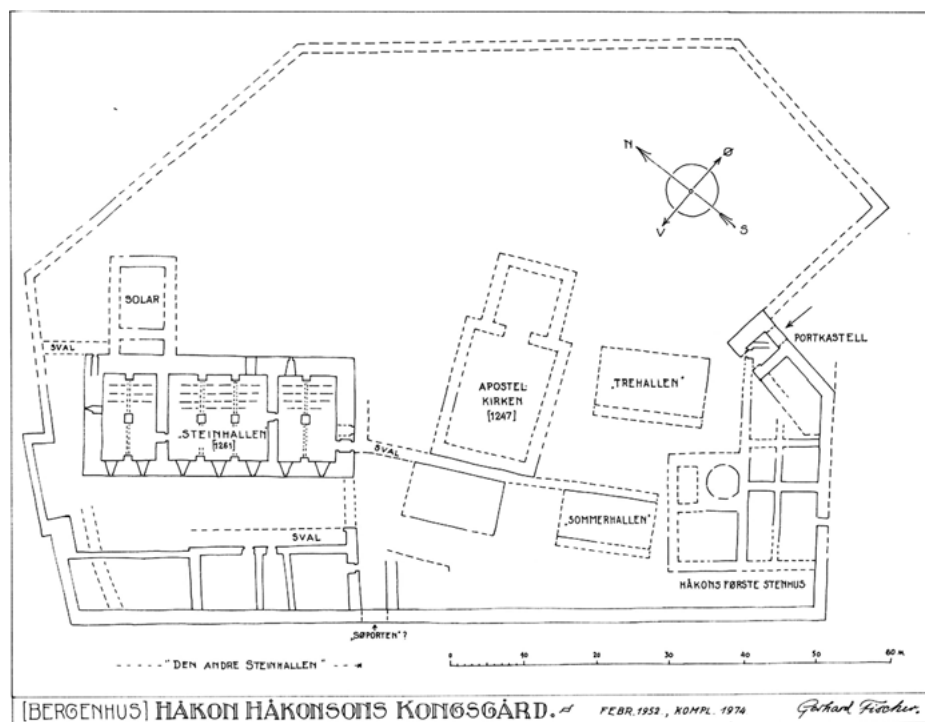


Fig. 7.8: The royal *palatium* at Holmen, Bergen, around 1261. Drawing: G. Fischer. From Fischer and Fischer 1980:fig. 87.

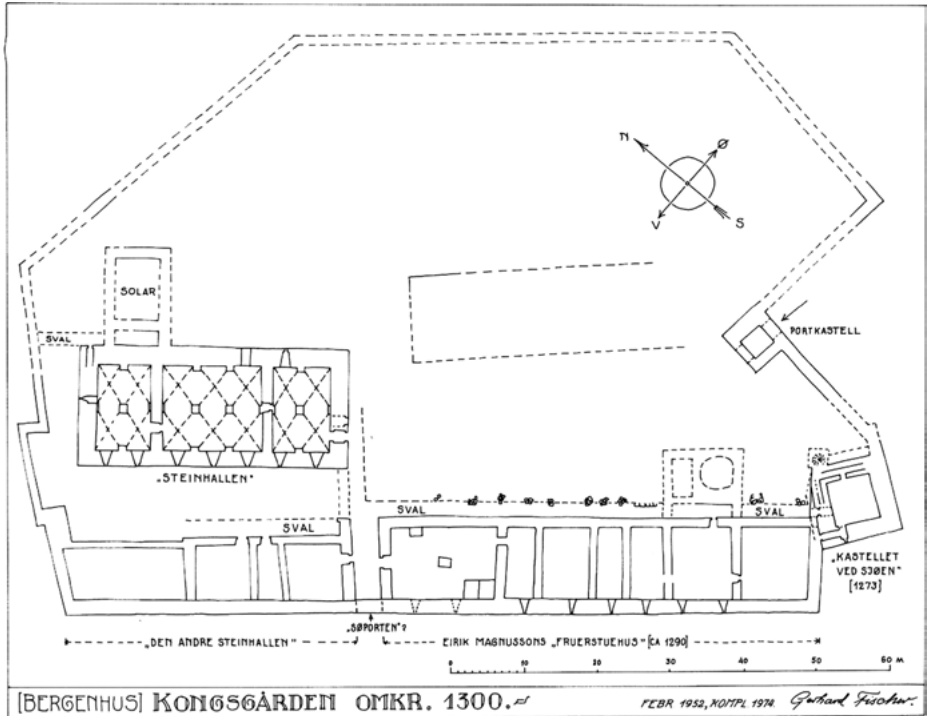


Fig. 7.9: The royal *palatium* at Holmen, Bergen, around or after 1302. The (third) Chapel of the Apostles was located outside the wall towards the south-east and consecrated in 1302. The (second) Chapel of the Apostles, to the south of “Steinhallen” (Håkonshallen) was then torn down. Drawing: G. Fischer. From Fischer and Fischer 1980:fig. 88.

The first royal lodgings in stone, from the mid-13th century

According to the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, King Hákon IV during his reign built “many other stone houses” in the royal palace at Bergen, in addition to the two stone halls (HsH 1963:367). Archaeological excavations in the 1950s revealed masonry remnants interpreted as fragments of some of these masonry buildings, even called “Hákon (IV)’s first stone house” by the leaders of the excavations, Gerhard and Dorothea Fischer. The building fragments were located in the south-western part of the royal area or King’s Yard (‘Håkons første steinhus’, Fig. 7.8). Some of the masonry fragments are still preserved under the present 18th-century buildings at the site (‘Kapteinvaiktmesterboligen’. According to Fischer and Fischer (1980:86–8, 103–4) at least two building phases seem to be documented, the later one consisting of a large stone building, 33–34 metres long (northeast–southwest oriented), and probably up to 19 metres wide (Fig. 7.9). The Fischers date the building to the mid-13th century and interpret it as King Hákon IV and his family’s private quarters

or residence, also with a c. 4.5 metres wide octagonal room, interpreted as a kitchen. However, from the Fischers' description it is difficult to give a more detailed account of the building fragments, and the survey deserves to be re-analysed. In this chapter, the interpretation follows according to the Fischers.

In Hákon IV's last reigning years c. 1260 these royal private chambers were probably connected to Håkonshallen, and perhaps also to the Yule Hall, by wooden first-storeyed galleries partly documented by posts, and with the royal chapel located in between Håkonshallen and the private residence (Fig. 7.8). In Westminster Palace, London, the king's chambers and lodgings c. 1400 were located close to the hall, also separated there by the royal chapel (Opačić 2013:46, fig. II nos. 1, 16, 20–3).

These royal chambers seem then to be built in the same period as the second chapel of the Holy Apostle, and according to the Fischers enduring for an even shorter period than this chapel. According to the stratigraphy of building fragments, the first royal lodgings in stone in the last part of the 13th century or around 1300 were replaced by the second royal lodgings in stone (p. 483).

The curtain wall with at least two gatehouses

According to the Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, King Hákon IV built a curtain wall around the entire palace complex, which he supplied with “keeps” over the two gatehouses (HsH 1963:367). One “gatekeep”, oriented towards the town to the south, is partly preserved with its c. 2 metres wide openings leading both out from the palace (north-east) and into it (south-west) (Fig. 7.10, ‘Portkastell’ Figs. 7.8 and 7.9). The gatekeep is in its exterior nearly quadrangular (c. 6.8 x 6.5 metres), while rectangular in the interior (3.1 x 4 metres) due to a passage with steps in the southern wall. The other gatekeep mentioned in the saga, probably facing Vågen Bay, is not preserved (Helle 2013:113; Fischer and Fischer 1980). Remains of the curtain wall are archaeologically identified or still standing to the north (c. 1.5 metre wide), along Vågen to the west and towards the town to the south, where it is c. 1.8 metre wide and added to the gatekeep (Fischer and Fischer 1980:147–8; Helle 2013:113).

The residential stone keep, “the keep by the sea”

The building of the residential keep probably started in the 1260s; it is first mentioned in the narratives in 1273 (Fischer and Fischer 1980:51–73; Helle 2013:115) (‘Kastellet ved sjøen’ Fig. 7.9). Even though the keep is secondary to the curtain wall, it seems to have formed a component of the curtain wall of King Hákon IV in the southern corner of the royal palace. At ground level the solid and nearly quadratic keep is c. 10.6 x 11.4 metres, externally measured. The walls are c. 2.4 metres thick, leaving an internal room of c. 3.4 x 3.6 metres. The medieval keep seems to



Fig. 7.10: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. The gate-tower probably built by King Håkon IV. Original internal masonry (south wall). Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

have had three storeys plus basement, all of which still exist, consisting of one room in each storey with stair passages in the walls. The basement with its cellar room has a preserved loophole; the first floor is interpreted as a guard-room. It has been suggested that as a part of a larger rebuilding, the two upper floors were altered to house the king's private chambers. The room in the second floor is representative, rebuilt with a large window towards the south-east, and, partly because of the preserved piscine on the window opening's side, the window base is interpreted as an altar. The alteration and the room thus can be linked to the narratives mentioning that in 1273 "*var þa buin kapella konungsins i kastalanum við sæinn*" – 'was then the King's chapel furnished in the keep by the sea' (Islandske annaler 1888:331–2; Fischer and Fischer 1980:61). The chapel also had a secondary ribbed vault (Fischer and Fischer 1980:60). The room in the third and upper floor was also representative, built still simpler than the chapel, and interpreted as the king's private chamber. If so, King Magnús and Queen Ingeborg, and their heirs, would have enjoyed a splendid view towards the town in south-east and south-west.

The still-existing 13th-century keep or tower is today not so easy to observe externally, since its remains form the core of the present Rosenkrantz tower and thus are mostly enclosed by this tower from the 16th century.

The second royal lodging in stone, from the late 13th century

This large stone building was located in the westernmost part of the King's Yard and formed a c. 60 metres long and 12.5 metres wide (externally measured) building facing Vågen ('Eirik Magnussons Fruestuehus' Figs. 7.1, 7.2 and 7.9). The lengthened range filled into the area between the residential keep to the south and the Yule Hall to the north. The new range was built in a line with the Yule Hall but a little wider, and separated from the hall by a passage, probably leading to the gatehouse with a keep (Figs. 7.1, 7.2 and 7.9) now lacking but mentioned in Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (HsH 1963:367). Archaeologically excavated ruins in the 1940s and 1950s revealed that the building's basement was divided into seven rooms of different sizes, and with the eastern long-wall at least partly preserved in the basement's full height (Fig. 7.9). Due to the archaeological context and masonry character (Figs. 7.11–7.13), the building has been dated to the last part of the 13th century and therefore by Fischer and Fischer (1980:148) identified as "Eiríkr Magnússon's women's quarters", that is, living quarters for the royal family. The building probably burned c. 1430 (Fischer and Fischer 1980:102). The ruins are now part of the basement of the 18th-century "Kommandantboligen". Of the present-days ruins of the 13th-century royal *palatium* in Bergen, this is the building that appears most similar to the lengthened masonry range at Avaldsnes.

These new living quarters for the royal family presumably were two-storeyed but probably not three-storeyed, otherwise they would have detracted too much from the impression and view from Håkonshallen, the component of the royal residence that most clearly defined the public image of the ruler (Opačić 2013:47). According to the Fischers, first-floor galleries connected the new living quarters to the (second) chapel of the Holy Apostles (until 1302) and to Håkonshallen, and surely also to the residential stone keep to the south and the Yule Hall to the north. When the new royal living quarters were finished, the royal residence at Bergen thus would present itself with a massive, c. 115 metres long building façade towards Vågen, and with Håkonshallen elevated in the background. The king's and the royal family's new chambers and lodgings were thus located close to the smaller hall of the *palatium*, as also found in Westminster Palace, London (Opačić 2013:46, fig. II nos. 20, 21–3). However, in Westminster the royal chapel was also located close to the lodgings, whereas in Bergen the chapel until 1302 was located at a longer distance and from 1302 at a quite long distance. This could be the reason for the inclusion of a smaller and comparatively private chapel in the residential keep, first mentioned in 1273 when the planning of the third Chapel of the Holy Apostles, at a distance from the *palatium*, may have been initiated.⁴

⁴ The relic gift from the French King that inspired the building of the new chapel of the Holy Apostles came to Bergen in 1274 (Helle 1982), but may have been known about a year or two in advance.



Fig. 7.11: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. The residential quarter from the late 13th century, facing Vågen. Part of the northern wall, viewed from south. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

The (third) chapel of the Holy Apostles

According to the narratives, a new and third royal chapel of the Holy Apostles was initiated by King Magnús VI in 1275, after the king in 1274 received a precious relic gift from the king of France: a thorn from the Crown of Christ. The new chapel was consecrated in 1302 and functioned for more than 220 years, until it was demolished in 1529–30 during the reconstruction of the medieval royal palace into an up-to-date 16th-century stronghold. The chapel so totally disappeared that even its precise site is unknown. The narratives place the (third) chapel of the Holy Apostles outside the curtain wall of the royal palace at Holmen, in the king’s “herb garden” south of the wall, facing the town (Lidén and Magerøy 1980:137–9; Helle 2013:114 with further references). It is unclear why a new site, at a greater distance to the *palatium*, in 1275 was found for the new church; possibly to give the new chapel a more distinctive location in order to project this public image of the ruler. The old site, after the building of Håkonshallen and of the residential stone keep, not be so distinctive seen either from the north or the south. If the new residential range



Fig. 7.12: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. The residential quarter from the late 13th century, facing Vågen. Northern part of the eastern wall, view from west. The lower part is original, the upper part restored, and the transition is visible as small green spots (brass pins). The pillar is secondary. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

facing Vågen also was planned and maybe even initiated, it would have been clear that the old chapel site would no longer be prominently visible from Vågen.

The architectural historians Hans-Emil Lidén and Ole Egil Eide have been able to reconstruct an architectural impression of the royal chapel from building stones from the chapel reused in other masonry buildings (Lidén 1980; Eide personal information). Eide has even been able to interpret some architectural elements (windows and vaults) into an exhibition on this third royal chapel at Holmen. Judging from the rather complicated mouldings and delicately shaped capitals, the tracery bars and the vault springers, together with other moulded stone fragments, the chapel seems to have had a rather developed Gothic design, with vaults, large windows, and a polygonal apse, according to Lidén possibly after French architectural form but in an English “disguise”. Lidén (1980:198–9) has even suggested that the (third) royal chapel in Bergen, by King Magnús VI, was planned as a replica of La Sainte Chapelle in Paris, taking into account that the chapel in Bergen should enshrine the thorn of the Crown of Christ, as itself was enshrined in La Saint Chapelle. Eide see great English influence in the preserved architectural details from the chapel building.

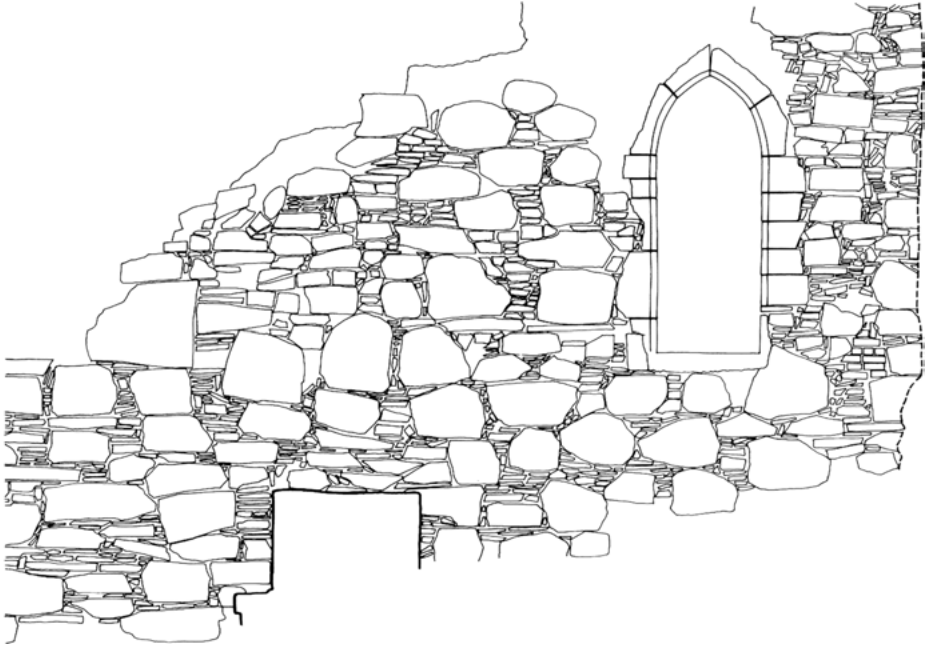


Fig. 7.13: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. The residential quarter from the late 13th century, facing Vågen. Part of the eastern wall. Drawing G. Fischer *et al.* From Fischer and Fischer (1980:pl. 6).

In our connection with Avaldsnes, the third royal chapel of the Holy Apostles is especially interesting, since the chapel in 1308 became the primary among the 14 royal chapels. As leader of the Royal Chapel organisation the provost of the Holy Apostles in Bergen surely also was quite familiar with St Óláfr's at Avaldsnes and the collegiate there.

With a collegiate of 12 canons, the residence connected to the (third) chapel of the Holy Apostles must have been distinctive, even though probably not all the canons would be present all the time. The canons could for example also be taking care of their prebende or their parish if they held one, although they could have a vicar in the parish on their behalf. There is narrative evidence in Bergen for the residence of the secular canons related to the Christchurch cathedral, but not the residence of the secular canons related to the royal chapel.

Compared with Westminster Palace, London, the vicars of St Stephen's, that is, the royal chapel, had their buildings connected directly to the chapel, with their own cloister and surrounding buildings (Opačić 2013:46, fig. II nos. 13–16). If this was the case in Bergen, the vicars and canons in the 13th century would be located within the royal *palatium*, and relocated outside the walls in 1302 when the new and third chapel of the Holy Apostles was consecrated. Since the narratives do not mention the royal chapel canons' residence, might they have had their lodgings

within the royal *palatium* all the time and thus not housed in a separate building? If so, the situation could bear similarities to one of the suggested interpretations of Avaldsnes (no. 3 p. 466).

Summing up the royal 13th-century *palatium* in Bergen

The royal residence in medieval Bergen held the uttermost prominent location in the town and was throughout the 13th century the most important of the Norwegian king's residences. This is also reflected in the projects around the residence and its building activity, converting the *palatium* within the period c. 1240–1302 from a residence consisting mostly of monumental wooden buildings to mostly stone buildings of even more monumental architecture, impressive in a European context. In the same period the Norwegian king undertook projects on other of the royal residences, among them the residence at Avaldsnes. A parallel to Avaldsnes might be found in the total western range of the residence at Bergen, stretching from the residential keep to the small stone hall – the Yule Hall. However, in Bergen this range is not directly connected to the royal chapel as at Avaldsnes, only to a small and totally private keep-chapel for the king. Little is known regarding the royal collegiate canons' residence in Bergen. Taking the Westminster Palace in London for comparison, the royal residence and the royal chapel's vicars seem to have been residing on both sides of the royal chapel of St Stephen's (Opačić 2013:46, fig. II nos. 13–16, 20–3). This cannot be the situation at Avaldsnes since the range only lies on the southern side of the church; nonetheless, the king's residence and the canons' residence could have been located in the same wing, although this seems not to have been the situation at Bergen.

7.2.2 Oslo

The royal residence with the St Mary church and the collegiate

The royal residence in Oslo (Fig. 7.14) was located in the south-westernmost part of the town, on the sands by the river Alna's mouth and most visible from the seaside (Øyrene). The oldest archaeological traces of the royal site, fragments of a circular motte with a hoard of coins dated to AD 1040–60, are interpreted as connected with King Harold III Hardrada's activity in Oslo. An archaeologically evidenced church building in wood, probably the later mentioned St Mary's Church, may be from the same period or even older, and seems to be a royal chapel (Christie 1966; Lidén 1999:105–9).

In the late 13th century a royal *palatium* in stone seems to be erected, probably initiated by Hákon IV Hákonarson. This must have been done after, or in parallel

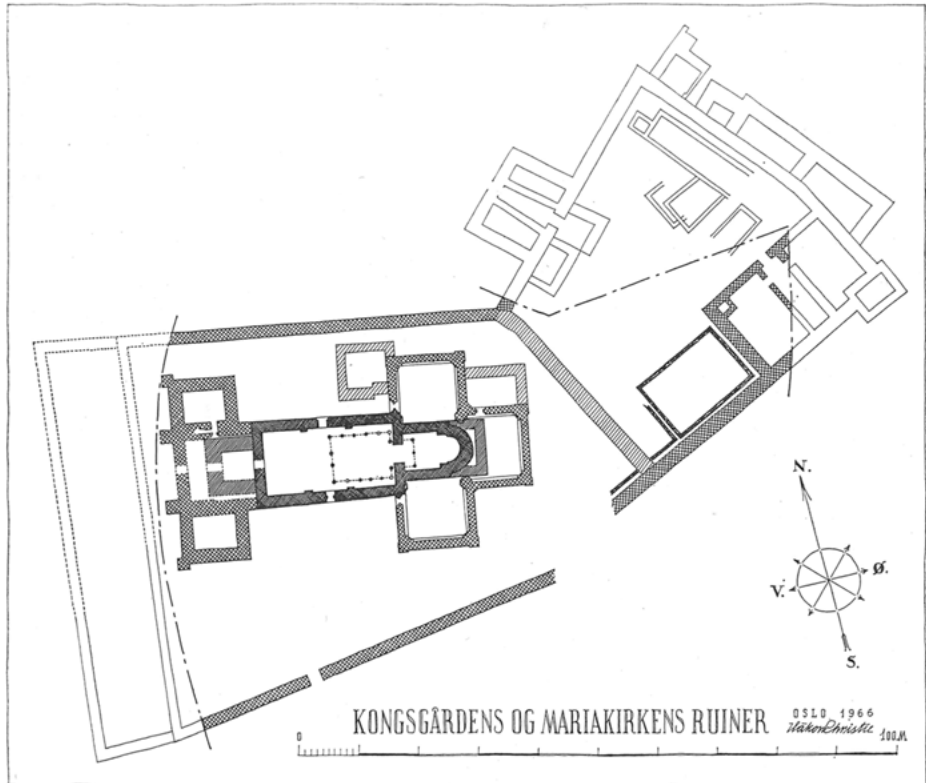


Fig. 7.14: The royal *palatium* in Oslo early in the 14th century, also included earlier building phases in St Mary's royal Chapel to the left. The non-shaded parts of the ruin site are removed. After Christie (1966:73).

with, the king's plans for a massive royal keep, later incorporated in St Óláfr's Church in the northern and more ecclesiastical part of the town (p. 489). The royal residence at Øyrene burned in 1223 and then again in 1254, but was according to the narratives re-built by the king (Nedkvitne and Norseng 1991; Stige and Snekkestad 2017).

The royal chapel of St Mary's was located in front to the west of the royal *palatium* and would dominate the view seen from the sea. Much of the archaeological site of the royal residence is now gone, with only the southernmost part preserved as ruins today and therefore not as amenable to interpretation as is the royal *palatium* at Bergen. In the Oslo residence the surrounding curtain wall with its gatehouse towards the town was probably built during the reign of Hákon IV (1217–63). It is debatable whether the stone hall at the opposite end of the residence area was built by Hákon IV, since the hall, even though smaller than Håkonshallen, is not mentioned in the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. More probably it was built by

Magnús VI (1263–80) or by his son Hákon during his reigns as duke and king, that is, in the last decades of the 13th or first decades of the 14th century.

The history of the royal chapel of St Mary's can according to the latest interpretation (Stige and Snekkestad 2017) be divided into the following building phases: an 11th-century wooden church (c. 1050), replaced at the same site by a 12th-century stone church (c. 1130–40), later to be extended to the west with a new tower (c. 1140–80). In the 13th and early 14th centuries, which are most relevant for comparison with Avaldsnes, the chancel received a first rectangular extension (1220–50), and a new western front of the church with flanking towers was added (1220–80), both probably under Hákon IV's orders. The last building phase was an extension of the chancel area with transepts and a new, straight presbytery, making St Mary's one of the largest churches in Norway with a total length of close to 58 metres. Morten Stige and Petter Snekkestad suggest the last extension to have taken place between 1293 and 1303, with an addition of a vestry to the north between 1303 and 1321 (Stige and Snekkestad 2017:200). They arrive at this dating by reasoning that Hákon Magnússon was residing more in Oslo until 1299 as duke than he was as king (1299–1319). The new chancel took on the function partly as a royal mausoleum (upon Queen Eufemia's death in 1312)⁵ and partly (from 1308) as liturgical area for the canons in the king's royal chapel organisation, which indicate that the new chancel may also be from the first decade of the 14th century. In all cases: when King Hákon V died in 1319 and was buried in the new chancel, the founder of the royal chapel organisation and his queen would forever be surrounded and incorporated into the liturgical prayers executed by the canons of the organisation he established. This may be one of the reasons why Hákon V and Eufemia chose to locate their sepulchres in Oslo, and not in Bergen as the king's ancestors traditionally had done. From 1314 onwards the provost at the royal chapel of St Mary's held dual office as the king's chancellor.

Regarding the comparison with Avaldsnes, the structure and layout of the royal residence at Oslo seems less comparable than the royal residence at Bergen. In 13th-century Oslo the buildings also to a great extent were built in brick, not common in western Norway in the same period. It is worth mentioning that of the four main chapels within the royal chapel organisation, St Mary's at Oslo and St Óláfr's at Avaldsnes had a straight-ended chancel, whereas the Holy Apostles' at Bergen and St Michael's at Tønsberg both had a polygonal apse, however not identical in form.

A keep construction initiated by the later St Óláfr Church in Oslo?

Before Hákon IV renewed the royal residence buildings at Øyrene, or parallel with this, the king seems in the 1220s or early 1230s to have considered plans for a new

⁵ Queen Eufemia's father or grandfather, Prince Witslaw II of Rügen, died in Oslo in 1302 and was buried in St Mary's, but probably in the older chancel.

royal stronghold in the northern and traditionally more ecclesiastical part of the town. Located just to the east of the Bishop's palace and north of the St Hallvarðr Cathedral, close to the cathedral's churchyard, and later incorporated into the Dominican friary (Fig. 7.15), Hákon IV appears to have planned a keep – a large, tower-like stone building probably forming a component of a never-finished royal complex (Hommedal 1986, 1987:135–40). Initially construction of a stone building

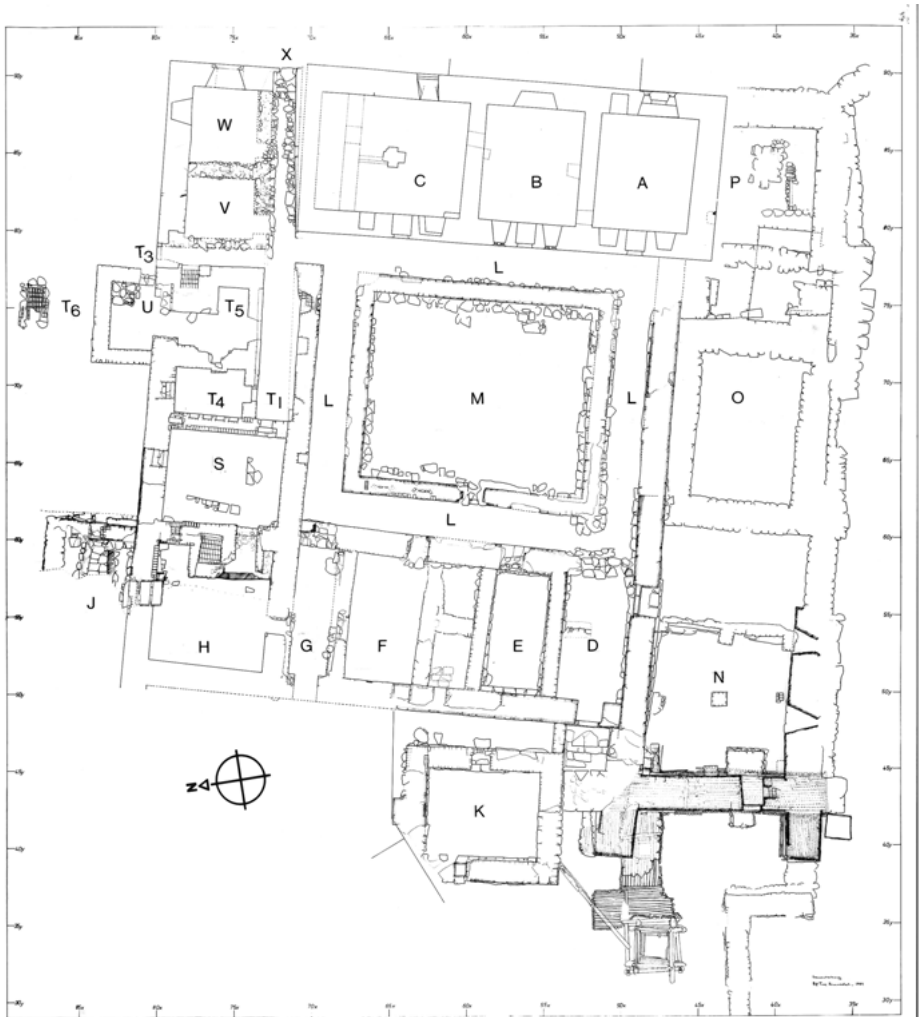


Fig. 7.15: Oslo. St Óláfr's Dominican Friary. The ground plan with all surveyed building parts. The building parts interpreted as from a failed royal building project by King Hákon IV are found in the south-west (N and south of K). Drawing: A. T. Hommedal after drawings produced 1924–74 by G. & D. Fischer, C. Enger, B.C. Lange, O. Ø. Svendsen, and H. Braathen. After Hommedal (1986:ill. 8).

grounded on a huge foundation of piles was commenced, but was stopped due to a fire (Figs. 7.16–7.17). The housing scheme was then changed, with the initiated eastern wall of the original plans altered into the western wall of the revised plans, consisting of a building with huge stone walls and four large corner pillars (Figs. 7.16 and 7.18). As a part of the revised plans, the level of the building was lifted, partly because the eastward orientation of the new building caused it to be grounded below surface level in parts towards the north and east. A doorway in the western wall of the building led into a cellar room partly below ground level, and with two windows towards the south. From the doorway, a staircase in the wall was intended to lead up to the first floor of the building.

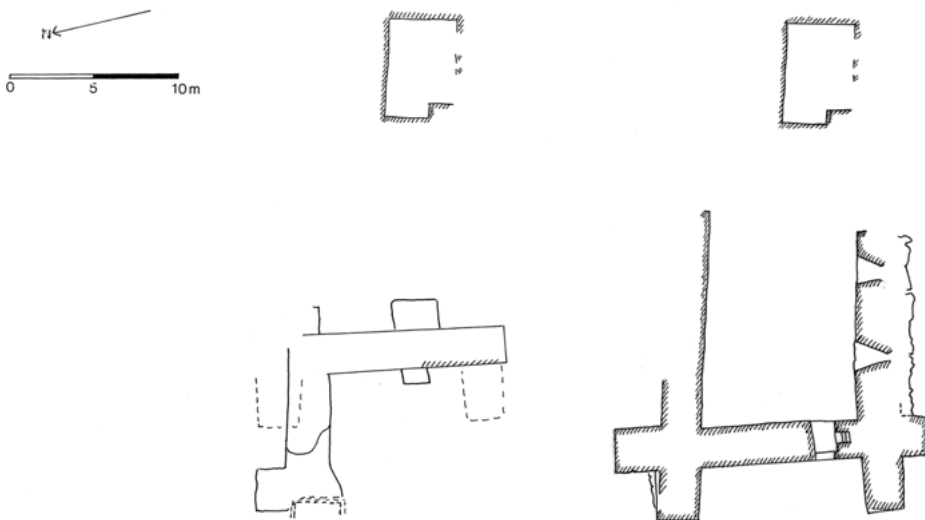


Fig. 7.16: Oslo. King Hákon IV's failed building project at the later site of St Óláfr's. To the left the first building phase, possibly terminated by a fire in 1224. To the right the second and revised building phase, abandoned in the 1220s or before the mid-1230s at the latest. After Hommedal (1986:ill. 15).

Likewise, before the second building phase was completed the plans were altered once again, this time into a Romanesque church building incorporating the older building structures into the church's western part, giving it a unique form with a western crypt below the nave (Fig. 7.15). According to *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (HsH 1963:368), this church was dedicated to St Óláfr and owned by Hákon IV, who gave it to the Dominicans within the period 1237–9 as a starting point for their Dominican friary (Hommedal 1987:133). The older, secular sections of the building, later incorporated into the church, were dated by the excavator Gerhard Fischer

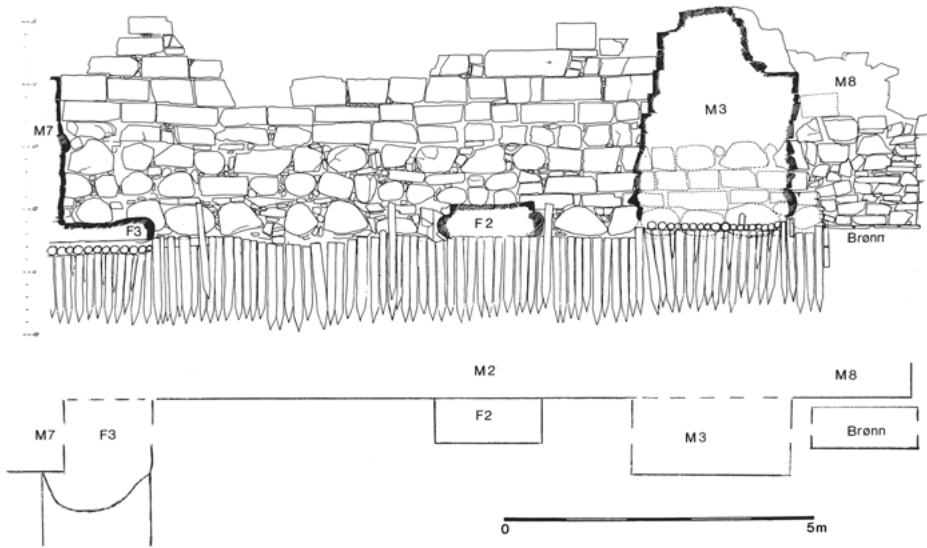


Fig. 7.17: Oslo. King Hákon IV's failed building project at the later site of St Óláfr's. The western wall with the pillars (M3, M7, and M8), viewed from the west (see Figs. 7.16 and 7.18). In the lower part, the pile fundament with capping stone fundaments (F2, F3) and original masonry can be seen, partly behind the pillar (M3) from building phase two. Drawing: A. T. Hommedal after G. Fischer. After Hommedal (1986:ill. 37).

(1950:118) to the mid-12th century, but have been re-dated to the first decades of the 13th century and more precisely to the 1230s (Hommedal 1986:174–6, 1987). It has been suggested that the archaeologically documented fire that halted the first building plans is identical with the narrative's fire of 1223 (Hommedal 1987:138). If so, these massive building plans in Oslo must represent some of the very first building projects initiated by the young Hákon IV, who became king in 1217 and exercising full rule in 1223. Some scant stone building fragments, to the north of the main structure (Fig. 7.18), may suggest that adjacent buildings were a part of the total royal building complex. The width of the complex would then at least be c. 26 metres north–south and c. 20 metres east–west, even longer if a stone cellar to the east of the main structure is incorporated (Fig. 7.18). The complex seems to have had a massive keep as its main structure in the south-western corner of the complex, located in the more northernmost part of the town and close to the main road into town from the north. The keep seems to have been planned at least c. 12 metres long (east–west) and 9 metres wide (internally measured) and with 2.2–2.3 metres thick walls and pillars. We do not know why the king first initiated and then abandoned such a secular building complex in the more ecclesiastical centre of Oslo. Maybe it was because of the king's uncertain situation in the 1230s leading up to the open conflict between Hákon and his father-in-

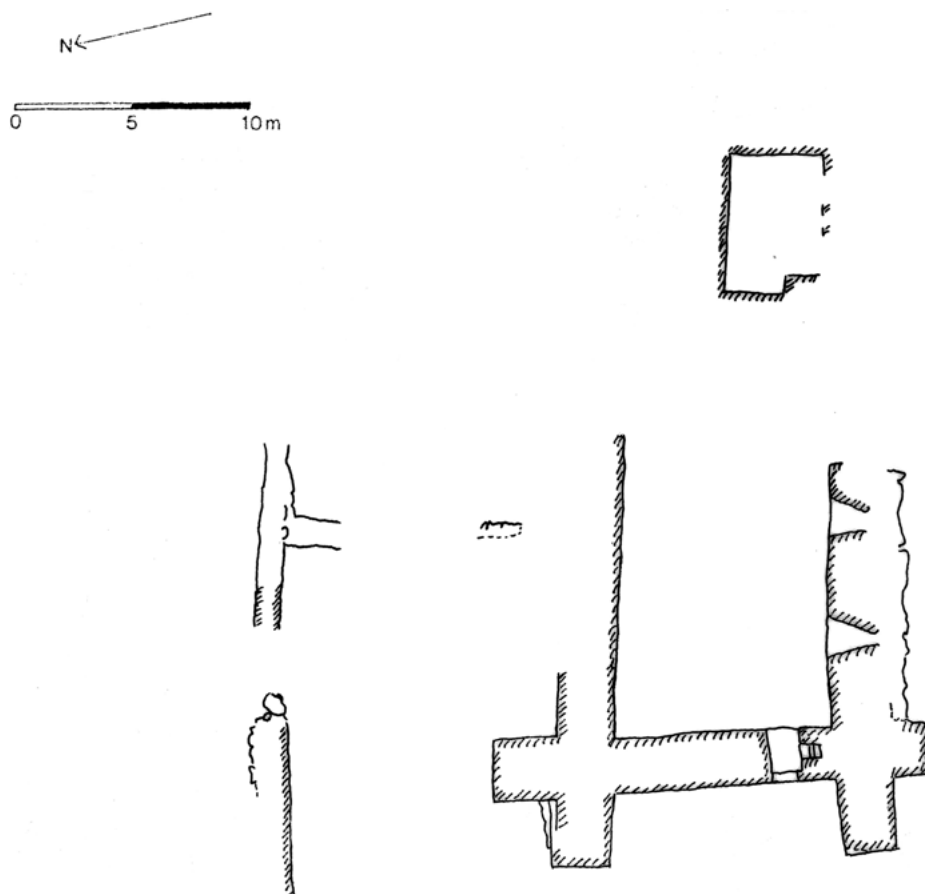


Fig. 7.18: Oslo. King Hákon IV's failed building project at the later site of St Óláfr's. The building fragments interpreted as an intended royal keep with adjoining buildings. After Hommedal (1986:ill. 161).

law Duke Skule in 1239–40; a royal building project in the ecclesiastical centre of the town surely would be provocative for the bishop, leading to a situation in which the king and the duke were drawn into competition over the Church's support. Hákon IV spent the winters of 1226–7, 1229–30, 1234–5, and 1237–8 in Oslo (Helle 1982:552–3); it is possible that the keep and the complex were planned or altered during some of these stays. The fact that the building project is not mentioned in the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* might call into doubt whether Hákon IV was the builder or, alternatively, Duke Skule. However, this lacuna in the saga may also be explained as it being a failed project.

7.2.3 Tønsberg – the royal residences, in the town and at Tunsberghus, with the St Michael Church and the collegiate

In Tønsberg in south-eastern Norway there are two sites of interest in connection with the discussion of Avaldsnes. The first is the royal edifice located in the northern part of the town centre. The second is the royal fortification or castle at a small mountain or rock (Berget or Tunsberghus) just north of the town centre (Figs. 7.19–7.20). At Tunsberghus St Michael's Church was one of the chapels included in the king's royal chapel organisation in 1308. In parts of the 13th century Tønsberg was the most important royal residence city outside Bergen; Hákon IV spent five or six winters in Tønsberg during his reign (Helle 1982:552–3). Tønsberg seems also to have been an especially important residence city for the royal family throughout the 14th century, that is, the last period of interest for comparison with Avaldsnes (Johnsen 1971:65–74; Helle 2013).

The royal edifice or *palatium* located in the northern part of the town centre

According to the Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (HsH 1963:367), Hákon IV (1217–63) seems to have initiated a building program in stone at his edifice located in connection to St Laurence Church. The present ruins, excavated in 1960–1, seem to be a part of the king's building program and erected in the mid-13th century. A building or wing consisting of four partly documented rooms was found, erected in stone and brick. The ruins have been interpreted by Anna-Lena Eriksson (1995:143) as the basement of a hall building at least 26 metres long. A part of a stone wall interpreted as a surrounding curtain wall has also been excavated. Some newer and smaller surveys, most recently a ground-penetrating radar survey in 2014, have provided a few additional indications that the royal edifice was much larger than the documented parts (Meyer and Kristiansen 2015).

The royal edifice or *palatium* at the castle of Tunsberghus

According to the Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (HsH 1963:367), Hákon IV also initiated a building program in stone at the castle Tunsberghus. The program seems to have been continued by his son Magnús VI and also by his grandson Hákon V. From 1273 at the latest, there was a treasury (*camera regis*) in Tønsberg for eastern Norway, in supplement to the treasury in Bergen for western and northern Norway (Eriksson 1995: 71–8; Helle 2013:118). Tunsberghus burned in 1503 and is now in ruins.

Compared to the other royal edifices discussed in this paper Tunsberghus is uniquely located on a small mountain or rock (Berget) and encompasses the entire

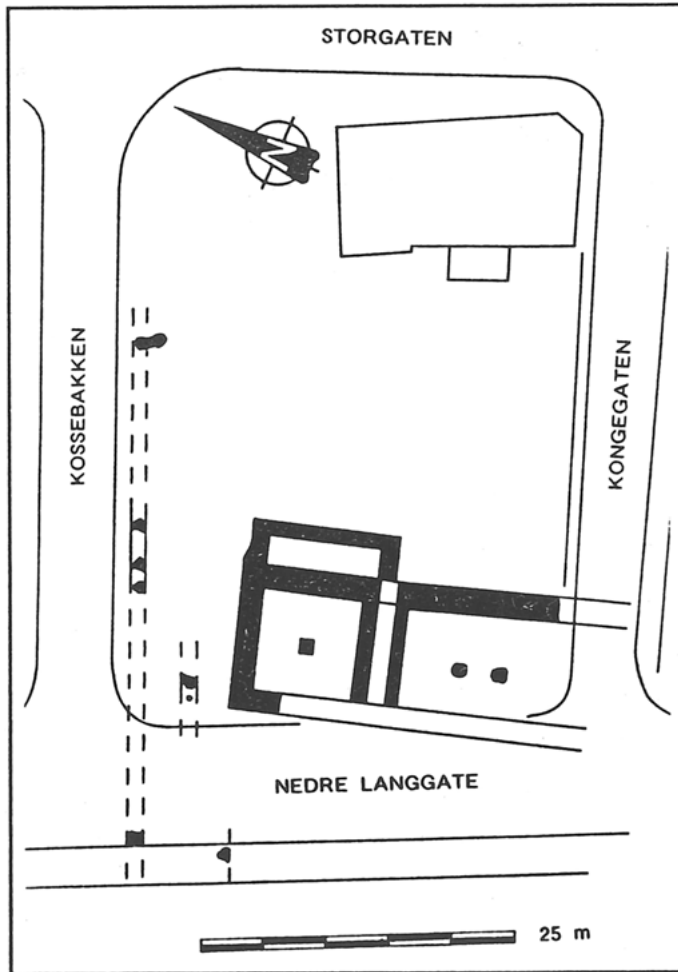


Fig. 7.19: Tønsberg. The documented remnants of the royal edifice in the town centre, probably from the first part of the 13th century (King Håkon IV). The remnants have been interpreted as from a hall-building. After Eriksson (1995:143).

plateau of Berget (Fig. 7.20) with a surrounding curtain wall with two gate houses with towers (built by Håkon IV). In the 14th century several rounded bastions were added. In the western part of the plateau a stone keep was built. The most important part for the present discussion, the main living quarters, are located rather at the highest and eastern part of the plateau, surrounded by an inner curtain wall also presumably built by Håkon IV, where the chapel, the hall building, and living quarters, and likewise a residential stone keep, are located (Fig. 7.20).

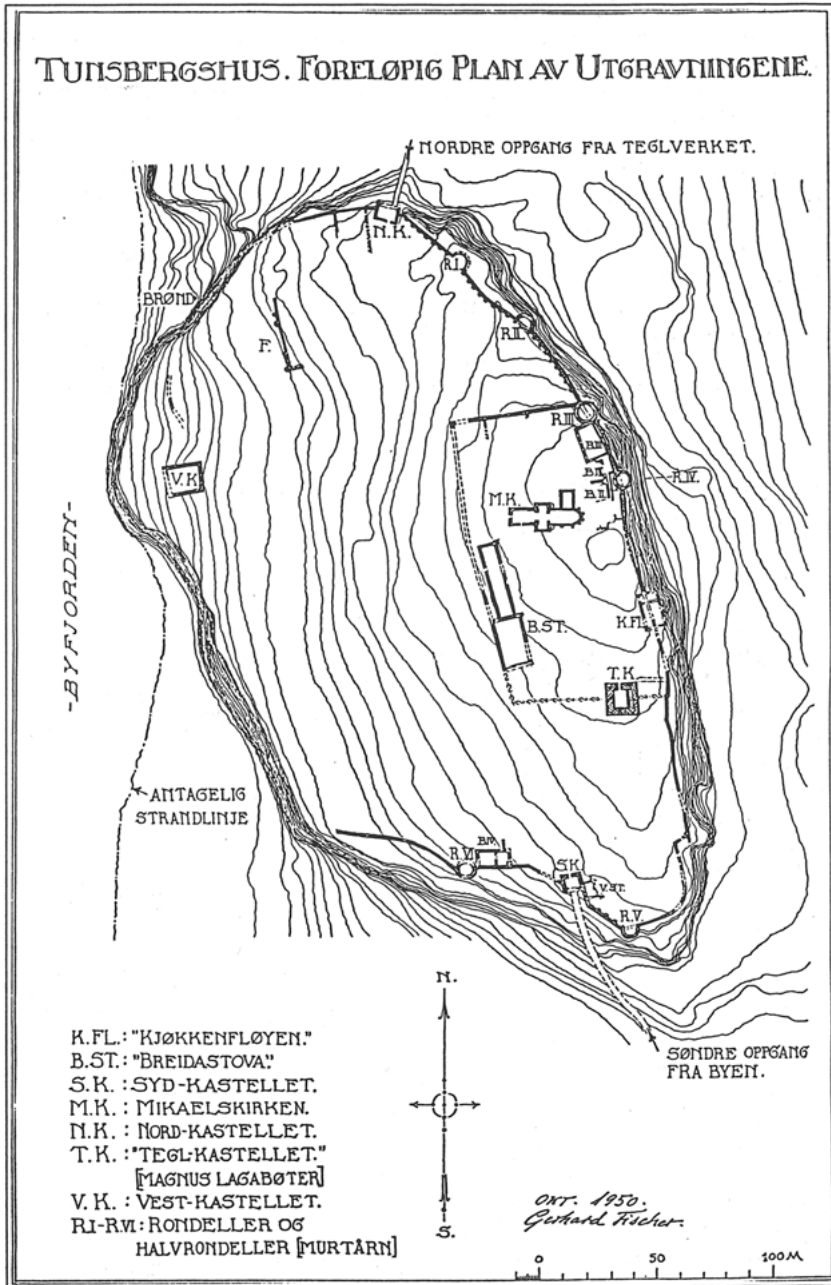


Fig. 7.20: Tønsberg. The documented remnants of the royal castle or *palatium* at Tunsbergshus. MK = St Michael chapel in its ground form as a royal chapel; TK = the large residential stone keep; B.St = living quarters with a hall. Compared to Avaldsnes, we see that the elements of the *palatium* are organised in another way than in the west. Drawing: G. Fischer. After Eriksson (1995:46).

The Royal Chapel of St Michael

According to the narratives and the documented ruins, St Michael's was built as a Romanesque church in the 12th century (mentioned in 1191), later extended to the east with a new and larger vaulted Gothic chancel in brick (Fig. 7.20, M.K.). Due for example to the new chancel's apse, the extension is suggested to date from c. 1300 or the 14th century's first decades, and with a later added vestry to the north (Wienberg 1991:17–21; Eriksson 1995:33–6, 104; Lidén 1999:109–10). Even though not equal in form, the architectural feature with a polygonal apse also was found in the royal (third) chapel of the Apostles in Bergen (p. 484), consecrated in 1302. The polygonal form may thus indicate that St Michael's was extended as a result of the new status as part of the royal chapel organisation, and with the extended chancel functioning as the canons' choir. It has been suggested that a rectangular brick building (c. 18 x 8 metres) by the curtain wall, at a distance to the north of the church, was the canons' residence (Eriksson 1995:56–8, 67).

The residential brick keep, “Tegkastelet”

This large keep (Fig. 7.20, T.K.) is located at a distance to the south of St Michael's and has a quadrangular ground plan (c. 14 x 14 metres) with massive, c. 3 metres thick walls.⁶ The basement is divided into four rooms: one larger, rectangular and probably vaulted main room (c. 8 x 5.6 metres); two smaller rooms with entrance from the first floor and thus possible prisons or store rooms; and an even smaller room interpreted as a guard-room (Eriksson 1995:36). The keep is now in ruins and an interpretation of its shape and function has been based on a comparison with the smaller residential “keep by the sea” in the royal edifice at Bergen (Eriksson 1995:39–40). The main difference between the keeps is that the keep at Tunsberghus was larger than the one in Bergen, and also that the Tønsberg keep was built in brick. In fact the keep is the first Norwegian building mentioned in the narratives as a brick building (“*tigil kastalinn*” mentioned as completed in 1276, Eriksson 1995:73). Moulded bricks from the building, probably from vaults, windows, and decorative elements, establish that the keep was erected with a rich architecture, produced in a brick kiln on the north-eastern side of Berget (Nordeide 1983:161, 171–2; Eriksson 1995:99–104). “Tegkastelet” seems to have been the edifice's main keep and an important living quarter for the royal family.

⁶ The eastern wall has been interpreted as 6 m thick, but two smaller rooms are included in the thickness of the wall (Eriksson 1995:36–7).

Bredestuen

A wider stone building (c. 21 x 12 metres, internally measured) seems originally to have been erected in stone in the first part of the 13th century, subsequently repaired and enlarged in brick. The wider building was detached to a narrower building to the north (c. 34 x 6 metres, internally measured), the two buildings or parts altogether being c. 60 metres long (externally measured, Fig. 7.20, B.ST.). The walls are c. 0.9–1.1 metres wide and preserved up to 1.3 metres high. The wider and southern part of the building complex has been interpreted as a hall in two storeys, although this can be disputed. The narrower, northern part has been interpreted as living quarters (Eriksson 1995: 40–3). The building probably is identical with the narrative's "*breida stofu*", mentioned in 1276 (Eriksson 1995:73).

7.2.4 Other west-Norwegian edifices

Utstein as a royal manor

The Augustinian abbey at Utstein in Rogaland is the best preserved of all Norwegian monasteries, with the church and basement of the eastern and southern wings of the monastery still preserved. The traditional opinion has held that the abbey was founded in 1263–4 by Magnús VI the Lawmender (reign 1263–80) (Lange 1856:378; Kolsrud 1925:48–9; Lexow 1987:157). It has also been the opinion that Magnús, as his father Hákon IV's co-sovereign 1257–63 and with Rogaland as his fief, had much of his residence in Rogaland and possibly also at Utstein, then a royal manor. Against this background the architect and medieval archaeologist Gerhard Fischer has suggested, after his research of the monastic remains 1937–65, a theory that the present monastic eastern wing (Fig. 7.21) was initially built as a royal residence in the years around 1260. He also suggested that a royal chapel was related to the residence, originally a c. 13 x 7 metres western part of the present monastic church (Fischer 1965:5–6).

These interpretations have been opposed by the medieval historian Elbjørg Haug (2005, 2009, 2010) and the medieval archaeologist Øystein Ekroll (2005, 2009; Ekroll and Haug 2007). Haug has suggested that the monastery at Utstein was founded one century earlier, in 1164. Ekroll has against this background suggested that parts of the present eastern wing of the monastery date back to the 12th century. In opposition to Fischer he finds the eastern part of the present monastic church to be older than the western, all built in the second half of the 13th century. Haug's theory has been strongly opposed by the historian Knut Helle (2008, 2009), and Ekroll's theory has been opposed by the medieval archaeologists and architecture historians Ole Egil Eide (2006) and Hans-Emil Lidén (2009). In presentations and discussions of Utstein Abbey, most scholars still seem to find the mid-13th century dating of the abbey's

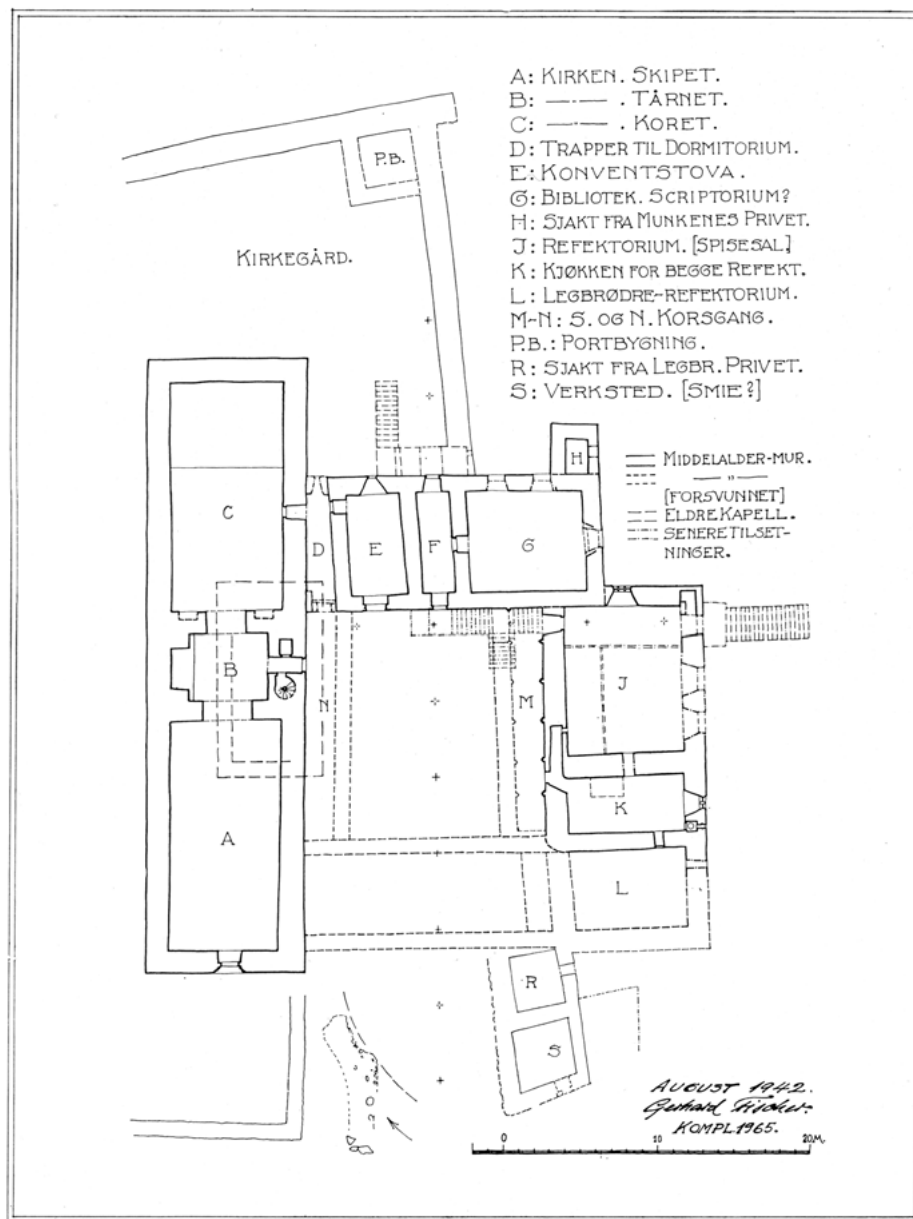


Fig. 7.21: Utstein abbey, the layout. The possible royal building face consists of the rooms E, F, and G. The dotted lines (B and N) are conjectural – of a possible original chapel. After Fischer (1965).

foundation more likely (Jørgensen 2011:130–1; Ersland 2012:95, n. 76), and also that Magnús built a royal residence at Utstein around 1260 (Ersland 2012:87). The present analysis considers the mid-13th dating of the original western wing more likely; in

this light, Fischer's theory on the royal residence appears most interesting in a discussion of the Avaldsnes complex.

The first manor building – that is, the intended royal residence at Utstein – would have been a rectangular free-standing stone building, c. 17 x 8.5 metres measured externally, and divided into three rooms, all at different sizes. Due to the sloping landscape the southern part would have a basement or cellar divided into two rooms. According to Fischer (1965:6) this stone building probably was intended to have a wooden first floor, due to levelling in the masonry. The masonry, especially in the basement, consists of relatively large, irregular stones mostly in clear courses (Figs. 7.22–7.23). Most of the windows in the original building have disappeared, but three original windows are still preserved, all very simple and with a pointed form. A precise dating of these is difficult, but generally they appear to be 13th century, despite the cellar-windows at Utstein (Fig. 7.24) not appearing to be as slim as the preserved late 13th-century window in the archbishop's palace at Bergen (Fig. 7.30). Regarding the doorways, one has a rounded arch and one is slightly pointed. Most interesting is the decorated, present doorway to the northern



Fig. 7.22: Utstein. The south-eastern part of the possible royal residence, 'G' in Fig. 7.21. In the basement: the original openings for the two pointed windows can be seen. Photo: G. Fischer. Source: The Directorate for Cultural Heritage.



Fig. 7.23: Utstein. The possible royal residence at Utstein, viewed from the south. Visible are the southernmost cellar and basement, and the barrel vault over the two other rooms. The walls of the first floor are post-medieval. In the background are visible parts of the abbey church. Photo: G. Fischer. Source: The Directorate for Cultural Heritage.



Fig. 7.24: One of the two original pointed windows to the cellar. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

room, a slightly pointed portal in its form and mouldings clearly a parallel to the south portal in the nave of the present church at Avaldsnes (Fig. 7.25). The portal at Utstein however is secondary in the building and originally probably was located in the church at Utstein. Nevertheless, the similarity of the portals indicates close connections between the building milieus at Avaldsnes and Utstein in the mid- and late 13th century. Lidén (1999:125) has even suggested that they came from a common masonry workshop, and later the royal workshop in Bergen, where as noted there was extensive building activity in the mid-13th century. The theory that Magnús VI as his father's co-sovereign 1257–63 resided in Utstein (and Stavanger) is interesting in this light, and opens the possibility that Magnús even was connected to Avaldsnes in this period.

Bergen – the archbishop's residence

The Norwegian archbishop's residence in Bergen was built from the second half of the 13th century onwards and was in function until the Lutheran Reformation in Norway in AD 1536–7. It was located on the western side (Nordnes) of the harbour Vågen Bay, and situated directly on the opposite side of the royal residence, outside the populated town area. The building complex, in its developed form consisting of two wings (Fig. 7.27), was a combination of a princely residence (*palatium*) and a storehouse of goods. In 1536–7, the residence was confiscated by the king and was used for various functions until a church was erected on the site in the early 17th



Fig. 7.25: Utstein, the eastern wing. The portal (probably first located in the church's original chancel) is through its mouldings typologically related to the southern portal in St Óláfr's at Avaldsnes. They are probably from the same period, the mid-13th century (e.g. Lidén 1999:125–32). Photo: Terje Tveit and Ragne Johnsrud, Archaeological Museum, University of Stavanger.

century. Ruins of the medieval buildings are now preserved in the basement of the present church, Nykirken (Kristoffersen 1984, 1988).

With regard to the discussion of Avaldsnes, the building phases, the dating, the expression, and the function are of high interest, especially the layout and masonry technique. The archbishop's house in Bergen is indirectly mentioned for the first time in 1280 (the archbishop gave a banquet, Kristoffersen 1988:167) and directly in 1309, when the archbishop's "*sofn hærbyrji*" is mentioned. The main part of the residence was built within the reign of Archbishop Jon Raude (1268–1309).

According to the archaeologist Siv Kristoffersen (1984:57) two building phases can be delineated (Figs. 7.26–7.27). The most northern and oldest part of the total

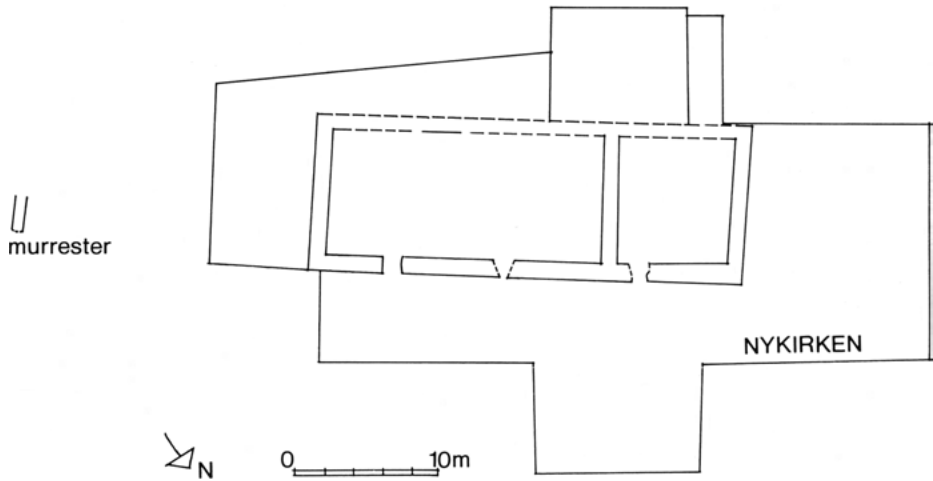


Fig. 7.26: The archbishop's residence in Bergen. Layout of the original, late 13th-century building. The basement (dotted lines are conjectural). Illustration after Kristoffersen (1988).

building complex is best known today, and also the part of most interest for comparison with Avaldsnes. According to Kristoffersen (1984:57, 1988:167) this original part (Fig. 7.26) was built in the second half of the 13th century, in the form of a rectangular stone building c. 32 x 11 metres divided into a larger and a smaller room (*“toromsbygning”*). Shortly after the completion of this first building phase the building in the early 14th century was extended (*‘Sydfloy’* Fig. 7.27) towards the south to a total length of c. 62 metres, and a southern wing was added (c. 22 x 11 metres). The complex was closed by a curtain wall surrounding a courtyard towards the harbour. It is assumed that the original building and the completed building complex was in two, or maybe even three storeys, due to the character and written sources, and some building fragments of a possible first floor are also documented.

In the basement the rooms were quite large except for the southernmost part, and with doorways towards the courtyard. The two building phases were separated by a passage and gatehouse (*‘Portrom’* Fig. 7.27). In the first floor of the main wing were probably the archbishop's hall (*‘Nordre del’*) and private residence (*‘Søndre del’*), with the archbishop's private chapel (St Clement chapel, Kristoffersen 1984:191) located on the first floor of the southern wing.

The archaeological dating of the building complex has been carried out by Ole Egil Eide (1976) and in more detail by Siv Kristoffersen (1984) based on the building's character, masonry, and windows, all compared to the narratives. The two preserved window openings from the Middle Ages, one from the first and one from the second building phase, are simple and cannot alone give a dating, but they are pointed implying a “gothic” form in the Norwegian context. The style of the masonry is also characteristic, especially in the first building phase (Fig. 7.28). Even

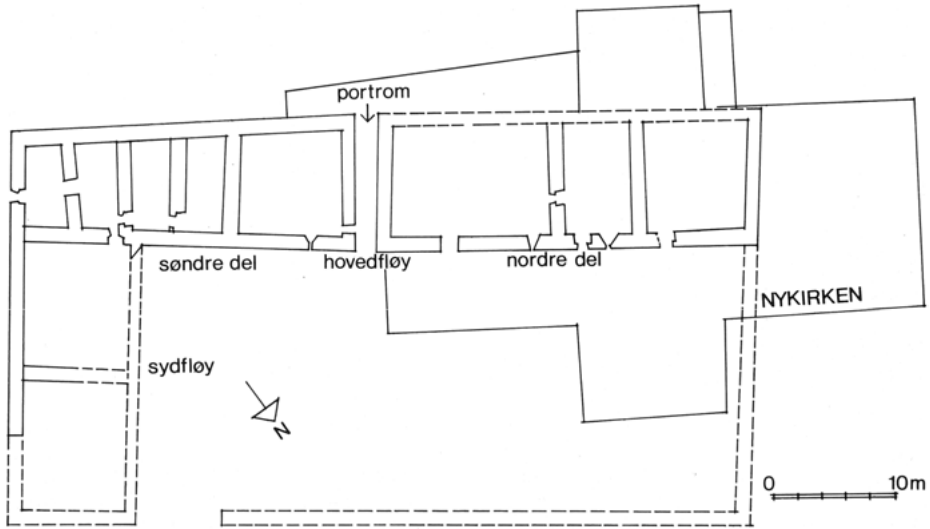


Fig. 7.27: The archbishop's residence in Bergen. Layout of the basement after the extension in the early 14th century (dotted lines conjectural). Illustration after Kristoffersen (1988).



Fig. 7.28: The archbishop's residence in Bergen. A part of the early 14th-century masonry with its original small pointed window. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

though the courses in the masonry are not through, the irregular stones are quite levelled in a typical way for “gothic” masonry in western Norway (Fig. 7.29; Lidén 1974). The character of the masonry is identical first of all to the royal palace’s western wing from c. 1300 at Holmen (Fig. 7.13; Kristoffersen 1984:34), but also at the Franciscan friary church (St Óláfr’s, Fig. 7.30), consecrated 1 May 1301 (Lidén and Magerøy 1983).

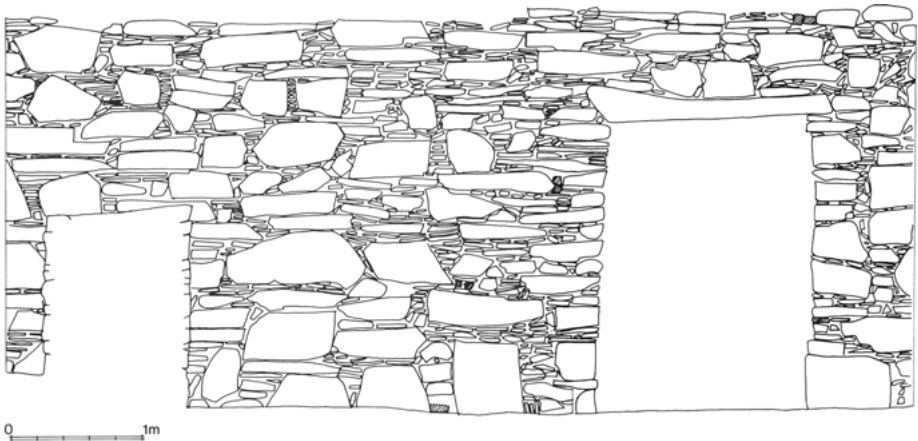


Fig. 7.29: The archbishop’s residence in Bergen. The eastern wall’s masonry character (internal) with the typical masonry character in the building. Even though the courses in the masonry are not through the stones and the masonry is levelled. The character of the masonry is similar to the royal palace’s western wing from c. 1300 at Holmen (Kristoffersen 1984:34, fig. 8). Drawing by H. Christie, 1948. From Kristoffersen (1984:fig. 7).

In conclusion, the archbishop’s edifice in Bergen was built in the last decades of the 13th century and was probably finished into the beginning of the 14th century. The complex was built both as a residence and as a storehouse, in the same period when as the king’s building complex at Avaldsnes was erected.

Stavanger – the bishop’s residence

The bishop’s palace at Stavanger is located to the south of the town’s cathedral (Fig. 7.31) and consists today of an almost 50 metres long wing, now in function as the main building in the high school (Kongsgård skole), that is, the cathedral school. The basement of the wing is in stone (Figs. 7.32–7.33). The first floor was in the Middle Ages probably built in wood, as it still is – now a post-medieval construction. At the northernmost point, nearest the cathedral’s chancel, the wing’s

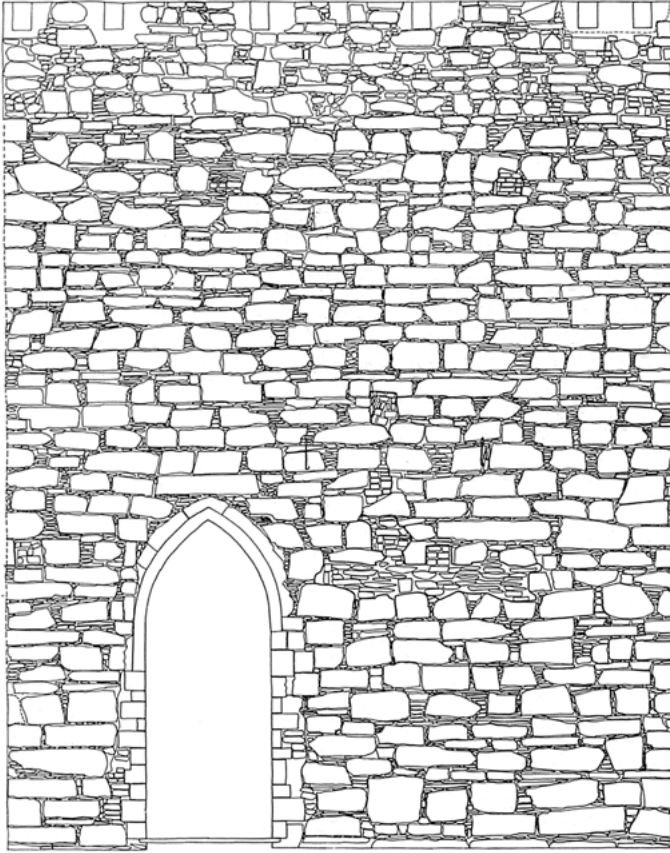


Fig. 7.30: Bergen. The Franciscan church (St St Óláfr's). The nave's internal northern wall, western part (present tower part), built c. 1270. The medieval Franciscan church is the present Lutheran cathedral of Bergen (Bergen domkirke). After Lidén and Magerøy (1983:276).

first floor holds the bishop's chapel, also built in stone. Due to the sloping landscape the bishop's palace is located at a lower level than the cathedral. Seen from the cathedral, the bishop's chapel therefore seems to lie on the same level as the cathedral, even though it in reality is a part of the palace's first floor.

The oldest remains at the present site seem to be an originally free-standing stone building, now the southernmost part of the entire wing and built in the early to mid-13th century. Based on archaeological building research around AD 2000, the archaeologists Per Haavaldsen and Siv Kristoffersen have theorised that the original building consisted of two vaulted rooms with a kind of anteroom in front, and with an upper floor in stone, now lacking (Kristoffersen 2002; Haavaldsen 2002; Meling 2013:120–1). In the late 13th century, maybe not finished before the early 14th century, the rest of the wing and the chapel was added, at that time with



Fig. 7.31: Stavanger. The cathedral and the bishop's palace, Kongsgård skole today. The (eastern) wing to the right consists of the bishop's palace. The medieval masonry can be seen in the basement, and the bishop's chapel can be seen as a first-floor stone building close to the cathedral's chancel. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

only the basement in stone except for the chapel. The wing would then appear as a building with a basement in stone and a first floor in wood, but framed by two two-storeyed wing-parts in stone, the chapel to the north and the older building to the south.⁷ As at Avaldsnes, the wing is located to the south of the church and oriented towards the chancel, although in Stavanger there never seems to have been a direct connection between the wing, i.e. the bishop's chapel, and the cathedral's chancel. Both were built in the decades after a fire in 1272.

Archaeological excavations at the present Kongsgård skole have also revealed masonry fragments ostensibly from other buildings in the bishop's palace. However, the fragments are so sketchy that it is difficult to obtain a total impression of the edifice. Building fragments at a distance to the west of the main wing may indicate that the palace also had a western wing towards the town area, possibly with a gate, and the inner area forming a courtyard (Meling 2004, 2013:122). Traces of a possible curtain

⁷ The archaeologist Trond Meling (2013:121–2) has suggested that this southern two-storeyed building is identical with a “tower” mentioned in AD 1515.

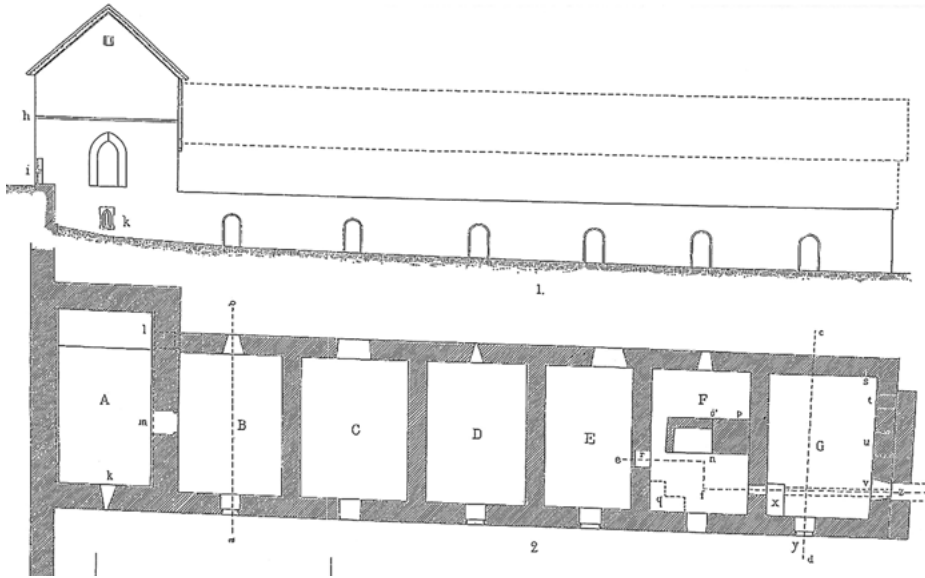


Fig. 7.32: Stavanger. The bishop's palace. The layout viewed from the courtyard in the west. The dotted lines mark the medieval first floor in wood (now lacking). The bishop's chapel to the left (A marks the basement room underneath the first-floor chapel). The rooms F and G were originally part of a free-standing building older than the rest of the wing. Drawing: J. Meyer (1896). From Nicolaysen (1896).

wall enclosing the premises have also been found. However, these fragments are so sketchy that remains more an unsure hypothesis than a theory.

In conclusion, at both Stavanger and Avaldsnes, probably in the decades before and after 1300, there were building activities of similar basic structure, at Stavanger however undertaken by the bishop, at Avaldsnes by the king.⁸

The other Norwegian episcopal edifices

It would seem that both the archbishop's residence at Bergen and the bishop's residence at Stavanger bear a resemblance to Avaldsnes in terms of the building complexes' main documented structure. The third episcopal residence in western

⁸ Also of interest in relation to Avaldsnes is the influence Magnús VI seems to have had at Stavanger, despite the town having been granted to the bishop of Stavanger (Ermland 2012). The cathedral's gothic chancel built after the fire in 1272 seems, for instance, to depict Magnus and his two sons (King Eiríkr and Duke Hákon, later to become King Hákon V). The king, together with the bishop, also founded a hospital in Stavanger in the 1270s.



Fig. 7.33: Stavanger. The bishop's palace. The wing's basement in stone (now plastered) related to the two-stored bishop's chapel with the chapel itself in the first floor, viewed from the east. Photo: A. T. Hommedal.

Norway, the Bergen bishop's residence at Holmen, has as mentioned totally disappeared and is now known only through the narratives.

The other Norwegian episcopal residences – the archbishop's residence in Nidaros and the bishops' residences in Oslo and Hamar – are relatively well documented archaeologically, especially for the late medieval period. In the period of interest, c. 1250–1350, Hamar seems to have consisted of isolated stone buildings in combination with wooden buildings to the east of the cathedral, with only one possible part as a coherent stone wing (Sæther 1986:49–50). The residence at Oslo, located to the west of the cathedral, seems more clearly to have been divided into wings, in the period 1200–1350, gradually with stone buildings replacing wooden buildings and developing into a complex with a courtyard and curtain walls (Dahlin 1990).

At Størøya, the Hamar bishop's residence of ease in the southern part of Hamar diocese, the building fragments also indicate a relatively imposing building complex erected between c. 1250 and 1350, probably in the decades around 1300 and located on the plateau with a sloping hillside indicating an intended or even performed gentle fortification. Parts of two wings are documented archaeologically, and a great number of moulded bricks indicates architectonic rather than developed buildings with vaults and tracery windows (Hommedal 1999). The Oslo bishop's

corresponding residence of ease at Teie by Tønsberg is not well documented; only the site and some possible fragments are known.

None of these ecclesiastical sites has particular resemblance to Avaldsnes in the period of interest, at least not compared with the expression found in the two discussed west-Norwegian ecclesiastical edifices. However, the archbishop's palace in Trondheim (Nidaros) must be considered in comparison with Avaldsnes, especially the northern wing of this major ecclesiastical *palatium* (Nordeide 2002). In the period under discussion, this northern wing, located to the south of the cathedral and parallel with the church, probably contained all three main elements of a princely residence: a hall, living quarters, and a chapel (Fig. 7.34). The two-storeyed hall building (c. 19 x 9 metres) was already erected in the 12th century with the hall itself in the first floor over two vaulted rooms with mid-pillars in the basement, and with a majestic double staircase turned towards the palace's courtyard. To the extension of the hall building towards the west a gate house was built and in the 1250s by the earliest a new stone building (21 x 9.5 metres and c. 18 metres high) was erected as the western part of the wing, possible with a kitchen in the basement and the archbishop's living quarters in the first floor. These stone buildings are still standing in the wing. Compared with Avaldsnes, the ostensible eastern part of the wing also is most interesting, probably with the archbishop's private chapel, mentioned in 1296, to the far east (Fig. 7.34). Between the chapel and the hall building there was an open area only closed off with a stone wall as part of the curtain wall, and the open area was filled in with wooden



Fig. 7.34: The archbishop's palace in Trondheim c. AD 1450. A model viewed from the south. In our discussion of Avaldsnes in the 13th and early 14th century the model's northern wing is the most interesting part. Visible in the middle of the wing are the 12th-century hall with (left) the towered gatehouse, and the mid-13th-century living quarters. This part of the northern wing is still standing in Trondheim. To the far right a presumed chapel for the archbishop is located, now lacking. The northern wing in the High Middle Ages supposedly holds stone buildings with all three central functions in a princely *palatium*: the hall, the living quarters, and the chapel. Model and Photo: NIKU and NDR, 1997.

buildings or a gallery between the hall and the chapel – a parallel situation to Avaldsnes (Fig. 7.34). The northern wing in Trondheim was as a whole incorporated into the palace's curtain wall constructed in the 13th century. Other 13th-century buildings within the palace area include the south-eastern part (Fig. 7.34) of the complex (Nordeide 2002). However, the northern wing is of most interest for comparison with Avaldsnes, despite the archbishop's palace in Trondheim being quite larger than the edifice at Avaldsnes.

7.3 Conclusion: Avaldsnes in light of other Norwegian princely edifices

The discussion of the Norwegian princely edifices in the 13th and 14th centuries in comparison with the newly discovered ruin complex at Avaldsnes has mainly concentrated on the three other sites related to the collegiate of the royal chapel organisation established in 1308: the royal edifices of Bergen, Oslo, and Tønsberg. The investigation has focused on whether the royal edifice at Avaldsnes had a function as a *palatium* for the king or served as a residence for his canons, or whether the building complex connected to St Óláfr's Church served a combination of the two functions. The discussion has also compared Avaldsnes with other known royal and episcopal edifices from the period in western Norway, and likewise with episcopal residences in other parts of Norway. The more defined royal fortifications of the period have not been included in the discussion, whether the larger ones such as Ragnhildsholm and Akershus or smaller ones such as Valdisholm and Mjøskastellet (Opsahl this vol. Ch. 8). However, the discussed edifices were also fortified in consequence of the king's residence at this time serving simultaneously as a fortress, military headquarters, administrative centre, court of law, and residence for the king and his court all rolled into one. Possibly for this reason, it has proven difficult to provide an absolute answer to the main questions enumerated above.

When comparing Avaldsnes with the royal residences in Bergen, Oslo, and Tønsberg, one feature of the edifices is striking – the element of original more or less free-standing stone buildings with a powerful construction: the residential keeps. The oldest of these archaeologically documented royal keeps seems to be in Oslo: the uncompleted building project of Hákon IV at the later St Óláfr's in the 1220s or early 1230s by the latest. However, an important building period for these structures seems also to have occurred some decades later, in the 1260s and 1270s, when the narratives mention keeps at both Bergen and Tønsberg, in the latter case an entirely new one. In the same period a massive, free-standing stone building appears to be erected at Avaldsnes, possibly indicating that the king even erected a residential keep located at the church of St Óláfr.

In a comparison with the total edifice at Avaldsnes, the royal *palatium* at Holmen in Bergen seems to be the most relevant, especially the western wing built in at least two building phases in the second half of the 13th century (Figs. 7.1 and 7.9). When completed around 1300, the wing constituted the palace's c. 115 metres long majestic main façade towards the harbour and the maritime entrance to the town. In the same way, the wing and church at Avaldsnes would make up a façade towards the harbour and shipping lane east of the edifice. In Bergen the wing holds a hall (the "Yule Hall") built in the 1250s by the latest and a gatehouse with keep (Fig. 7.8), after some decades to be lengthened by the southern part probably functioning as the royal family's new private lodging, and with the king's private chapel in the residential stone keep to the south of the regular wing (Fig. 7.9). The western wing in the palace at Bergen thus contained all three central functions in a *palatium* with – from the north to south – a hall, living quarters, and a chapel, and also with a gatehouse. The same functions would be expected at Avaldsnes but there reversed and with some difference in the structure: the hall in the south, then the living quarters incorporating the older, free-standing keep, followed by St Óláfr's to the north. As in the archbishop's palace in Trondheim, there would be a more open area towards the chapel or church, possibly filled with a gallery or wooden buildings (Fig. 7.34).

In Bergen galleries would connect the western wing to other parts of the royal edifice, as would also be the case at Tunsberghus. At Avaldsnes, as a smaller building complex, the different functions of the edifice seem to be more directly connected to each other, as would probably also be the situation at the bishop's palace at Stavanger and the archbishop's residence at Bergen. However, galleries even at these edifices would possibly have connected other, now unknown buildings in stone or wood to the main wing.

Regarding the four royal chapels and their collegiate, it has been suggested that the canons' residence at Tunsberghus was located to the north of St Michael 's, but this is very uncertain and not at all verified. For Oslo and Bergen, next to nothing is known about the canons' residences, although narratives may indicate that buildings were related to the (third) church of the Apostles at Bergen; these buildings possibly hosted the canons. At Avaldsnes there seems not to have been other buildings to the north of St Óláfr's, and it is most likely that the canons lived permanently in the wing to the south of St Óláfr's; this wing also served as the royal residence in the periods when the king was residing at Avaldsnes. However, it is not possible to conclude explicit if the wing primarily was built for the king or for his collegiate.

The building complex at Avaldsnes is thus built in a way that would be suitable for a prince and his household in 13th- and 14th-century western Norway.

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